Edited by Nicolas Florquin and Eric G. Berman

ARMED AND AIMLESS:
ARMED GROUPS, GUNS, AND HUMAN SECURITY IN THE ECOWAS REGION

A Small Arms Survey Publication
Commissioned by
Small Arms Survey
Avenue Blanc 47
1202 Geneva, Switzerland
www.smallarmssurvey.org
smallarms@hei.unige.ch
tel: +41 22 908 5777
fax: +41 22 732 2738

The Small Arms Survey is an independent research project located at the Graduate Institute of International Studies. It serves as the principal source of public information on all aspects of small arms for governments, policy-makers, researchers, and activists.

© Small Arms Survey 2005

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of the Small Arms Survey. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Publications Manager, Small Arms Survey, at the address above.

Edited by Nicolas Florquin and Eric G. Berman
Copy-edited by Michael James
Editorial Consultant: Patricia Leidl
Typeset by Latitudesign, Geneva
Printed in Switzerland by Atar, Geneva

May 2005

ISBN 2-8288-0063-6
THE SMALL ARMS SURVEY

The Small Arms Survey is an independent research project located at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland. It is also linked to the Graduate Institute’s Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies.

Established in 1999, the project is supported by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, and by contributions from the Governments of Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. It collaborates with research institutes and non-governmental organizations in many countries, including Afghanistan, Brazil, Burundi, Cambodia, Canada, Colombia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Guinea, India, Israel, Jordan, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Russian Federation, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Tajikistan, Thailand, Uganda, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Armed and Aimless is the first publication in the Small Arms Survey’s book series. Designed to complement the annual Small Arms Survey and the Occasional Papers, this series presents the findings of larger research projects. The books are available in hard copy and on the Small Arms Survey Web site.

Small Arms Survey
Avenue Blanc 47
1202 Geneva, Switzerland
www.smallarmssurvey.org
smallarms@hei.unige.ch
tel: +41 22 908 5777
fax: +41 22 732 2738
OCCASIONAL PAPERS

No. 1  Re-Armament in Sierra Leone: One Year After the Lomé Peace Agreement,
      by Eric G. Berman, December 2000

No. 2  Removing Small Arms from Society: A Review of Weapons Collection and
      Destruction Programmes, by Sami Faltas, Glenn McDonald, and Camilla Waszink,
      July 2001

No. 3  Legal Controls on Small Arms and Light Weapons in Southeast Asia,
      by Katherine Kramer (with Nonviolence International Southeast Asia),
      July 2001

No. 4  Shining a Light on Small Arms Exports: The Record of State Transparency,
      by Maria Haug, Martin Langvandslieu, Lora Lumpe, and Nic Marsh (with NISAT),
      January 2002

No. 5  Stray Bullets: The Impact of Small Arms Misuse in Central America,
      by William Godnick, with Robert Muggah and Camilla Waszink,
      November 2002

No. 6  Politics from the Barrel of a Gun: Small Arms Proliferation and Conflict in the
      Republic of Georgia, by Spyros Demetriou, November 2002

No. 7  Making Global Public Policy: The Case of Small Arms and Light Weapons,
      by Edward Laurance and Rachel Stohl, December 2002

No. 8  Small Arms in the Pacific, by Philip Alpers and Conor Twyford,
      March 2003

No. 9  Demand, Stockpiles, and Social Controls: Small Arms in Yemen,
      by Derek B. Miller, May 2003

No. 10 Beyond the Kalashnikov: Small Arms Production, Exports, and Stockpiles in
      the Russian Federation, by Maxim Pyadushkin, with Maria Haug and
      Anna Matveeva, August 2003

No. 11 In the Shadow of a Cease-fire: The Impacts of Small Arms Availability and
      Misuse in Sri Lanka, by Chris Smith, October 2003

No. 12 Kyrgyzstan: A Small Arms Anomaly in Central Asia?, by S. Neil MacFarlane
      and Stina Torjesen, February 2004

No. 13 Small Arms and Light Weapons Production in Eastern, Central, and
      Southeast Europe, by Yudit Kiss, October 2004, ISBN 2-8288-0057-1

No. 14 Securing Haiti’s Transition: Reviewing Human Insecurity and the Prospects
      for Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration, by Robert Muggah,
SPECIAL REPORTS


No. 2  *Small Arms Availability, Trade and Impacts in the Republic of Congo*, by Spyros Demetriou, Robert Muggah and Ian Biddle, commissioned by the International Organisation for Migration and the UN Development Programme, April 2002

No. 3  *Kosovo and the Gun: A Baseline Assessment of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Kosovo*, by Anna Khakee and Nicolas Florquin, commissioned by the United Nations Development Programme, June 2003

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## FOREWORD
*By Dr Mohamed Ibn Chambas* ........................................... xiv

## ABOUT THE AUTHORS .................................................. xv

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..................................................... xviii

## INTRODUCTION
*By Eric G. Berman and Nicolas Florquin* ............................. 1

## PART I: THEMATIC CHAPTERS

### Chapter 1:
**Armed Groups and Conflict in Rivers and Plateau States, Nigeria**
*By Shedrack Gaya Best and Dimieari Von Kemedi* .................... 12

- **Introduction** ......................................................... 13
- **Conflict, armed groups, and small arms in Nigeria** ............... 15
- **Armed vigilantism and cults in Rivers state** ....................... 19
  - The NDPVF, the NDV, and secret cults ................................ 19
  - Small arms availability and sources .................................. 23
  - Protection, oil, party politics and crime .............................. 26
  - Disarmament and the Rivers state peace process ..................... 27
- **Armed groups and ethnic violence in Plateau state** ............... 29
  - From ethnic militias to religious conflict ......................... 30
  - Small arms availability and sources .................................. 33
  - The Plateau state of emergency and disarmament .................... 36
- **Conclusion** .......................................................... 37
- **List of abbreviations** .............................................. 39
- **Endnotes** ............................................................ 40
- **Bibliography** ...................................................... 43

### Chapter 2:
**Insurgency, Disarmament, and Insecurity in Northern Mali, 1990–2004**
*By Nicolas Florquin and Stéphanie Pézard* ............................ 46

- **Introduction** .......................................................... 47
- **Small arms in the insurgency (1990–1996)** .......................... 49
  - Historical background .................................................. 49
  - Overcoming weapons scarcity .......................................... 50
  - Storage, use, and misuse ............................................... 54
TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Malian DDR or the limits of a success story ........................... 57
Gun smuggling and insecurity .................................................. 60
Small arms and terrorist activity in the Sahel ............................... 62
Conclusion ........................................................................... 67
List of abbreviations .................................................................. 69
Endnotes .................................................................................. 69
Bibliography ............................................................................ 73

Chapter 3:
The Anatomy of Ghana’s Secret Arms Industry
By Emmanuel Kwesi Aning .......................................................... 78
Introduction ........................................................................... 79
The nature of the problem ......................................................... 81
Worrying trends ...................................................................... 81
Production process and actors .................................................. 84
Mapping Ghanaian craft small arms production ......................... 88
Volta region: Kpando, Tafi Atome, and Ho ................................. 88
Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions: Kumasi and Techiman .......... 89
Central region: Agona Asafo .................................................... 91
Northern region: Tamale and Kumbungu ................................. 92
Greater Accra region: Kasoa .................................................... 92
Eastern region: Nsawam .......................................................... 93
Western region: Takoradi ......................................................... 93
Upper East and Upper West regions: Bolgatanga and Bawku .... 94
Responses ............................................................................... 94
Legislation and government initiatives .................................... 94
Law enforcement ..................................................................... 98
Civil society initiatives ............................................................ 100
Conclusion ............................................................................ 101
List of abbreviations ................................................................ 102
Endnotes .............................................................................. 102
Bibliography .......................................................................... 106
Chapter 4:
Disarming Liberia: Progress and Pitfalls
By Ryan Nichols .................................................. 108
  Introduction .................................................. 109
  Liberia’s DDRR process: a closer look .................. 110
    Getting it wrong: disarmament in December 2003 .... 110
    Resuming the process .................................. 113
  DD in review ................................................ 118
    Shortcomings in the screening process ............... 118
    Disarmament: what’s in a number? .................... 121
    Demobilization ......................................... 125
    Bigger picture, bigger problems ...................... 127
  Challenges ahead ......................................... 132
    Money matters: funding Liberia’s RR .................. 132
    Liberia’s fighters: neither gone nor forgotten ...... 133
  Conclusion .................................................. 135
  List of abbreviations ...................................... 136
  Endnotes ..................................................... 137
  Bibliography ................................................. 141

Chapter 5:
The Militarization and Demilitarization of Refugee Camps in Guinea
By James Milner .................................................. 144
  Introduction ................................................ 145
  Conflict and the militarization of Guinea’s refugee camps (1999-2003) . 147
    Refugees and the outbreak of conflict (1999-2000) .... 147
    The militarization of refugee-populated areas (2000-2001) ... 149
    Guinean refugee camps and the Liberian civil war (2003-2004) .... 151
    Relocation ............................................... 155
    Policing refugee camps .................................. 157
    Demobilizing Young Volunteers ......................... 159
    Controlling the borders ................................ 161
    Guinea’s refugee population in late 2004 .............. 163
    Secured camps? .......................................... 165
    The continued presence of armed elements .............. 167
    Small arms proliferation and trafficking .............. 169
Conclusion ..................................................................................... 171
List of abbreviations ....................................................................... 172
Endnotes ............................................................................................ 173
Bibliography ...................................................................................... 176

Chapter 6:
Children Associated with Fighting Forces (CAFF)
and Small Arms in the Mano River Union (MRU)
By Christina Wille ............................................................................ 180
Introduction ...................................................................................... 181
CAFF and conflict in the MRU .......................................................... 183
  Historical overview ........................................................................ 183
  Profile of respondents ..................................................................... 185
Perspectives on the recruitment process .......................................... 187
  Forced recruitment ......................................................................... 187
  Voluntary recruitment and the absence of force in the recruitment process ........................................................................... 190
  Small arms in the recruitment process ........................................... 193
Rational choices for child recruitment into armed groups ............... 194
  Demographics, conflict mortality, and CAFF .................................. 194
  Military support tasks ..................................................................... 195
  Support tasks and access to firearms ............................................. 197
Children’s experiences in combat .................................................... 201
  Combat strategies and children .................................................... 201
  Controlling firearms and children in fighting forces .................... 205
Conclusion ......................................................................................... 209
List of abbreviations ....................................................................... 211
Endnotes ............................................................................................ 212
Bibliography ...................................................................................... 219

PART II: ARMED GROUPS AND SMALL ARMS IN ECOWAS MEMBER STATES (1998-2004)
By Eric G. Berman and Nicolas Florquin

Benin ................................................................................................. 224
Burkina Faso ..................................................................................... 228
Cape Verde ....................................................................................... 234
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Côte d'Ivoire</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotic Movement of Côte d'Ivoire (MPCI)</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivorian Popular Movement for the Greater West (MPIGO)</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP)</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forces nouvelles</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group of Patriots for Peace (GPP/CPP/FLN)</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front for the Security of the Centre-West (FSCO)</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front for the Liberation of the Great West (FLGO)</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Young Patriots' (FESCI/UPLTCI/COJEP)</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberian mercenaries (Lima/MODEL)</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gambia</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Boys</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinean dissidents/Movement of the Democratic Forces of Guinea (RFDG)</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Volunteers</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea-Bissau</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military junta/Mané followers</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD)</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL)</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Government of Liberia (GoL) militias</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuareg and Toubou rebel groups</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab and Peulh self-defence militias</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'odua People's Congress (OPC)</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arewa People's Congress (APC)</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onitsha Traders Association (OTA)</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakassi Boys (AVS/AVS/IVS/ASMATA Boys)</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federated Niger Delta Ijaw Communities (FNDIC)</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA)</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF)</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV)</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF)</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hisbah groups</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zamfara State Vigilante Service (ZSVS)</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Sunna Wal Jamma (Followers of the Prophet) (also known as 'Taleban')</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Senegal ......................................................... 358
  Movement of the Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC) ............. 360
Sierra Leone .................................................. 368
  Revolutionary United Front (RUF) ................................ 369
  Civil Defence Force (CDF) ..................................... 370
  Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) ........................... 371
  West Side Boys (WSB) ........................................ 372
Togo ............................................................. 380

CONCLUSION
By Eric G. Berman and Nicolas Florquin .................................. 385
  A growing and persistent threat to security ......................... 385
  Armed and aimless ............................................. 386
  The link to small arms ........................................ 387
  Neglected stockpiles ........................................... 387
  Disarmament in West Africa .................................... 388

MAPS
  Nigeria: Rivers and Plateau states ................................ 12
  Northern Mali ............................................... 46
  Ghana .......................................................... 78
  Liberia: cantonment sites ...................................... 108
  Refuges camps in Guinea in 2000 and 2004 ......................... 144
  Mano River Union ............................................. 180
  Benin .......................................................... 224
  Burkina Faso .................................................. 228
  Cape Verde .................................................... 234
  Côte d’Ivoire ................................................... 238
  The Gambia ..................................................... 262
  Ghana ........................................................... 270
  Guinea .......................................................... 278
  Guinea-Bissau .................................................. 288
  Liberia .......................................................... 298
  Mali ............................................................ 312
  Niger ............................................................ 318
  Nigeria .......................................................... 328
  Senegal .......................................................... 358
  Sierra Leone ..................................................... 368
  Togo .............................................................. 380
# LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Secret cults identified by the Secret Cult Law</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Firearms submitted at Bori Army Camp, Port Harcourt, 7 October–30 November 2004</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Small arms and light weapons used by Malian armed groups during the rebellion (1990-1996)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Weapon uses in the Malian context, by category</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Critical actors involved in the gun-making process</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Craft gun prices and length of manufacture in Agona Asafo</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Fourteen years of conflict in Liberia: A timeline of key events</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>DDRR and weapons collection and destruction programmes in Liberia</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Liberia’s DDRR statistics at a glance (as of 24 November 2004)</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Qualification for entry into the DDRR programme</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Total weapons collected for three groups as of 3 October 2004</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Projected estimate of uncollected weapons as of 3 October 2004</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>List of weapon shipments from Yugoslavia to Liberia from June to August 2002, as found in the UN Panel of Experts on Liberia Report (October 2002)</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>BMS and refugee security volunteers in the refugee camps, October 2004</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>UNHCR-assisted refugee population in Guinea, August 2004</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Reported incidents in Lainé, Kounkan, Kola, and Nonah refugee camps, 1 January–31 August 2004</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Affiliations of CAFF respondents</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Age at recruitment</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Forced recruitment in Liberia by group</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Voluntary and forced recruitment into rebel, military, and government forces in Liberia</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Voluntary and forced CAFF recruitment in Sierra Leone</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 6.3 Voluntary and forced recruitment into self-defence committees in Guinea ..................... 190
Figure 6.4 Self-reported motivations for joining armed groups ....................................... 191
Figure 6.5 All children's tasks within the armed groups .......... 195
Figure 6.6 Girls’ and boys’ activities in the armed units ........ 197
Table 6.4 CAFF access to firearms ......................................................... 198
Figure 6.7 Types of guns accessed by CAFF .............................. 200
Figure 6.8 Small arms available to adults but not to CAFF ......... 200
Figure 6.9 Use of guns to carry out activities ....................... 201
Figure 6.10 Liberia and Sierra Leone: CAFF infringing on human security ................................. 204
Figure 6.11 Availability of ammunition ............................... 208
Figure 6.12 Gun use and supervision .............................. 209
The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has long grappled with the ruinous effects that the proliferation of small arms and light weapons has had on its citizens. It has been estimated that more than eight million firearms are in circulation in our region and that most of these are used not to promote peace and security, but rather are in the hands of armed groups such as insurgents as well as those who engage in illicit activities including organized crime, drug trafficking, illegal exploitation of natural resources and terrorism. The scourge has had profound ramifications for economic, social, and political development.

Our Member States are working tirelessly and effectively to address the challenges of small arms proliferation. The government of Mali, for example, began a dialogue with rebel groups that resulted in a peaceful resolution of long-standing tensions and the destruction of thousands of weapons. Subsequently, the ECOWAS Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation, and Manufacture of Light Weapons in West Africa was concluded and a Programme of Coordination and Assistance for Security and Development (PCASED) undertaken to support the ground-breaking initiative. ECOWAS Heads of State and Government also approved a Code of Conduct to facilitate progress and accountability. The ECOWAS Small Arms Control Programme (ECOSAP), which has succeeded PCASED, is yet another example of the region’s commitment.

ECOWAS and its Member States recognize the important role that civil society organizations—both within the region and abroad—play in assisting governments to meet their objectives. This study, which Mali initiated and that the ECOWAS Secretariat supported, is an important example of what can be achieved when people and governments work together toward a common goal. It raises numerous concerns that merit additional study such as the need to place greater emphasis on more rigorous stockpile management so that legal transfers of arms do not fall into the hands of criminals and rebels. The study also warns that groups armed by the state ostensibly for its defence can often unintentionally undermine peace and security.

The scope of the report is ambitious and raises many interesting points worthy of further study. I hope that this initiative will help develop good policies and draw attention to the challenges we and our citizens face—and support for our continuous efforts to address them.

Dr Mohamed Ibn Chambas
Executive Secretary
Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Emmanuel Kwesi Aning obtained a BA from the University of Ghana in 1986, majoring in History. He subsequently obtained an MPhil in History and a PhD in Political Science from the University of Copenhagen in 1988 and 1998 respectively. Since then he has lectured at Copenhagen and Aarhus Universities, Denmark, the European Peace University (Austria) as well as in South Africa and Nigeria. Presently, Dr. Aning is research Director at the Ghana-based African Security Dialogue and Research (ASDR) thinktank and teaches at the University of Ghana’s Legon Centre for International Affairs and at the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College. Dr Aning has published extensively in academic journals and contributed to several edited collections. His most recent publications have appeared in the Journal of Conflict, Security and Development, the Review of African Political Economy, the Journal of Asian and African Studies, and the Encyclopaedia of African History.


Shedrack Gaya Best holds a PhD in Peace Studies from the University of Bradford, United Kingdom. He is currently a Senior Lecturer in Political Science at the University of Jos, as well as the Head of the university’s Centre for Conflict Management and Peace Studies. He is a recipient of many academic scholarships and awards, and has published in local and international journals. Dr Best is presently editing a reader titled Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa, a project of the University for Peace in Africa programme.
Nicolas Florquin joined the Small Arms Survey as a researcher in September 2002. While at the Survey, he has managed and coordinated research projects focusing on various countries in Africa, the Balkans, Latin America and the Caribbean. He regularly contributes chapters to the Small Arms Survey yearbook and to a variety of other publications. Mr Florquin has carried out fieldwork in several African countries, including Angola, the Central African Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and South Africa. Prior to joining the Survey, he worked for the Arab Human Rights Association in Nazareth, Israel, the Programme on Security and Development and the Center for Nonproliferation Studies in Monterey, California, as well as the UN Department for Disarmament Affairs and the UN Institute for Disarmament Research in Geneva, Switzerland. He holds a Master of Public Administration in International Management from the Monterey Institute of International Studies.

Dimieari Von Kemedi is currently Director of Our Niger Delta, an NGO based in Port Harcourt and Yenagoa, Nigeria. He has worked extensively on projects related to community development and conflict transformation in many communities in the Niger Delta, including Nembe, Akassa, Anyama, Kolouma, Bonny, Egweama, Bille, Ke, and Peremabiri with support from the Netherlands embassy in Nigeria and the UK Commonwealth and Foreign Office, and the Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, among others. He has been centrally involved in a number of conflict-resolution interventions over the last decade in conflict-affected oil-producing communities and has substantial experience working with youth groups and civic organizations across the Niger Delta.

James Milner is a doctoral student and Trudeau Scholar at the Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford. From 1999 to 2002, he was a consultant with UNHCR in India, Cameroon, Guinea, and UNHCR Headquarters. He has presented conference and seminar papers in Africa, Asia, Europe and North America on the security implications of refugee movements, and has been an adviser to the UK Home Office and the European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE). He has recently published articles with Gil Loescher in International Affairs, Survival, and the Journal of Conflict, Development and Security. His current research focuses on the relationship between protracted refugee situations and the politics of asylum in Africa.
Ryan Nichols is currently a research consultant for the Small Arms Survey. He is a graduate of the University of Bradford, United Kingdom, and holds an MA in International Politics and Security Studies. His fieldwork and research have largely focused on small arms control and disarmament in West Africa. Most recently, Mr Nichols has worked in Liberia with the UN Development Programme as a disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation, and reintegration officer, and prior to that was based in Togo at the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa.

Stéphanie Pézard is an associate researcher with the Small Arms Survey. She is involved in a number of diverse projects, particularly relating to ammunition, armed groups and small arms demand, and regularly contributes to various publications, including chapters of the Small Arms Survey yearbook. She is also a PhD candidate at the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, where she is focusing on decision-making processes leading to disengagement in the context of foreign military interventions. She holds an MA in contemporary history from the French Institute of Political Science in Paris.

Christina Wille is currently a senior researcher with the Small Arms Survey in Geneva. She has carried out fieldwork in central and southeast Asia, central Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa on human security issues related to small arms use and migration. She has served as a junior expert to the European Commission in Slovenia and has worked as a researcher for the Asian Research Center for Migration in Bangkok and the Migration Policy Group in Brussels. She holds degrees from the Universities of Cambridge and Durham in the UK.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is the result of an initiative of the Government of Mali and generous financial support from the governments of Canada, Norway, and Switzerland. The project also benefited from the political support of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the United Nations Office in West Africa (UNOWA). In this regard, we are particularly indebted to ECOWAS Executive Secretary Dr Mohamed Ibn Chambas, Deputy Executive Secretary General Cheikh Oumar Diarra, and Amb. Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah, the UN Secretary-General’s Special Representative for West Africa.

Mahamadou Nimaga at the Malian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation and Urs Beer at the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (DFAE) of Switzerland merit special mention. Without their vision, diplomatic networks, and logistical assistance, this project would never have been undertaken.

People who provided helpful contacts, facilitated useful meetings, or were especially generous with their time include Mohammed Sadique Abubakri, Peter Andersen, Judith Asuni, Anatole Ayissi, Prosper Bani, Samba Fall, Andrew Gilmour, Lisa Misol, and Paul Stromberg. In this regard, we wish to acknowledge one person in particular, Mohamed Coulibaly, who took a heightened interest in the project and generously shared his knowledge and introduced us to his colleagues throughout the region.

The manuscript benefited from an energetic and far-reaching peer-review process. We appreciate the comments and constructive criticism offered by Napoleon Abdoulai, Innocent Adjenuhure, Sebastien Agbota, Christiane Agboton-Johnson, Ibrahim Assaleh, Alhaji Bah, Albert Chaibou, Justus Demeyai, Abdourahmane Dieng, Adedeji Ebo, Martin Evans, Jeremy Gifner, Jeffrey Isima, Maï Moctar Kassouma, Firhouroun Mahamar Maiga, Sonya Maldar, Abdel-Fatau Musah, Patrick Naangbaton, Sharmala Naidoo, Cyril Obi, F. A. T. Oreagba, Dickson Nkemakonam Orji, Pablo Policzer, Maureen Poole, Robin-Edward Poulton, David Pratten, Carlos Reis, Christiana Solomon, Carina Tertsakian, Léonard Vincent, Alex Vines, Taya Weiss, and Afi Yakubu. Several people went above and beyond the call of duty and deserve special recognition: Ineba Bob-Manuel, Darren Kew, Baz Lecocq, Mike McGovern, Nnamdi Obasi, Gilles Yabi, as well as desk officers from the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT).

We also wish to thank Mahmoud Cissé, Bela Hovy, Yvon Orand, and Assiah Toyi for helping us collect and collate data that otherwise would not have been available or easily obtainable.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book would not have been possible without the support of the Small Arms Survey team. Special thoughts go to Tania Inowlocki, whose continuous support was felt throughout the project. Carole Touraine and Delphine Zinner provided irreproachable administrative support. James Bevan, Anne-Kathrin Glatz, Sahar Hassan, Glenn McDonald, and Ruxandra Stoicescu all contributed valuable editing and research assistance. Paola Matulli and Julio Bacio Terracino at the Graduate Institute of International Studies helped to review the manuscript.

As in any study of this nature, many of the people we would wish to acknowledge cannot be named. We can, however, thank the authors, who were a pleasure to work with.

We are also grateful to the good humour, talent, and willingness of the following people to do what was needed to ensure that this book was completed on schedule: Michael James, Pat Leidl, Louisa Lombard, and the Latitudesign team of Vick Arnò, Nicoletta Forni, and Nicholas Cuthbert.

Finally, on a personal note, Eric would like to thank his wife, Elizabeth Umlas, and kids, Rachel and Jonah, for their understanding and support—especially during the final stages of this book.

Eric G. Berman                Nicolas Florquin
Geneva                        Geneva