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## Warfare in Independent Africa

This book surveys the history of armed conflict in Africa in the period since decolonization and independence. The number of post-independence conflicts in Africa has been considerable, and this book introduces readers to a comprehensive analysis of their causes and character. Tracing the evolution of warfare from anti-colonial and anti-apartheid campaigns to complex conflicts in which factionalized armies, militias, and rebel groups fight with each other and prey on non-combatants, it allows the readers a new perspective to understand violence on the continent. The book is written to appeal not only to students of history and African politics, but also to experts in the policy community, the military, and humanitarian agencies.

William Reno is Associate Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University. He is the author of *Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone* (Cambridge, 1995) and *Warlord Politics and African States* (1998) and numerous other academic and policy publications about conflict in Africa. Professor Reno's research focuses on the politics of conflict in Africa.

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William Reno  
*Northwestern University*



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## Acknowledgments

This book is the product of a chain of unexpected circumstances. In 1989, I moved to West Africa to conduct field research for what I thought would be a dissertation on the politics of economic reform. In hindsight, I arrived just in time to experience the start of a series of West African wars. This was a most unwelcome development. Yet this disruption led to field work, a dissertation, and a larger research agenda focused on the study of warfare in sub-Saharan Africa. I am indebted to Crawford Young and Michael Schatzberg for their enthusiastic support as I abandoned my initial focus late in my graduate career and shifted to this absorbing topic, and to Christopher Clapham, whose work and advice guided me in the right direction as I grappled with the intellectual challenges of this research venture.

Field research into the politics of violence eventually took me farther east and onward to the Horn of Africa as West Africa's wars began to wind down. Not surprisingly, the conduct of research in this kind of environment is not easily separated from the nonacademic aspects of war. There are no simple spectators in this kind of work. With the mundane process of research come the sudden rude anxieties that hit in the midst of chaos, or more typically in nighttime hours long after, or the impatient irritation at smooth-tongued spokespersons for the UN, various governments, and NGOs who never seem to act as effectively as one might wish. Then there are the desperate insults to one's soul that are integral to warfare.

Through these encounters with conflicts over the past two decades it has been through the networks of friends, hosts, brokers, and honest



protectors who have provided me with insights, suggestions, and criticisms that I have been able to keep focused on research for this book and for my other projects. I cannot imagine what research in the field would have been like without the guidance and companionship of these often sharp-minded people who opened their doors to me. I have benefited from their experience and wisdom, and the protection of those who have extended their hospitality. They and others have opened doors and directed me to others with whom I needed to speak. This short book does little justice to the emotion, intelligence, and fervor with which they spoke of their ideas, beliefs, and hopes for the future. One way for the guest to repay the host is through commitment to the promise of anonymity.

I am grateful to the many people who listened to my arguments, invited me to present my research, read my work, offered advice, and pressed me to refine my ideas. There are too many to list, so I single out a few. They include Ana Arjona, Christine Cheng, LaRay Denzer, Georgi Derluguian, Danny Hoffman, Nelson Kasfir, Stathis Kalyvas, Zachariah Mampilly, Ken Menkhaus, J-P Peltier, Jeff Rice, Øystein Rolandsen, Klaus Schlichte, Tom Sheperd, Jon Temin, and Christoph Zürcher.

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## Abbreviations

AAPSO	Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation
ACOA	American Committee on Africa
ADF	Allied Democratic Forces (Uganda)
ADFL	Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo (Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo)
AFL	Armed Forces of Liberia
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary [later, Ruling] Council (Sierra Leone)
ALF	Afar Liberation Front (Ethiopia)
ANC	African National Congress (South Africa)
AU	African Union
CANU	Caprivi African National Union
CCB	Civil Cooperation Bureau (South Africa)
CDF	Civil Defense Forces (Sierra Leone)
CIO	Central Intelligence Organisation (Rhodesia)
CNL	Conseil national de libération (National Liberation Council [Congo])
CODESRIA	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
CONCP	Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas (Conference of the Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies)
CYL	City Youth League (Southern Rhodesia / Zimbabwe)
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Force

EDU	Ethiopian Democratic Union
ELF	Eritrean Liberation Front
ELM	Eritrean Liberation Movement
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
ERA	Eritrean Relief Association
ERD	Emergency Relief Desk
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FAPC	Forces Armées pour le Congo (Armed Forces for Congo)
FARP	Forças Armadas Revolucionárias de Povo (Revolutionary Armed Forces of the People [Guinea-Bissau])
FDLR	Forces Démocratiques de la Libération du Rwanda (Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda)
FESCI	Fédération estudiantine et scolaire de Côte d'Ivoire (Federation of Students and Scholars of Ivory Coast)
FLCS	Front de Libération de la Côte des Somalis (Front for the Liberation of the Somali Coast [Djibouti])
FLEC	Front pour la Libération de l'Enclave de Cabinda (Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave [Angola])
FLGO	Forces de Libération du Grand Ouest (Front for the Liberation of the Grand West [Côte d'Ivoire])
FLING	Frente para a Libertação e Independência da Guiné Portuguesa (Front for the Liberation of Portuguese Guinea)
FNDIC	Federated Niger Delta Ijaw Communities
FNLA	Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (National Front for the Liberation of Angola)
FNLA-GRAE	Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola – Governo Revolucionário de Angola no Exílio (National Front for the Liberation of Angola – Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile)
FPI	Front populaire ivoirien (Ivorian Popular Front)
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique)
FROLIZI	Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe
FRONASA	Front for National Salvation (Uganda)
FUL	Frente Unida de Libertação (United Front for Liberation [Guinea-Bissau])

GRAE	Govêrno Revolucionário de Angola no Exílio (Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile)
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INPFL	Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia
IYC	Ijaw Youth Council (Nigeria)
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement (Sudan)
KANU	Kenya African National Union
LDF	Lofa Defense Force
LGA	Local Government Area (Nigeria)
LLA	Lesotho Liberation Army
LPC	Liberia Peace Council
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army (Uganda)
LURD	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy
MANU	Mozambique African National Union
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MISER	Makerere Institute of Social and Economic Research
MJP	Mouvement pour la justice et la paix (Movement for Justice and Peace [Côte d'Ivoire])
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation [South Africa])
MLC	Mouvement de Libération Congolais (Movement for the Liberation of Congo)
MLEC	Mouvement de Libération de l'Enclave de Cabinda (Liberation Movement for the Cabinda Enclave [Angola])
MNR	Mozambique National Resistance
MODEL	Movement for Democracy in Liberia
MOJA	Movement for Justice in Africa (Liberia)
MONUC	Mission de l'ONU en RD Congo (United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo)
MOSOP	Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (Nigeria)
MPIGO	Mouvement populaire ivoirien du Grand Ouest (Ivorian Popular Movement of the Great West [Côte d'Ivoire])
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola)

NDPVF	Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (Nigeria)
NDVS	Niger Delta Vigilante Service (Nigeria)
NFDLF	Northern Frontier District Liberation Front (Kenya)
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPRAG	National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Govern- ment
NRA	National Resistance Army (Uganda)
NRM	National Resistance Movement (Uganda)
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front (Ethiopia)
OPC	Oodua People's Congress (Nigeria)
OPO	Ovambo People's Organisation (Namibia)
ORA	Oromo Relief Association (Ethiopia)
OYM	Oodua Youth Movement (Nigeria)
PAC	Pan-African Congress (South Africa)
PAFMECSA	Pan-African Movement of East, Central, and South- ern Africa
PAIGC	Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde)
PAL	Progressive Alliance of Liberia
PDP	People's Democratic Party (Nigeria)
PF	Patriotic Front (Rhodesia / Zimbabwe)
PLAN	People's Liberation Army of Namibia
PUSIC	Parti de l'unité et la sauvegarde de l'intégrité du Congo (Party for Unity and Safeguarding of the Integrity of Congo)
RANU	Rwandan Alliance for National Unity
RCD	Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (Rally for Congolese Democracy [Congo])
RCD-ML	RCD-Mouvement de Libération (RCD-Movement for Liberation [Congo])
RDL	Rassemblement pour la démocratie et des libertés (Rally for Democracy and Liberty [Chad])
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Mozambican National Resistance)
REST	Relief Society of Tigray
RPA	Rwandan Patriotic Army
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front

## ABBREVIATIONS

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RUF	Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone)
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAP	South African Police
SASO	South African Students' Organisation
SDM	Somali Democratic Movement
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
SLA	Sudan Liberation Army
SNA	Somali National Alliance
SNF	Somali National Front
SNM	Somali National Movement
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPM	Somali Patriotic Movement
SRRA	Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association
SSDF	Somali Salvation Democratic Front
SSIM	Southern Sudan Independence Movement
STAR	Sudan Transitional Assistance Rehabilitation
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Liberation Organisation (Namibia)
SYL	SWAPO Youth League (Namibia)
TLF	Tigray Liberation Front
TNO	Tigray National Organization (Ethiopia)
TPD	Tous pour la Paix et le Développement (All for Peace and Development [Congo])
TPLF	Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (Ethiopia)
UDENAMO	União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique (National Democratic Union of Mozambique)
UDF	United Democratic Front (South Africa)
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence (Rhodesia / Zimbabwe)
UFM	Uganda Freedom Movement
ULAA	Union of Liberian Associations in America
ULIMO	United Liberation Movement for Democracy (Liberia)
UNAVEM	United Nations Angola Verification Mission
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)

UNITAF	Unified Task Force (UN-Somalia)
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UPA	União das Populações de Angola (Union of Angolan Peoples)
UPC	Union des Patriotes Congolais (Union of Congolese Patriots)
UPDF	Ugandan People's Defense Force
UPNA	Union of Peoples of Northern Angola
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USARF	University Students' African Revolutionary Front (University of Dar es Salaam)
USC	United Somali Congress
WFP	World Food Program
WHO	World Health Organization
WSLF	Western Somali Liberation Front
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZIPA	Zimbabwe People's Army
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army