

Sierrleone: Diamonds and the Civil War (1991-2002)

Faisal Hassan Alshaikh (PHD)*

Abstract:

The overall objective of this article is mainly to briefly show the extent to which natural resources can have a key role in fueling violent conflicts in Africa through the provision of financial funds for rebels to buy weapons, ammunition, and other necessary equipment for fighting; and thus contribute to the prolongation of suffering of innocent citizens in the conflict zones. Specific emphasis has been put on the crucial role played by diamonds in fuelling the long savage Sierra Leone civil war during which the Revolutionary United Front(RUF) rebels committed horrendous abuses. The article also shows the role of external actors in the Sierra Leone civil war.

Key words: Natural resources, civil war, diamonds, RUF rebels.

سيراليون: الماس والحرب الأهلية 1991 - 2002م

مستخلص: يهدف هذا المقال إلى إبراز دور الماس في الحرب في سيراليون، وإبراز المدى الذي يمكن أن تكون للموارد الطبيعية دوراً رئيسياً في تأجيج نيران النزاعات المسلحة في إفريقيا، وذلك عبر توفيرها للموارد المالية التي تيسر من خلالها الحصول على الأسلحة والذخائر ومعدات القتال الضرورية للمحاربين، ومن ثم نجدها تسهم في إطالة أمد النزاع المسلح وازدياد معاناة السكان المدنيين في مناطق الاقتتال. ويشير المقال إلى الدور الحيوي المهم الذي لعبه معدن الماس في تغذية نيران الحرب الأهلية في سيراليون، والتي قام المتمردون خلالها بارتكاب أفظع الأعمال البربرية، كما يتطرق إلى الدور الذي لعبه الفاعلون الخارجيون على المستوى الإقليمي والدولي في الحرب الأهلية بسيراليون. كلمات مفتاحية: موارد طبيعية، حرب أهلية، ماس، متمردو الجبهة الثورية المتحدة.

Introduction:

Conflict between groups within countries has been common in Africa. There have recently been numerous civil wars and conflicts in Africa, some of which are still going on, and others ended as a result of successful mediation efforts that- with support of the International Community -had finally concluded with peace agreements signed by warring parties. Sierra Leone's decade-long civil war which had seen an estimated 50,000 people killed during the first year of the fighter presents one of the most brutal wars that Africa has ever witnessed in its contemporary history.¹ Members of the rebels murdered, raped, and tortured anyone who resisted. Thousands of victims were mutilated with knives or had their limbs or hands amputated. The rebels abducted children as young as six years old and forced them to become soldiers or slaves.²

This article seeks to shed some light on the crucial role played by diamonds during the brutal civil war in Sierra Leone to providing a strong incentive for the Revolutionary United Front (RUF)³ rebels to keep fighting, and a cash base to buy guns and ammunitions. It will also examine the role of external actors at regional and international levels in helping rebels to smuggle the bulk of these diamonds out through Liberia.

Sierra Leone's rebel war which began in 1991 had shocked the world not by its typically gruesome violence only, but also Sierra Leone had favorable prospects for human security and sustainable development in the immediate post-independence years: a rich natural resources base comprising minerals –diamonds, gold, bauxite and iron ore and abundant agricultural and marine resources.⁴ Despite the abundance of these resources Sierra Leoneans are among the poorest in the world. Other countries in the world are poor because of natural disasters, few resources, unfertile territory or bulging populations. Not so In Sierra Leone which has an abundance of resources with just relatively small size of population.⁵

Country Overview:

The former British Protectorate of Sierra Leone achieved independence within the Commonwealth as a sovereign state on April 27, 1961. Sierra Leone is a small country roughly the size of Sudan's

state of the Red Sea, surrounded by larger neighbors Guinea and Liberia, and bordering the Atlantic Ocean. The population of Sierra Leone was estimated in 2000 to be roughly 5,2 million, Freetown, the capital city, is located in the western part of the country.⁶ While independence came to Sierra Leone in 1961 the country's history goes back centuries.⁷

Sierra Leone is just like many other African countries inhibited by many ethnic groups. Today, there are at least 17 ethnic groups in the country. These groups have been divided into three language categories: Mande, Mel and others.⁸

Islam is the largest religion in Sierra Leone, according to 2009 estimate, 71.3% of the population are Muslims.⁹ Some of the early agents of Islam in Sierra Leone sought to promote their religion by force, through the Futa Jallon Jihad. But force was not the main instrument of Muslim expansion into Sierra Leone¹⁰. The normal pattern was through peaceful means by long-distance traders, missionaries and teachers from the northern territories. They were instrumental in the spread of Islam in Sierra Leone; Islam gained influence among Sierra Leoneans because Muslim migrants possessed resources which were highly valued by the local people. Muslims were welcomed because they brought wealth in the forms of trade and they provided jobs for the local residents. Their caravans required guards, porters and guides and local merchants and rulers gained wealth through trade.¹¹

Pre-war political situation:

The interplay of bad governance and deteriorating economic conditions were the key causes of Sierra Leonean conflict. This was evident under the various regimes spanning both the colonial and post-colonial periods through the 1970s and 1980s until the end of the civil war in February 2002. It is argued even under colonial rule; a pattern of economic development based on the extraction of largely unprocessed raw materials had combined with widespread corruption among Sierra Leone politicians and traditional chiefs to create deep pools among pools of resentment among those excluded from this system of profit and power.¹²

In the country's first general elections since independence held on May 25, 1962, Sir Milton Margai¹³, Prime Minister since before independence led his party, the Sierra Leone's People's Party (SLPP). In March 1966, Sir Albert¹⁴ Margai, who had become Prime Minister on the death of his brother introduced a bill providing for the creation of a one-party state. This was opposed however, by All People's Congress led by Siaka¹⁵ Stevens, and after less than three years, Prime Minister Sir Albert Magai announced that his government had decided to adhere to the Multi-party system.¹⁶

General elections were held on Mach 1967, but their results were never officially announced. Immediately after swearing in Mr. Stevens Siaka as Prime Minister, the army chief detained the Prime Minister and the Governor-General, and declared Martial Law and stated that the Governor-General had no right to appoint Mr. Stevens while the elections results were uncompleted.¹⁷ Within 48 hours of this event, a group of young officers seized power, declaring that the Governor-General and all political leaders had been taken into custody and that all political parties were dissolved and all political activity was prohibited, and that the constitution was suspended.¹⁸ The country remained under military rule until a further coup, when a group of non-commissioned officers (N.C.Os) took over the administration of the country before handing it over to Mr. Stevens and a civilian government after a week of the coup occurrence.¹⁹ Mr. Stevens declared a state of emergency throughout the country, and those who were alleged to overthrow his government and suspended the constitution were sentenced to death. However, this wave of military coups had negatively affected the political stability of the country and posed a serious challenge to the democratic practice in Sierra Leone.

The beginning of the conflict

The Sierra Leonean brutal civil war began on 23 March 1991, when a group from the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), with support from the Special Forces of Charles Taylor's²⁰ of Liberia and his National Patriotic Front (NPFL) set off an armed challenge to the government of All Peoples Congress (APC), led by President Joseph Momoh.²¹ Taylor was fighting Liberia's dictator Samuel Doe in the early 1990s. Eventually, Sierra Leone's one-party regime under

President Joseph Momoh sent troops to Liberia in Doe's support. Taylor in March 1991 began supporting RUF in Sierra Leone.²²

The APC had ruled Sierra Leone for the preceding 23 years, initially under the leadership of Siaka Stevens, and since 1984, through Stevens' chosen successor, Army commander, Major-General Joseph Saidu Momoh²³, in a state-managed election of the APC. Momoh removed from office by a group of young officers who formed the National Provisional Revolutionary Council (NPRC).²⁴ In March 1996, after much domestic and international pressure, the NPRC reluctantly handed power to a civilian government led by Ahmed Tejan Kabba.²⁵ However, on 25 May 1997 a faction of armed forces in alliance with the RUF fighters removed the civilian government. Reflecting international dismay at the overturning of the civilian government, ECOMOG²⁶ forces intervened and retook Freetown on behalf of the government, but they found the outlying regions more difficult to pacify.²⁷

In January 1999, world leaders intervened diplomatically to promote negotiations between RUF and the Government. The Lome Peace Accord, signed on 27 March 1999, was the result. Lome gave Foday Sankoh²⁸, the Commander of RUF the vice presidency and control of Sierra Leone's diamond mines in return for cessation of the fighting and the deployment of a UN peace-keeping force to monitor the disarmament process. RUF compliance with the disarmament process was inconsistent and sluggish, and by May 2000, the rebels were advancing again upon Freetown. As the UN mission began to fail the United Kingdom declared its intention to intervene in the former colony and Commonwealth member in an attempt to support the weak government of President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah. With help from a renewed UN mandate and Guinean air support, the British finally defeat the RUF on 18 January 2002, President Kabbah declared the Sierra Leonean civil war over.²⁹

Natural Resources and violent conflict:

The World Bank defines natural resources as "materials that occur in nature and are essential or useful to humans, such as water, air, land forests, fish and wildlife, topsoil and minerals."³⁰ These resources can be classified as renewable, or non-renewable. In most

cases, renewable resources such as cropland, forests and water can be replenished over time by natural processes and – if not overused – are definitely sustainable. Non-renewable resources such as diamonds, minerals, and oil are found in finite quantities and their values increase as supplies dwindle.³¹

Scholars have proposed two theories to explain the role of natural resources in conflict. One points to scarcity and the other points to abundance.³² Conflict can occur when population migration increase demand for scarce resources such as water or timber. Other scholars claim that it is the resources abundance rather the scarcity that is the bigger threat to create conflict. Some countries with abundant natural resources have experienced what has been coined the “resource curse” – corruption, stagnation, and violent conflict over access to revenues. However, the availability of easily rooted resources such as diamonds has encouraged rebel movements.³³ Moreover, political instability makes countries much more vulnerable to conflict. In addition to that, the mismanagement of natural resources whether they are scarce or abundant is likely to create environments that are ripe for violent conflicts. Anyway, it is also important to note that as the population continues to rise, and the demand for resources continues to grow, so there is significant potential for conflicts over natural resources to intensify in the coming decades.³⁴

Diamonds are the conflict minerals that have received the most attention. Media exposure of the events in Sierra Leone and Angola popularized the notion of “conflict diamonds” or “blood diamonds”³⁵. They are illegally traded to fund conflict in war-torn areas, particularly in central and Western Africa.³⁶ Diamonds are easy to steal and easy to move to market and difficult to trace. They constitute strong incentive for the rebels to keep fighting. Several rebel groups in Africa have used diamonds as a source of income, including groups in Angola, Liberia and Sierra Leone.³⁷ The war in Angola, together with the insurrection by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone that drew international attention to the potential of the gem trade to perpetuate conflict, frequently with catastrophic consequences for civilians living in conflict zones.³⁸

The economic power of diamond trade has been a major source of conflict in other African countries, most notably Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Liberia. Sierra Leone diamonds have financed the rebel movements of both Foday Sankoh and Charles Taylor.³⁹

Rebel groups tend to be based in rural areas initially for military reasons, they turn to business activities such as various forms of extortion and exploitation and trade and primary commodities.⁴⁰ In rural areas, it is a relatively simple matter for rebel groups to run an extortion racket, levying protection charges on producers or carrying out some of the trade themselves. There is a long list of conflicts with a strong link to natural resources exploitation. The best known examples are the conflict diamonds of Angola, Liberia and Sierra Leone.⁴¹

By capturing the region of Kwango River Valley - the richest diamonds field in Angola-rebels of UNITA Movement could profit about three billions dollars from diamonds sales in the mid-nineties.⁴² Obviously, these earnings helped to purchase weapons and ammunition from outside the country, which indicates that there are many groups whose interests in and actions concerning a region's natural resources can lead to or exacerbate conflict. These stakeholders may include local communities, government, rebel groups and outside actors. But the significant fact is that diamond provided rebels an incentive for continuing the fighting.

Having known that Africa's share in the international production of diamonds represents 95%, it can be said that the external actors such as states, multinational companies, businessmen, or weapons companies play key role in the dynamics of conflict events and civil wars in many African countries, with an aim to making huge from trading in the precious products of natural resources.⁴³

A brief history of diamonds mining in Sierra Leone:

Diamonds were found in the early 1930s by a colonial geological survey team, in the Kono district⁴⁴ of Sierra Leone. Before the start of the civil war in 1991, around 250,000 people made their living in the mining.⁴⁵ Since diamonds commercial exploitation began in 1930s, diamonds have influenced Sierra Leone's fortunes in ways that no

other economic activity has.⁴⁶ However, Sierra Leone has a long history of mining as its major economic activity. For years it was referred to as the “land of iron and diamonds”. The country endowed with vast and varied mineral resources, including diamonds, gold, rutile, zircon, iron ore, bauxite and petroleum, but it has not managed to exploit their potential.⁴⁷ The country’s economic development has always been hampered by an overdependence on mineral exploitation. Successive governments and the population as a whole have always believed that diamonds and gold are sufficient generator of foreign currency.⁴⁸

Accounting for more than two thirds of the nation’s export earnings and a quarter of GDP for the early of the post-colonial period, diamonds have profoundly been influential in shaping Sierra Leone’s history and its social and political life, for good and ill.⁴⁹ However, total export earnings from diamonds has increased from \$312 million in 2002 to \$512 million in 2003,⁵⁰ and the total export revenue from diamonds was accounting for 46% of the country’s export revenue in 2008,⁵¹ which indicates that the sector has seen a significant overall recovery after the end of the war in 2002 in terms of both operations and output.

The trajectory of the diamond industry in Sierra Leone was wholly negative: diamonds were implicated in the decade-long conflict which almost completely destroyed the country and led to the deaths of upwards 75,000 citizens.⁵²

The role of diamonds in the civil war:

Sierra Leone was a country with a massive diamond reserve. The importance of diamond in the history of Sierra Leone is without question. Siaka Stevens used vast numbers of smuggled diamonds to pop up his presidency in the 1970s and 80s. In fact, Stevens’s despotic rule from 1986 to 1985 engendered deep-seated grievances widely believed to be the root cause of Sierra Leone’s civil war. Stevens’s APC used violence through the notorious Internal Security Unit or underclass “ghetto” youths fed with drugs and false promises of employment to stifle political and civic opposition, culminating in one- party dictatorship from 1978 to 1992.⁵³ The result was a growing army of unemployed, disillusioned, drug-addicted youths acculturated

to violence, who would later constitute the recruitment base for the rebellion.⁵⁴

However, despite the lack of evidence of the diamonds' role in initiating the civil war, it is quite clear that diamonds played an essential part in the war by offering the RUF an invaluable funding source to sustain its warfare. With the growing interest of both parties –the RUF and the Government soldiers– in illegal diamond mining, battles often occurred over diamond-abundant areas.⁵⁵

Some analysts argue that the presence of diamonds in Sierra Leone invited and led to civil war in several ways. First, the highly unequal benefits resulting from diamond mining made ordinary Sierra Leoneans frustrated. Under the Stevens's Government, revenues from the National Mining Corporation were used for the personal enrichment of Stevens and of the members of the government and business elite who close to him. By the late 1980s, almost all of Sierra Leone's diamonds were being smuggled and traded illicitly, with revenues going directly into the hands of private sectors. In this period the diamond trade was dominated by Lebanese traders and later by Israelis with connection to the international market in Antwerp.⁵⁶ The conflict in the 1990s and early 2000s was fuelled by the mining and trading of these tiny precious stones. All sides including peacekeepers were involved in this lucrative business.⁵⁷

According to UN court, Taylor ordered the RUF to gain control over mines, exchanged diamonds for weapons he imported from Europe, and thus facilitated arms smuggling. Having known barbarities committed by the RUF rebels against tens of thousands Sierra Leoneans, we can conclude to the fact that revenues from blood diamonds had served not only for funding the purchase of arms for the rebels, but also served for funding terrorism.⁵⁸

Beside their barbaric behavior which RUF became known for mass mutilation, a part from the innocent people caught up in the conflict that the trade fuels, thousands of men, women and children in Sierra Leone are used as slaves to extract diamonds. They are often forced to use primitive back-breaking methods such as digging into mud or gravel along river banks with their bare hands. The collected material is then separated using hand-held sieves.⁵⁹

The RUF rebels group is estimated to have made an approximate profit of 200 million dollars a year between 1991-1999 through the illicit diamond trade. These illicit diamonds are widely to have been traded with Charles Taylor in return for arms and ammunitions which were later falsely identified as Liberian in origin and then legitimately exported abroad.⁶⁰ Taylor was accused of arming rebel groups and terrorizing civilians during the decade-long civil war in exchange for uncut diamonds smuggled out to him in empty mayonnaise jars.⁶¹

In fact, abundant evidence has been adduced indicating that the 'conflict diamonds' are handed over to Taylor not only in exchange for arms, but also for the use of Liberia as a base for the rebels, and Liberian and other mercenaries. Some evidence of the involvement of Liberia and also neighboring Cote d'Ivoire in the diamond trade fuelling the rebellion comes from diamonds export from these countries which have very little or no diamond endowments.⁶²

Conclusion:

The natural resources as general and strategic mineral such as diamonds in particular, are playing key rule in fuelling armed conflicts in Africa. The revenues received from their sales are used to buy weapons; ammunitions and other military equipment that eventually devastate conflict countries, and lead to the establishment of alliances at home and abroad with an aim to facilitating the exchange of these natural resources for fighting requirements such as arms and ammunition.

The easiness of extracting diamonds in Sierra Leone had provided an incentive for rebels to engage in severe fighting to maintain control of diamond-rich regions, which resulted in the expulsion of thousands of civilians from these areas.

The direct real cause of the civil war in Sierra Leone had been attributed to the endemic corruption that prevailed throughout the country at different levels of the civil service, and the grievances which most of the Sierra Leoneans, specially the youth, were complaining from during the prewar era. However, diamonds had greatly contributed to the fueling of the civil war. Corruption in Sierra Leone was centered on diamonds trading, and as a result huge revenues missed its way to the government coffers and went into the

pockets of officials, politicians and the President entourage. Eventually the Sierra Leoneans standard of living had been negatively affected. So, it can be said that there was an indirect link between diamonds and the eruption of war.

External actors at the regional and international levels had play key role in fuelling the war in Sierra Leone through facilitating the entire process of exchanging arms for diamonds, particularly Taylor of Liberia provided RUF all the support throughout stages of the war.

Endnotes

¹ En-wikipedia.org/wiki/Sierra-Leone-civil-war/

² Judy Hasdy, Sierra Leone, Mason Crest Publishers, 370 Broomall, PA 19008, 2000, page 32.

³ RUF was organized initially by student radicals expelled for anti-government agitation from Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, the seedbed of such activity. In 1987 they began to recruit volunteers from the growing army of potential rebels –students, unemployed “ghetto” youths, etc. – for military training in Libya to overthrow the APC, culminating in the formation of the RUF.

⁴ Victor A. B. Davis “Sierra Leone Ironic Tragedy,” Journal of African Economics, Vol. 9 No. 3 October 2000, page 349.

⁵ Ibid, page 348.

⁶ www.nationencyclopedia.com

⁷ John L. Hirsch, Sierra Leone: Diamond and Struggle for Democracy, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Henrietta Street, Convent Garden, London WC2E 8LU, 2001, page 23

⁸ Joe A.D. Alie, Anew history of Sierra Leone, Macmilan Publishing ltd, Oxford OX4 3PP, 2005, PP 6-9.

⁹ En-wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam-in-Sierra-Leone/.

¹⁰ This jihad was waged more for political and economic reasons than for the conversion for non-Muslim to Islam. It was begun in 1727 by Fula Muslim traders in Jallonkadu, the home of the Yalunka. These Fula wanted to take over the government of Jaalonkadu and then control the trade of the region. The Jihad was used to achieve this objective. The jihad was led by a pious scholar, Karamokoh Alfa, and his cousin Ibrahim Suri, a great general. They succeeded in overthrowing the Yalunka. Therefore, the Fula changed the name of the Kingdom to Futa Jallon.

-
- ¹¹ Joe A. D. Alie, *Ibid*, page 43.
- ¹² Angela McIntyre, Emmanuel and Prosper Addo, "Politics, War and Youth Culture in Sierra Leone", *African Security Review*, Vol. 11 No. 3, 2002, Page 9.
- ¹³ Sir Milton Margai, was Sierra Leone's First Prime Minister. He became leader and president of Sierra Leone Peoples Party (SLPP) in April 1951. He became the first Prime Minister on 9 July 1960. He became a founder member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963.
- ¹⁴ Sir Albert Margai is the brother of Sir Milton Margai. He was appointed by the Governor-General as a Prime Minister after the death of his brother Sir Milton Margai. He attempted to introduce a one-party system of government, but different political groupings in Sierra Leone took a strongly negative stand so the issue was dropped.
- ¹⁵ Siaka Stevens was a trade unionist. He formed All Peoples Congress Party (APC) in 1960. His party swept the polls in 1967 elections, therefore becoming the opposition party in post-colonial Africa to oust a ruling party through the ballot-box.
- ¹⁶ Kessing's Research Report – Africa Independent, 1972, Kessing's Publications Ltd., Library of Congress, SBN 684 – 12531 – 5, PP 117.
- ¹⁷ Joe A. D. Alie, *Ibid*, P. 231.
- ¹⁸ Kessing's Research Report, *Ibid*, P. 118.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid*, P. 119.
- ²⁰ Charles Taylor is a Liberian former politician who was the 22nd Liberian President serving from 2 August 1997 until 11 August 2003. He was trained in Libya as a guerilla fighter. He returned in 1989 as the head of a Libyan-backed resistance group, the National Patriotic Front, to overthrow the Doe's regime, initiating the Liberian civil war (1989-2003).
- ²¹ [En-wikipedia.org/wiki/sierra-Leone-civil-war](http://en-wikipedia.org/wiki/sierra-Leone-civil-war)
- ²² www.dandc.eu/en/article/blood-diamond-fulled-sierra-leones-civil-war
- ²³ Momoh served as President of Sierra Leone from 28 November 1985 to 29 April 1992. A professional soldier drawn into politics. He rose from the enlisted ranks, to the highest position in Sierra Leone army forces (Major-Genral) during his presidency. Momoh succeeded Siaka Stevens bt becoming the only candidate in a one-party election in the form of a referendum under the banner of the All Peoples Congress (APC). He was overthrown in a military coup in April 1992.
- ²⁴ [En-wikipedia.org/wiki/sierra-Leone-civil-war](http://en-wikipedia.org/wiki/sierra-Leone-civil-war)
- ²⁵ Ahmed Tijan Kabbah was the third President of Sierra Leone from 1996 to 1997 and again from 1998 to 2007. In early 1996 Kabbah was elected leader of Sierra Leone Peoples Party (SLPP) and the party's presidential candidate in 1996 Sierra Leone Presidential elections.
- ²⁶ The Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), was a west African multilateral armed force established by the

Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). ECOMOG was a formal arrangement for separate armies from West African Countries to work together.

²⁷ Alfred B Zack-Williams, "Sierra Leone: the political economy of civil war, 1991-98", Third World Quarterly, Vol 20, No 1, PP 143-162, 1999.

²⁸ Foday Saybana Sankoh formed the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and led the insurrection against Sierra Leone's government that began in 1991. He joined the Sierra Leone army in 1956, He was cashiered from the army and imprisoned for 7 years for taking part in a mutiny. In May 2000 Sankoh was arrested. After being indicted for war crimes, he died in 2003 of natural causes.

²⁹ En-wikipedia.org/wiki/sierra-Leone-civil-war.

³⁰ <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/>.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ <http://www.iisd.org/publication/conflict-peacebuilding-role-natural-resources-and-environment>.

³⁵ Justin Pearce "War, Peace and Diamonds in Angola", African Security Review, Vol 13 No.2, 2004, Page 51.

³⁶ Edition.cnn.com/2012/04/26/world/Africa/blood-diamond/

³⁷ <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/>.

³⁸ Justin Pearce, ibid, page 51.

³⁹ John L. Hirsch, Ibid, page 25.

⁴⁰ Ian Banon and Paul Collier, Natural resources and violent conflict: Options and actions, The World Bank, 2003, page 23.

⁴¹ نادر السيوفي، حروب الموارد في أفريقيا: الكونغو الديمقراطية - سيراليون - انجولا - ج السودان أمودجاً، مكتبة الشريف الأكاديمية، ش الجمهورية، الخرطوم 2008، ص 16

⁴² نفسه، ص 16.

⁴³ نادر السيوفي، مصدر سابق، ص 37

⁴⁴ Kono district is a diamond-rich district in the Eastern Province of Sierra Leone and is one of the most ethnically diverse districts in Sierra Leone. Also its population is religiously diverse among Muslims and Christians. The district was heavily looted and constantly fought over due to the rich diamond reserve in the area.

⁴⁵ En-wikipedia.org/wiki/sierra-Leone-civil-war.

⁴⁶ www.ddiglobal.org/login/resources/sierra-leone.pdf.

⁴⁷ www.resourcegovernance.org/countries/africa/sierra-Leone/extractive-industry

⁴⁸ En-wikipedia.org/wiki/sierra-Leone-civil-war.

⁴⁹ Ibid. www.resourcegovernance.org

⁵⁰ Ibid. www.Ddiglobal.org

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid. www.resourcegovernance.org

⁵³ Victor A. B. Davis, Ibid, page 352.

⁵⁴ Ibid, page 353.

⁵⁵ SE YOUNG JANG “the causes of Sierra Leone war” Oct 25 2012, www.e-ir.info/2012/10/25/the-causes-of-the-Sierra-Leone-civil-war/

⁵⁶ En-wikipedia.org/wiki/sierra-leone-civil-war

⁵⁷ Blood diamond ”not the cause” of Sierra Leone war.
www.channel4.com/news/articles/..

⁵⁸ Edition.cnn.com/2012/04/26/world/Africa/blood-diamond/

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ SE YOUNG JANG, Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Victor A.B. Davies, Ibid, pa