

## **PENGUNAAN *PRIVATE MILITARY AND SECURITY COMPANIES* (PMSCS) OLEH ‘WEAK STATES’ DI AFRIKA: STUDI KASUS ANGOLA**

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**21/485548/PSP/7361**

### **INTISARI**

Tesis ini menganalisis alasan *weak states* di Afrika menggunakan *Private Military and Security Companies* (PMSCs) dengan melihat praktiknya di Angola (1992-2017) dan meninjau pada indikator-indikator yang mempengaruhi serta membentuk agensi seorang penguasa dalam memilih menggunakan PMSCs. *Hegemonial exchange* menjelaskan struktur dan budaya politik Angola di mana relasi kuasa domestik, politik etnisitas, klientelisme, kultur penggunaan pasukan bersenjata, dan jaringan komersial yang diprivatisasi berperan penting dalam membentuk agensi penguasa. Mobilisasi oposisi yang masif, terutama UNITA yang mewakili kelompok etnis Ovimbundu dan dipimpin Jonas Savimbi, mendorong Presiden dos Santos untuk memperkuat otoritasnya, berupaya terus untuk melegitimasi dan melanggengkan kekuasaannya dengan distribusi sumber daya maupun kekuatan memaksa militer. Sentralisasinya dalam struktur politik dan budaya politik Angola termasuk rendahnya loyalitas aktor politik, manipulasi birokrasi, praktik patronase, pemberontakan, dan politik uang, menyebabkan penguasa negara, dos Santos, memilih menggunakan PMSCs untuk mencapai tujuan-tujuannya tersebut.

Kata-kata kunci: PMSCs; Angola; *hegemonial exchange*; dos Santos; UNITA.

### **ABSTRACT**

This thesis analyzes reasons weak states in Africa were using Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs) by looking at the practice in Angola (1992-2017) and the indicators that influence and form the agency of rulers that chose to use PMSCs. Hegemonial exchange describes the structure and culture of Angolan politics in which domestic power relations, ethnic politics, clientelism, a culture of using armed forces, and privatization of commercial networks play a significant role in shaping the agency of the ruler. The massive mobilization of the opposition, mainly UNITA representing the Ovimbundu ethnic group and was led by Jonas Savimbi, encouraged President dos Santos to strengthen his authority, strive to continue to legitimize and perpetuate his power through the distribution of resources as well as military coercion. His centrality in the Angolan political structure and political culture including low loyalty of political actors, manipulation of the bureaucracy, patronage, rebellion, money politics, led the state's ruler, dos Santos, to use PMSCs to achieve these goals.

Keywords: PMSCs; Angola; *hegemonial exchange*; dos Santos; UNITA.