II. The diversity of peace and war in Africa

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Africa has been the site of one-third of all the armed inter- and intra-state conflicts that have taken place since 1946.[2] Devastating wars, such as those in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Nigeria and South Sudan—are currently taking place on the African continent. But this bleak picture is not the whole story. In the 1980s, Southern Africa was ravaged by wars in Angola and Mozambique, among others. In the 1990s and the early years of the 21st century, the world was shocked by the brutal wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone. At present, however, Southern Africa has been spared large-scale violent conflicts for about two decades. West Africa, with the important exception of Mali, has also been less torn by armed conflict in the past decade. In addition, some countries, such as Botswana, Benin and Zambia, have remained peaceful since independence and others have only experienced brief spells of violent conflict.

This section examines the diversity of peace and war in Africa, analysing trends on the continent using information from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP). It uses UCDP's definition of state-based armed conflict and the UCDP's fatality threshold to distinguish between minor armed conflict and war.[3]

State-based armed conflict in Africa

What trends can be discerned with regard to violent conflict in Africa? An analysis of the patterns of state-based armed conflict in Africa over time shows that fairly few conflicts were fought in Africa in the immediate aftermath of World War II (see figure 4.1).

The only recorded armed conflict in the period 1946–51 was an independence uprising in Madagascar. This quest for sovereignty was brutally put down by France, which committed massacres of an estimated 100 000 people. Violence by colonial powers was also common in other

[2] Themnér, L. and Wallensteen, P., 'Armed conflicts, 1946–2013', *Journal of Peace Research,* vol. 51, no. 4 (2014), pp. 541–54.

[3] State-based armed conflicts involve one state in conflict with either another state or with a non-state actor in the form of an opposition organization, which causes at least 25 fatalities in a calendar year. The figure distinguishes between two levels of intensity: *minor armed conflicts,* which cause at least 25 battle-related deaths in a calendar year; and *wars,* leading to at least 1000 battle-related deaths in a calendar year. UCDP definition, see <www.ucdp.uu.se/definitions>. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 use data from the UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset v.4.-2014a, 1946–2013, available at <www.ucdp.uu.se>. For an overview of the data see Themnér and Wallensteen (note 2).
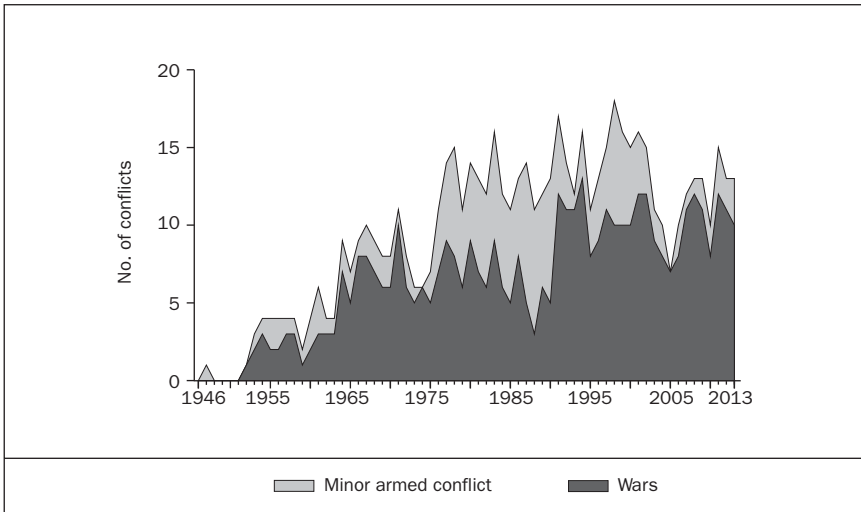
Figure 4.1. Minor armed conflicts and wars in Africa, 1946–2013

African countries but, since this violence was primarily structural and did not involve fighting between two belligerents, such instances are not reported in the UCDP dataset on armed conflict. The number of conflicts steadily increased from the early-1950s until the second half of the 1970s. It then levelled out, albeit with year-on-year fluctuations, until the early 2000s when the number of conflicts decreased until 2005. There has been a renewed upward trend in recent years. While this is cause for concern, it is important to note the positive change in relation to the most intensive category of conflict, war, which varied between zero and three in 2002–13—substantially lower than in earlier decades (the figure was seven in 1978 and 1983; eight in 1988, 1990 and 1998; and nine in 1987).

In the period 1946–2013, Africa has steadily increased its share of the total number of state-based armed conflicts in the world (see figure 4.2).[4] It decreased in the late 1980s and during the early 1990s but increased again after 1993, except in 2005 when the number of African conflicts was par-

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[4] Africa is even more dominant with regard to other forms of violent conflict. Since 1989—the year from which this data is available—Africa has experienced 75% of the world's conflicts between non-state groups. These primarily consist of two different types of conflict: different rebel factions that fight against each other, or communal conflicts that are fought between groups organized along a communal identity. Africa is the most affected region with regard to both these types of non-state conflict. It is even more predominant with regard to communal conflict. Of the 250 unique conflicts, some of which were active for more than one year, 86% were located in Africa. In addition, since 1989, more than 90% of the fatalities in violence deliberately targeting civilians have been in Africa. The 1994 genocide in Rwanda accounts for a large share of this violence. See the UCDP One-sided Violence Dataset, 1989–2013, <http://www.ucdp.uu.se>; for an overview of the data see Eck, K. and Hultman, L., 'One-sided violence against civilians in war: insights from new fatality data', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 44, no. 2 (2007), pp. 233–46.
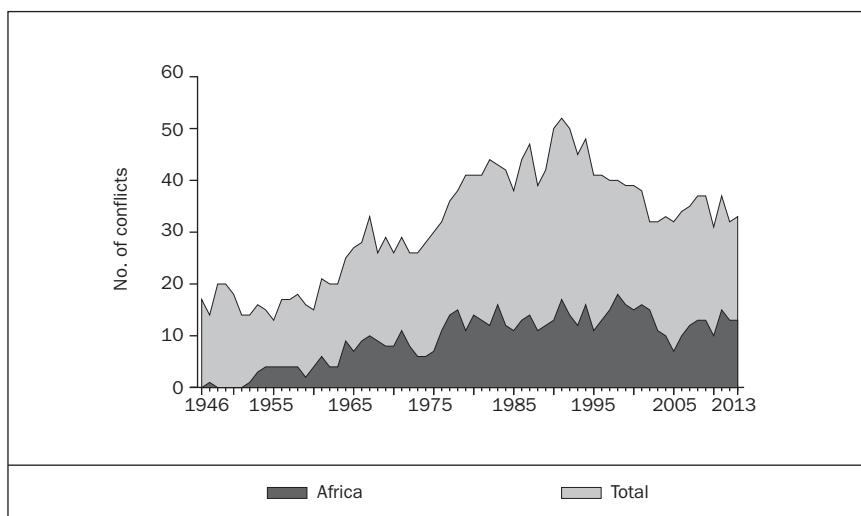
Figure 4.2. Armed conflicts in Africa and the world, 1946–2013

ticularly low. These shifts are not predominantly due to sharp changes in the number of African conflicts during these years, but a result of the increasing number of conflicts in the late 1980s and early 1990s in the rest of the world. After 1993, however, the total number of conflicts in the world was in decline until 2004, and then remained at approximately the same level. The same is not true of Africa, however, where no clear increase or decrease can be observed in the past two decades.

Wars for independence

Some of Africa's armed conflicts need to be understood as part of the dynamics of the cold war. However, a commonly overlooked part of Africa's history is that it was also an important site of conflict during the two world wars. Several regions of Africa were battlegrounds during World War I. Operations were launched by the German and Ottoman empires, and there were also campaigns by the allied forces against the German colonies and local rebellions against the colonial masters. It is estimated that more than 2 million Africans were directly involved in World War I as soldiers, workers and porters.[5] Several important battles were fought in North Africa during World War II, and England and France recruited many soldiers from their colonies to fight in Europe, Asia and North Africa. The experience of fighting abroad also inspired change at home.

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[5] Enaudeau, J. and Kathleen Bomani, K., 'The World War One in Africa project: What happened in Africa should not stay in Africa', Africa is a Country, 30 July 2014, <http://africasacountry.com/the-world-war-i-project>.

An important story of peace and war in Africa is the struggle for independence from colonial rule. After Liberia and Ethiopia, which were never formally colonized, Libya and Egypt were the first two African states to gain independence, in 1951 and 1952, respectively. They were followed by Ghana, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and Guinea, which gained their independence in the late 1950s. The main year of independence was 1960, however, when 17 countries became independent—most as a result of non-violent liberation struggles.[6] However, in some countries the path to sovereignty was extremely violent. In Kenya, the Mau Mau uprising (1952–56) is classified as a war between 1953 and 1956. There was fighting between Mau Mau fighters and the British, and massacres were carried out by the British in an attempt to quell the uprising. In West and North Africa, France faced violent campaigns for freedom in Morocco (1953–56), Tunisia (1953–56), Algeria (1954–62), Cameroon (1957–59) and Mauritania (1956–58). Morocco became independent in 1957, but Spain kept control over some parts (now Western Sahara), which resulted in conflict in 1957. All these armed conflicts resulted in independence for the African countries.[7] Of the 39 countries that gained independence during the 1950s and 1960s, the liberation struggle did not escalate into armed conflict in 32 of them (82 per cent).

This is in sharp contrast to how violent the paths to sovereignty were for those countries that sought independence after the end of the 1960s. Seven of these 12 countries (58 per cent) achieved independence only after violent conflict.[8] In three of these, Portugal was the colonial power; its refusal to let go of its colonies led to protracted violent conflicts in Guinea Bissau (1963–73), Angola (1961–74) and Mozambique (1964–74). When the military dictatorship in Portugal was ousted in 1974, however, these conflicts ceased and the countries gained their independence.[9] In Zimbabwe, the white minority regime unilaterally declared Southern Rhodesia's independence from the United Kingdom in 1965. This led to a protracted conflict (1967–68, 1973–79) with black nationalist parties, and independence and majority rule in 1980. The longest struggle for independence took place in Namibia, where the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) fought South Africa between 1966 and 1988, and the country did not gain independence until 1990. South Africa deserves special mention

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[6] The 17 countries are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameron, Central African Republic, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gabon, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Republic of Congo, Senegal, Somalia and Togo.

[7] UCDP, UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia , Uppsala University, 2014.

[8] The 5 countries that achieved independence peacefully were Comoros (1974, from France), Cabo Verde (1975, from Portugal), São Tomé and Principe (1975, from Portugal), the Seychelles (1976, from the UK) and Djibouti (1977, from France).

[9] Another important dimension of the conflicts in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, and Zimbabwe was that in these colonies the European settler minority restricted the political freedoms of the African majority, to a larger extent than in other colonies.

with regard to its struggle for liberation. Although South Africa became fully sovereign from the UK in 1931, the white minority kept control of the country, and institutionalized racial segregation from 1948 in order to repress the black majority. The struggle for full liberation, at times violent, continued until 1994, when the first democratic elections were held. The two most recently independent countries—Eritrea and South Sudan—achieved their independence in 1993 and 2011, respectively, after protracted, and intensive, fighting against other African countries, most notably Ethiopia and Sudan.

The dynamics of the cold war in conflicts in Africa

Another influencing factor in the trajectory of armed conflict on the African continent was the dynamics of the cold war, in which local conflicts became entangled with the global war between the United States and the Soviet Union. In Angola, for instance, the independence agreement collapsed, resulting in a civil war between the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The conflict became heavily internationalized. The MPLA received Cuban and Soviet assistance, while UNITA was assisted by the USA and South Africa. Similar dynamics were at play in post-independence Mozambique, which led to a brutal civil war in 1977–92. In the Horn of Africa, the rivalry between the two superpowers was extensive and control over Somalia—with its strategic location on the Red Sea—was seen as particularly important. The Soviet Union backed Somalia's independence efforts in 1960 until the late 1970s, but Soviet support came to an abrupt end when war over the Ogaden region broke out between Somalia and Ethiopia, which was another ally of the Soviet Union.[10] In 1977 Somalia took advantage of the internal turmoil in Ethiopia to conquer most of the Ogaden region. Ethiopia—with strong support from Cuban soldiers and Soviet military advisers—succeeded in recovering the territory in 1978. The break with the Soviet Union led Siad Barre (the dictator who ruled Somalia from 1969 until 1991) to turn to the USA for support, which he received until 1989. The fighting between Somalia and Ethiopia reached the intensity level of a war in 1977 and 1978 before fighting ceased after a deal between the USA and the Soviet Union. The Ogaden conflict continues to the present day, however, with rebel groups fighting the Ethiopian Government for independence. Cold war dynamics also played an important role in the DRC (then Zaire). After the DRC gained its independence in 1960 a series of crises broke out, including a secessionist war in Katanga. US fears of Soviet domination in Central Africa led it to

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[10] Ogaden is part of Ethiopia but most of the people who live there are ethnic Somalis.

support actors opposed to the Eastern bloc. Mobutu Sese Seko took power in a coup backed by the USA and Belgium in 1965. Despite brutal human rights violations and extreme levels of corruption, Mobutu remained a close ally of the USA throughout the cold war and his 32-year rule.

African conflicts since the end of the cold war

Globally, the transition from the cold war to the post-cold war era was particularly violent, but the number of armed conflicts in the world has declined since the mid-1990s. Africa has not followed this trend. Instead, the number of conflicts has fluctuated since the mid-1970s, and there were more than 15 conflicts per year in 1991, 1997–2002 and 2011 (see figure 4.2). Conflicts since the end of the cold war represent different types of dynamics, including issues related to state–society relations and the politics of regime survival.[11] In more popular terms, phrases such as state failure, ethnic conflict and resource curse, as well as neo-patrimonialism, have been used to capture the underlying forces at play. Other important factors include the international dimension of these conflicts and how rebel groups secure funding. All these factors interplay but the importance of each varies according to country. Moreover, some countries stand out in terms of severity and the number of battle-related fatalities (see table 4.1).

The Eritrea–Ethiopia war is by far the most violent conflict to have taken place in Africa since the end of the cold war. Although only active for three years (1998–2000), almost 100 000 people were killed. The intensity of this conflict exemplifies the general rule that interstate conflicts are usually more intensive than intrastate conflicts, since the belligerents have access to national armies. Similarly, conflicts with foreign involvement tend to increase the number of fatalities, as this reinforces the fighting ability of the rebels. In all the countries in table 4.1, foreign troops have contributed secondary war-fighting troops for at least part of the conflict. Thus, in the years foreign states are involved in these conflicts, they are categorized as intrastate conflicts with foreign involvement—or internationalized using the UCDP criteria.[12]

Even when outside countries are not directly involved in the fighting, they can play a crucial rule by providing support to the warring parties. In Sudan, for instance, various neighbouring countries have provided support to different rebel groups for most of the years in which the conflict has been active. However, it was only in 2003 that the conflict was coded as internationalized—the year Chadian troops fought alongside Sudanese

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[11] Williams, P. D. *War and Conflict in Africa* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011).

[12] The UCDP codes secondary warring parties for each year, which means that the same conflict can be coded as an intrastate conflict in one year and an internationalized conflict in another, if a secondary warring party has been involved in the fighting.

Table 4.1. Countries in Africa with most fatalities, 1992–2013

Country	Number of fatalities in state-based armed conflicts[a]
Eritrea, Ethiopia	98 192
Sudan	35 781
Angola	24 707
Algeria	18 450
Democratic Republic of the Congo (Zaire)	17 412
Somalia	14 860
Congo	14 176
Sierra Leone	10 025
Uganda	9 401
Burundi	8 317

[a] The table reports best estimates.

Sources: This data is compiled from the UCDP Battle-related Deaths Dataset v.5-2014, Uppsala Conflict Data Program, <http://www.ucdp.uu.se>. Note that the UCDP only counts people directly killed by warfare and not indirect deaths. Since this table reports fatalities in state-based armed conflict, Rwanda is not on the list. Most of the victims of the 1994 genocide were killed in one-sided violence, which is violence targeting civilians by one organized armed actor rather than a battle between two armed groups.

Government troops. Moreover, until 2003 most of the fighting had taken place in South Sudan. For the past decade, however, Darfur has been the epicentre of the fighting in Sudan. The conflict in Darfur has involved large-scale atrocities, including gender-based violence such as the systematic rape of women and girls, and it is government and government-affiliated militias that carry out most of these human rights violations. South Sudan, which gained its independence in 2011, has again been ravaged by intense fighting since December 2013.

Secondary support was also a significant dimension in the Algerian civil war, where the government was supported by various neighbouring countries in its fight against Islamic groups while the rebels were supported with arms from Sudan in the late 1990s and allegedly also by Iran. Similar dynamics of secondary support contributing to conflict intensity can be found in Burundi and Uganda, where the intrastate conflicts became embroiled in regional tensions. The prime example of foreign involvement, however, is the DRC, where the conflict has been described as 'Africa's First World War', due to the extraordinary number of African countries that were involved in the fighting either by contributing their own troops or by providing support to the main belligerents. The humanitarian consequences of the war in the DRC have been devastating and if indirect deaths were included—for instance due to disease and starvation—the conflict would be placed much higher up the list. The DRC and Somalia are two prime examples of state failure. Another way for rebels to secure revenues,

which is a prerequisite for their ability fight intensive conflicts, is to capture valuable natural resources. Rebels captured diamond-producing areas in Angola, DRC and Sierra Leone, which contributed to the intensity of these conflicts.

Peace in Africa since independence

Since the end of World War II, 10 of Africa's 54 states have been spared armed conflict altogether: Benin, Botswana, Cabo Verde, Equatorial Guinea, Malawi, Mauritius, Sao Tomé and Principe, the Seychelles, Swaziland and Zambia. Admittedly, these countries have not been entirely free of violence, such as communal conflict and state repression, but in none of these countries have state-based armed conflicts escalated to more than 25 deaths per year.

In addition to the countries that have been completely free of state-based conflict, several African countries have only been involved in short episodes of conflict. For instance there was a brief civil war in Gabon in 1964, but it has been peaceful since then. Tanzania's history is also predominantly peaceful. Its main disruptions have been an armed dispute with Uganda over the Kagera Salient in 1978, supporting Ugandan rebels to oust Ugandan President Idi Amin in the late 1970s and election-related violence in semi-autonomous Zanzibar, but it has experienced no civil war. There was a violent military coup in Kenya in 1982, and the country has been plagued by communal conflict and electoral violence in recent decades, but there has been no large-scale state-based armed conflict. A disputed election result in 1998 triggered a mutiny by an army faction in Lesotho, which led to an intrastate conflict followed by a short, effective regional peacekeeping operation. As is noted above, Zimbabwe and Namibia achieved independence later than most countries in sub-Saharan Africa. While both have been at peace since independence, the regime of President Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe has been harsh, and more than 250 civilians were killed in state-sponsored violence against supporters of the opposition following elections in 2008. In North Africa, Tunisia is the country that has experienced the least amount of conflict. A brief conflict in 1980 is the only one to interrupt its peaceful history. Tunisia also constitutes the most positive example of the Arab Spring. The ousting of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in 2011 was relatively peaceful, and democratic developments have been more promising than in other countries involved in the Arab Spring.[13]

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[13] Allansson, M., Sollenberg M. and Themnér, L., 'Armed conflict in the wake of the Arab Spring', *SIPRI Yearbook 2013*.

Table 4.2. Termination of African conflicts, 1946–2012[a]

Years	Victory	Settlement	Other[b]	Total
1946–60	4	1	1	**6**
1961–70	13	1	3	**17**
1971–80	12	5	5	**22**
1981–90	13	3	11	**27**
1991–2000	6	19	21	**46**
2001–12	7	17	21	**45**
Total	**55**	**46**	**62**	**163**

[a] This table includes terminations of colonial, interstate and intrastate conflicts. Note that the periods are not equal in length.
[b] This category includes conflict endings that are not due to a settlement or a victory by one of the parties, e.g. cases where fighting continues, but does not reach the threshold for being classified as an armed conflict (i.e. 25 battle-related deaths in a year), cases where one of the parties withdraws for tactical reasons or cases where one party switches to non-violent strategies. In addition, conflicts may end if a party ceases to exist because it has been defeated in another conflict, or because it no longer contests the incompatibility in question. See Kreutz, J., 'How and when armed conflicts end: introducing the UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 47, no. 2 (2010), pp. 243–50.

Zones of peace

Conflicts usually cluster in certain areas, either because countries in a region share structural characteristics that make them conflict-prone or because violence spreads from one state to another. From this perspective, Botswana, Malawi and Zambia constitute an interesting 'zone of peace' that has been resilient against both external and internal causes of conflict. Surrounded by seven neighbouring countries that have all experienced armed conflicts, they are located in a 'bad neighbourhood' among 'bad neighbours', which implies an increased risk of conflict. Furthermore, these countries share national characteristics related to a higher risk of conflict, such as political instability and low levels of income.[14] This is particularly true of Malawi and Zambia, which are among the poorest countries in the world and have undergone dramatic shifts between autocratic and democratic rule. A combination of factors explains the persistence of peace in these countries. For instance, Zambia's 50 years of peace must be seen against a historical background of the nature of colonialism and of its struggle for independence, which was based on civil disobedience rather than armed struggle. Furthermore, the policies of President Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's first president, which included a tactic of ethnic balancing, and the experience of witnessing the devastating effects of war on its

[14] Brown, M. E. (ed.), *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (MIT Press: Cambridge, MA, 1996); and Hegre, H. and N. Sambanis, 'Sensitivity analysis of empirical results on civil war onset', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 50, no. 508 (2006).

neighbours appear to have prevented the militarization of conflict. Finally, a tradition of reaching broad negotiated agreements in times of crisis, such as on the reintroduction of multi-party politics in 1991, is important to understanding Zambia's record of peace.

Ending armed conflict in Africa

To provide further insights into the diversity of peace and conflict in Africa, it is useful to look at how conflicts end. This section uses data on conflict termination from the UCDP covering the period 1946–2012 (see table 4.2).[15] The data includes 163 conflict terminations on the African continent. Termination is defined as a conflict becoming inactive for at least one year. Thus, a conflict may have several terminations.

Peace settlements terminated 46 episodes of conflict (28 per cent), 55 (34 per cent) ended in victory and 62 (38 per cent) ended for other reasons. In the entire time period, 70 per cent of the episodes of intrastate conflict that ended in victory saw the government prevail. Opposition groups have grown increasingly successful over time. Rebel groups were victorious in only 15 per cent of the conflicts between 1946 and 1980, but prevailed over the government in 45 per cent of the recorded victories between 1981 and 2012.

It is interesting to note that negotiated settlements have become more common since the 1990s, as a result of the international community's shift in policies following the end of cold war rivalry. The number of United Nations peacekeeping operations in Africa significantly increased.

Taken together, these developments resulted in remarkable change in Southern Africa. In the 1970s and 1980s the region was a hotspot for some of the world's most violent conflicts. Following Namibia's independence in 1990, the peace agreements in South Africa which paved the way for majority rule in 1994 and the peace agreement in Mozambique in 1992, fighting in the region decreased sharply. Although peace agreements were also signed in Angola at the end of the cold war, it was more than a decade later, in 2002, that fighting ceased. Since then the region has experienced no large-scale armed conflicts and only a few of fairly low intensity—the territorial conflict over Cabinda in Angola, last active in 2009, and a return to violence in Mozambique in 2013 when some disgruntled Renamo soldiers clashed with the Mozambique Army. However, peace agreements are no guarantee of conflict termination. For instance, a peace agreement to end the civil war was signed in Rwanda in August 1993, just nine months before the genocide. Another noteworthy peace agreement is the Accra Peace

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[15] Kreutz, J., 'How and when armed conflicts end: introducing the UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 47, no. 2 (2010), pp. 243–50.
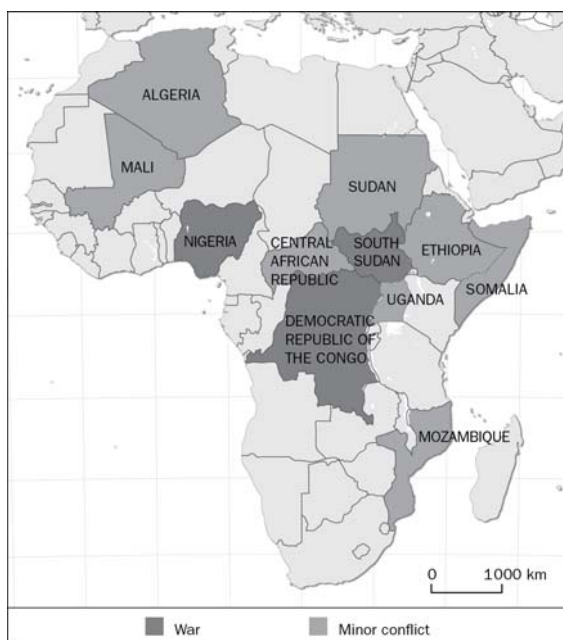
Figure 4.3. Map of conflicts in Africa, 2013

Source: The data is from the UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset v.4.-2014a 1946–2013, <www.ucdp.uu.se>. For an overview of the data, see Gleditsch, N.P. et al., 'Armed conflict 1946–2001: A new dataset', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 39, no. 5 (2002), 615–37.

Agreement, which ended the civil war in Liberia in 2003. During the peace process, a women-led movement put pressure on the warring parties to return to the negotiation table when talks had stalled.

However, the trend has shifted in recent years. No conflicts were terminated by peace settlements between 2009 and 2012. This constitutes a worrying development, in which coercion instead of agreement has become the preferred option. Negotiated settlements and victories work through fundamentally different logics: settlements emphasize benefits for all as a means to achieve peace while victories create stability through the suppression of one side. This dynamic creates a highly asymmetrical peace-building context in which one party is clearly dominant.[16] The long-term implications of such post-war contexts remain unclear.

[16] Licklider, R., 'The consequences of negotiated settlements in civil wars, 1945–1993', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 89, no. 3 (1995), pp. 681–90; and Toft, M. D., *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ, 2010).

Looking ahead

In 2013, three African countries—the DRC, Nigeria and South Sudan—experienced armed conflict at the intensity of war (see figure 4.3). Eight other countries—Algeria, the Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Mali, Mozambique, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda—witnessed minor armed conflicts.[17] Many of these conflicts will remain key challenges to peace in Africa in the coming years. There is cause for concern, for instance, in Nigeria, where Boko Haram has created turmoil in the north of the country by escalating its attacks and committing atrocities, such as the kidnap of more than 200 schoolgirls and the use of teenage girls and young women as suicide bombers. The civil war seems likely to continue in South Sudan. International military efforts to combat the activities of al-Shabab in Somalia have made some progress in recent years, but the organization has repeatedly shown the strength to carry out attacks not only in Somalia, but also in Kenya. The 2014 ceasefire in Mali has been broken, and the renewed violence has also targeted peacekeepers. In addition, the Ebola epidemic in West Africa in 2014 could have a destabilizing effect in a region that has seen many positive developments in recent years.

Apart from the countries mentioned above, there were no state-based armed conflicts in 80 per cent of all African countries in 2013 (see figure 4.3).[18] These countries were also free of non-state conflicts—with the exception of Egypt, Guinea and Kenya—and of one-sided violence, with the exception of Cameroon. Thus, in 2013, 39 of the 54 African states (72 per cent) were spared any of the types of collective violence recorded by the UCDP.

Mapping peace and war in Africa produces a diverse picture. Some countries have been spared conflict altogether since independence, whereas others have been plagued by conflict for decades. Regional variations and shifts over time suggest different dynamics at play, which is important to acknowledge. While many conflicts may seem exceedingly protracted, things can change. Sandy Wade, for instance, a military advisor to the European Union delegation to the African Union, notes that 'people who have given up on Somalia should know that how we talk about Somalia now is exactly how we talked about Mozambique in the 1980s'.[19]

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[17] The data is from the UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset v.4.-2014a, 1946–2013, available at <http://www.ucdp.uu.se>. For an overview of the data see Gleditsch, N.P. et al., 'Armed conflict, 1946–2001: a new dataset', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 39, no. 5 (2002), pp. 615–37.

[18] UCDP, UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia , Uppsala University, 2014.

[19] Sandy Wade, military advisor to the European Union delegation to the African Union, interview with the authors, Juba, 14 Oct. 2011.