Toyin Falola and Adebayo O. Oyebade

HOT SPOT

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

HOT SPOT HISTORIES

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藏书章

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Hot Spot Histories

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Preface

Most parts of Africa are peaceful. For most of its history, peoples and communities have lived in peace and harmony. Kinships, organized into villages, towns, and cities, sustained themselves on the deliberate strategy of building cohesion, resolving conflicts in a peaceful and amicable way, and preventing long-term hostility that can damage the social fabric.

However, the continent also manifests serious contradictions. To start with, the past is full of accounts of wars and violence. The process of building states, kingdoms, and empires required the use of the military. Once created, the states were successful in maintaining peace and political stability over a wider region. Kings and chiefs must protect their citizens to claim legitimacy and relevance.

The most traumatic moment began with the encounters with the outside world. Whether it was trade across the Sahara, the Atlantic, or the Indian Ocean, all involved the traffic in human beings. Slaves were produced by violence—raiding expeditions and wars resulted in war captives who lost their citizenship and were transported to distant lands. African wars in the age of slavery undermined their humanity, care, and concern for one another. With firearms supplied from Europe, they became more bloody and ruthless than ever before.

The ending of the trans-Atlantic slave trade saw the transition to the European colonization of Africa after 1885. Wars of conquest and wars of resistance were many. Modern Africa was a product of violence and wars. To regain its sovereignty, another moment of crisis ensued after World War II. Anti-colonial nationalism led to the violent Mau Mau uprisings in Kenya and the Algerian War of Independence, both in the 1950s; the prolonged wars in all the Portuguese-speaking colonies in

the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s; and the bitter and costly anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa that ended in the 1990s.

As we enter the contemporary period, a number of places became "hot spots" as captured in this book. The themes explored in this book reflect a number of issues:

1. the inability to resolve past historical conflicts (e.g., Sudan);
2. the inability to resolve the management of plural ethnic societies (e.g., civil wars in Nigeria, Niger, Sierra Leone, and Liberia);
3. the inability to manage the crises of racial identity (Darfur, Mauritania);
4. the inability to integrate a dual ethnic society (Rwanda where the Hutu and Tutsi have a weak integrative political order);
5. conditions that promote secessionist movements (Ethiopia and Eritrea, Biafra and Nigeria, Katanga in the Congo, etc.);
6. contested ideologies and nationalism, expressed as ethnic and religious fundamentalism (Sudan, Nigeria, Uganda, Burundi, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone);
7. armed struggles by oppositional forces (insurrections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan, Uganda);
8. Foreign intervention (removal or assassination of political leaders);
9. the Cold War;
10. resource curse, a situation where abundance of strategic materials such as oil, diamonds, and gold promote instability (Sierra Leone, Angola, Congo); and
11. underdevelopment and struggles over limited resources (e.g., Liberia).

"Hot spots" will not stay "hot" forever. The search for peace is inevitable. The narrative of peace is unavoidable. The narrative of peace has to replace the narrative of war. We would like to offer our humble suggestions to promote peace. Sustainable development represents the starting point. Poverty is one of the key roots of the problem. Those in power manifest an uncontrollable degree of greed that complicates the ability to manage resources to take care of the majority of the population. Those who have tasted power and have seen the rewards and privileges of it want to stay in power. Those who are out of power see the need to get it, not necessarily because they want to serve the public with honesty and dedication but because they want to loot. Violence is justified in pursuit of the dream. Democracy, if it is genuine, can promote peace.

Where there is oil, diamonds, and gold, foreign companies will always set their eyes on them. Without internal mechanisms to protect

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a country, it will fall prey into the hands of ruthless merchants who form an alliance with corrupt local politicians. The solution to this serious problem is transparency in collecting revenues and accountability in spending them.

Governments at regional and international levels have a responsibility to protect the lives of innocent people, to prevent wars, and to create conditions to promote peace. Regional integration of the continent into powerful blocs and subsequently a continental one will put an end to bloodshed. Responsible governments must be committed to peace at all levels. Corrupt and authoritarian governments provoke conflicts and opposition. Effective democracy, which allows representatives from ethnic and religious groups to participate in decision making, will reduce conflicts.

It remains for us to thank a few people who made this book a reality. Ms. Carrie Lett, editorial assistant at Greenwood, commissioned the project. For Adebayo Oyebade, this is his second book with Greenwood. For Toyin Falola, this is his eighth book. We remain permanently grateful and appreciative of their efforts to promote African scholarship. Greenwood's Culture and Customs of Africa Series, for which Falola acts as its editor, is pretty well established. Next, we have to thank our supportive wives (Bisi and Sade) and children, the pillars of support. In our various universities, valuable friends and colleagues have encouraged and inspired us. Toyin Falola is grateful to the friendship and support of Professor Niyi Afolabi of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese Studies, the University of Texas at Austin. Adebayo Oyebade would like to acknowledge the encouragement of his friends and colleagues: Dr. Moses Ochonu of Vanderbilt University, and Dr. Erik Schmeller, Dr. Sheri Brown, Dr. Gashawbeza Bekele, Dr. Daniel Gibran, and Dr. Michael Bertrand of Tennessee State University.

Toyin Falola and Adebayo Oyebade
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Abbreviations

ACRI	African Crisis Response Initiative
ADFLC	Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire
AFL	Armed Forces of Liberia
AFRC	Armed Forces Ruling Council (of Sierra Leone)
AFRICOM	Africa Command
AG	Action Group
AMIS	African Union Mission in Sudan
ANC	African National Congress
ANP	Afrikaner National Party
BIAGEN	Biafran Committee for Prevention of Genocide
DRC	Democratic Republic Congo
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDU	Ethiopian Democratic Union
ELF	Eritrean Liberation Front
EO	Executive Outcomes
EPLF	Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
FDLR	Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda
FLEC	Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda
FLS	Frontline States
FN	*Forces Nouvelles de Côte d'Ivoire* (New Forces)
FNLA	*Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola* (National Front for the Liberation of Angola)
FRELIMO	*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique)

HSM	Holy Spirit Movement
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICU	Islamic Courts Union
IGADD	Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INPFL	Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia
IRC	International Rescue Committee
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement
LDF	Lofa Defense Force
LPC	Liberia Peace Council
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
LURD	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MFDC	Movement of Democratic Forces in the Casamance
MJP	*Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix* (Movement for Justice and Peace)
MODEL	Movement for Democracy in Liberia
MOSOP	Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People
MPIGO	*Mouvement Populaire Ivoirien du Grand Ouest* (Ivorian Popular Movement of the Great West)
MPLA	*Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
MRU	Mano River Union
NADECO	National Democratic Coalition
NCNC	National Council of Nigerian Citizens
NDPVF	Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NLC	Nigeria Labor Congress
NMOG	Neutral Military Observer Group
NNDP	Nigerian National Democratic Party
NPC	Northern People's Congress
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPFL-CRC	National Patriotic Front of Liberia-Central Revolutionary Council
NRM	National Resistance Movement
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ONUMOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique
OPC	Oodua People's Congress
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OPO	Ovamboland People's Organization
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PLAN	People's Liberation Army of Namibia

PLUA	*Partido da Luta Unida dos Africanos de Angola* (Party of the United Struggle for Africans in Angola)
RCD	Rally for Congolese Democracy
RENAMO	*Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (Mozambican National Resistance)
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADF	South African Defense
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SASM	South African Students' Movement
SASO	South African Students' Organization
SCNC	Southern Cameroons National Council
SLM	Sudan Liberation Movement
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SPM	Somali Patriotic Movement
SWANU	South West Africa National Union
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front
UANC	United African National Council
ULIMO	United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	African Union-United Nations Mission in Darfur
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNITA	*União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)
UNLA	Uganda National Liberation Army
UNMEE	United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNOMIL	United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia
UNOMSIL	United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone
UNOMUR	United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

Timeline of Selected Conflicts

1054	The *al-Murabethin* (or Almoravid), an Islamic movement of the Sanhaja Berbers, launches a jihad against the ancient empire of Ghana. The invasion leads to the demise of the empire.
1235	Sundiata Keita, a Mandinka prince, defeats the oppressive ruler of the Sosso Kingdom, Sumanguru Kanté, at the Battle of Kirina. This defeat marks the beginning of the rise of the Mali Empire.
1450s	The European slave trade in Africa across the Atlantic begins. The procurement of slaves in West and Southwest Africa causes intercommunal violence.
1591	The empire of Songhai is defeated by the better-equipped army of the sultan of Morocco. At the Battle of Tondibi, the noted Western Sudanese center of scholarship and trade, Timbuktu, is captured and looted.
1630s	The woman ruler of Ndongo Kingdom, Nzinga Mbande, leads resistance struggle against Portugal's imperial design.
1650s	Expansion of Dutch and other European settlers in the Cape region of Southern Africa leads to systematic destruction of the Khoisan.
1720s	Islamist revivalist movements in Western Sudan lead to the establishment of the imamates of Futa Jallon, Bondu, and Futa Toro.

1723	In South Africa, the Boers engage the Xhosa in a series of frontier wars.
1748	The powerful Yoruba cavalry state of Oyo invades and subdues Dahomey Kingdom.
1804–1809	Fulani revolutionary leader, Uthman dan Fodio, leads a jihad in Hausaland against the non-Muslim Hausa rulers. The jihadists triumph at the Battle of Alkalawa in 1808, and an Islamic empire, the Sokoto Caliphate, is created in present-day northern Nigeria.
1807	The British Parliament outlaws the Atlantic slave trade. A year later, the United States ends the trade. However, illegal trafficking of slaves across the Atlantic continues.
1810	Muslim cleric Seku Ahmadu Lobbo leads an Islamic revolution against the non-Muslim state of Macina. The jihad results in the establishment of a theocratic state in present-day Mali.
1820s	Southern Africa witnesses disturbances called *Mfecane* (or *difaqane*) as a result of a number of factors including Zulu militarism, regional power struggles, and competition over scarce resources.
1830–1893	Yorubaland is plagued by intergroup civil wars. The British intervention in the Kiriji/Ekitiparapo War in 1886 brings the conflicts to an end. However, communal tensions continue well into the end of the nineteenth century when the entire region came under British imperial control.
1837	Fulani jihadists invade the Yoruba kingdom of Oyo, sacking its capital, Oyo-Ile.
1850–1861	An Islamic revolution, the Tijaniyya Jihad, led by al-Hajj Umar against the Bambara states of Segu and Kaarta, leads to the establishment of an Islamic empire striding parts of present-day Mali and Burkina Faso.
1861	The piecemeal but violent process of the British occupation of Nigeria commences with the establishment of a consulate in Lagos.
1879	The bloody Anglo-Zulu War ends the independence of the Zulu nation. The state is incorporated into the British Empire.
1881	The Mahdist revolt in Sudan begins, aimed at liberating Sudan from Turkish, Egyptian, and

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	eventually British control. Anglo-Egyptian forces nip the Islamic insurgence in the bud by 1898.
1885	The Belgian monarch, King Leopold II, claims the Congo Free State as his personal fiefdom. Repressive rule over the territory begins.
1892	France conquers Dahomey and establishes its control over that area of West Africa.
1896	The Italian army is defeated by the Ethiopians at the Battle of Adwa (Adowa) in the first Italo-Ethiopian War.
1897	In the so-called "Punitive Expedition," British forces invade Benin, capital of the great empire of Benin. The city is looted and much of its rich art, including its famous bronze work, is destroyed or carted away by the invading forces.
1898	Samori ibn Touré's resistance against the French imperial interest collapses. His Mandinka state in present-day Republic of Guinea becomes a part of the budding French empire in West Africa.
1899–1902	The bloody Second Anglo-Boer War brings the Boer republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State under British control. Earlier effort in the First Anglo-Boer War of 1880–1881 had failed to achieve this.
1905–1907	In the Maji Maji Rebellion in Tanganyika (now Tanzania), Africans violently resist colonial German policies.
1929	Women of Aba in southeastern Nigeria stage an anti-tax revolt against the colonial government.
1935	Fascist Italy invades Ethiopia, the only African nation in the League of Nations, sparking the Second Italo-Ethiopian War, which led to Italian military occupation of Ethiopia for five years.
1941	Ethiopia is liberated by British troops, ending Italian occupation.
1948–1994	South Africa is ruled by white minority regimes under the virulently racist and oppressive apartheid system. The African population reacts by a long but successful anti-apartheid struggle.
1951–1956	A violent uprising in Kenya by the Mau Mau (land and freedom army) forces the British authority to initiate reforms to the colonial system.

1955–1972	The first phase of the long and devastating Sudanese Civil War occurs.
1960	Anti-apartheid campaign in South Africa in the 1960s becomes more militant. On March 21, South African police murdered 69 unarmed anti-pass laws protesters in the township of Sharpeville. The Sharpeville Massacre is one of the most violent acts perpetrated by the apartheid government against blacks.
1960–1965	The first major post-independence conflict in Africa, the Congo Crisis, occurs. The Congolese prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, is murdered. The crisis is escalated by extra-African intervention driven by Cold War ideological consideration.
1960–1966	Nigeria's first republic is engulfed in a political crisis, leading to the first military intervention in national politics.
1961	In South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) forms an armed wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, in June. The force commences armed resistance in December.
1961–1974	Bloody war of national liberation occurs in the Portuguese colony of Angola, culminating in independence on November 11, 1975.
1961–1991	Eritrean separatists fight a war for independence against the Ethiopian government. Eritrea is granted independence on May 24, 1993.
1963–1973	National liberation war against Portuguese colonialism is fought in Guinea-Bissau. Independence is granted on September 10, 1974.
1963	The Organization of African Unity (OAU) is established in Addis Ababa, under the chairmanship of Emperor Haile Selassie. A Commission of Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration is enshrined within the organization in 1964 to help resolve interstate conflicts.
1964	Border skirmishes occur between Somalia and Ethiopia, on one hand, and between Somali and Kenya, on the other hand.
1964–1974	Mozambique fights a bloody guerrilla war of national liberation against Portuguese colonialism. Mozambique is granted independence on June 25, 1975.

1966	Mass killing of the Igbo occurs in northern Nigeria. The pogroms are directly related to the subsequent outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War.
1966–1980	Black Zimbabweans employ armed struggle to end racist white minority rule. Independence under black majority rule is attained on April 18, 1980.
1966–1990	Namibia fights a war of national liberation to end apartheid South Africa's control. Independence is achieved on March 21, 1990.
1967–1970	A bloody civil war in Nigeria ends the secession of the southeastern part of the country, which had declared itself the Republic of Biafra.
1971–1979	President Idi Amin, perhaps the most brutal of all Africa's dictators, rules Uganda with an iron hand. During his reign of terror, several thousand Ugandans are reportedly murdered.
1972	Selective genocide occurs in Burundi in which the Hutu intelligentsia is marked for destruction by government forces. The massacre claims about 150,000 lives.
1974–1991	The Derg Revolution occurs in Ethiopia, virtually turning the state into a totalitarian one, characterized by bloody repression of opponents of the ruling military elite. During the Red Terror of 1977–1987, the revolution exterminates thousands of dissenters. Ethiopia also experiences civil war between 1974 and 1991.
1975–1992	Angola is embroiled in a devastating civil war mainly between the government controlled by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (*Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola*; MPLA) and the rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (*União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola*; UNITA).
1976	On June 16, the racist police in apartheid South Africa kill over six hundred black secondary school students in Soweto protesting the Bantu Education Act that compelled blacks to receive instruction in Afrikaans. The brutality of the Soweto riots brings the anti-apartheid struggle to international attention.
1977–1992	A destructive civil war ravages Mozambique as the rebel *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana*

	(RENAMO, or as sometimes referred to, the Mozambican National Resistance, MNR), fights the government controlled by the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*; FRELIMO).
1977–1978	Somali forces invade the Ogaden region of Ethiopia in the pursuit of its irredentist policy. The Somalis are defeated in the Ogaden War.
1978–1979	War occurs between Tanzania and Uganda following incursion into Tanzania by President Idi Amin's army. Tanzania's subsequent invasion of Uganda leads to the overthrow of the brutal Amin regime that has killed about 300,000 people.
1980	Several days of Maitatsine rioting, a violent Islamic uprising in Nigeria's northern city of Kano, ends in the deaths of thousands of people.
1980s	Violence escalates in the black townships of South Africa, causing the government to declare a state of emergency.
1983–2005	The Sudanese Civil War continues in a second phase.
1986	By the order of President Ronald Reagan, the U.S. Air Force bombs military targets in Libya in order to destroy alleged terrorist centers in the country and reduce the ability of Muammar Gaddafi, the Libyan leader, to sponsor terror acts.
1987–	Joseph Kony, a self-professed spirit medium, leads an armed group, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), in a devastating war in northern Uganda. The ongoing war has spilled into neighboring Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Central African Republic (CAR).
1988	Hutu/Tutsi violence in Burundi continues, claiming thousands of lives on both sides.
1989–1996	Civil War in Liberia wrecks its economy, decimates infrastructure, and kills about 150,000 people, representing over 5 percent of its population.
1990	The West African intervention force, the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), is established, originally as a peace-monitoring instrument. Dominated by Nigeria, the force has increasingly taken on combat operations, intervening in the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

1990s	Somalia enters into a persistent period of collapse. A civil war soon ensues, lasting till present. Somalia remains virtually a collapsed state.
1990s–	A new level of violence commences in the Niger Delta of Nigeria. Local communities aggressively demand from the Nigerian federal government a fair share of their region's riches. They also oppose the environmental destruction of their lands as a result of oil drilling by multinational corporations.
1991–2002	Civil war occurs in Sierra Leone as the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) engages the government in a brutal conflict. RUF campaigns are marked by brutal attacks on the civil population, resulting in mass amputations of victims' limbs, the deaths of about 50,000 people, and displacement of over a million people.
1992	The United States president, George H. W. Bush, orders American forces into Somalia in a humanitarian intervention operation code named "Operation Restore Hope." In the attempt to capture the Somali warlord, Mohammed Aideed, a unit of American troops is ambushed by Somali militia men, which leads to the shooting down of two American Blackhawk helicopters and the killing of 18 American soldiers.
1992–2002	After a lull, the Angolan civil war resumes following the refusal of the rebel leader Jonas Savimbi to accept the result of the 1992 elections, which he lost. The killing of Savimbi in combat by government forces on February 22, 2002, finally brings the war to an end.
1993	Interethnic killings break out in Burundi after the assassination of President Melchoir Ndadaye. About 50,000 are killed.
1994	A month-long genocide in Rwanda results in the massacre of about 800,000 ethnic Tutsi and moderate Hutus by Hutu extremists.
1996–1997	Warlord Laurent Kabila leads an uprising against President Mobutu in Zaire. Mobutu is overthrown, and Kabila assumes power and changes the name of the country to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Kabila himself is assassinated in

	2002. The DRC has since been immersed in a brutal civil war in which a lot of atrocities have been committed, including mass rape of women.
1997	May 25, Sierra Leone's president, Tejan Kabbah, is overthrown in a coup d'état. A new military junta, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), allies itself with the rebel RUF. Nigeria's navy subsequently bombards Freetown in an attempt to dislodge the rebels from the city. ECOWAS approves the use of force to restore deposed President Kabbah.
1998	President Kabbah is restored to power in March following military action against the AFRC by the Nigerian-led ECOMOG intervention force.
1998	In August, terrorists linked to Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda simultaneously bomb the American embassies in Dar-es-Salam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya, killing over two hundred Africans and a dozen Americans in both attacks.
1998–2000	A devastating border war between Eritrea and Ethiopia destroys a hitherto cordial relationship between the two states.
1998–2003	The civil war in Liberia is renewed as opposition rebel groups battle the government in an attempt to overthrow President Charles Taylor.
1999	In "Operation No Living Things," deadly and devastating attacks are launched in January by RUF. In the attacks, the rebels killed thousands of people in Freetown.
1999–2000	Several states in northern Nigeria adopt the Islamic legal code, the *Sharia'a*. As a result of this development, religious tension prevalent in the country is heightened. Since then, numerous violent clashes between Christians and Muslims mostly orchestrated by Muslim fundamentalists have caused the deaths of thousands of people in many parts of the country.
2002–2007	Full-scale civil war occurs in Côte d'Ivoire, which began with mutiny in the army.
2003	War erupts in the Darfur region of Sudan.
2003	The United States establishes a military base in Djibouti to coordinate its counterterrorist operations in the Horn of Africa.

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