# Online Appendix

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| ***Table 1: Intrastate Armed Conflicts over Territory in Africa with no Mediation, 1960-2014*** | | | |
| ***Country*** | ***Rebel Group(s)*** | ***Territory*** | ***Conflict Episode*** |
| DR Congo (Zaire) | Independent Mining State of South Kasai | South Kasai | 1960-1962 |
| DR Congo (Zaire) | State of Katanga | Katanga | 1961-1962 |
| DR Congo (Zaire) | BDK | Kongo Kingdom | 2007-2008 |
| DR Congo (Zaire) | Kata Katanga | Katanga | 2013-2014 |
| Ethiopia | Ogaden Liberation Front | Ogaden | 1964 |
| Ethiopia | ALF | Afar | 1975-1976 |
| Ethiopia | WSLF | Ogaden | 1976-1983 |
| Ethiopia | SALF | Arssi, Bale & Sidamo | 1977-1980 |
| Ethiopia | SLM | Sidamaland | 1983 |
| Ethiopia | IGLF | Hararghe | 1991 |
| Ethiopia | ARDUF | Afar | 1996 |
| Nigeria | Ahlul Sunnah Jamaa | Northern Nigeria | 2004 |
| Nigeria | NDPVF | Niger Delta | 2004 |

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| ***Table 2: Intrastate Armed Conflicts over Territory in Africa with Mediation Aimed at Maintaining Territorial Integrity, 1960-2014*** | | | | | | | |
| ***Country*** | ***Rebel Group(s)*** | ***Territory*** | ***Conflict Episode*** | ***Outcome*** | ***African Mediation*** | ***Non-African Mediation*** | ***Territorial Change*** |
| Angola | FLEC-R, FLEC-FAC | Cabinda | 1991-2009 | Namibia, Ethiopia, and Congo-Brazzaville mediated in 1995 and 1996. No negotiations or mediation took place between the conflict parties between 1997 and 2005, but mediation by the AU led to Memorandum of Understanding for Peace and Reconciliation in Cabinda signed by the Government of Angola and FLEC-R in 2005. This agreement stipulated the formation of a local government, but the political powers of this local government were clearly defined as under the control of the central government in Luanda | Yes | No | No |
| Comoros | MPA/Republic of Anjouan | Anjouan | 1997 | The OAU condemned the secessionist’s demands of the Anjouan rebels as unacceptable. The OAU mediated between the Comores capital Moroni and Anjouan, pushing for a solution to the conflict that respected the territorial integrity of the Comoros | Yes | No | No |
| Ethiopia | OLF | Oromiya | 1977-2013 | With negotiations ongoing in London on 27 May 1991 – where US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen acted as the chief mediator – the EPRDF entered Addis Ababa and took control of the country. The opposition movements established a transitional government at a conference in Addis Ababa on 5 July 1991, at which a high-level US delegation was also present. In early October 1992, the newly installed EPRDF government engaged in peace talks with the OLD in Amara on 28-29 October. Mediators from the US, UK, and Sweden actively participated in these talks. The OLF refused to acknowledge the Ethiopian constitution at this conference, as this would entail the acceptance of Ethiopia’s territorial integrity. Subsequent mediation efforts by Jimmy Carter, Germany, and Norway also failed | No | Yes | No |
| Ethiopia | AIAI, ONLF | Ogaden | 1993-1996 | Kenya and the United Kingdom unsuccessfully mediated between the Government of Ethiopia and the ONLF in 2004. Kenya mediated another round of talks in 2012, but again without results. The major obstacle to the resolution of the conflict was that the government delegation insisted that the continuation of the talks depended on the ONLF first accepting the Ethiopian constitution, thereby accepting Ogaden as being part of Ethiopia | Yes | Yes | No |
| Mali | MPA | Azawad | 1990 | Algeria mediated between the Government of Mali and the MPA between 1991 and 1992. This mediation effort culminated in the signing of the National Pact on 11 April 1992. This agreement gave more powers to local government structures over matters of socio-economic and, cultural policy | Yes | No | No |
| Mali | FIAA | Azawad | 1994 | In 1994, Algeria mediated three rounds of negotiations between the Government of Mali on the one side and the MPA and the FIAA on the other side. The first round of negotiations was held in Tamanrasset in April, the second round of negotiations was held in Algiers in May, and the third round of negotiations was held in Tamanrasset in June. Instead of concluding a new peace agreement, Algeria offered to implement the 1992 National Pact peace agreement | Yes | No | No |
| Mali | ATNMC | Azawad | 2007-2009 | Libya mediated in April 2008 and Algeria in July 2008, but talks failed to resolve the conflict. The government forces defeated the rebels by January 2009 | Yes | No | No |
| Mali | CMA | Azawad | 2012 | ECOWAS mediated several round of negotiations between 2012 and 2013, while the AU mediated in 2014 | Yes | No | No |
| Niger | CRA | Air and Azawad | 1994 | In June 1994, negotiations between the CRA and the Government of Niger began in Paris. France served as mediator, together with Algeria and Burkina Faso. After the talks, the government agreed to meet the CRA demands for autonomy for Tuareg regions, which would be governed by elected assemblies and governors. In October, the negotiations resumed in Ouagadougou, where Burkina Faso initially solely hosted the meetings with no external mediators involved in the talks, but later mediators from France, Algeria, and Burkina Faso joined and participated in the talks. The talks led to the signing of the Ouagadougou Accord on 9 October 1994. The agreement emphasized that Niger was unitary and indivisible, but also contained amendments to the political-territorial structure of Niger, rearranging the country into smaller entities of political control | Yes | Yes | No |
| Niger | FDR | Eastern Niger | 1995 | In 1997, Chad met FDR representatives and persuaded them to engage in negotiations with the Government of Niger in Chad, mediated by Algeria, Burkina Faso, Chad, France and Libya. Furthermore, during the last two weeks of November 1997, negotiations between Government of Niger and the FDR, mediated by Algeria, were held in Algiers. The talks led to the signing of a peace accord on 29 November 1997, which political autonomy for the Kawar region | Yes | Yes | No |
| Nigeria | Republic of Biafra | Biafra | 1967-1970 | Several African leaders mandated by the OAU mediated in the early stages of the conflict, heavily emphasising a solution that would respect Nigeria’s territorial integrity. This was unacceptable to the Biafran rebels. Consequently, the mediation did not resolve the conflict. The rebels were defeated in 1970 | Yes | No | No |
| Senegal | MFDC | Casamance | 1990-2011 | Guinea-Bissau was involved in mediation in 1992, Gambia mediated in 1996 and 1999, and Guinea-Bissau and Gambia jointly mediated between 2002 and 2004.On 30 December 2004, the conflict parties signed the Accord general de paix entre le gouvernement de la republique du Senegal el le Mouvement des forces democratique de la Casamace, which stipulated a ceasefire and detailed negotiations on the economic and political future of Casamance to take place in the near future. Yet, negotiations broke down in 2005. Violence escalated again in 2012. The Community of Sant’Egidio mediated between 2012 and 2014. The negotiations focused on formulating an advanced decentralization process, but the parties failed to reach an agreement | Yes | Yes | No |
| Sudan | Anyanya | Southern Sudan | 1963-1972 | In early 1972, Ethiopia’s Emperor Haile Selassie mediated negotiations between the conflict parties. This led to the conclusion of the Addis Ababa Agreement in February 1972, which granted the southern region some measure of self-rule | Yes | No | No |

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| ***Table 3: Intrastate Armed Conflicts over Territory in Africa with Mediation Aimed at Territorial Change, 1960-2014*** | | | | | | | |
| ***Country*** | ***Rebel Group(s)*** | ***Territory*** | ***Conflict Episode*** | ***Outcome*** | ***African Mediation*** | ***Non-African Mediation*** | ***Territorial Change*** |
| Ethiopia | EPLF, ELF | Eritrea | 1964-1991 | With negotiations ongoing in London on 27 May 1991 – where US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen acted as the chief mediator – the EPRDF entered Addis Ababa and took control of the country. The opposition movements established a transitional government at a conference in Addis Ababa on 5 July 1991, at which a high-level US delegation was also present. The new EPRDF regime allowed a referendum to be held on Eritrean independence in April 1993. The Eritrean people voted almost unanimously in favour of independence. However, even while the US was involved in mediation prior to Eritrea’s referendum on independence, this mediation was not crucial for Eritrea gaining independence. The TPLF and EPLF had a pre-existing agreement that Eritrea would seek its independence after they defeated the Derg regime. | No | Yes (but no crucial impact on the outcome) | Yes |
| Mauritania | Polisario | Western Sahara | 1975-1978 | The UN mediated between the conflict parties in 1976, pushing for a referendum on self-determination for the Sahrawi people. In April 1978, Mauritania’s military leader Mustapha Ould Mohamed Salek announced in a statement the desire for a peaceful settlement of the Western Sahara conflict. Several rounds of negotiations between Mauritania and Polisario followed, which were mediated by Algeria. This led to the signing of a peace agreement in Algiers on 5 August 1979, in which Mauritania renounced its territorial claims to Western Sahara and declared its will to hand over power to Polisario. | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Morocco | Polisario | Western Sahara | 1975-1989 | The UN mediated between the conflict parties in 1976, pushing for a referendum on self-determination for the Sahrawi people. The UN mediated between the conflict parties in 1976. At the 15th OAU summit in Khartoum July 1978, a “committee of wise men” was set up tasked with assessing the situation finding a mutually acceptable solution of the Western Sahara conflict, with the end goal being a referendum for self-determination. Several mediation efforts by the OAU between 1978 and 1884 failed. When the OAU officially recognised the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, Morocco resigned from the organisation in protest. This marked the end of the OAU mediation efforts | Yes | Yes | No |
| South Africa | SWAPO | Namibia | 1966-1988 | In 1976, the US became involved in mediation. Washington immediately started pushing for a territorial solution to the civil war. This laid the basis for mediation by the Western Contact Group (WCG), which was formed in 1977 by the US, the UK, Canada, France and West Germany. The conflict parties agreed on independence for Namibia in 1978 | No | Yes | Yes |
| Sudan | SPLM/A | Southern Sudan | 1983-2005 | Jimmy Carter, the US, and Nigeria were all involved in mediation aimed at an agreement that would preserve Sudan’s territorial integrity. Yet, all these mediation efforts failed. The IGAD mediation team pushed for self-determination from 1994 onwards, but it was not until the greater involvement of the US from 2002 onwards that the Government of Sudan accepted the self-determination principle as a basis for the resolution of the conflict | Yes | Yes | Yes |