

Notes

1. DCAF, 2007
2. He argued this thesis at some length in his book, *Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa: Tragedy of Endowment*, Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007.
3. Bartos, Otomar J. and Paul Wehr, *Using Conflict Theory*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 13.
4. The deployment by the UN, of an Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) in 1994, marked the first time that the UN deployed a peace mission alongside a regional peacekeeping mission operating on the ground. See, for example, 'Funmi Olonisakin, 'UN Co-operation with Regional Organizations in Peacekeeping: The Experience of ECOMOG and UNOMIL in Liberia', *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.3, No.3, Autumn 1996, pp. 33-51.
5. For more on ECOWAS and peacekeeping see, among others Adeleke Ademola, "The Politics and Diplomacy of Peacekeeping in West Africa: The ECOWAS Operation in Liberia", *The Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol. 33, No. 4, 1995; Abiodun Alao, John Mackinlay and Funmi Olonisakin, *Peacekeepers, Politicians and Warlords: The Liberian Peace Process*, Tokyo and New York: United Nations University Press. 1999; Funmi Olonisakin, *Reinventing Peacekeeping in Africa: Conceptual and Legal Issues in ECOMOG Operations*; Adekeye Adebajo, *Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau*, Lynne Reiner Publishers, 2003.
6. See, Comfort Ero, *ECOMOG: A Model for Africa?* ISS Monograph Series, February 2000.
7. President Thabo Mbeki was appointed by the AU in November 2004 to mediate in the Cote d'Ivoire conflict. For more on the grounds for rejecting his recommendations, see, *Africa* (Weekly Magazine), 12 October 2006.
8. See, for example, Necla Tshirgi, "The Evolution of Peace-building", IPA Occasional Paper, 2003; 'Funmi Olonisakin, "Post-Conflict Reconstruction and State Building", Background Paper for the International Training Course, Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), November 2007.
9. Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, UN Doc. A55/305-S/2000/809, 21 August 2000.
10. See, *A more Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, Report of the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change. UN Doc. A/59/565, 02 December 2004.
11. Roy Licklider, "The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-93", *American Political Science Review*, vol. 89, no. 3: 1995, 681-90.
12. See, for example, Donald Rothchild and Elisabeth M. Cousens, *Ending Civil Wars*, Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002.
13. John Paul Lederach, *Justpeace – The Challenge of the Twenty-First Century*, European Center for Conflict Prevention, Utrecht: People Building Peace, www.gppac.net

14. Ibid. See also, Robert Picciotto, 'Funmi Olonisakin and Michael Clarke, *Global Development and Human Security*, New Brunswick and New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2007.
15. This categorisation is taken from *The Challenges of Restoring Governance in Crisis and Post-Conflict Countries*, published by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), for the 7th Global Forum on Reinventing Governance Vienna, 26-29 June 2007. See pp. 14-17.
16. See for example, 'Funmi Olonisakin, *Peacekeeping in Sierra Leone: The Story of UNAMSIL*, Boulder CO and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007.
17. This Centre has subsequently been named the Kofi Annan Institute for Conflict Transformation.
18. See Adedeji Ebo, *The Challenges of Security Sector Reform in Liberia*, DCAF, 2006; and Thomas Jaye, *Security Sector Reform in Liberia*, in Alan Bryden, Boubacar Ndiaye and 'Funmi Olonisakin (eds), *The Challenges of Security Sector Governance in West Africa*, Lit Verlag, 2008.
19. Draft ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF), ECOWAS, Abuja, October 2007 p. 3.
20. President Thabo Mbeki quoted in Garth Le Pere and Anthoni van Nieuwkerk, "Making Foreign Policy in South Africa", in Philip Nel and Patrick McGowan (eds.) *Power, Wealth and Global Order*, Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, 1999, p. 205.
21. See Adekeye Adebajo and Ismail Rashid (eds.), *West Africa's Security Challenges: Building Peace in troubled region*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 2004.
22. For a good critique of some of these "anthropological," 'dark continent' mentality derived diagnoses, see Eboe Hutchful and Kwesi Aning, "The Political Economy of Conflict", in Adekeye Adebajo and Ismail Rashid, eds., *West Africa's Security Challenges: Building Peace in a Troubled Region*, Boulder, Color., Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004, 197-206.
23. Arie M. Kacowicz, "'Negative' International Peace and Domestic Conflicts, West Africa, 1957-96," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 35 (3) 1997, 367-385.
24. Bartos, Otomar J. and Paul Wehr, *Using Conflict Theory*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 13.
25. While Mauritania withdrew from ECOWAS in 2000, its new political dispensation which resulted from the August 2005 military coup and transition, and the pronouncements of its new leaders strongly suggests that it will soon return to the regional organization. Besides, as this author has argued all along, withdrawing from ECOWAS never meant that Mauritania left the neighborhood, since any crisis in that country was bound to – and did – affect its immediate neighbor-members of ECOWAS, hence the entire organization.
26. For an excellent analysis of the ideological rivalries and their implication for the evolution of West Africa, see Peter Schwab, *Designing West Africa: Prelude to 21st Century Calamity*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2004.
27. Schwab, 135.

28. Sharon Wiharta, "Peace-building: the new international focus," *SIPRI Yearbook 2006*, Stockholm, Oxford University Press, 2006, 146.
29. Pita Agbese and George Kieh, Jr, "Introduction: Democratizing States and State Reconstruction in Africa," in Pita Agbese and George Kieh, Jr. (eds.) *Reconstructing the State in Africa*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007, 4-5.
30. Agbese and Kieh, 5.
31. See Adedeji Ebo, *The Challenges and Opportunities of Security Sector Reform in Post-Conflict Liberia*, Geneva, DCAF Occasional Papers No. 9, p. 4.
32. See Boubacar N'Diaye, "The State in Cote d'Ivoire: Evolution and Constraints," in Pita Agbese and George Kieh, Jr. (eds.) *Reconstructing the State in Africa*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007, pp.75-104.
33. Raymond Copson, *Africa's Wars and Prospects for Peace*, Armonk NY, M. E. Sharpe, 1994, 75.
34. Copson, 76.
35. Comfort Ero and Jonathan Temin, "Sources of Conflict in West Africa," in Chandra L. Srirani and Zoe Nielsen (eds.), *Exploring Subregional Conflict: Opportunities for Conflict Prevention*, Boulder, Colo., Lynne Rienner, 2004, 101-104.
36. William Zartman, "Introduction," in William Zartman, ed., *Governance as Conflict Management*, Washington, D.C., Brookings Institution Press, 1.
37. Copson 78.
38. See for example, Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Justice-Seeking and Loot-Seeking in Civil War (Washington, D.C., Development Economics Research Group, World Bank, 1999, Mimeo; also Paul Collier, "Doing Well out of War: An Economic Perspective," in "Mats Berdal and David Malone, eds., *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 2000, 91-111.
39. African Development Bank, *African Development Report 2005*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2005, 100, 101. Statistics provided thereafter are, unless otherwise specified, derived from this report.
40. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), *The Least Developed Countries Report 2006*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2006.
41. World bank, *2006 World Development Indicators*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2006.
42. World Bank, *African Development Indicators 2003*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2003, 311, 312.
43. Ero and Temin, 101.
44. See Boubacar N'Diaye, "Beyond the Berlin Conference/OAU Framework: A Pan-African Analysis of Africa's Security Crisis," *Journal of African Policy Studies*, 7 (1) 2002, 107-129
45. Boubacar N'Diaye, 'Not a Miracle After all... Cote d'Ivoire's Downfall: Flawed Civil-Military Relations and Missed Opportunities,' *Scientia Militaria* 33 (1) 2005, 105.
46. Copson, 104.
47. That is the epithet ominously attached to one of the most worrisome external dimension of conflict in the sub-region in a recent study. See Nicholas Florquin and Eric G. Bergman, eds., *Armed and Aimless: Armed Groups, Guns, and Human Security in the ECOWAS region*, Geneva, small Arms Survey, 2005.

48. Copson, 104.
49. Quoted in Ero and Temin, 106.
50. Peter Schraeder, *African Politics and Society*, Belmont, CA, Wadsworth, 2004, 280-282.
51. For a thorough analysis of the evolution of Franco-African security relations, see Bouabcar N'Diaye, "Francophone Africa's Security Sector *Non*-Transformation," Paper presented at the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, Chicago, October 2007.
52. The Licorne Force is the battalion of Marines France kept at Port Bouet in Cote d'Ivoire following defense agreements signed since independence. After the beginning of the crisis, the UN security Council resolution (January 10, 2007) 1739 integrated it to the other UN forces charged with peacekeeping in Cote d'Ivoire.
53. Eboe Hutchful, "Understanding the African Security Crisis," in Abdel-Fatau Musah and J. Kayode Fayemi, (eds.), *Mercenaries*, London, Pluto Press, 2000, 217-222.
54. Some of the latest studies on this include, Abiodun Alao, *Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa: The Tragedy of Endowment*, Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007; Blench Roger, *Resource Conflict in Semi Arid Africa: An Essay with Annotated Bibliography*. London: ODI Working Paper, 1997; Cilliers Jakkie and Dietrich Christian, *Angola's War Economy: The Role of Oil and Diamonds*, Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2000; Cilliers Jakkie and Mason Peggy (eds.) *Peace, Profit or Plunder: The Privatisation of Security in War-Torn African Societies*, Half-Way House: Institute for Strategic Studies, 1999; Mat Berdal & David Mallone (eds.) *Greed and Grievance, Economic Agendas In Civil Wars*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000; Collier Paul and Hoeffler Anke, *Greed and Grievance in Civil Wars*, Oxford University Centre for the Study of African Economics, Working Paper 2002; *Waters of the Nile*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990; Hirsh John, *Sierra Leone: Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy*, Boulder: Lynne Renner, 2007; Hodges, Tony, *Angola: Anatomy of an Oil State*, London: James Currey, 2003; Keen, David, *The Economics of Civil Conflicts*: Adelphi Papers, 1998; Kibble, Steve, *Land, Power and Poverty: Farm Workers and the Crisis in Zimbabwe*, London: Catholic Institute of International Relations, 2001; Lind Jeremy and Sturman Kathryn, *Scarcity and Surfeit: The Ecology of African Conflicts*, Pretoria: ISS, 2002.
55. I have argued this thesis at some length in my book, *Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa: Tragedy of Endowment*, Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007.
56. Ibid, p. 16.
57. I have decided to break mineral resources into solid mineral and oil to enable a detailed exploration of how both classifications are linked to conflict.
58. It needs to be pointed out though that although the listed conflicts had cases of rivalry over claims to portions of land, there are also other issues that underlined their conflicts.
59. For more on the conflict, see *African Research Bulletin*, (Political) February 1994, p. 11342
60. With a grant from the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), the Conflict, Security and Development Group (CSDG) at the King's College London is undertaking a major study on Youth Vulnerability and Exclusion in West Africa.
61. The Konkumbas youth formed the Konkumba Youths Association (KOYA) and it was this group that was at the forefront of the group's cause.
62. See, Omon Julius Onabu, "Edo, Kogi Deputy Governors meet over land dispute", *This Day*, (Lagos) July 15 2003
63. See, *This Day*, (Lagos) 31 October 2004.

64. For more on the civil conflicts in Sierra Leone, see, among others, Krijn Peters and Paul Richards, "Why we Fight: Voices of Youth Combatants in Sierra Leone", *Africa: Journal of International African Institute*, Vol. 68, No. 2, 1998; "Sierra Leone Prisoners of War? Children Detained in Barracks and Prisons, Index: London: International Secretariat of Amnesty International; Paul Richards, "Rebellion in Liberia and Sierra Leone: A Crisis of Youth?", in O. Furley (ed.), *Conflict in Africa* London: I. B. Tauris, 1995 and Ibrahim Abdullahi, "The Lumpen Proletariat and the Sierra Leone Conflict" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2, June 1998. These include David Shearer, *Private Armies and Military Intervention*, London: IISS Adelphi Paper; 1998, William Shawcross, "In Praise of Sandlines", *The Spectator*, August 1998; Funmi Olonisakin, "Mercenaries Fill the Vacuum", *World Today*, June 1998. Funmi Olonisakin, "Nigeria and the peacekeeping Mission in Sierra Leone", *Jane's Intelligence Review*, July 1998; Paul Conton, "The Battle for Freetown", *West Africa*, 2 – 15 March 1998; Desmond Davies, "Peacekeeping: African Style", *West Africa* 4 – 17 May, 1998. See, among others, E. Garcia, *A Time of Hope and Transformation: Sierra Leone Peace Process Report and Reflection*, London: International Alert, 1997. On the Liberian civil war, studies include, Adekeye Adebajo, *Liberia's Civil War: ECOMOG and Regional Security in West Africa*, Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002, Abiodun Alao: *The Burden of Collective Goodwill: International Involvement in the Liberian Civil War*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishers, Funmi Olonisakin, *Reinventing Peacekeeping in Africa: Conceptual and Legal Issues in ECOMOG Operations*.
65. I have discussed this in my book, "Natural Resources and Conflict ... *op-cit*. The contract signed by the company and the Liberian Government was anonymously sent to me.
66. It is, of course, widely known that Taylor had contacts with countries such as Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire, and these countries were believed to be some of the conduits through which he was able to gain access to international market.
67. Reno, in his book on Warlords pointed out that there was a time when Taylor was responsible for a significant percentage of logging coming to France. See, William Reno, *Warlords*.
68. Garba was Jetley's deputy, Kpamber and Khobe were both ECOMOG Commanders, and Adeniji was the UN Secretary General's Special Representative.
69. In 1953, the derivation formula was 100 per cent, as recommended by the Chucks Commission. This changed at independence, where the constitution stipulated 50 per cent, later reduced to 45 per cent under the Gowon administration. A retrogressive slide ensued after 1970, with the Murtala/ Obasanjo administration reducing it to 20 per cent and the Shagari administration dropping it to 2 per cent (and later 3 per cent after a court ruling). By 1984, it had been reduced to 1.5 per cent by the Buhari administration.
70. President Clinton as quoted in Devroy, Ann. 1994. "President Cautions Congress on 'Simple Ideas' in Foreign Policy," *Washington Post*, May 26, p. A31.
71. See a detailed discussion on the courses of conflicts in Africa in a UN report by the Secretary-General. Annan, K., *The Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa*, Report of the Secretary-General, (UN: April, 1998).
72. The situation of human rights in Africa is generally poor, and typically seen as an area of grave concern by the UN, governmental, and non-governmental observers. After the Cold War, the increase in civil strife and authoritarian rule, therefore, contributed to an

- exponential growth of human rights commissions on the continent in the 1990s. See Human Rights Watch, "Protectors or Pretenders? Human Rights Commissions in Africa," <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/africa/overview/summary.html>, accessed 03/02/07; See also "Human rights in Africa," Wikipedia Encyclopaedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_rights_in_Africa, accessed 07/02/07.
73. Richard Kaplan. 'The Coming Anarchy', 'The Atlantic Monthly', 1994.
 74. See Africa Recovery, July, 2003, p. 4; For detailed discussion of this, see Fawole Alade, W., "ECOWAS and the Crisis in Cote d'Ivoire: The Politics and Problems of Peace-Making in West Africa," *Journal of West African Affairs*, Vol.4, 2004.,pp.11-30; Cohen, H., "African Capabilities for Managing Conflict: The Role of the US," in Smock, D.R., and Crocker, C.A. (eds), *African Conflict Resolution: The US Role in Peacekeeping*, Washington DC: US Institute of Peace Press, 1995), pp. 95ff; and also Pfaff, W., "A New Colonialism: Europe Must Go Back into Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74 (1), 1995, pp.4ff. Africa Recovery, July, 2003, p. 4.
 75. Proponents of this argument include Valerie Hudson and Andrea den Boer. See Hudson, Valerie, & Andrea den Boer, *Bare Branches: The Security Implications of Asia's Surplus Male Population*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004).
 76. Huntington, S. P., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).
 77. Cincotta, R. P., Engelman, R., and Anastasion, D., *The Security Demographic: Population and Civil Conflict after the Cold War*, (Washington D.C.: Population Action International, 2003.), p. 32.
 78. Ibid, pp.13ff.
 79. Ibid, p.13.
 80. See Paul Collier & Anke Hoeffler.
 81. Ibid, p.13.
 82. Several historical studies lend credence to the argument that in periods when young adults comprise an abnormally large proportion of populations have tended to coincide with rebellions and military campaigns. In modern European history, rise in the number of young men entering adulthood have contributed to cycles of rebellion. Based on such observation, Herbert Moller hypothesised that a bulge in the population of elite young adults is a potential destabiliser of countries. In his view, rebellions and religious movements of the 16th and 17th centuries were led by young men who, upon arriving at adulthood, decided to force their ways into social affluence and relevance upon realising the non-existence of opportunities to advance their goals and also reward their efforts. See Moller, H., "Youth as a Force in the Modern World" in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 10: 1967/68, pp. 237–260; Cincotta, Engelman, and Anastasion, op. cit., pp. 44ff.; Goldstone, op. cit.
 83. Christian Mesquida and Neil Weiner argue that youth-laden populations in conflict-torn regions such as the Balkans and Central Asia are more likely to experience highly intense conflicts (measured in battle-related deaths per thousand people) than less youthful populations. See Mesquida C.G., Wiener N.I., "Human Collective Aggression: a Behavioral Ecology Perspective" in *Ethology and Sociobiology* 17: 1996, pp. 247–262; Mesquida C.G., Wiener N.I., "Male Age Composition and the Severity of Conflicts", *Politics in the Life Sciences* 18(2): 1999, pp. 181–189.

84. Cincotta, R. P., "State of the World 2005 Global Security Brief #2: Youth Bulge, Under-employment Raise Risks of Civil Conflict", <http://www.worldwatch.org/node/76>, accessed 02/02/07.
85. Quoted in Hendrixson, A., 2003. "The Youth Bulge..." ZNet Daily Commentaries (March 14). [<http://www.zmag.org/sustainers/content/2003-03/14hendrixson.cfm>], accessed 02/03/07.
86. As quoted in World Bank Research, "World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation," *World Bank Research E-Newsletter* September, 2006, <http://newsletters.worldbank.org/external/default/main?menuPK=615289&theSitePK=615281&pagePK=64133601&contentMDK=21052980&piPK=64129599>, accessed 02/02/07.
87. US Census Bureau International Database, <http://www.census.gov>, accessed 9/18/2007
88. Mastny, L., "The Hazards of Youth," *World Watch Magazine*, (September/October, 2004), pp.18-21.
89. Human Rights Watch, "Summary", <http://hrw.org/reports/2005/westafrica0405/1.htm>, accessed 18/02/07.
90. Staveteig, S., "The Young and the Restless: Population" in Environmental Change and Security Program- ECSP Report 2005, Issue 11, pp.12ff.
91. Gourevitch, P., *We Wish to Inform you that Tomorrow we will be Killed with our Families: Stories from Rwanda*. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998).
92. US Census Bureau International Database, <http://www.census.gov>, accessed 9/18/2007.
93. See also population pyramids available from the U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. Further reading see www.census.gov/www/idbpyr.html, accessed 05/02/2007.
94. Herbert Moller argues that wars in pre-modern and present-day Europe, including the rise of the Nazi party in Germany, corresponded with increases in the proportion of young men in the population. Similarly, High rates of youth contributed to the Bolshevik Revolution, the Iranian Revolution, and the current unrest in the Middle East. For more on this argument, see Moller, H., "Youth as a Force in the Modern World" in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 10: 1968, pp. 237-260.
95. See Collier, P., *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*, (Washington, DC: Oxford University Press, 2003).
96. Braungart, R. G., 'Historical and Generational Patterns of Youth Movements: A Global Perspective', *Comparative Social Research* 7(1): 1984, pp. 3-62.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Ball, N., "Demobilizing and Reintegrating Soldiers: Lessons from Africa", in Krishna Kumar (ed.): *Rebuilding Societies after Civil War. Critical Roles for International Assistance* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997), pp. 85ff; Mashike, L. "Standing Down or Standing Out? Demobilising or Reintegrating Former Soldiers", *African Security Review*, vol. 9, no.5/6 (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2000.), pp. 64ff; Malan, M. "Disarming and Demobilizing Child Soldiers: The Underlying Challenges", *African Security Review*, vol. 9, no.5/6, 2000, pp. 35ff.

101. Adepoju, A. "Migration in West Africa," Paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration, September, 2005. p. 4.
102. In an interview conducted by Hamza Lansah Lolly, reporter of the Statesman Newspaper one herdsman traced his migration into Ghana to about 50 years ago. According to him "some of us have been in Ghana for the past 50 years ..." See Hamza Lansah Lolly, "Fulani herdsmen to cooperate with REGSEC," Statesman Newspaper, 25/09/2006, http://www.thestatesmanonline.com/pages/news_detail.php?section=1&newsid=653
103. Survey conducted by The Network of Surveys on Migration and Urbanization in West Africa (NESMUWA) with data from Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, and Senegal. Bocquier P. and S. Traoré. 2000. "Urbanisation et dynamique migratoire en Afrique de l'Ouest. La croissance urbaine en panne". L'Harmattan. In Decaluwé, B., J.-C. Dumont, S. Mesplé-Somps, V. Robichaud. *Union économique et mobilité des facteurs: le cas de l'UEMOA*. <http://www.crefa.ecn.ulaval.ca/cahier/liste00.html>, quoted in Konseiga, A. "New Patterns of Migration in West Africa," Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien Nr. 8/2005, 5. Jg. http://www.univie.ac.at/ecco/stichproben/Nr8_Konseiga.pdf
104. Bocquier, P., and S. Traoré. 1996. *Migrations en Afrique de l'Ouest: de nouvelles tendances. La chronique du CEPED 20.*, quoted in Konseiga, A. "New Patterns of Migration in West Africa," Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien Nr. 8/2005, 5. Jg. http://www.univie.ac.at/ecco/stichproben/Nr8_Konseiga.pdf
105. Leighton, M., "Desertification + Migration = Conflict?" in Gardner, M., and Nicklas, U. (eds.), "Desertification: a security threat? – Analysis of risks and challenges," *Specialist Conference Report* (Eschborn: GTZ, 2007), p. 21ff.
106. BusinessGhana, "Fulani herdsman granted bail" 25th September 2007, http://www.businessghana.com/portal/news/index.php?op=getNews&news_cat_id=&id=71141
107. See Hamza Lansah Lolly, "Fulani herdsmen to cooperate with REGSEC," Statesman Newspaper, 25/09/2006, http://www.thestatesmanonline.com/pages/news_detail.php?section=1&newsid=653
108. The onset of the political instability in Côte d'Ivoire distorted migration patterns in three major ways: It (a) influenced the patterns of internal displacements by forcing people to move towards the more peaceful south of the country, (b) the extent of atrocities associated with the civil war led to the movement of Ivorians as refugees into neighbouring and other countries, and (c) the extent of insecurity in the country had implications on the migration patterns into the country as insecurity generally influences the decisions of migrants into any country and hence Côte d'Ivoire.
109. Alade Fawole, op. cit., p. 17; Gberie, L., and Addo, P., "Challenges of Peace implementation in Cote d'Ivoire," Report on an expert Workshop presented by the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KA IPTC) in Collaboration with the Zentrum für Internationale Friedenseinsätze (ZIF), 2004.
110. Ibid, p.15.
111. Fulgence Zamblé "Ivory Coast: From Desertification, to Migration, to Conflict," *L'OCCIDENTAL - Afrique occidentale*, Saturday 6 January 2007, <http://www.loccidental.net/>

- english/spip.php?article168*; <http://intercontinentalcry.org/west-africa-from-desertification-to-migration-to-conflict/>, accessed 25/9/2007.
112. Neill W., and Enda S., “Real-time evaluation of UNHCR’s IDP Operation in Liberia,” PDES/2007/02 - RTE 2, (Geneva: UNHCR, 2007), p.77ff.
 113. These statistics were taken from the August 2, 2007 edition of UNHCR’s chart on displaced people in West Africa. [http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/fullMaps_Af.nsf/luFullMap/AB115AB0C46233DE85257356004DACFD/\\$File/ocha_IDP_afr070913.pdf?OpenElement](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/fullMaps_Af.nsf/luFullMap/AB115AB0C46233DE85257356004DACFD/$File/ocha_IDP_afr070913.pdf?OpenElement)
 114. UNFPA <http://www.unfpa.org/profile/liberia.cfm?Section=1>
 115. United Nations, 2006, <http://unstats.un.org/pop/dVariables/DRetrieval.aspx>
 116. Ibid.
 117. See Westing, H. A., Fox, W., and Renner, M., “Environmental Degradation as both Consequence and Cause of Armed Conflict,” Working paper prepared for Nobel Peace Laureate Forum participants by PREPCOM subcommittee on Environmental Degradation, June 2001, <http://www.institute-for-nonviolence.com.au/downloads/pdf/EnvirDegrad.pdf>; page 5 of 16; accessed 28/9/07.
 118. Leighton, M., op.cit., p. 21ff.
 119. State of the World’s Forests, 2001
 120. Fulgence Zamblé “Ivory Coast: From Desertification, to Migration, to Conflict,” *l’occidental - Afrique occidentale*, Saturday 6 January 2007, <http://www.loccidental.net/english/spip.php?article168>; <http://intercontinentalcry.org/west-africa-from-desertification-to-migration-to-conflict/>, accessed 25/9/2007.
 121. UNDP, *Beyond Scarcity: Power, Poverty and the Global Water Crisis* (New York: UNDP, 2006), pp. 160ff.
 122. Ibid, p.165; See Nyong, A., 2007. “Drought and Conflict in the West African Sahel: Developing Conflict Management Strategies,” http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?event_id=146065&fuseaction=events.event_summary.(accessed 11/10/07).
 123. FAO, “Irrigation potential in Africa: A basin approach,” *FAO Land and Water Bulletin* 4, 1997, <http://www.fao.org/docrep/W4347E/w4347e0u.htm>, accessed 9/10/2007.
 124. Some media reports also blamed the Bagri Dam in neighbouring Burkina Faso for worsening the flow situation that hit parts of northern Ghana in September 2007. See Gyebi, E., “Ghana: Food Shortage Predicted” *Ghanaian Chronicle*, 11 September 2007, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200709110940.html>, accessed 9/10/2007.
 125. Squire, C., *Sierra Leone’s Biodiversity and the Civil War*, (Washington, DC: Biodiversity Support Program, 2001), pp. 21–22.
 126. See R. M. Nkandawire, “Experience in Youth Policy and Programme in Commonwealth Africa”, Policy Document prepared for the Commonwealth Youth Programme Department (Unpublished), 1996. It is doubtful if ‘legal marriage’ is the right term to use here, because while marriage is a key feature of adulthood, not all adults are interested in it. These authors would rather prefer ‘independent life’.
 127. Francis Chigunta, “The Socio-Economic of Youth in Africa: Problems, Prospect and Options”, SSA, 2002.
 - 128 Ibid.
 129. United Nations Development Program, *Youth and Violent Conflict: Society and Development in Crisis?*, United Nations Development Programme, New York, 2006, p.12.

130. Ibid, p.13.
131. See CODESRIA Report on the Child and Youth Institute Inaugural Session, 7-31 October, 2002.
132. Cyril I. Obi, "Re-Examining the Roots of War in West Africa in a Globalising World," revised version of a paper presented at Conference on *Globalisation and Peace-building*, organised by the Swedish Network of Peace, Conflict and Development Research, Uppsala 6-8 November 2006.
133. See *Youth, Poverty and blood: The Lethal Legacy of West Africa's Regional Warriors*, Human Rights Watch Report, New York, April 13, 2005.
134. Angela McIntyre, Emmanuel Kwesi Aning & Prosper Nii Nortey Addo, "Politics, War and Youth Culture in Sierra Leone: An alternative Interpretation", *Africa Security Review*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 2002.
135. D.S. Garuba, "Survival at the Margins: Economic Crisis and Coping Mechanisms in Rural Nigeria", *Local Environment*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2006, p.20.
136. Ibid.
137. "Cote d'Ivoire", *Child Soldier Global Report 2004*.
138. Report of the UN Secretary General on children and armed conflict, UN Document A/58/546-/S/2003/1053, November 2003, <http://www.reliefweb.int>
139. Statement , 9 December 2003, <http://www.reliefweb.int>
140. Kalifa Keita, "Conflict and Conflict Resolution in the Sahel: The Tuareg Insurgency in Mali", Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, United States, 1998.
141. This Republic has just been declared with Agedes as Capital on September 20, 2007.
142. The National Pact was signed in April 1992 was the climax of the Accords of Tamanrasset signed in January 6, 1991 under a mediation brokered by Algerian government.
143. While Mali had moved quite faster in implementing the content of the pact signed with the young Touareg rebels in its northern territory, Nigerien authorities have simply dumped its agreement with Nigerien Touareg rebels and even refer to the rebels as arm bandits and criminals.
144. IRIN News, "Senegal: West Africa's Forgotten Conflict Lingers on", <http://www.irinnews.org/report.aspx?reportid=41947>
145. Krijn Peters, Paul Richards & Koen Vlassenroot, *What Happens to Youth During and After Wars? A Preliminary Review of Literature on Africa and an Assessment of the Debate*, RADOO Working Paper, October 2003.
146. Bram Posthumus, "Senegal: An End in Sight to Casamance Violence?", *Searching For Peace in Africa*, 2000, <http://www.conflict-prevention.net/page.php?id=40&action=show&surveyid=57>
147. Amnesty International, "Senegal: Climate of Terror in Casamance", AI Index AFR 49/01/98.
148. Dauda S. Garuba, "Contractual Breakdown: Small Arms, Intolerance and Tragedy in Nigeria's Delta Region", *AfricaFile, At Issue Ezine*, Vol. 5, No. 4, Canada, 2007, p.3; <http://www.africafiles.org/atissueezine.asp#art1>
149. This loss continues to translate into a needless budget deficit with a snowballing effect on not only the people of Niger Delta, but also on the Nigerian population as a whole.
150. This is defined in the series of historic documents as: Ogoni Bill of Rights, Kaiama Declaration of the Ijaw, Oron Bill of Rights, Ikwerre Charter of Demands, Aklaka Declaration of the Egi People, Urhobo Economic Summit Resolutions, etc.

151. There are numerous militia groups, such as the Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force, the Niger Delta Vigilante Service, the Bush Boys, the Membutu Boys, Movement for the Emancipations of the Niger Delta, the Martyrs Brigade and the Coalition for Militant Action in the Niger Delta. Besides these, there are numerous community, clan, ethnic, sub-ethnic and regional militias, armed militant groups, armed gangs, armed cults, pirates, armed networks and warlords and private armies in the region. See Ikelegbe 2005B, 2007A; 2007B, *Op Cit*.
152. The Geneva Convention was declared in 1949 to protect and guarantee the lives and rights of civilians in war times.
153. See <http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1007029394365&a=KCountryProfile&aid=1019672556734>. Also see Jibrin Ibrahim & Dauda Garuba (Forthcoming), "From Fact-finding Mission to Intervention: Reflections on Civil Society Efforts in the Quest for Sustainable Peace in Cote d'Ivoire", chapter of an ongoing book on *Resolving West African Conflicts: Early Warning, Early Response*.
154. Dr. Adedeji Ebo, former Coordinator of Africa Working Group at the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), is the Chief of the Security Sector Reform Team at the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. He has used this expression several times at the African Security Sector Network (ASSN) programmes for Liberian Legislature and Security Agencies on which one of the present authors, Dauda Garuba, represented the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD).
155. LTRC-DP, Online.
156. hearings (*Twin Cities Daily Planet* [online] Friday October 19, 2007).
157. It was passed unanimously on 31 October 2000, and known officially as the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security.
158. Often however, women are 'pushed' into taking up arms as a result of abuses they have suffered or in order to protect their children. For example, in the case of the 'Black Diamond' phenomenon during the Liberian civil war, young girls took to arms as a result of being gang raped by undisciplined soldiers. See 'Liberia's Women killers'; available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3181529.stm> accessed on 30 July, 2007, 12.00 GMT.
159. Tsejeard Bouta et al, 'Gender and Peacekeeping In the West African Context', Report of the Stakeholders' workshop, held at KAIPTC, Accra, 1-3 December, 2004, organised by KAIPTC and Natherlands Institute of international relations, Clingendael, page 13.
160. Statement by the African Union Chairperson, Professor Alpha Oumar Konare, In Celebration of the International Women's Day, 8 March, 2007.
161. Maria Nzomo, 'From OAU to AU and NEPAD: Regional Integration processes in Africa and African Women', Keynote Address made at Regional Strategy Meeting on Women'd Political Participation and Gender mainstreaming in AU and NEPAD, Nairobi, 27-31 October, 2003. page 3.
162. Ibid.
163. Statement by Alpha Oumar Konare in Celebration of the International Women's day, 08 March, 2007.
164. See Meredith Turshen and Clotilde Twagiramariya (Eds.) *What Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflict in Africa*, Zed Books, 1998.

165. It is estimated that as many as 40 per cent of Liberian women were raped during the 14 year civil war. See *Liberia: Major Effort Needed to Address Gender Based Violence*, Refugees International, 16 January, 2004. Available at <http://www.refugeesinternational.org/content/article/detail/932>
166. The three women currently on the ECOWAS Council of the Wise are Ms Theresa Leigh Sherman (Liberia), Honourable Elizabeth Alpha-Lavalie (Sierra Leone) and Mme Sira Diop (Senegal).
167. Tsejeard Bouta et al, 'Gender and Peacekeeping In the West African Context', Report of the Stakeholders' workshop, held at KAIPTC, Accra, 1-3 December, 2004...op cit. p.19
168. Leymah Gbowee, 'Women Building Peace Through Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration' Beijing+10 Review Conference, 9 March. Available at: <http://www.womenwarpeace.org/issues/ddr/ddrpanelcsw05.pdf>
169. For further details of activities of the UNMIL Office of Gender Advisor, see 'OUTCOMES OF Gender Mainstreaming by the Office of the Gender Advisor: UNMIL 2004-2006'. Available at: http://unmil.org/documents/OGA_Achievement_2004_2006.pdf
170. See UN News Centre. <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=21391&Cr=Liberia&Cr1>
171. Maja Edfast (ed), 'Operation 1325 and Resolution 1325: An Overview', October, 2006.
172. The components of the ECPF are Early Warning; Preventive Diplomacy; Democracy and Political Governance; Natural Resource Governance; Cross-Border Initiatives; Security; Women in Peace and Security; Micro-Disarmament; Youth Empowerment; ECOWAS Standby Force, Human Rights and the Rule of Law, Humanitarian Assistance. See Draft ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECOWAS), ECOWAS Commission, Abuja, as revised at the Experts' Meeting on the ECPF, Banjul, Gambia, 24-28 June, 2007
173. See <http://www.peacewomen.org/1325inaction/index.html>
174. See <http://www.wanep.org/programs/wipnet.html>. Accessed on 02 October, 2007, 2320 GMT.
175. This part of the paper is based on the Report of the Forum. See Tema Agera and Awa Ceesay-Ebo, Report of the Strategic Reflection Forum for Women in Peace-building, Institutionalizing Women Peace and Security in Africa, hosted by WIPSEN-Africa, held at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, Accra, Ghana, 21-24 May 2007. See also <http://www.wipsen-africa.org>
176. See <http://www.wacsof.org/background.html>
177. Other programme areas are Peace & Security, Food, Agriculture & Environment, Youth, Regional Integration, Economic Development, Trade & Investment, Democracy, Good Governance & Human Rights.
178. See Recommendations of The West African Civil Society Forum (WACSOFF) To The ECOWAS Council of Ministers' Meeting In Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, 18th - 19th December, 2006. Available at http://www.wacsof.org/info/WAFSOF%20FORA%20COMMUNIQUE/WACSOFF_4th_Forum_Communique%5B1%5D.doc
179. Report of the Secretary General on Women Peace and Security, United Nations Security Council, 27 September, 2006. S/2006/770, page 9.

180. Yaliwe Clarke and Helen Scanlon, 'Women and Peace-building in Africa', Report of Seminar Hosted by the Centre for Conflict Resolution and UNIFEM, Vineyard Hotel, Cape Town, 27-28 October, 2005.
181. Terriff, T. et al (1999) *Security Studies Today*, Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 172.
182. The wide-ranging definition and embedded contestation about human security was reinforced by the 2003 UN-CHS definition that includes wide-ranging non-military (human rights, cultural and identity issues) and non-state actors. For instance, countries such as Japan actively pursue the security from want perspective, paralleling the practice of comprehensive security in Asia. See Knudsen, O. (2001) "Post-Copenhagen Security Studies: Desecuritizing Securitization", *Security Dialogue* Vol. 32(3), p. 355.
183. Liotta, P.H. (2002) "Converging Interests and Agendas: The Boomerang Returns", *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 33(4), p. 477.
184. Terriff, T. et al (1999), p. 1.
185. I acknowledge the subtle differences between core realism and neo-realism, but I use the two terms interchangeably. I am also aware of more than one version of the realist/neo-realist theory with important methodological and theoretical divergence amongst the various versions; however, I restrict my analysis to the dominant Waltzian version formulated by Kenneth Waltz (2001). See Waltz, K. (2001) *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*, New York: Columbia University Press.
186. Terriff et al, (1999), pp. 31-32.
187. It is important to emphasise that concerns expressed in the report, and even its potential linkage to security, predate 1994. For instance, Acharya (2001: 450) has compared it to the notion of "Comprehensive Security" prevalent in Asia even during the Cold War. Similarly, Caroline Thomas (2004: 353) contends that human security is nothing but a repackaging of a Marxist "Liberal Humanitarian Order." See Acharya, A. (2001) "Human Security: East versus West", *International Journal*, Summer 2001, pp. 442-460.
188. Dalby, S. (1997) Contesting an Essential Concept: Reading the Dilemmas in Contemporary Security Discourse. In Krause, K. & Williams, M. (eds) *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*, London: Routledge, p. 4.
189. Smith, S (2005) 'The Contested Concept of Security' in Booth, K (ed) *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, Boulder/London: Lynne Rienner, pp. 51-52.
190. Ayoob, M. (1997) Defining Security: A Subaltern Realist Perspective. In Krause, K. and Williams, M. (eds) *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*, London: Routledge, p. 130.
191. Robert Jackson coined the term to describe the difference between states in Western Europe and the Third World. He defines juridical statehood as externally validated or legitimised statehood wherein the mere membership of the international system, as opposed to the developed capacity to carry out governance tasks, became the basis of statehood. See Jackson, R (1993) *Quasi-states: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World*, UK: Cambridge University Press.
192. Acharya (1997), pp. 301-314.
193. These include critical Security Studies, Post-Modernist security perspective and Feminist security perspectives.
194. The contestation surrounding human security is evidenced by the almost complete divergence of views expressed by over twenty leading scholars, advocates, and practitioners of security in a 2004 (Vol. 35, No, 3) Special Edition of the influential *Security Dialogue* journal.

195. United Nations Commission on Human Security (UNCHS) (2003) *Human Security Now*, New York, p. 274.
196. See for example, Buzan, B. (1991) *People, States and Fear. An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era* (Second Edition) Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner.
197. Bellamy, A. & McDonald, M. (2002) "The Utility of Human Security? Which Humans? What Security? A Reply to Thomas & Tow", *Security Dialogue* Vol. 33(3), p. 374.
198. This view is encapsulated in Canada's (a leading advocate of human security) policy framework, which limits human security to the protection of people from armed violence. See Suhrke, A. (1999) "Human Security and the Interests of States", *Security Dialogue* 30 (September), pp. 265-276.
199. Alkire, S. (2004) "A Vital Core that Must be Treated with the Same Gravitas as Traditional Security Threats", *Security Dialogue* Vol. 35, No. 3, September 2004, p. 359.
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201. See report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), 2001.
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214. See BBC News/Africa “New Taleban Clashes in Nigeria”, 07 January 2004. Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3376979.stm>
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