peace and conflict

2005

Monty G. Marshall
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CIDCM
Center for International Development
& Conflict Management

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A Global Survey of Armed Conflicts, Self-Determination Movements, and Democracy

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with contributions by

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1. INTRODUCTION

The war on terror and Iraq's violent transition to multiethnic democracy dominate contemporary headlines. A large-scale genocide began in Darfur shortly after the publication of the 2003 edition of Peace and Conflict and international responses have thus far been ineffective. Civil wars are devastating once-stable countries such as Nepal and Ivory Coast. Little surprise, then, that most observers are convinced our world has become less secure since publication of the first edition of Peace and Conflict in 2001, a report that documented a post-Cold War ebb in armed conflicts and traced the ascendancy of democratic regimes. Despite the prevailing sense of global insecurity, the positive trends traced in previous editions of this report have continued into early 2005.

Despite the prevailing sense of global insecurity, the positive trends traced in previous editions of this report have continued into early 2005.

- The decline in the global magnitude of armed conflict, following a peak in the early 1990s, has persisted and few of the many societal wars contained in the last decade have resumed. Major societal wars are down from twelve at the end of 2002 to eight in early 2005.
- Most democratic regimes established during the 1980s and 1990s have endured despite political and economic crises. Popular forces have mobilized in many countries, such as Bolivia, Georgia, Philippines, and Ukraine, to promote democratic principles, hold leaders accountable, and thwart the subversion of democratization. In the Middle East, the region most resistant to democratization, tutelary democracies in Afghanistan and Iraq have gained support and small steps have been taken toward democratic reform in other Arab autocracies. On the down side, movement toward reform in Iran suffered a serious setback.
- Ethnonational wars for independence, which were the main threat to civil peace and regional security in the 1990s, have continued to decline to their lowest level since 1960. Deepa Khosla reports that, from 2001 to 2004, thirteen major self-determination conflicts were settled or contained, offset by a half-dozen new or renewed campaigns, the most deadly of which are in Darfur (where a new rebellion began in early 2003) and Indonesia's Aceh province (where fighting resumed in 2003 after the failure of internationally-brokered negotiations).
- Repression and political discrimination against ethnic minorities, surveyed for the first time in this report by Victor Asal and Amy Pate, have declined significantly, coinciding with the dramatic decline in autocratic regimes since the late 1980s. Since 1950, the number of minorities benefiting from policies aimed at remedying past political discrimination has increased five-fold. These trends are linked to both democratization and containment of separatist wars. Most new democracies have recognized minority rights; almost all ethnonational war settlements give former rebels greater political rights and opportunities.

These positive trends are no warrant for unqualified optimism about the future of world peace. The gains documented here are the result of persistent and coordinated efforts at peace-building by civil society organizations, national leaders, non-governmental organizations, and international bodies. But there is no certainty that strategies which worked in the past are sufficient to deal with emerging challenges, especially those due to the globalization of conflict processes. Nor can we continue to count on the resources and political will needed to sustain the trends. International cooperation is threatened by growing fractures in the world community. These are some of the challenges, old and new.

- The 2005 Peace and Conflict ledger gives red flags to 31 out of 161 countries surveyed, compared with 34 countries in our 2003 report. They include 17 African countries plus others such as Armenia, Cambodia, Haiti, Iran, Lebanon, and Pakistan, all of which are at serious risk of mismanaging societal crises and succumbing to civil war or governmental collapse. Another 51 countries are yellow-flagged, of which 19 are in Africa south of the Sahara, 10 in North Africa and the Middle East, and 12 in the Asia-Pacific region. In short, half the world's countries have serious weaknesses that call for international scrutiny and engagement.

These positive trends are no warrant for unqualified optimism about the future of world peace. International cooperation is threatened by growing fractures in the world community.

- Sub-Saharan Africa's concentration of weak governments, fractured societies, and civil warfare is the subject of a special analysis in this report. The trends are positive, the challenges daunting. On the plus side Africa has seen substantial decreases in armed conflict, autocratic governance, and political instability since 1991. On the down side are pervasive and worsening impoverishment, run-away growth of cities with high concentrations of unemployed youth, crippling levels of HIV infection, and pervasive corruption that thwarts economic and social development.
- Terrorism has become the dominant security concern of the twenty-first century, first because it is increasingly transnational and deadly, second because its most dramatic acts are carried out in the name of a global doctrine that is antithetical to Western and democratic values. Analyses of trends in terrorism, reported here, show that high-casualty terrorist acts increased very sharply after al Qaeda's September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, due mainly to the adoption of suicide terror attacks by jihadists and nationalists in Iraq, Israel, Pakistan, Philippines, and Russia.
- Risks of future genocide and political mass murder remain high in a half-dozen countries and a significant possibility in a dozen others. This report includes Barbara Harff's 2005 risk analysis, which shows that Burma, Algeria, Burundi, Rwanda, and Ethiopia have five or more of the seven risk factors that have preceded mass killings of the past half-century. The inability of the UN and the African Union to end the Khartoum government's ethnic cleansing in Darfur raises grave doubts about the will and capacity of international actors to take preventive action in future episodes.

This is the third report in the Peace and Conflict series. It uses data and summarizes research developed at the Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland on organized violence, self-determination movements, ethnic minorities, and governance. In addition to its regular assessment of the peace-building capacities of states and tracking of major trends in the global system, the series provides detailed analyses of current issues; this report includes analyses of global and regional trends in group discrimination, political instability in Africa, risks of genocide, and global terrorism. Information regarding individual wars and self-determination conflicts, as well as data sources and model parameters, is listed in the four appendix tables that accompany this report.

Ted Robert Gurr
Monty G. Marshall
April 2005

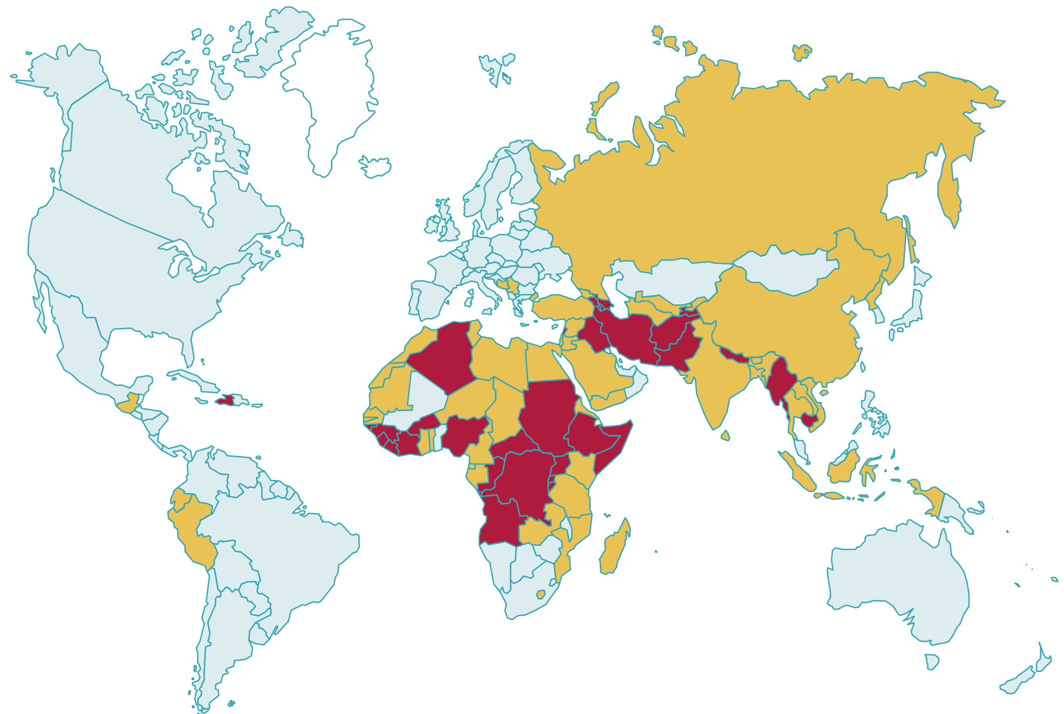
2. THE PEACE AND CONFLICT LEDGER:

Country Ratings of Peace-Building Capacity in 2005

Monty G. Marshall

The Peace and Conflict Ledger rates 161 countries according to their scores on seven indicators of capacity for peace-building, that is, all countries with a total population greater than 500,000 in early 2005. As explained in the Ledger's notes, we rate a country's peace-building capacity high insofar as it has managed to avoid outbreaks of armed conflicts while providing reasonable levels of human security, shows no active policies of political or economic discrimination against minorities, has successfully managed movements for self-determination, maintains stable democratic institutions, has attained substantial human and material resources, and is free of serious threats from its neighboring countries. Countries are evaluated and placed into three ordered categories of peace-building capacity: red, yellow, and green. Red-flagged countries are considered to be at the greatest risk of neglecting or mismanaging emerging societal crises such that these conflicts escalate to serious violence and/or government instability; green-flagged countries enjoy the strongest prospects for successful management of new challenges. Figure 2.1 shows the global distribution of the three general peace-building capacities of states in early 2005 and table 2.1 lists peace-building ratings for each of the 161 countries.

Figure 2.1: Peace-Building Capacities of States



These rankings do not necessarily indicate impending risks of armed conflict or instability in the red or yellow flagged states, only that these states are vulnerable to such challenges. The Ledger is designed to complement "early warning" or "risk" models such as those discussed in sections 7 and 8, following. Actual risk factors for individual states must be informed by current situations and qualities of societal conflict dynamics at any particular point in time. For example, Ukraine is rated as having good conflict management capacity. In November 2004, a dramatic increase in social tensions was triggered by opposition allegations of unlawful manipulation of election results by the executive

branch of government. Massive demonstrations challenging the authority of the Kuchma regime might have led to a violent confrontation between the opposition and regime security forces, polarization of social forces, or backsliding by the regime toward greater autocratic rule and repression of the opposition leadership. These more dire possibilities, however, were averted through a combination of non-provocative oppositional tactics, controlled response by security forces, and international engagement. The leadership of the so-called "Orange Revolution" in Ukraine managed to defuse tensions without escalation to violence and adjudicate disputes among contending factions so that the democratization process proceeded in spite of the political crisis. Green-flagged countries Venezuela and Zimbabwe, despite widespread and complex societal tensions, active opposition movements, and intense international pressures, have managed to avoid serious instability events, such as an outbreak of armed conflict, a failure of regime authority, or a concerted government crackdown on their opposition movements. In contrast, red-flagged Pakistan succumbed to a military coup in 1999 that ousted a democratically-elected government; its military leader Gen. Musharraf has survived several assassination attempts; has not been able, or willing, to control increasing communal violence between Sunni and Shi'a religious sects; has engaged in serious fighting and repression in regions along its border with Afghanistan; continues to interfere in the separatist rebellion in the neighboring Kashmir region of India; and has seen the re-emergence of a separatist movement in Baluchistan that had been repressed since 1977. Yellow-flagged countries such as Madagascar, Saudi Arabia, Togo, and Yemen have struggled recently to keep rising social tensions within manageable bounds.

31 red-flagged countries are at serious risk of conflict management failure… 51 yellow-flagged countries have a mix of positive and negative factors… Under half of all countries are green-flagged.

The Ledger lists countries by region. Each region's list is headed by those countries that were either experiencing major armed societal conflicts in early 2005 (red icons) or had ended major armed conflicts since early 2001 (yellow icons; countries with emerging armed conflicts in early 2005 are denoted by orange icons). Following the war-torn countries, the remaining countries are listed alphabetically within each of three categories of peace-building capacity: red, yellow, and green, with the most vulnerable countries (red) at the top of each regional list. The 31 red-flagged countries (three fewer than the 2003 list) are at serious risk of conflict management failure for, at least, the next few years. Examples are Afghanistan, Cambodia, Haiti, Iran, and Lebanon. The 51 yellow-flagged countries have a mix of positive and negative factors. India, for example, has stable democratic political institutions but, on the negative side, poor human security, multiple ethnic challenges, limited resources, and a bad neighborhood (its external environment). Russia, another yellow-flagged state, scores positive on democracy, resources, and neighborhood, but its democratic institutions are only recently established; it has generally poor human security and a mixed record for managing self-determination movements. Just under half of all countries are green-flagged, including all the well-established Western democracies, most of Latin America and the Caribbean (except for red-flagged Haiti and yellow-flagged Ecuador, Guatemala, and Peru), and most of the former-Socialist countries of Europe (with the notable exceptions of yellow-flagged Bosnia, Georgia, Serbia and Montenegro, and Russia). With the exception of green-coded Kazakhstan, the former-Socialist republics of Central Asia are coded yellow.

The African Crisis Zone. African countries have generally low capacity for conflict management and continue to face serious and complex challenges to peace and stability in 2005. However, important progress has been made in increasing regional capacity, and there are important differences within the region. In the region of Africa South of the

Important progress has been made in increasing regional capacity.

Sahara, there are seventeen red-flagged countries (down from twenty-five in the 2003 Ledger) and nineteen yellow-flagged countries (there were thirteen listed in 2003). These vulnerable countries are contrasted with only nine green-flagged countries (Benin, Botswana, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe).[1] The five countries on the North Africa coast are each flagged as vulnerable in 2005, with Algeria flagged red and the others (Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia) flagged yellow. Almost every country across the broad middle belt of Africa, from Somalia in the east to Sierra Leone in the west, and from Sudan in the north to Angola in the south, has a volatile mix of poor human security, unstable and inequitable political institutions, limited resources, and, inevitably, a "bad neighborhood" of similar crisis-ridden states. In southern Africa, a small but growing cluster of green-flagged states, headed by South Africa, manages to maintain good prospects for avoiding serious conflicts and political instability despite challenging circumstances, particularly in Zimbabwe. Most West Africa states continue to be highly vulnerable, although substantial progress has been made in ending armed conflicts and demobilizing fighters in the region. Mali and Benin are the two exemplars in this region. The outcome of Nigeria's shaky transition to democracy is crucial for the region, as is the outcome of international efforts to stabilize the brutal anarchy that has engulfed the Democratic Republic of Congo (D.R. Congo). If democratic governance can be consolidated and communal tensions eased, especially in regard to the Muslim-Christian divide in the north, Nigeria may help stabilize all of West Africa, a role the Republic of South Africa has played in the southern continent. Of course, continued turmoil in the pivotal state of D.R. Congo will seriously challenge not only Nigeria's potential for contributing to stabilization in the west but, also, the prospects for peace and recovery in Angola and the several countries of the Rift Valley in eastern Africa. Further complicating prospects for stabilization in the African crisis zone are some of the more pervasive consequences of long-term poverty and warfare: deteriorating sanitation and health and, especially, the related AIDS pandemic; widespread and recurring famine; and large numbers of refugee, displaced, and otherwise marginalized populations. See section 7 in this report, Focus on Political Instability in Africa, for a more detailed discussion and risk analysis.

The Muslim Crisis Zone. The U.S. officially launched its global "war on terrorism" in October 2001 in direct response to the 9/11 (2001) al Qaeda attacks on targets in the United States and the refusal of Afghanistan's Taliban regime to surrender al Qaeda leaders. An especially dramatic aspect of the 9/11 attacks was the total destruction of the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York. This was not the first attack against this icon of U.S. global economic power. A large truck bomb had been detonated in the underground parking garage of the World Trade Center eight years earlier in 1993 with the apparent intent of causing the building to collapse. Prior to the 9/11 attacks, the U.S. had been the second most frequent target of international terrorist attacks, after Israel. Indeed, the problem of international terrorism had long been considered an outgrowth of the long-standing Israel-Palestine and larger Arab-Israeli conflicts. The U.S. was often viewed as a target of opportunity because of its global activism and strong support for Israel. Central to understanding the transformation of "international terrorism" to "global terrorism," and what can be done about it, is determining the role of the al Qaeda organization not only in the "old style" international terrorism and the "new" global terrorism, but, also, to the politics of the Middle East and larger Muslim world.

1 The island states of Comoros (yellow-flagged), Mauritius (green-flagged), and Madagascar (yellow-flagged) are included in the Africa South of the Sahara listings.

The most crucial question is whether al Qaeda is the producer of global terrorism or leader of a greater "clash of civilizations" or is it simply a product of structural conditions and an expression of increasing tensions in the Muslim world? Part of the answer to this question comes from considering the challenges facing the Muslim countries in the context of, and in conjunction with, their general peace-building capacities.

Changes in the quality of international engagement toward neutrality or, worse, toward provocation can be expected to have serious implications…

Muslim countries are most closely associated with the North Africa and Middle East region but, in fact, they span the entire central belt of the eastern hemisphere from Morocco in the west to Indonesia in the east. In examining the contemporary trends in violent societal conflict in the North Africa and the Middle East region (see figure 4.e in Peace and Conflict 2001) there does not seem to be great cause for alarm: levels of armed conflict were generally comparable to levels in Latin America during the same period and the levels had diminished to a very low level by the year 2000. Similarly, the peace-building capacities of states in the region were comparable to those listed for the former-Socialist Bloc countries (see table 1 in Peace and Conflict 2001). Both of these comparable regions, while experiencing some serious conflict management challenges over the past decade, have performed fairly well in keeping the peace; cause for concern, no great cause for alarm. However, when we shift focus to the broader category of Muslim countries a different picture emerges in regard to peace-building capacity.[2] Taking this perspective we can see that the Muslim countries have a general peace-building profile comparable to that of the African countries. There are seventeen red-flagged, twenty-four yellow-flagged, and only nine green-flagged countries in the larger Muslim region (recall the breakdown for Africa is 18-23-9). Unlike the Africa region, armed conflict in the Muslim region has declined by over sixty percent since 1991, similar to the global trend reported in the following section. Given the Muslim region's generally poor peace-building capacity, we must consider the importance of proactive international engagement in explaining the steep decline in armed conflicts. With this in mind, changes in the quality of international engagement toward neutrality or, worse, toward provocation can be expected to have serious implications for the region. Indeed, of the six countries flagged (orange) in the Ledger with emerging armed conflicts in early 2005, four are Muslim countries and a fifth conflict, in Thailand, involves the resurgence of a separatist movement among the Muslim minority in the south. In addition, seventy percent of Muslim countries in Africa have experienced post-independence instability in recent years (see section 7 following) and the vast majority of global terrorist attacks have occurred in Muslim countries (see section 9).

Other Areas of Concern. The Asian heartland is a region of continuing concern. In our 2003 report, Asia was described as a serious "crisis zone." Though neither as poor nor as vulnerable as the countries in the African region or as volatile as the Muslim countries, the Asian region remains of vital interest. Since the end of the Cold War, the majority of the world's major armed societal conflicts have been concentrated in the Asian and African continents. Asia is also home to about half of the world's population. The continuing vulnerability of the Asian region is of even greater concern due to the increasing proliferation of nuclear weapons and missile technologies across the continent. Russia, China, India, Pakistan, and Israel are all known to possess nuclear arsenals and delivery

2 Here, a "Muslim country" is defined as any country where at least forty percent of the population professes one of the sects of Islam. For the record, there are six countries where Muslims are between forty and fifty percent of the total population, all of which are in Africa: Burkina Faso, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. The forty percent of the figure is used because it identifies all countries in which Muslims are the largest confessional group.

systems. In 2002, rapidly escalating tensions between long-time rivals India and Pakistan led to the first overt nuclear confrontation since the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. Additionally, several states are suspected to have programs aimed at developing nuclear weapons capabilities. The issue of proliferation has been of particular concern in regard to North Korea, which has developed and tested medium-range missile capabilities and has recently declared that it possesses (or might possess) nuclear weapons. Tensions over proliferation of nuclear weapons and other chemical and biological "mass destruction" technologies precipitated the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 and this, in turn, has contributed to suspicions and allegations regarding Iran's intentions and to a serious deterioration in the security environment across the Middle East. The three main flash points for conflict management in Asia are each characterized by long-standing, unresolved issues of partition and involve some credible threat of nuclear exchange: the two Koreas, China-Taiwan, and India-Pakistan. In terms of the sheer vulnerability of states, the Central Asian region is also of serious concern, as is Bangladesh and the surrounding areas in India. The rapid pace of the modernization of China's economy will surely test the limited capacity of the regime to manage social tensions and adapt to new realities, especially the expanding influence of the commercial sector. Over all, the situation in Asia continues to improve, along with its conflict management capabilities and future prospects.

A final mention should be made in respect to a noted weakening of the peace-building capacity of countries in Latin America. Several countries in South America have been rocked by economic and financial crises leading to mass demonstrations and the resignations of several elected leaders under conditions of public duress. The military, which had been quick to step in to quell such disturbances in the past, has generally stood aside. Public discontent with economic stagnation in Central America has led more often to calls for prosecution of past executives on charges of corruption. In both regions it remains unclear whether the military has effectively abandoned its traditional role as political arbiter during times of economic recession and crisis or under what circumstances the military's tolerance of civic disorder might give way to a return of political activism.

The rapid pace of the modernization of China's economy will surely test the limited capacity of the regime to manage social tensions and adapt to new realities, especially the expanding influence of the commercial sector.

Notes for the Indicators in the Peace and Conflict Ledger

The Peace and Conflict Ledger lists the 161 larger countries in the world—all those with populations greater than 500,000 in 2005—and rates each country on seven indicators of capacity for building peace and managing potentially destabilizing political crises. We rate a country's peace-building capacity high insofar as it has managed to avoid outbreaks of armed conflicts while pro- viding reasonable levels of human security, shows no active policies of political or economic discrimination against minorities, successfully managed movements for self-determination, maintained stable democratic institutions, attained substantial human and material resources, and is free of serious threats from its neighboring countries. Countries are listed by world region and, within each region, first, according to countries with current or recent episodes of armed conflict and, second, from lowest (red) to highest (green) peace-building capacity. Because many global trends in the qualities of peace have steadily improved since the early 1990s, some minor changes have been made to the Ledger to increase our ability to report differences among countries on certain indicators. These changes do not affect comparison of the current Ledger with previous editions of Peace and Conflict.

Column 1: Peace-Building Capacity

The summary indicator of peace-building capacity is located on the far left side of the ledger. It summarizes the seven component indicators listed on the right side of the ledger and described below. The ranking is used to classify the countries in each geographical region according to a single global standard. The armed conflict indicator, also located on the left side of the ledger, is not used in the calculations but is used to highlight countries with major armed conflicts in recent years. Red and yellow icons on the seven component indicators are evidence of problems whereas green icons signal a capacity for managing conflict without resort to serious armed conflict. Weighted values are assigned to each of the seven indicators (-2 for red, -1 for yellow, +1.5 for green) and averaged for the number of icons listed (a blank indicator value is not used in the calculation). Countries with an average less than -1 have red icons on the summary indicator of capacity and yellow icons signal an average score between -1 and 0. Countries with an average greater than 0 are given green icons.

Column 2: Armed Conflict

The icons in this column are used to highlight countries with the very real threat of major armed conflicts being fought in early-2005, as summarized in Appendix figure 11.1 and described in Appendix table 11.1; these icons are not used in calculating the indicators of peace-building capacity.[1] A red icon highlights countries with an ongoing (low, medium, or high intensity) major armed conflict in early 2005; a yellow icon identifies countries with either a sporadic or low intensity armed conflict in early 2005 or an armed conflict that was suspended or repressed between early 2001 and early 2005. Episodes of political violence must have reached a minimum threshold of 1,000 battle-related deaths to be considered major armed conflicts. New episodes of political violence that have emerged in the past two years, in which there have been substantial numbers killed but which have not yet reached the 1,000 death threshold, are identified by an orange icon.

Table 2.1: The Peace and Conflict Ledger 2005

Peace-Building Capacity	Armed Conflict	Country	Human Security	Self-Determination	Discrimination	Regime Type	Durability	Societal Capacity	Neighborhood
North Atlantic									
Green	Red	United States	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Austria	Green			Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Belgium	Green	Green		Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Canada	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Denmark	Green			Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Finland	Green	Green		Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		France	Green	Yellow		Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Germany	Green			Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Greece	Green			Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Ireland	Green			Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Italy	Green	Green		Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Netherlands	Green			Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Norway	Green	Green		Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Portugal	Green			Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Spain	Yellow	Yellow		Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Sweden	Green	Green		Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Switzerland	Green	Green	Red	Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		United Kingdom	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green
Former Socialist Bloc									
Yellow	Red	Russia	Red	Yellow		Green	Red	Green	Green
Red		Armenia	Yellow			Red	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
Red		Azerbaijan	Yellow	Yellow		Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
Red		Tajikistan	Yellow		Yellow	Red	Yellow	Red	Red
Yellow		Bosnia	Yellow	Yellow		Red	Red		Green
Yellow		Georgia	Yellow	Yellow		Green	Green	Yellow	Yellow
Yellow		Kyrgyzstan	Green	Green	Yellow	Red	Green	Yellow	Red
Yellow		Serbia and Montenegro	Yellow	Yellow		Green	Red		Green
Yellow		Turkmenistan	Green			Yellow	Green	Yellow	Red
Yellow		Uzbekistan		Green	Yellow	Yellow	Green		Red
Green		Albania				Green	Yellow	Yellow	Green
Green		Belarus	Green			Yellow	Yellow	Green	Green
Green		Bulgaria	Green		Yellow	Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Croatia	Yellow	Yellow		Green	Red	Green	Green
Green		Czech Republic	Green			Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Estonia	Green		Green	Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Hungary	Green		Green	Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Kazakhstan	Green	Green	Yellow	Yellow	Green		Red
Green		Latvia	Green		Yellow	Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Lithuania	Green			Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Macedonia		Green	Yellow	Green	Red	Green	Green
Green		Moldova	Green	Yellow		Green	Green	Yellow	Green
Green		Poland	Green			Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Romania	Green	Green	Green	Green	Yellow	Green	Green
Green		Slovak Republic	Green	Green		Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Slovenia	Green			Green	Green	Green	Green
Green		Ukraine	Green	Yellow		Green	Green		Green

	Peace-Building Capacity	Armed Conflict	Human Security	Self-Determination	Discrimination	Regime Type	Durability	Societal Capacity	Neighborhood
Latin America and the Caribbean									
Colombia	green	red	red	green		green	green		green
Haiti	red	orange				red	red	red	green
Ecuador	yellow			yellow	red	green	red		green
Guatemala	yellow		yellow		yellow	green	yellow	yellow	green
Peru	yellow		yellow	yellow	yellow	green	red		green
Argentina	green		green			green	green	green	green
Bolivia	green		green	yellow	green	green	green	yellow	green
Brazil	green			yellow	yellow	green	green	green	green
Chile	green		green	yellow		green	green	green	green
Costa Rica	green		green			green	green		green
Cuba	green					yellow	green		green
Dominican Republic	green		green		red	green	yellow		green
El Salvador	green					green	green		green
Guyana	green		green		red	green	green		green
Honduras	green		green			green	green	yellow	green
Jamaica	green		green			green	green	green	green
Mexico	green		yellow	yellow		green	yellow	green	green
Nicaragua	green		green	green		green	green	yellow	green
Panama	green		green		yellow	green	green		green
Paraguay	green		green			green	green	yellow	green
Trinidad & Tobago	green		green	green		green	green	green	green
Uruguay	green		green			green	green	green	green
Venezuela	green		green		yellow	green	green	green	green
Asia and the Pacific									
Nepal	red	red	yellow			yellow	red	red	red
India	yellow	red	red	yellow	yellow	green	green	yellow	red
Indonesia	yellow	red	red	red		green	yellow	yellow	yellow
Afghanistan	red	yellow	red	yellow	green	red	red	red	red
Myanmar (Burma)	red	yellow	red	red	red	yellow	green	red	yellow
Pakistan	red	orange	yellow	red	yellow	red	yellow	yellow	red
Solomon Islands	red	yellow	yellow			red	red	yellow	
Sri Lanka	yellow	yellow	red	yellow	red	green	green	yellow	red
Philippines	green	yellow	yellow	yellow	green	green	green	yellow	yellow
Cambodia	red		yellow			red	yellow	red	yellow
Bangladesh	yellow		yellow	green	red	green	green	red	red
Bhutan	yellow		green	yellow	red	yellow	green	red	red
China	yellow		yellow	yellow		yellow	green		yellow
East Timor	yellow		yellow			green	red	red	yellow
Fiji	yellow		green		yellow	green	red		
Korea, North	yellow					yellow	green		yellow
Laos	yellow		green	red		yellow	green	red	yellow
Thailand	yellow	orange		red		green	green		yellow
Vietnam	yellow			yellow		yellow	green	red	yellow
Australia	green		green	green		green	green	green	
Japan	green		green			green	green	green	yellow
Korea, South	green		green			green	green	green	yellow
Malaysia	green		green		yellow	red	green	green	yellow
Mongolia	green		green			green	green	yellow	yellow
New Zealand	green		green		green	green	green	green	
Papua New Guinea	green			green		green	green	yellow	yellow
Singapore	green		green		yellow	red	green	green	yellow
Taiwan	green		green	green		green	green	green	yellow

Column 3: Human Security

The icons in this column indicate the general quality of human security in the country over the past ten-year period, 1991-2000. The Human Security indicator incorporates information on armed conflicts and rebellions, inter-communal fighting, refugee and internally displaced populations, state repression, terrorism, and, in a few cases, genocides. Red icons indicate countries that have had a generally high level of human security problems in several of the categories over a substantial period of time. A yellow icon indicates a country that has had problems of somewhat lower magnitude over a more limited span of time. Countries that have had some human security problems but not at the higher levels noted above are left blank on this indicator (a neutral value). Green icons indicate countries that have performed well and experienced little or no human security problems during the previous ten-year period.

Column 4: Self-Determination

The icons in this column take into account the success or failure of governments in settling self-determination conflicts from 1985 through 2004 based on information summarized in Appendix tables 11.2 and 11.3. Red icons signify countries challenged by violent conflicts over self-determination in early 2005. Yellow icons flag countries with one of these two patterns: either (a) non-violent self-determination movements in early 2005 but no track record of accommodating such movements in the past 20 years; or (b) violent self-determination movements in early 2005 and a track record of accommodating other such movements in the past 20 years. Green icons signify countries that have successfully managed one or more self-determination conflicts since 1985, including countries with current non-violent self-determination movements. Countries with no self-determination movements since 1985 are blank in this column.

Column 5: Discrimination

Active government policies or social practices of political or economic discrimination against minority identity groups are strongly associated with divided societies, contentious politics, and self-determination grievances. They are also indicative of strategies of exclusion by dominant groups. This indicator looks at general levels of both political and economic discrimination against minorities at the end of 2003. Red icons denote countries with active government policies of political and/or economic discrimination against minorities comprising at least ten percent of the population in 2003. Yellow icons identify countries where there are active social practices of discrimination by dominant groups against minority groups that comprise at least ten percent of the population but no official sanctions. Green icons are assigned to countries with little or no active discrimination and government policies designed to help remedy or alleviate the effects of past discriminatory policies and practices for groups constituting at least five percent of the population. Countries with little or no active discrimination against minorities are blank in this column.

Column 6: Regime Type

The icons in this column show the nature of a country's political institutions in early 2005. Red icons are anocracies (see section 4, following), that is, countries with governments in the mixed or transitional zone between autocracy and democracy. Yellow icons represent full autocratic regimes. Green icons are full democracies.

Column 7: Durability

The icons in this column take into account the maturity of a country's system of government and, as such, its conflict management capabilities. New political systems have not yet consolidated central authority nor established effective institutions and, so, are vulnerable to challenges and further change, especially during their first five years. So are the governments of newly-independent countries. Red icons highlight countries whose political institutions in early 2005 were less than five years old, that is, they were established between 2000 and 2004. Yellow icons register countries whose polities were less than ten years old; established between 1995 and 1999. Green icons are used for countries whose polities were established before 1995.

Column 8: Societal Capacity

The governments of rich societies are better able to maintain peace and security than are governments of poor societies. We use an indicator that combines information on both GDP per capita (income) and societal energy consumption per capita (capitalization) over the past five-year period to rate countries on this indicator. Red icons signify countries in the lowest quintile (the bottom 20%) of societal capacity. Yellow icons flag coun- tries in the second quintile. Countries in the third quintile are left blank. Green icons identify countries in the top two quintiles (the upper 40%) in societal capacity.

Column 9: Neighborhood

We define ten politically relevant "neighborhoods": West Africa, North Africa, East Africa, South Africa, Middle East, South Asia, East Asia, South America, Central America, and Europe/North America. For each region we gauge the extent of armed conflicts in early 2005 and the prevailing types of regimes, either democratic, anocratic, or autocratic. Countries with green icons are in regions with relatively low armed conflict and mostly democratic governments. Countries with red icons are in "neighborhoods" with high armed conflict and many anocratic, or transitional, regimes. Countries with yellow icons are in regions with middling levels of armed conflict and mostly autocratic regimes. For countries that straddle regions, or are situated in regions with mixed traits, a final determination was made by reference to armed conflicts in bordering countries. For example, countries with two or more bordering countries engaged in armed conflicts are coded red on this indicator. Island states without close, "politically-relevant" neighboring states are blank on this indicator.

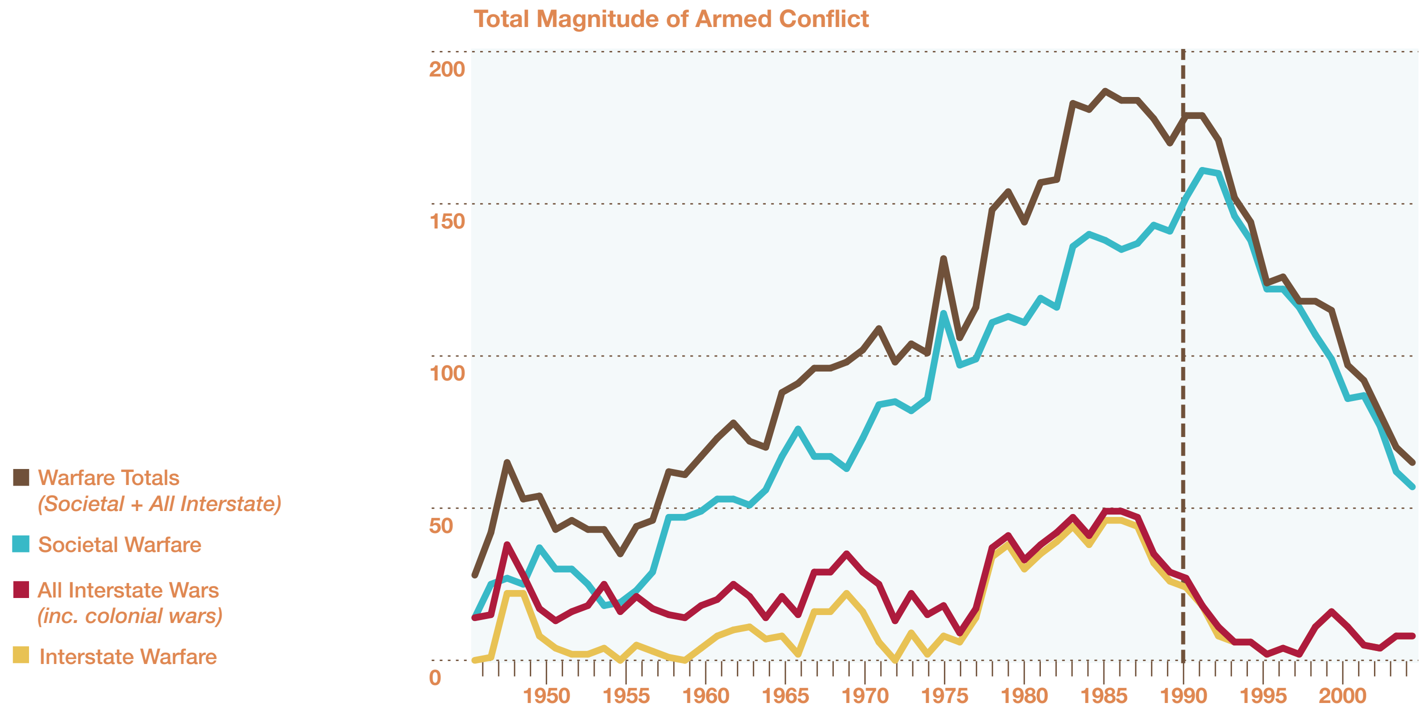
1 *Interstate wars are included with this indicator but are not used in evaluating a country's general quality of human security (column 3). The only current situations of major interstate war are the armed conflicts between the United States and insurgents and al Qaeda operatives in Iraq and Afghanistan. Countries that have contributed peacekeeping troops to various locations of past and continuing violence are not considered to be "at war."*

Peace-Building Capacity	Armed Conflict		Human Security	Self-Determination	Discrimination	Regime Type	Durability	Societal Capacity	Neighborhood
North Africa and the Middle East									
Red	Red	Algeria	Red	Yellow	Red	Red	Yellow		Red
Red	Red	Iraq	Red	Yellow	Green	Red	Red	Yellow	Yellow
Yellow	Red	Israel	Yellow	Red	Red	Green	Green	Green	Yellow
Red		Iran	Yellow	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Red		Red
Red		Lebanon	Yellow	Yellow	Red	Red	Red	Green	Yellow
Yellow		Egypt	Yellow			Yellow	Green		Yellow
Yellow		Jordan			Yellow	Red	Green		Yellow
Yellow		Libya				Yellow	Green	Green	Red
Yellow		Morocco	Yellow	Yellow		Yellow	Green	Yellow	Red
Yellow	Orange	Saudi Arabia			Red	Yellow	Green	Green	Yellow
Yellow		Syria	Yellow			Yellow	Green	Yellow	Yellow
Yellow		Tunisia	Green			Red	Green		Red
Yellow	Orange	Turkey	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green		Yellow
Yellow	Orange	Yemen	Yellow			Red	Green	Red	Yellow
Green		Bahrain	Green		Green	Yellow	Green	Green	Yellow
Green		Cyprus	Green	Yellow		Green	Green	Green	Yellow
Green		Kuwait	Green			Yellow	Green	Green	Yellow
Green		Oman	Green			Yellow	Green	Green	Yellow
Green		Qatar	Green			Yellow	Green	Green	Yellow
Green		United Arab Emirates	Green			Yellow	Green	Green	Yellow
Africa South of the Sahara									
Red	Red	Burundi	Red		Yellow	Red	Red	Red	Red
Red	Red	D. R. Congo	Red	Green		Red	Red	Red	Red
Red	Red	Nigeria	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Red	Yellow
Red	Red	Sudan	Red	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Green	Red	Red
Red	Red	Uganda	Yellow			Red	Green	Red	Red
Red	Yellow	Angola	Red	Red	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
Red	Yellow	Central African Republic				Red	Red	Red	Yellow
Red	Yellow	Rep. Congo	Yellow		Red	Red	Yellow	Red	Yellow
Red	Yellow	Ethiopia	Yellow	Red	Green	Red	Yellow	Red	Red
Red	Yellow	Ivory Coast	Yellow			Red	Red	Yellow	Yellow
Red	Yellow	Liberia	Yellow			Red	Red	Red	Yellow
Red	Yellow	Rwanda	Red		Yellow	Red	Green	Red	Red
Red	Yellow	Sierra Leone	Red		Green	Red	Red	Red	Yellow
Red	Yellow	Somalia	Red	Yellow		Red	Red	Red	Red
Red		Burkina Faso	Green			Red	Red	Red	Yellow
Red		Guinea Bissau				Red	Red	Red	Yellow
Red		Guinea			Yellow	Red	Yellow	Red	Yellow
Yellow		Cameroon		Yellow	Red	Red	Green	Yellow	Yellow
Yellow		Chad	Yellow	Green	Green	Red	Green	Red	Yellow
Yellow		Comoros	Green	Green		Red	Red	Red	
Yellow		Djibouti	Green	Green	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Yellow	Red
Yellow		Equatorial Guinea		Yellow		Red	Green		Yellow
Yellow		Eritrea			Green	Yellow	Green	Red	Red
Yellow		Gabon	Green			Red	Green		Yellow
Yellow		Gambia	Green			Red	Yellow	Red	Yellow
Yellow		Ghana	Green			Green	Red	Red	Yellow
Yellow		Kenya	Yellow		Green	Green	Red	Red	Red
Yellow		Lesotho	Green			Green	Red	Yellow	Yellow
Yellow		Madagascar	Green			Green	Yellow	Red	
Yellow		Mauritania	Green		Red	Yellow	Green	Yellow	Yellow
Yellow		Mozambique				Green	Green	Red	Yellow
Yellow		Niger		Green		Red	Yellow	Red	Yellow
Yellow		Senegal		Green		Green	Red	Yellow	Yellow
Yellow		Tanzania	Green	Green		Red	Red	Red	Red
Yellow		Togo	Green			Red	Green	Red	Yellow
Yellow		Zambia	Green	Yellow		Red	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
Green		Benin	Green			Green	Green	Red	Yellow
Green		Botswana	Green			Green	Green	Green	Yellow
Green		Malawi	Green			Green	Green	Red	Yellow
Green		Mali	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Red	Yellow
Green		Mauritius	Green			Green	Green	Green	
Green		Namibia	Green	Yellow		Green	Green	Yellow	Yellow
Green		South Africa	Yellow	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Yellow
Green		Swaziland	Green			Yellow	Green		Yellow
Green		Zimbabwe		Green	Green	Yellow	Green	Yellow	Yellow

Monty G. Marshall

The global trend in major armed conflict has continued to decrease markedly in the post-Cold War era both in numbers of states affected by major armed conflicts and in general magnitude. According to our calculations, the general magnitude of global warfare has decreased by over sixty percent since peaking in the mid-1980s, falling by the end of 2004 to its lowest level since the late 1950s, as shown in Figure 3.1.[1]

Figure 3.1: Global Trends in Violent Conflict, 1946-2004



Summary and Overview. In early 2005 we have listed eighteen countries with ongoing major armed conflicts; two of those countries had two ongoing wars, for a total of twenty major armed conflicts in the world at the time of this report. Of the twenty major armed conflicts listed as ongoing in early 2005, eight wars were being waged at medium or high intensity: one in Latin America (Colombia), one in the Former-Socialist countries (Russia), three in Asia (India, Myanmar, and Nepal), one in the Middle East (Iraq), and two in Africa (Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan). Countries with wars that are either low intensity or sporadic at this writing include four in Asia and the Pacific

1 Only countries with at least 500,000 total populations in 2004 are included in this study (161 total in 2004); interstate and societal wars must have reached a magnitude of over 1,000 directly-related deaths to be listed. The magnitude of each major armed conflict is evaluated according to its comprehensive effects on the state or states directly affected by the warfare, including numbers of combatants and casualties, size of the affected area and dislocated populations, and extent of infrastructure damage. It is then assigned a single score on a ten-point scale measuring the magnitude of its adverse effects on the affected society; this value is recorded for each year the war remains active. See Table 11.1 in the Appendix for descriptions of current and recent major armed conflicts; each of the descriptions includes the war's magnitude score. See Monty G. Marshall, "Measuring the Societal Effects of War," chapter 4 in Fen Osler Hampson and David Malone, eds., *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002) for a detailed explanation of the methodology used. A full list of major armed conflicts is posted on the Center for Systemic Peace Web site at http://members.aol.com/cspmgm/warlist.htm.

(Afghanistan, northeast India, Indonesia, and the Philippines); two in North Africa and the Middle East (Algeria and Israel); and five in Africa South of the Sahara (Burundi, Ivory Coast, two in Nigeria, Somalia, and Uganda). Since the beginning of 2001 there have been five new outbreaks of war: in 2001 there were two outbreaks of international war (al Qaeda attacks on the United States and the U.S. punitive attack on Afghanistan); in 2002 there was an outbreak of mixed ethnic-political war in Ivory Coast; and in 2003 there were outbreaks of an international war (U.S. invasion of Iraq) and an ethnic war (black-African Muslims in the Darfur region of Sudan). There were no new outbreaks of war listed in 2004, however, there are six countries noted as having "emerging wars" in 2004 and early 2005. Emerging war situations are those where "systematic and sustained" fighting has broken out but the number of directly-related deaths has not yet reached the 1,000-death threshold for designation as a major armed conflict. If and when these situations reach the minimum magnitude criterion, they will be added to the lists of wars beginning with the date when the fighting started. These emerging wars include possible political wars in Haiti, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen; ethnic wars with Kurds in Turkey and Muslim Malays in Thailand; and communal war between Sunni and Shi'a Muslims in Pakistan.

There have been five new outbreaks of war. There have been eleven wars suspended or repressed.

Since 2001, there have been eleven wars suspended or repressed: four in 2001 (communal war between Dayaks and Madurese in the Kalimantan region of Indonesia, ethnic war with Hutus in Rwanda, political war in Sierra Leone, and an international war in the United States)[2]; six in 2002 (mixed ethnic-political war with UNITA and an ethnic war with Cabindans in Angola; communal war between Hindus and Muslims in Gujarat in India; communal war between Muslims and Christians in the Moluccas and Sulawesi in Indonesia; ethnic war with Tamils in Sri Lanka; and ethnic war with non-Muslim black-Africans in southern Sudan); and one in 2003 (political war in Liberia). No wars are listed as ending in 2004, although any of the eleven armed conflicts that are listed as low intensity or sporadic violence may be ending. The only reliable evidence for determining the ending of a war is the observation of an end to systematic and sustained fighting for a substantial period of time (at least one year for provisional and four years for final determination). See Appendix table 11.1 for a full listing of the world's ongoing and recently ended major armed conflicts and a brief description of each conflict's status in early 2005.

Interstate wars have been uncommon since the United Nations collective security system was established following World War II. In the 1990s, there were very few interstate wars and their magnitude, scope, and duration were mostly limited. Iraq has been almost continually at war with some foreign country since it invaded Iran on September 22, 1980, beginning a crippling eight-year war. The 1990 Iraq invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent 1991 U.S.-led Gulf War to expel the invaders was the only unambiguous inter-state war during the post-Cold War era until the March 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq and its forced ouster of the Saddam Hussein regime in April of that year. High casualties occurred in three interstate wars in this period: in the Gulf War, during which only the Iraqi forces suffered high casualties, the border war that broke out in 1999 between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and during the U.S. invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq (ongoing). The Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict, which was suspended in June 2000, was an indirect consequence of the protracted secessionist war that led to Eritrea's separation

2 Recall that only countries directly affected by wars, that is, countries where wars are actually fought, are listed. Thus, countries that deploy armed forces to fight wars in foreign countries are not included in the list.

from Ethiopia in 1993. Other inter-state wars in the 1990s occurred in the guise of armed interventions in civil conflicts, including U.S.-led interventions in Bosnia in 1995, against Iraq in 1998 (enforcing "protection zones" over Kurd and Shi'a Arab regions), Yugoslavia in 1999 (ending repression of the Kosovar Albanians), and in Afghanistan in 2001 (siding with the Northern Alliance to oust the Taliban regime and destroy al Qaeda terrorist bases). Other instances include Armenian support for the Nagorno-Karabakh separatists in Azerbaijan and several military clashes between Pakistan and India connected with the ongoing rebellion in Kashmir. In 2002, the world witnessed the first, overt confrontation between newly emerging nuclear powers since 1962 as India and Pakistan massed forces along their shared border following a series of provocative events. That confrontation was quickly defused through intense international engagement.

Armed civil, or societal, conflicts were numerous and widely distributed through the global system in the 1980s and 1990s but in the early years of the 21st century wars have been concentrated mainly in Africa and south central Asia. Increases in societal tensions and violent attacks in several Middle East countries since the 9/11 (2001) al Qaeda attacks on the U.S. and the subsequent U.S. attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq may be indications of a shift in the main locus of global warfare to Muslim countries; it must be noted that wars in Muslim countries figured prominently in the Africa and central Asia regions and, so, the shift in the locus of war to Muslim countries has antecedents in previous periods. While the frequency of new outbreaks of all types of wars remained fairly constant during the last half-century, with a small spike in ethnic wars immediately following the end of the Cold War, societal wars were enormously resistant to resolution and, thus, accumulated over time to reach a peak in 1991. Over one-third of the world's countries (55 of 161) were directly affected by serious societal warfare at some time since 1990 and, of these states, nearly two-thirds (35) experienced armed conflicts for seven or more years during the post-Cold War period. On the more positive side, only eight of these protracted societal wars remained "hot" in early 2005 and continued to defy international pressures for reconciliation (Algeria, Burundi, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, India, Myanmar, Nepal, and Russia), although some progress was being made in ending wars in Algeria, Burundi, and Democratic Republic of Congo. Three other protracted wars (in Israel, Philippines, and Somalia) continue at low levels while negotiated solutions are actively being sought.

In the early years of the 21st century wars have been concentrated mainly in Africa and south central Asia.

Failing, Failed, and Recovering States. Large parts of eastern Asia experienced devastating warfare and political turmoil during and in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. These east, southeast, and south Asian wars signaled the beginning of the global decolonization period that soon spread to North Africa and, eventually, throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. These wars of independence often led to long periods of contention and instability as rival ethnic and political factions vied for control of state power that had been seized from or abandoned by the European colonial authorities. Fueled by the superpower rivalry that characterized the Cold War period, large portions of the developing world became engulfed in, and consumed by, protracted social conflict and societal warfare. As these societies emerge from years of intense societal conflict in the 1990s and early 2000s, they are finding their prospects for recovery challenged by their weakened state capacity, deeply divided societies, devastated economies, squandered resources, and traumatized populations. At the same time, civil societies crippled by societal wars must compete for loyalties and revenues with internationalized organized crime and black (and gray) market networks. They also must contend with the spillover effects

of similar problems in neighboring states. In turn, limited capacities at the local and regional levels present enormous challenges for the international donor community that seeks to rebuild these societies in the face of rapidly spreading humanitarian crises: dislocations, disasters, predation, famine, and disease. The transnational effects of weak states and troubled societies are only now being recognized as serious threats to global security.

The transnational effects of weak states and troubled societies are only now being recognized as serious threats to global security.

Some of the most troublesome features of societal conflicts in the modern, globalizing world are their systemic effects. We can no longer afford to think of societal conflicts as localized and isolated problems requiring negotiated settlements by the leaders of the warring parties; we must see them as "nested" problems that substantially affect and, in turn, are significantly affected by their surrounding environment. Social and factor mobility in a globalizing world have created a situation where not only can assets flee from problem areas (e.g., "brain drain" and "capital flight") but, also, conflict liabilities can move rather easily from strengthening societies to weaker locations to seek refuge and take advantage of new and future opportunities. Local conflicts and failed states take on regional and, even, global proportions, as witnessed recently by the complex "vortex" conflict dynamics characterizing the west and central African regions, the south-central Asia region, and the global al Qaeda terrorist network. Economic interdependence and the transnational qualities of social ills require regional and global, multilateral engagement in and commitment to the peace-building process. Broad reconciliation, recovery, integration, and development strategies must accompany the implementation of conflict settlements for the process of peace-building to be successful over the medium to long term.

Systemic Repercussions and the Changing Nature of Warfare. The era of interdependence is giving way to an era of globalization and the downward global trend in major armed conflicts is an important barometer of the globalization trend. We proposed in our previous reports, Peace and Conflict 2001 and 2003, that "if [the three positive trends of lessened armed conflicts, more frequent resolutions of self-determination conflicts, and increased numbers of democratic governments] continue in the first decade of the new century, [they] will establish a world more peaceful than at any time in the past century." The three trends are continuing through 2004 and we stand by our claim (see the following sections for reports on trends in governance and self-determination movements). But the positive trends coexist with counter-trends that present major challenges to the emerging global community. The most disturbing counter-trend is the spread of violence in Muslim countries.

One such challenge, already mentioned, is the legacy of wounded societies and failing states as they emerge from years of destructive conflict. A second is the unleashed surplus of war personnel and materiel that is flooding the global market, fueling organized crime, and feeding the emerging global security problematique. This challenges not only the limited capacity of states and international organizations to manage conflicts but, also, the ability to monitor and analyze conflict trends. Highly centralized societal wars are breaking up into highly decentralized applications of violence and other anti-societal activities that operate "below" our conventional radar screens and "outside" our traditional conflict management strategies. A third challenge stems from the ghettoization of large areas of the world where deepening poverty and deteriorating social conditions marginalize entire populations and severely limit their access to the benefits of the global

economy. A fourth challenge is to understand and rectify the severe maldistribution of wealth and resources that contributes to the maintenance of autocratic regimes and the rise of terrorism and insurgencies throughout the Muslim world.

A final challenge stems from the increased levels of external engagement that follow decreased levels of armed societal conflict. Ensuring accountability and transparency of post-war regimes and maintaining progress in the implementation of peace accords and integration of disenfranchised populations are all critical aspects of the peace process where external support can be pivotal in determining the prospects for recovery and normalization. International actors are widely expected to assume responsibility for post-civil war reconstruction, particularly in reestablishing the essential qualities of trust that underlie normative law and democratic process. Warriors are transformed to peace-makers and peace-builders and expected to simultaneously police and administer many war-torn societies without violating the public trust. But the care of affected populations, the rebuilding of war-torn states, and the need to forestall regression to open warfare overwhelms current levels of international assistance and undercuts expectations of progress in development at a time when the more fortunate countries are themselves growing weary of providing charity. The pressures of globalization tend to accentuate the economic disadvantages of war-torn societies. The challenge is that the need for diligence and vigilance are even greater during the societal recovery phase, a phase that can last a very long time indeed. The gains we are witnessing in making peace must be simultaneously augmented by concerted efforts at repairing the peace, maintaining the peace, and increasing the capacity of societies to reproduce the peace. What we are faced with at the beginning of the 21st century is a unique opportunity, and challenge, to set the emerging global system on the right track.

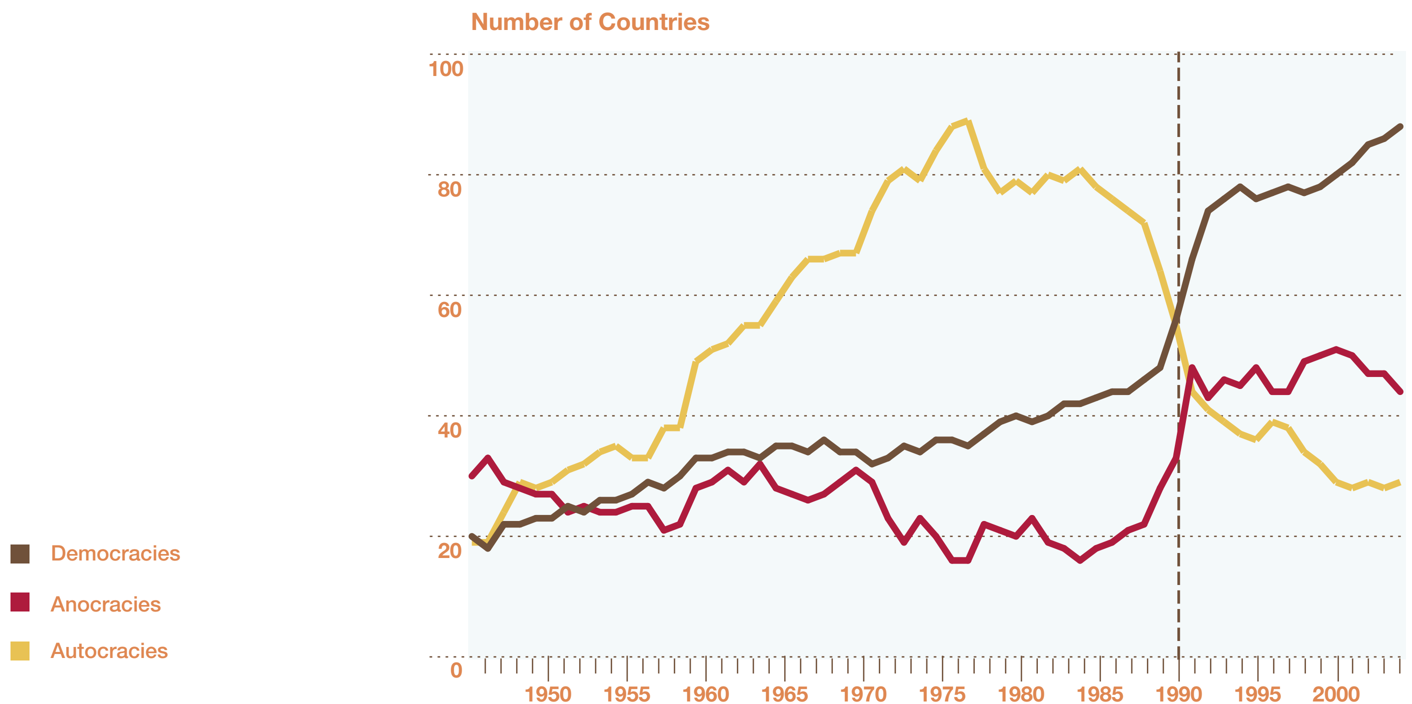
The positive trends coexist with counter-trends that present major challenges to the emerging global community… the legacy of wounded societies and failing states… surplus of war personnel and materiel that is flooding the global market… the ghettoization of large areas of the world…severe maldistribution of wealth and resources… [and the challenge of] ensuring accountability and transparency.

4. GLOBAL TRENDS IN DEMOCRATIZATION

Monty G. Marshall

In 1950, five years after the end of the Second World War, there were seventy-eight independent states comprising the emerging global system.[1] Of these, only twenty-three were ruled by democratic regimes; the remainder were about equally split between autocratic regimes (28) and anocratic regimes (27; a description of these three regime categories follows below). As European control over colonial territories in Asia and Africa diminished following the war and new states gained independence and entered the global system in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s, there was a dramatic increase in the number of autocratic regimes. Although newly independent states were about as likely to adopt democratic as autocratic forms of governance, problems of manageability caused most new, democratic regimes to fail within several years and give way to autocratic rule. By 1977, there were eighty-nine autocratic regimes in the world, with only thirty-five democratic and sixteen anocratic regimes. A dramatic global shift away from rigidly autocratic regimes and toward democracy began in the late 1980s and continued through the 1990s. This "wave of democratization" was led by Latin American countries and the former-Socialist countries of Eastern Europe. According to our categorizations of the annual Polity IV data on governance, graphed in Figure 4.1, the number of autocracies has decreased sharply since their peak in 1977 while the number of democracies, having nearly doubled in the late 1980s and early 1990s, continues to increase gradually in the first years of the 21st century. There were eighty-eight countries classified as democracies in early 2005 and only twenty-nine autocracies. At the same time, following a three-fold jump (from 16 in 1985 to 51 in 2000), the number of states that fall in our middling category of regimes, the anocracies, has declined slightly over the last few years (falling to 44 in early 2005).

Figure 4.1: Global Regimes by Type, 1946-2004



[1] This study does not include micro-states in its analyses; a state must have reached a total population of 500,000 to be included.

There have been far fewer failures of anocratic regimes [since 1990] than would be expected from the historical trends.

While we view the major global shift toward greater democracy as a very important and generally positive trend, the sharp increase in the number of anocracies is cause for concern. Historical research suggests that anocracies have been highly unstable regimes, with over fifty percent experiencing a major regime change within five years and over seventy percent within ten years. Anocracies have been much more vulnerable to new outbreaks of armed societal conflict; they have been about six times more likely than democracies and two and one-half times as likely as autocracies to experience new outbreaks of societal wars. Anocracies have also been about three times more likely to experience major reversions to autocracy than democracies. However, a "new truth" may be emerging regarding the vulnerability of anocratic regimes in the post-Cold War era. In the past ten years, there have been far fewer failures of anocratic regimes than would be expected from the historical trends. Despite continued high numbers of anocratic regimes, there has been a steady decrease in global trends in violent conflict (see section 3, figure 3.1) and fewer than expected outbreaks of new political instability events. We believe that this change in trends for anocratic regimes is due largely to notable increases in proactive international engagement and expectations since the end of the Cold War. We have also noted some improvement in the peace-building capacities of vulnerable countries since our 2003 report (see section 2). Whether this "new truth" is a temporary aberration in existing trends or evidence of a new trajectory depends on the future qualities of global policies.

Defining Democracy. Democracy, autocracy, and anocracy are ambiguous terms and different countries have different mixes and qualities of governing institutions. Even though some countries may have mixed features of openness, competitiveness, and regulation, the core qualities of democracy and autocracy can be viewed as defining opposite ends of a governance scale. We have rated the levels of both democracy and autocracy for each country and year using coded information on the general qualities of political institutions and processes, including executive recruitment, constraints on executive action, and political competition. These ratings have been combined into a single measure of regime governance: the Polity score. The Polity scale ranges from -10 (fully institutionalized autocracy) to +10 (fully institutionalized democracy).[2] A perfect +10 democracy, like Australia, Greece, and Sweden, has institutionalized procedures for open and competitive political participation; chooses and replaces chief executives in open, competitive elections; and imposes substantial checks and balances on the powers of the chief executive. Countries with Polity scores from 6 to 10 are counted as democracies in Figure 4.1. Elected governments that fall short of a perfect 10, like Mozambique, Turkey, and Venezuela, may have weaker checks on executive power, some restrictions on political participation, or shortcomings in the application of the rule of law to opposition groups.

In a perfect -10 autocracy, by contrast, citizens' participation is sharply restricted or suppressed; chief executives are selected according to clearly defined (often hereditary) rules of succession from within the established political elite; and, once in office, chief executives exercise power with few or no checks from legislative or judicial institutions. Only Saudi Arabia and Qatar are rated as fully institutionalized autocracies in early 2005; other monarchies, such as those in Bhutan, Morocco, and Swaziland, share some pow-

2 The Polity IV data set was originally designed by Ted Gurr; it has annually coded information on the qualities of political institutions for all independent countries (not including micro-states) from 1800 through 2003 and is regularly updated by the lead author of this report. The data set is available at http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/polity. The indicators are described and analyzed by Keith Jaggers and Ted Robert Gurr in "Tracking Democracy's Third Wave with the Polity III Data," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 31 No. 4 (1995), pp. 469-482.

Societal conflict and factionalism often stalemate democratic experiments… others may simply lose control of the political dynamics…

ers with elected officials. In general, except for a strong presence in the oil-producing states of the Arabian Peninsula, hereditary monarchy has nearly disappeared as a form of governance in the early 21st century. Autocratic governance at the turn of the century is far more likely to be characterized by the authoritarian rule of personalistic leaders, military juntas, or one-party structures; Libya, Myanmar (Burma), and Vietnam are examples of these non-monarchical autocracies. Besides having slightly more open, or less-clearly defined, rules of succession, less-than-perfect autocracies may allow some space for political participation or impose some effective limits on executive authority; examples include Belarus, China, and Zimbabwe. Countries with Polity scores of -10 to -6 are counted as autocracies in Figure 4.1.

Many governments have a mix of democratic and autocratic features, for example holding competitive elections for a legislature that exercises little effective control on the executive branch or allowing open political competition among some social groups while seriously restricting participation of other groups. There are many reasons why countries may come to be characterized by such inconsistencies, or incoherence, in governance. Some countries may be implementing a staged transition from autocracy to greater democracy; others may institute piecemeal reforms due to increasing demands from emerging political groups. Societal conflict and factionalism often stalemate democratic experiments: some regimes may be unable to fully institutionalize reforms due to serious disagreements among social groups; some may harden their institutions in response to political crises or due to the personal ambitions of opportunistic leaders; and others may simply lose control of the political dynamics that enable, or disable, effective governance. Whereas democracy and autocracy are very different forms of governance, they are very similar in their capacity to maintain central authority, control the policy agenda, and manage political dynamics. Anocracies, by contrast, are characterized by institutions and political elites that are far less capable of performing these fundamental tasks and ensuring their own continuity. Anocratic regimes very often reflect an inherent quality of instability or ineffectiveness and are especially vulnerable to the onset of new political instability events, such as outbreaks of armed conflict or adverse regime changes (e.g., a seizure of power by a personalistic or military leader). In our previous report (2003, section 4), we detailed an "inverted-U curve" relationship between Polity IV regime score and the onset of political instability events; we refer the reader to that source for more detailed information.[3]

Anocracies are a middling category rather than a distinct form of governance. They are countries whose governments are neither fully democratic nor fully autocratic; their Polity scores range from -5 to +5.[4] Some such countries have succeeded in establishing democracy following a staged transition from autocracy through anocracy, as in Mexico, Nicaragua, Senegal, and Taiwan. A number of African and a few Middle Eastern countries have recently begun a cautious transition to greater openness, among them Burkina Faso, Djibouti, Ghana, Guinea, Jordan, and Tanzania. The Ivory Coast appeared to be headed on a similar course before stumbling (in 2002) into civil war and regime failure; Iran also reversed the course of democratic reforms and tightened autocratic control in 2004. Others have been able to manage conflict between deeply-divided social groups

3 Earlier editions in the *Peace and Conflict* report series are available in electronic format on the CIDCM Web site.

4 Also included in the anocracy category are countries that are undergoing transitional governments (coded "-88" in the Polity IV dataset) and countries where central authority has collapsed or lost control over a majority of its territory (coded "-77" in the dataset).

for substantial periods of time through the use of categorical restrictions on the political participation of a substantial out-group as in Malaysia (Chinese), Singapore (Malays), and South Africa (black-Africans under Apartheid). This also appears to be the strategy recently adopted in Fiji to limit political influence by ethnic-Indians. Other anocracies are the result of troubled transitions to greater democracy, as currently in Algeria, Angola, Cambodia, and Haiti.

Democracy, Peace, and Peace-Building. Building and maintaining systemic peace and security depends fundamentally on the characteristics of constituent polities. Autocratic governments manage societal conflicts mainly by coercion, with accommodation and reform playing secondary roles. Democratic governments manage societal conflicts mainly by channeling them into conventional protest, lobbying, and electoral politics. When divisive ethnic and political issues do surface in democracies, they usually are expressed in strikes and demonstrations rather than open rebellion and often culminate in reform policies. When democracies fail to properly manage societal conflict, they inevitably become more autocratic as political violence escalates and/or persists over time.

Evidence regarding democratic transitions during the contemporary era suggest a very clear and strongly negative relationship between political violence and democratization initiatives.

The relationship between prospects for democratization and recent experiences with societal wars may seem somewhat muddled. The "democratic peace proposition" claims that democracies are both internally stable and non-aggressive when settling differences with other democracies. However, the evidence underlying this proposition builds on the contemporary record of old democracies and other advanced industrial and post-industrial societies. No claims are made regarding the peaceful nature of interactions between democracies and other types of regimes. In fact, because of the high correlation between economic affluence and democratic regimes prior to the end of the Cold War, the powerful global reach of many of these democracies has enabled them to be quite activist in global politics and to use force, the threat of force, or the material support of force as common instruments in their global policies, particularly in regard to disputes with autocratic regimes. Adding to the ambiguity surrounding the relationship between democracy and violence is the "myth" of the democratic revolution, particularly in regard to the American and the French Revolutions but also the transformation of the fascist regimes of Germany, Italy, and Japan to democracies following their defeat in the Second World War. What is clear is that countries coded as fully institutionalized democracies (Polity code "10") experienced very little societal war during the entire post-World War II period (since 1946); the most serious situations in these countries were the civil violence in Northern Ireland in the United Kingdom and Basque separatism in Spain.

Evidence regarding democratic transitions during the contemporary era (since 1946) suggest a very clear and strongly negative relationship between political violence and democratization initiatives. Of the sixty-seven countries counted as democracies in early 2005 that had made their transition to democracy since 1950, only six had instituted democratic regimes as part of a peace settlement to end a major societal war: Colombia in the late 1950s and, since the 1980s, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mozambique, Nicaragua, and South Africa. Four other countries that had experienced major societal wars were able to institute democratic regimes by effectively excluding groups that had engaged in armed conflict with the state, including Croatia, Georgia, Philippines, and Serbia and Montenegro. Fifty of the democratizing countries had experienced no major societal armed conflicts during the contemporary era prior to the establishment of their democratic regime. Seven others had experienced only limited armed conflict prior to their

Open forms of governance in general have shown themselves to be extremely fragile political systems. Advanced economic and societal development help to offset the inherent fragility of democratic politics.

democratic transition, including Argentina, Chile, Dominican Republic, Indonesia, Kenya, Senegal, and Thailand. Algeria had not experienced societal warfare since 1962 prior to its aborted democratic transition in 1992, which then triggered an enormously destructive civil war. Nepal had not experienced armed conflict prior to the beginning of its democratization process in the 1980s, which has, at least temporarily, been reversed since an outbreak of armed conflict in 1996. On the other hand, most of the countries that have suffered through the most serious and protracted societal wars either remain autocratic, such as Azerbaijan, China, Eritrea, Iran, Laos, Myanmar, Sudan, and Vietnam, or have been unable to establish coherent regimes and are included in the anocratic category, such as Afghanistan, Angola, Bosnia, Burundi, Cambodia, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia, and Uganda. Only three countries have maintained democratic regimes during protracted societal wars: Colombia, Israel, and Sri Lanka.

While democracy is strongly associated with peace and the capacity for peace-building, what is not clear is democracy's role in establishing peace and prosperity. It is not clear how much democracy actually fosters peace and facilitates peace-building and how much democracy is the culmination of economic performance, societal development, and peace-building efforts. One thing seems clear from the evidence, democracy rarely, if ever, results from radical or revolutionary transformations of governing structures. Regardless of their stated intentions, these transformations have almost invariably ushered in extreme forms of violence and repression. Countries that have made successful "leaps" from autocratic to democratic regimes have, by and large, been old and well-developed societies that have managed to avoid serious armed conflicts, particularly in Latin American and former-Socialist countries. Only two countries have made successful, gradual transitions to democracy, Mexico and Taiwan, and both of these lengthy transitions transpired without serious armed challenges. Open forms of governance in general have shown themselves to be extremely fragile political systems that are highly vulnerable to internal challenges and external pressures; advanced economic and societal development help to offset the inherent fragility of democratic politics. Weak democracies are particularly ill-equipped to manage or repress violent challenges, whether revolutionary, separatist, or predatory, and they are ill-suited to withstand the twin pressures of grievance and contention in war-torn societies. They are often deadlocked during serious or sudden economic crises. Since 1989 there have been over twenty instances where popular uprisings and mass demonstrations have contributed to the downfall of a government or prevented the abrogation of an electoral process, as happened in Ecuador, Ivory Coast, Peru, and Yugoslavia in 2000; Argentina, Madagascar, and Philippines in 2001; Venezuela in 2002; Bolivia and Georgia in 2003; Ukraine in 2004; and Lebanon, Kyrgyzstan, and Ecuador, again, in early 2005. In the recent past, such mass participation in the political process very often triggered military intervention, confrontation, or repression. Military activism, while less prominent, has not completely disappeared in the new "democratic era," for example, there were military ousters of elected governments in Pakistan in 1999, Nepal in 2002, and Guinea-Bissau and Central African Republic in 2003. This is the nature of the governance-development-security conundrum that continues to beguile analysts, practitioners, and policy-makers alike at the beginning of the 21st century, particularly as we have moved into an uncharted era in which, for the first time in history, democratic regimes predominate.

5. SELF-DETERMINATION MOVEMENTS AND THEIR OUTCOMES

Deepa Khosla

The quest of national and indigenous peoples for self-governance has reshaped the political landscape in many countries and the international system as a whole during recent decades. Some states and many autonomous regions within states have been formed as a result of such movements. Seventy-one territorially concentrated ethnic groups have waged armed conflicts for autonomy or independence at some time since the 1950s, not counting the peoples of former European colonies. One new conflict erupted since our last report in 2003: the rebellion by the Muslim Black-Africans in the Darfur region of western Sudan. Rebels in Darfur, claiming they were subject to ongoing neglect and discrimination and hoping to gain concessions like those being negotiated between the Khartoum government and the Southern Sudanese rebels, began attacks against state authorities in February 2003. Hostilities soon escalated, with the Sudanese government retaliating against the rebels and supporting local Arab "janjaweed" militias.

Three previously contained self-determination movements experienced renewed hostilities in recent years: Malay-Muslims in southern Thailand, Acehnese in Indonesia, and a new rebel organization emerged in Baluchistan in 2004 in a bid to (re)ignite a campaign for autonomy, some thirty years after the last attempt was repressed. Twenty-five armed self-determination conflicts were ongoing as of early 2005, including the Assamese, Kashmiri Muslims, Tripuras, and Scheduled Tribes in India; the Karens and Shan in Myanmar; the Chechens in Russia; the Basques in Spain; the Kurds in Turkey; and the Ijaw in Nigeria.

Twenty-five armed self-determination conflicts were ongoing as of early 2005

Despite instances of continuing warfare, the last four years have witnessed a continuation of a previously documented pattern: beginning in the early 1990s a sustained decline in the total number of armed self-determination conflicts and a countervailing shift toward containment and settlement (see table 5.1 and figure 5.1). This decline has occurred despite a spike in the number of new armed conflicts (17) in the five-year period immediately following the end of the Cold War. Five violent self-determination conflicts were settled and eight were contained from 2001 to 2004. Settlements were reached that ended the fighting of Afars in Djibouti, Albanians in Macedonia, Casamançais in Senegal, and Nuba and non-Muslim, Black-Africans in southern Sudan. Conflicts contained since 2001 include high-profile cases with strong international engagement involving Tamils in Sri Lanka and Tajiks and Uzbeks in Afghanistan, a new outbreak of armed conflict by Albanians in Serbia and Montenegro, renewed outbreaks of violence involving Abkhazians in Georgia, repression of Uigher activists in northwest China, and ceasefires with Nagas and Bodos in northeast India. Ceasefires and interim agreements continue to provide some combination of political recognition, greater rights, and regional autonomy to most populations represented by these movements; however, not all factions of those fighting for self-determination accept the conditions of these accords (see Appendix table 11.2).

Not all self-determination movements rely on violent tactics. This study has identified fifty-four (54) territorially concentrated groups that currently support significant movements seeking greater self-determination by conventional political means. Twenty-three (23) other groups employ a strategy mixing conventional means with militant tactics

short of armed attacks. This tally includes one addition to the list reported in the 2003 edition of Peace and Conflict: the highland indigenous peoples in Bolivia (see Appendix table 11.3). Leaders of these groups rely mainly on building mass support, publicly representing group interests, and carrying out electoral and/or protest campaigns. While their tactics occasionally include isolated acts of violence, thus far they have stopped short of serious armed conflict. Some, such as the Flemish and Walloons in Belgium, the Catalans in Spain, and the Jurassians in Switzerland, act through local political institutions that were created to satisfy group demands for autonomy. The Flemish and Walloons in Belgium, the Cornish in the UK, the Inuit indigenous peoples in Canada, the Hungarians in Yugoslavia, and the Anjouanese in Comoros all gained some degree of increased or re-instated political, economic, or cultural autonomy between late 2000 and early 2005.

Phases of Self-determination Conflicts. The political dynamics of self-determination movements in conflict with state authorities change over time in response to altered circumstances in the terms and expectations of their relationship. The general character of group tactics and strategies often moves through distinct phases. This movement may be a more or less linear progression from conventional politics to militancy, armed conflict, negotiation, settlement, and sometimes, independent statehood. More often, however, movements are neither linear nor necessarily progressive. Movements may be thwarted by repressive policies or induced to alter their tactics by new leadership or external influences. Armed conflicts that had been contained, or even settled, may resume. The following section describes a diagnostic scheme with ten phases developed to simplify the tracking and comparison of conflicts. Appendix table 11.2 categorizes the current status (in early 2005) of seventy-one (71) conflicts that experienced an armed conflict phase at some point during the past 49 years.

1. Conventional politics (3 groups): Self-determination currently is pursued through conventional political strategies including advocacy, representation of group interests to officials, and electoral politics. Groups with self-administered regions and power-sharing arrangements in existing states are also included here. Protagonists who once fought armed conflicts but now rely on conventional politics include Serbs in Croatia, Kurds in Iran, and Gaguaz in Moldova. Another fifty-four (54) that have not openly rebelled in the past also use these tactics now (see Appendix table 11.3).

2. Militant politics (3 groups): Self-determination goals are pursued by organizing and inciting group members to use disruptive tactics such as mass protest, boycotts, and resistance to authorities; disruption strategies are often accompanied by, or give rise to, a few symbolic acts of violence. Former rebel groups using these strategies at present include Tibetans and Uighers in China and Ibos in Nigeria. Another twenty-three (23) groups listed in Appendix table 11.3 that have not engaged in large-scale violence in the last half-century currently use militant politics.

3. Low-level hostilities (14 groups): Self-determination is pursued through localized use of violent strategies such as riots, local rebellions, bombings, and armed attacks against authorities. These include the Kurds in Turkey, Tajiks and Uzbeks in Afghanistan, Papuans in Indonesia, and Basques in Spain.

4. High-level hostilities (12 groups): Self-determination is sought by widespread and organized armed violence against authorities. For example, the Chechens in Russia, Palestinians in the Israeli Occupied Territories, Assamese and Kashmiris in India,

Oromos and Somalis in Ethiopia, Malay-Muslims in Thailand, and Muslim Black Africans in Darfur, Sudan are engaged in serious fighting.

5. Talk-fight (1 group): Group representatives negotiate with authorities about settlement and implementation while substantial armed violence continues. Fighting may be done by the principals or by factions that reject efforts at settlement. Since mid-2001, negotiations between the Moros and the Philippines government have been punctuated by periods of significant violence.

6. Cessation of open hostilities (10 groups): Most fighting is over but one or more principals are ready to resume armed violence if efforts at settlement fail. Conflicts in which hostilities were checked by international peacekeeping forces, in the absence of agreements also are classified here. This kind of tenuous peace held at the beginning of 2005 for the Armenians in Azerbaijan, Kurds in Iraq, Nagas in India, Abkhazians in Georgia, and Tamils in Sri Lanka. Significant violations of ceasefires occurred in South Ossetia in Georgia and Kosovo in Serbia and Montenegro in 2004 but hostilities were halted shortly afterward.

7. Contested agreement (15 groups): An interim or final agreement for group autonomy within an existing state has been negotiated between the principals but some parties, within the group or the government or both, reject and attempt to subvert the agreement. This is the current situation of the Serbs and Croats in Bosnia, the Catholics in Northern Ireland, the Chittagong Hill Tribals in Bangladesh, and the Bougainvilleans in Papua New Guinea. In 2003, state authorities and tribal Bodos agreed to the creation of a local autonomous council in northeast India. Tensions in the Trans- Dniester region temporarily erupted in mid-2004 over the closure of Moldovan-language schools and the subsequent imposition of economic sanctions by the Moldovan government. However, sustained involvement by international parties including Russia, Ukraine, and the OSCE has helped to prevent a resurgence of violent hostilities.

8. Uncontested agreement (7 groups): A final agreement for group autonomy is in place, is accepted in principle by all parties, and is being implemented. The Kachins in Myanmar, the Southerners in Chad, Afars in Djibouti, and Tuaregs in Mali and Niger are at this stage. Sustained negotiations since 2002 between the southern Sudanese and the Khartoum government produced a final, comprehensive agreement signed in early 2005. The accord also includes provisions for the settlement of the conflict in the Nuba Mountains region of Sudan.

9. Implemented agreement (1 group): A final settlement or agreement for group autonomy has been largely or fully implemented; the Mizos in India are the sole case.

10. Independence (5 groups): The group has achieved its own internationally recognized state. The former Indonesian province of East Timor is the newest member of this group that includes the Croats and Slovenes in the former Yugoslavia, the Eritreans in Ethiopia, and the Bengalis in Pakistan.

Self-determination conflicts do not move inevitably through all phases, and due to their complex dynamics, there often is movement back and forth between phases. Groups that have used conventional politics for a long period of time are very likely to continue to do so. However, groups that have signaled objectives through militant politics or low-level hostilities increase the risk of further escalation. One group previously categorized in the militant politics phase in early 2003 escalated its conflict to high-level hostilities

in the following year. The Malay-Muslims in Thailand's southernmost provinces resumed violent hostilities in early 2004 seeking greater autonomy, protection of the group's cultural rights, and greater economic resources. The Muslim rebel groups in Thailand are reported to have established links with regional Islamic organizations in Malaysia and Indonesia. On the settlement side, a conflict may not be confidently considered ended until settlement agreements are fully implemented. For instance, minor rebel factions are contesting a 1995 settlement between the Tuaregs and the Niger government alleging that the terms of the peace agreement have not yet been met. Sporadic violent acts occurred during 2004 and it remains to be seen whether the attempt to revive the Tuareg insurgency will succeed. The Miskitos on the Atlantic Coast in Nicaragua have also recently stepped up efforts to ensure effective autonomy on the basis of a 1988 agreement. They have successfully challenged Nicaraguan authorities in the International Court of Justice over the allocation of contracts on natural resource exploitation and are currently seeking legal damages for the forcible displacement of Miskitos during the insurgency in the early 1980s. The scarcity of fully implemented agreements signals a potential for renewed resistance by former rebels in most formerly violent self-determination conflicts.

The scarcity of fully implemented agreements signals a potential for renewed resistance by former rebels in most formerly violent self-determination conflicts.

Trends in the Onset and Settlement of Self-Determination Conflicts. Many observers fear that contemporary self-determination movements will continue the process of state breakdown signaled by the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the Yugoslav Federation at the beginning of the 1990s. In fact only five internationally recognized states emerged as a result of armed separatist conflicts during the last forty years: Bangladesh (1971), Slovenia (1991), Croatia (1991), Eritrea (1993), and East Timor (2002). This list may be expanded to include several de facto states established by separatist movements, political entities that are not recognized as such by the international community. Somaliland, which is dominated by the Isaaq clan, maintains an effective central government that suffers few of the crippling economic and security problems of the failed Somali state. Other examples include the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus, the Trans-Dniester Republic that is nominally a part of Moldova, Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia, the Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan that is nominally united with Armenia, and the international protectorate of Kosovo in Serbia and Montenegro. The final international status of these entities remains to be determined.

These exceptions aside, the most common outcome of self-determination conflicts consists of a settlement between governments and group representatives that acknowledges collective rights and provides institutional means for pursuing collective interests within states. Sometimes a group gains better access to decision-making in the central government, often it gains regional autonomy, and of course some settlements include both kinds of reforms. Thus the outcome of self-determination movements seldom results in a redrawing of international boundaries, but rather devolution of central power and redrawing of boundaries within existing states. An agreement recently reached by the Bodos in India provides more regional autonomy through the creation of a local council, but the actual extent of the devolution of decision-making power to the local council remains to be seen. After three years of negotiations, the southern Sudanese and the Khartoum government signed a formal agreement in early 2005 that provides for political power sharing along with a more equitable distribution of the country's critical oil resources. However, ongoing sporadic violence and the potential for backtracking could

Note: Based on conflicts listed in Appendix table 11.2. Date used for listing conflicts "contained" or "settled or won" is the date when the period of armed conflict ended. "Settled" conflicts include five that ended with the establishment of a new, internationally recognized state. In cases where a settlement/containment of an earlier conflict lasted for five or more years before the outbreak of new fighting, the new outbreak of fighting is counted as a separate armed conflict and a subsequent settlement/containment may then be counted as a new event. Examples are Nagas and Tripuras in India, Igorots in the Philippines, and Sudanese Southerners (containment of Tajik conflict in Afghanistan in 1992 lasted only four years before resuming in 1996 and is counted as a single event).

(*) The asterisks in table 5.1 and figure 5.1 indicate that the information for the most recent period, 2001-2004, covers only four years, unlike the other five-year periods. As such, the most recent period is not strictly comparable with the other periods and the last increment in the chart is not a true depiction of the most recent trend.

Table 5.1: Armed Conflicts for Self-Determination and Their Outcomes, 1956-2004

Period	New Armed Conflicts	Ongoing at End of Period	Conflicts Contained	Conflicts Settled or Won
before 1956		4		
1956-1960	4	8	0	0
1961-1965	5	12	0	1
1966-1970	5	15	2	0
1971-1975	11	23	0	3
1976-1980	9	30	2	0
1981-1985	6	35	0	1
1986-1990	10	40	2	3
1991-1995	17	39	9	9
1996-2000	5	32	6	6
2001-2004*	6	25	8	5
TOTALS	78		29	28

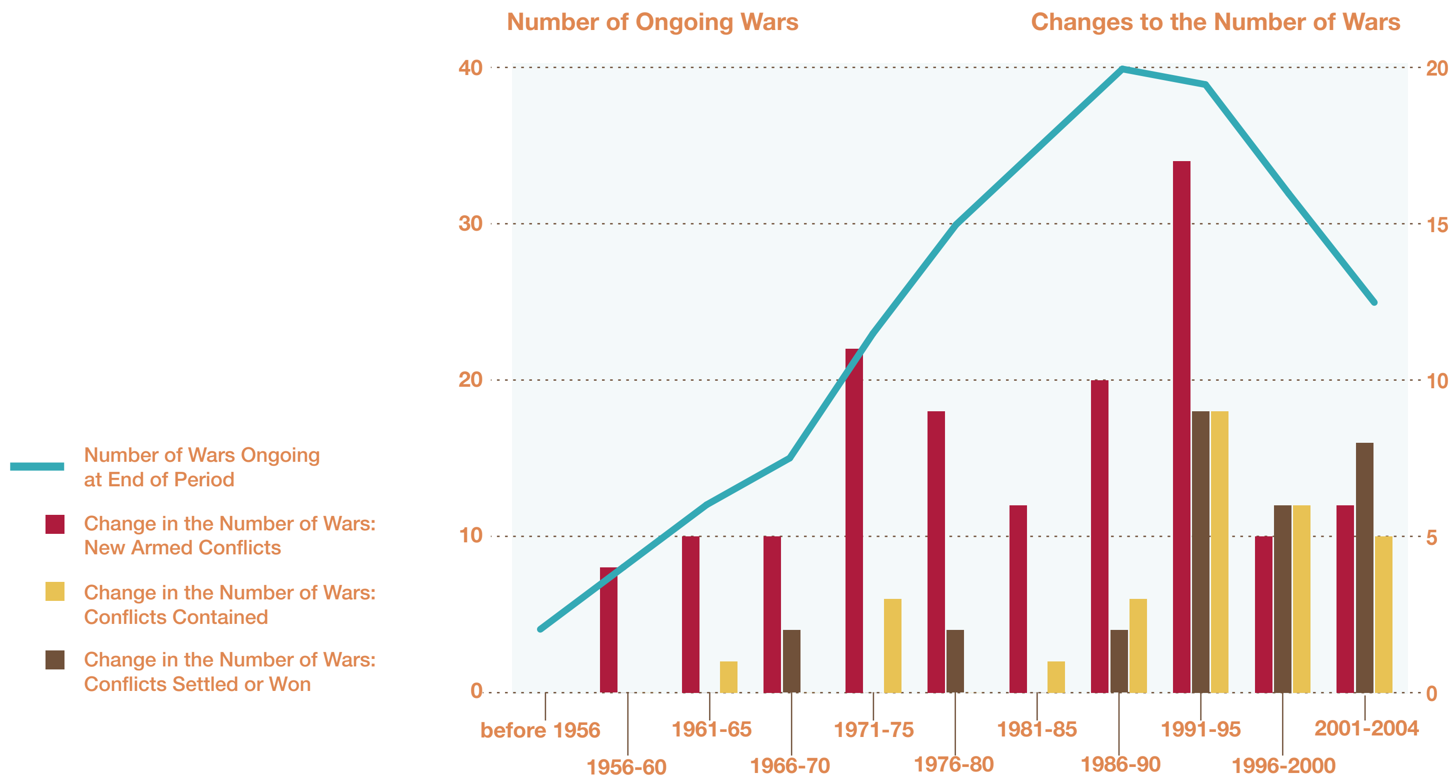
threaten the progress achieved in recent years, especially considering the Sudanese government's poor track record regarding agreement compliance.

Expectations that autonomy agreements will set the stage for all-out wars for independence are often expressed, but rarely realized. More commonly, most parties to conflict accept and work within the framework for autonomy while a few spoilers may continue to fight in the hope of forcing greater concessions. The greatest risk in autonomy agreements is not the eventual breakup of the state, rather it is that spoilers may block full implementation, thereby dragging out the conflict and wasting resources that might otherwise be used to strengthen autonomous institutions. The pendulum can swing the other way as well – when the state employs stall tactics or otherwise causes delays during the implementation phase, more militant factions of the communal group may continue or resume violence, arguing that the state has not made good on its promises.

The number of armed conflicts over self-determination spiked sharply upward at the end of the Cold War, but they had been building in number since the late 1950s, doubling between 1970 and the early 1980s. Table 5.1 and figure 5.1 summarize the evidence. From five ongoing wars in the 1950s, numbers swelled to a high of forty-nine (49) by the end of 1991. The numbers have declined steadily since then to twenty-five (25) at the end of 2004, a level that has not been reached since 1976. Moreover, fighting in many of these conflicts is low-level and de-escalating.

A number of factors contribute to the downward trend, including the end of the Cold War and, thus, superpower support for rebel movements, the attendant change in international norms favoring negotiation over armed challenges to settle grievances, and increasing activism amongst NGOs and engagement by international bodies. During the Cold War a half-dozen conflicts were contained, usually when the rebels were defeated militarily, and nine were settled or led to independence as in Bangladesh. Three of the negotiated settlements were in India, two of which – with Nagas (1963) and Tripuras (1972) – led to second-generation wars. During the 1990s, another sixteen (16) wars were contained, often as a result of internationally backed negotiations and peacekeeping, and another fifteen (15) were settled by negotiated agreements. Only three, in Slovenia, Croatia, and Eritrea, resulted in internationally recognized independence for rebel nationalists. As mentioned earlier, the pace in containment has continued since 2001

Figure 5.1: Trends in Armed Conflicts for Self-Determination, 1956-2004



with eight (8) new conflicts contained in 2001-2004. There were also five (5) conflicts that were settled in this time period. These include the Southerners and Nuba in Sudan, the Afars in Djibouti, Casamançais in Senegal, and Albanians in Macedonia. It is likely that as both sides pull back their troops and reach definitive agreements, a number of the recently contained conflicts will also move to the settlement phase. Overall, more than 75% of all terminations of separatist wars (by containment or settlement) during the last half-century have occurred since 1991.

As with conflicts in general, self-determination wars are easiest to settle in their early years. Between 1988 and 1994 eleven wars of self-determination began in the USSR, Yugoslavia, and their successor states. By 2002, all had been contained or settled, except in Chechnya, after an average of three years' fighting. During the same seven years, from 1988 to 1994, another fifteen (15) self-determination wars began in Africa and Asia. By 2000, four of the six new African wars and six of the nine Asian wars were concluded after an average of about nine years of fighting. The self-determination wars fought by the Southerners and Nuba in Sudan, Afars in Djibouti, Casamançais in Senegal, Bodos in India, and Tajiks and Uzbeks in Afghanistan are the most recent to be terminated, the latter two due to assistance from the United States in pursuit of its anti-Taliban goals.

Protracted separatist wars may require more complex, costly, and long-term, international commitments than mediation or peacekeeping efforts to move them to peace. The longer self-determination wars drag on, the greater the divisions between groups and the more diminished the level of trust on which to build a lasting settlement. The average duration of the twenty-five (25) armed self-determination conflicts still being fought at the end of

The longer self-determination wars drag on, the greater the divisions between groups and the more diminished the level of trust on which to build a lasting settlement.

2004 was twenty-seven (27) years. Nearly sixty percent are being fought in Asia, most others in Africa. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has been intermittently violent since 1968 despite numerous efforts to negotiate and implement an enduring settlement.

The most critical phases in self-determination conflicts are "talk-fight" and "cessation of open hostilities." In the absence of final agreements any of the eleven (11) conflicts in these two phases may revert to open warfare. For instance, negotiations were halted or stalled between the Tamils and the Sri Lankan government and the Cabindans and the Angolan regime in 2003-04. Preventive actions and efforts at mediation should be redoubled in these situations to keep them moving toward agreement. Mediators can assist parties in identifying areas of agreement when their hardline bargaining stances prevent them from realizing the needs and interests of the other party, or from recognizing that compromise is possible and necessary to end fighting.

Contested agreements are also problematic because significant elements on one or both sides of a conflict reject them. Some rebel factions may continue fighting either to cut a better deal, like the Abu Sayyaf faction of the Philippine Moros, or because they reject any compromise, like Chechen Islamists who attempted to ignite a wider rebellion against Russian influence in the Caucasus after the first Chechen separatist war ended in a Russian withdrawal. On the other side, political opponents of a government may try to subvert an agreement between the central authorities and an autonomous region. They may use legislative means to block implementation or stage provocative actions like the tactics used by opposition parties in the early stages of the settlement in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh. Militia and paramilitary activity against those involved in autonomy movements may also occur in certain conflicts. However challenging it is to reach an initial agreement, it may be still more difficult, and require greater international engagement, to move from formal agreement to the actual implementation of the terms of that agreement.

This survey has identified fifty-four (54) groups using conventional political means to pursue self-determination and another twenty-three (23) using militant strategies short of armed violence (see Appendix tables 11.2 and 11.3). Most are in democratic or quasi-democratic states and have little risk of escalating to armed conflict. The conflicts currently of greatest concern involve the people of Western Cameroon; Uighers, Tibetans and Mongols in China; Sindhis and Pashtuns in Pakistan; Yoruba, Oron, Ibo, and Ogoni in Nigeria; Lhotshampas in Bhutan; Reang (Bru) in India; Montagnards in Vietnam; and Lozi in Zambia. While none was a "hot war" at the end of 2004, group members continue to use or advocate provocative tactics against governments that have a track record of repression. While the Tibetans have managed to stay in the "public eye," largely through the efforts of the exiled Dalai Lama, the other groups attract very little notice. International attention usually encourages autonomy-minded people to work with state authorities for constructive solutions and simultaneously discourages governments from cracking down on activists. Bad things very often happen in the dark, when public scrutiny and accountability are absent and moral rectitude is less likely. Transparency is the most effective hedge against outbreaks of violence. In the absence of international attention and engagement, the peoples flagged here along with those involved in renewed or escalating conflicts such as the Malay-Muslims in Thailand, Hmong in Laos, Acehnese in Indonesia, and Baluchis in Pakistan, are the most likely protagonists and victims of separatist wars in the coming years.

6. THE DECLINE OF ETHNIC POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION, 1950-2003

Victor Asal and Amy Pate

Much has been made of the impressive spread of procedural democracy in recent decades. This change has been welcomed because of the positive economic and social benefits attributed to democracy, the association of democracy with civil and international peace, and also the intrinsic normative value of democratic governance. The ascendancy of democratic regimes is not the only important shift in relations between the rulers and the ruled since the 1980s. Ethnic conflict has attracted widespread interest since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and, subsequently, the Yugoslavian federation that marked the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. Many analysts at that time remarked about the sudden and dramatic increase in ethnic wars, sparking a heated debate on whether the end of the Cold War would usher in a period of global disorder. An examination of the historical record, however, indicated that, while there was a substantial increase in the number of ethnic wars coinciding with the end of the Cold War, the number of ongoing ethnic wars had been increasing steadily since 1946 (see Peace and Conflict 2001, figure 2). Having the ability to examine the historical record can help prevent common misperceptions from having an undue influence over the making of public policy.

The systematic collection of information on the internal affairs of states and the characteristics of societal conflict is a relatively recent endeavor, made possible by gains in information and communication technologies. One of the most accomplished of this new breed of research examining and recording information on the qualities of relations within states is the Minorities at Risk (MAR) project at CIDCM. The MAR project was begun by Ted Robert Gurr in 1986 to examine and document the status of ethnic and religious minority groups in all countries of the world over the contemporary period, since 1946.[1] Ethnic identity groups often compete with other political organizations, and especially the central state, for the loyalty and support of group members. On the other hand, minority identity groups can be neglected or maligned by central authorities or even excluded from equitable access to opportunities created by association with the larger state and civil society. Theorists have argued that political and economic discrimination in relations between ruling elites and constituent groups generates strong grievances and creates powerful incentives that drive ethnic conflict and, possibly, leads groups to armed conflict.

In order to more accurately test, and better understand, the role of discrimination in the conflict dynamics of states, researchers associated with the MAR project began two initiatives in the late 1990s to improve and expand its documentation of group discrimination. One initiative has focused on recording instances when a particular ethnic group, or coalition of ethnic groups, has gained control of the state and uses state power to maintain and expand its advantages over other constituent groups. The "elite ethnicity" initiative has assigned annual codes for all countries since 1950 to note situations where elite ethnicity is politically salient, that is, where either an ethnic majority or minority

1 Ted Robert Gurr has published two books based on research from the Minorities at Risk project: *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993) and *Peoples versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000).

has gained control of the state apparatus and uses its political power to further its own interests.[2] The second initiative has focused on tracking changes in the general qualities of political and economic discrimination of the 337 politically-active minority groups (in 124 different countries) covered by the MAR project. The MAR initiative on group discrimination has assigned annual codes since 1950 for all MAR groups on both political and economic aspects of discrimination. It is this latter initiative that will be the special focus of this section.

Defining MAR Groups and Discrimination. The MAR project focuses specifically on ethnopolitical groups, non-state communal groups that have "political significance" in the contemporary world because of their status and political actions. One aspect of political significance is related to the group's size. For a group to be included in the MAR project, it must have a population of at least 100,000 or account for at least one percent of the country's total population. The group must have the membership size and, thus, the mobilization potential to influence central state politics in a meaningful way. A second aspect of political significance concerns the distinct quality of a group's relationship with state authorities. This aspect of political significance is determined by the following two criteria:

- The group collectively suffers, or benefits from, systematic discriminatory treatment vis-à-vis other groups in a society; and,
- The group is the basis for political mobilization and collective action in defense or promotion of its self-defined interests.

Many group traits can contribute to the sentiments and interests that lead to collective action by ethnopolitical groups. The possible bases of communal identity include shared language, religion, national or racial origin, common cultural practices, and attachment to a particular territory. Most communal identity groups also share a common history, or myths of shared experience, that often include their victimization by others. No one of these is essential to group identity. Fundamentally, what matters is the belief — by people who share some such traits and by those with whom they interact — that the traits set them apart from others in ways that justify their separate treatment and status. As group discrimination is a defining trait for identifying MAR groups, we believe the dataset on discrimination is as comprehensive as the current quality of information on the political status of non-state groups will allow. Occasionally, new groups come to our attention as information improves and qualifying groups are added to the dataset.

Tracking group discrimination can be difficult both because groups sometimes have political motivations for exaggerating their malign treatment at the hands of governments and also because some governments are so efficient at suppression that little information about group status or treatment makes its way to open-source media. Information on minorities in Iran and Burma, for example, is sparse and difficult to verify. Evaluating group-level information on economic factors is particularly difficult due to the wide variation in wealth and income distributions among individuals and the lack of accurate and systematic records of individuals that can be tied to differentials at the group level. Examining a wide variety of web-based and other sources, the MAR project

2 The elite ethnicity codes were initially developed and countries coded by Barbara Harff for use in her analysis of the preconditions of genocide and are reported in her article, "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955." *American Political Science Review,* vol.97 (February 2003), pp. 57-73

has coded group discrimination yearly using a five-point scale. The coding was initially done as a single value for the late 1980s and annually for the 1990s as part of the MAR project's core survey and periodic updates. The first author of this article, Victor Asal, supervised a project team in 2001 that was directed to re-examine the status of each of the MAR groups from 1950 to 2000 and assign annual political and economic discrimination codes.[3] The second author, Amy Pate, supervised the latest general update of MAR group annual codes, including discrimination codes. During both procedures, discrepancies and inconsistencies in the data noted by coders were reconciled. The analyses that follow are based on the latest version of the annual discrimination dataset.[4]

The following categories are used in coding the political and economic discrimination indicators:

- *No discrimination (code 0):* Groups facing no political discrimination or not suffering from substantial under-representation due to past discrimination. Current examples are the Scots in the United Kingdom and the Acholi in Uganda.
- *Remedial discrimination (code 1):* Groups that are under-represented because of past discrimination which is currently addressed by governmental remedial policies. African-Americans in the United States and the Maori in New Zealand are groups that currently meet these criteria.
- *Historical discrimination (code 2):* Groups that are now under-represented because of past political discrimination or disadvantages but whose status is not being addressed by governmental remedial policies. Many indigenous peoples in Latin America are disadvantaged in this way, as are the Basques of France.
- *Societal discrimination (code 3):* Groups that currently suffer from substantial under-representation due to prevailing social practice by dominant groups and to which formal public policies toward the group are neutral or, if positive, inadequate to offset discriminatory policies. The Roma of Bulgaria and the Afro-Brazilians are examples of groups that meet these criteria in 2003.
- *Governmental discrimination (code 4):* Public policies substantially restrict the group's political participation or group members (other than those directly engaged in anti-regime activism) are subject to recurring repression that limits group political mobilization. The Baha'is in Iran and the Tibetans in China are current examples.

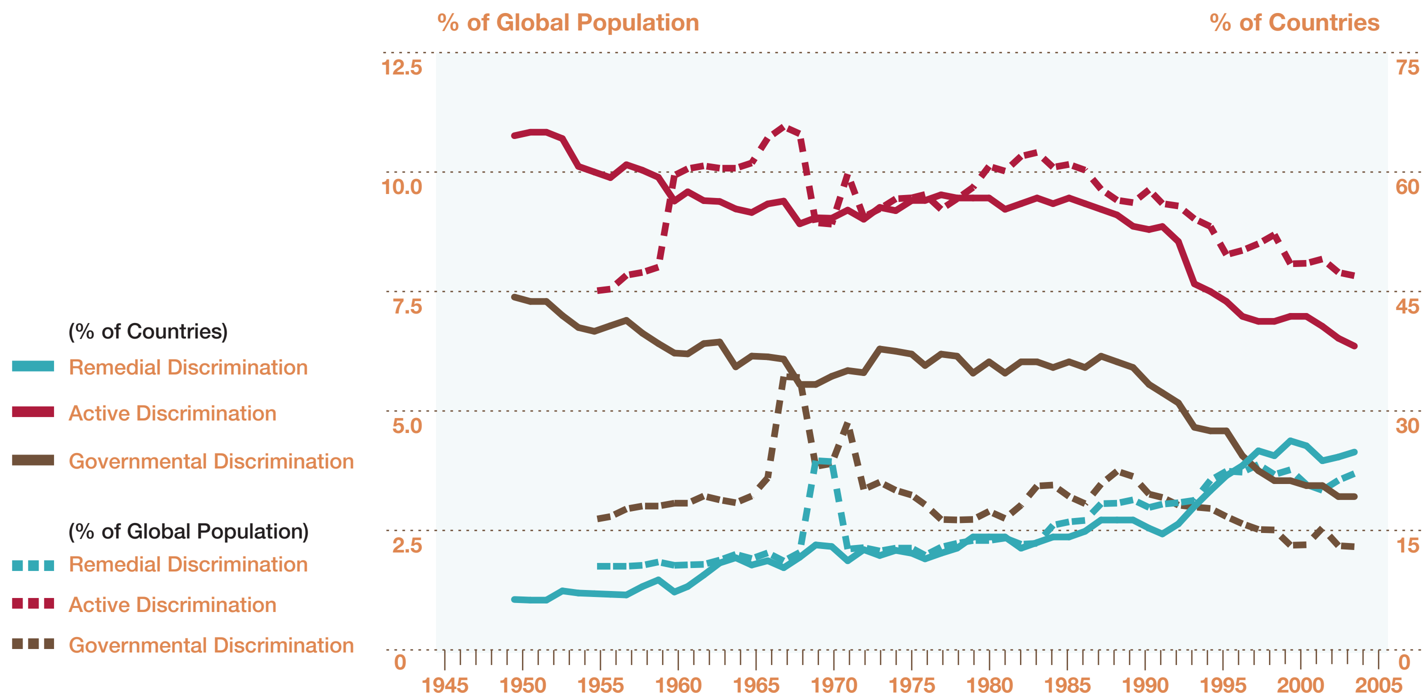
Policies of political and economic discrimination [have] declined substantially [while] policies designed to help correct group disadvantages [have] increased steadily.

Global Trends in Group Discrimination. Figures 6.1 and 6.2 track global trends in ethnic political and economic discrimination annually across the study period, 1950-2003. In order to set the proper perspective, the total population of all groups identified as "minorities at risk" ranges between 12.5% and 15% of the total global population. This basic constancy is due in large part to the way ethnic minorities are tracked by the project: once it is established that a group meets the MAR criteria for "political significance," the group is tracked across the entire study period, unless the international status of the state of which the group is a part changes. For example, when East Pakistan gained independence as the country of Bangladesh in 1972, the status of ethnic-Bengalis changed from a discriminated minority in Pakistan to a ruling majority in Bangladesh. Likewise, when the Soviet Union dissolved on December 31, 1991, each of fourteen minority groups of the USSR became the ruling group in a newly independent state and

3 Details on the procedure and in-depth analysis of results are reported in Victor Asal. *The International and Domestic Impact of Democracy: Minimal Political Inclusion of Minority Groups, 1870-2000.* Doctoral dissertation. (Government and Politics, University of Maryland, College Park, 2003).

4 The latest version of the Minorities at Risk group discrimination annual dataset can be obtained from the MAR Web site at www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/mar.

Figure 6.1: Global Trends in Political Discrimination, 1950-2003



new minority groups immediately gained significance in the new states. Changes in the status of states have been quite rare other than those resulting from the breakup of the socialist federations that marked the end of the Cold War. Since 1946, only five new states have been formed as a result of separatist conflicts (see section 5 on self-determination movements in this issue); in addition, three new states have been formed through the unions of separate states: Vietnam in 1976, Germany in 1990, and Yemen in 1994. The greatest number of changes in the global system of states during the study period resulted from decolonization of former-European controlled territories in Africa (see section 7 in this issue). In 1950 the global system comprised seventy-nine (79) independent countries and by 2003 this number had more than doubled (161). By 1950, however, about 87% of the world's population already lived in independent countries.

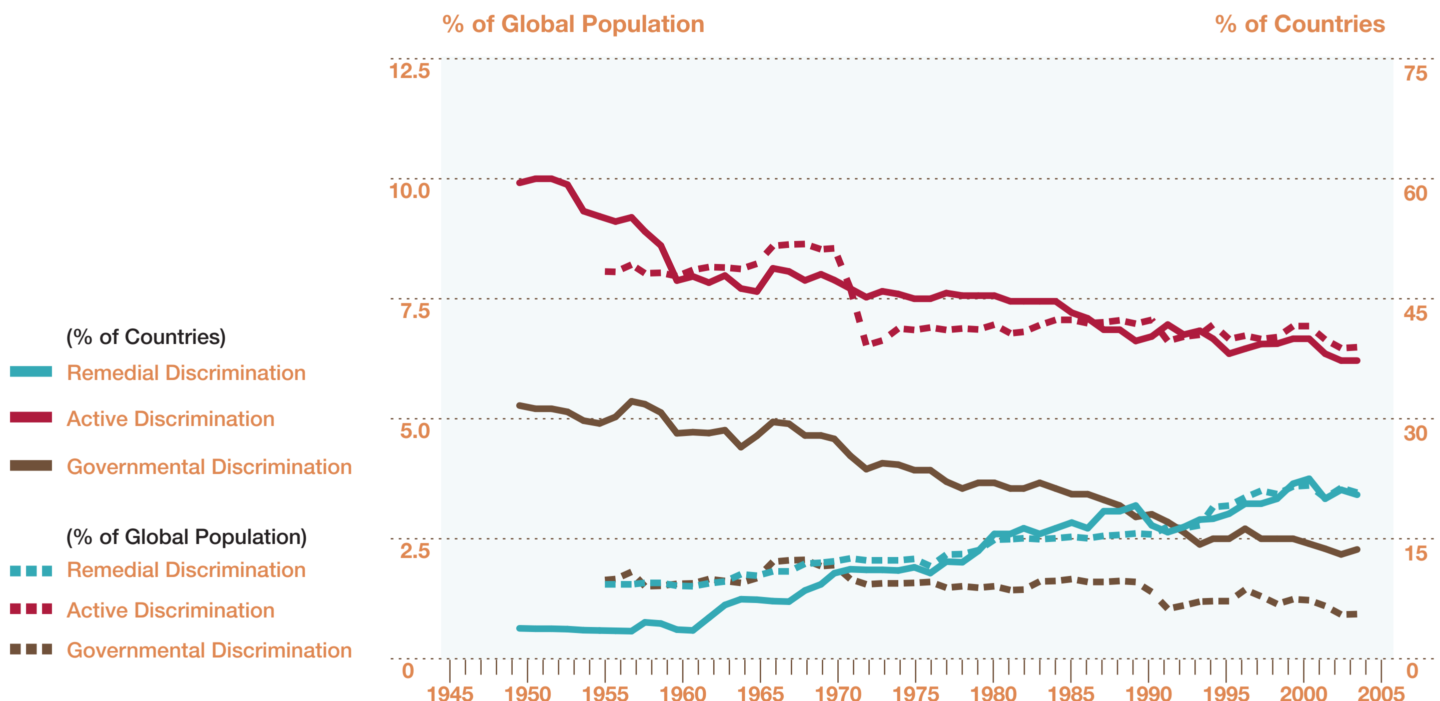
In spite of the complex changes that have transformed the global system of states in the latter half of the twentieth century, three fundamental, positive trends in ethnic group discrimination can be observed (refer to figures 6.1 and 6.2):

- The percentage of the world's states with official policies of political or economic discrimination against constituent ethnic groups (solid black lines in both figures) has declined substantially since 1950: from 44.3% to 24.8% of states practicing political discrimination and from 31.6% to 13.7% of states with policies of economic discrimination.
- The percentage of the world's countries where active discrimination is practiced, that is, countries where there is either governmental or societal discrimination or both (solid red lines in both figures), has also declined substantially since 1950: from 64.6% to 38.2% of countries where groups face active political discrimination and from 59.5% to 37.3% of countries where groups contend with discriminatory economic practices.

- The percentage of the world's states where there are policies designed to help correct group disadvantages (solid blues lines in both figures) has increased steadily and substantially since 1950: from 6.3% to 24.8% of states with policies to help remedy political disadvantages and from 3.8% to 20.5% of states with policies to help ameliorate group economic disadvantages.

The trends graphs in figures 6.1 and 6.2 also provide some cause for continuing concern. The dotted lines track the percent of the global population that is subject to each of the three basic categories of ethnic discrimination. While there is evidence of decreases in the percent of the global population subject to governmental and active discrimination over the study period, the decreases in numbers of people facing discrimination are not as great as the decreases in the numbers of countries where discrimination is practiced. In 2003, still nearly twice as many people continue to be subjected to active, ethnic discrimination as the numbers of people who benefit from remedial policies.[5]

Figure 6.2: Global Trends in Economic Discrimination, 1950-2003



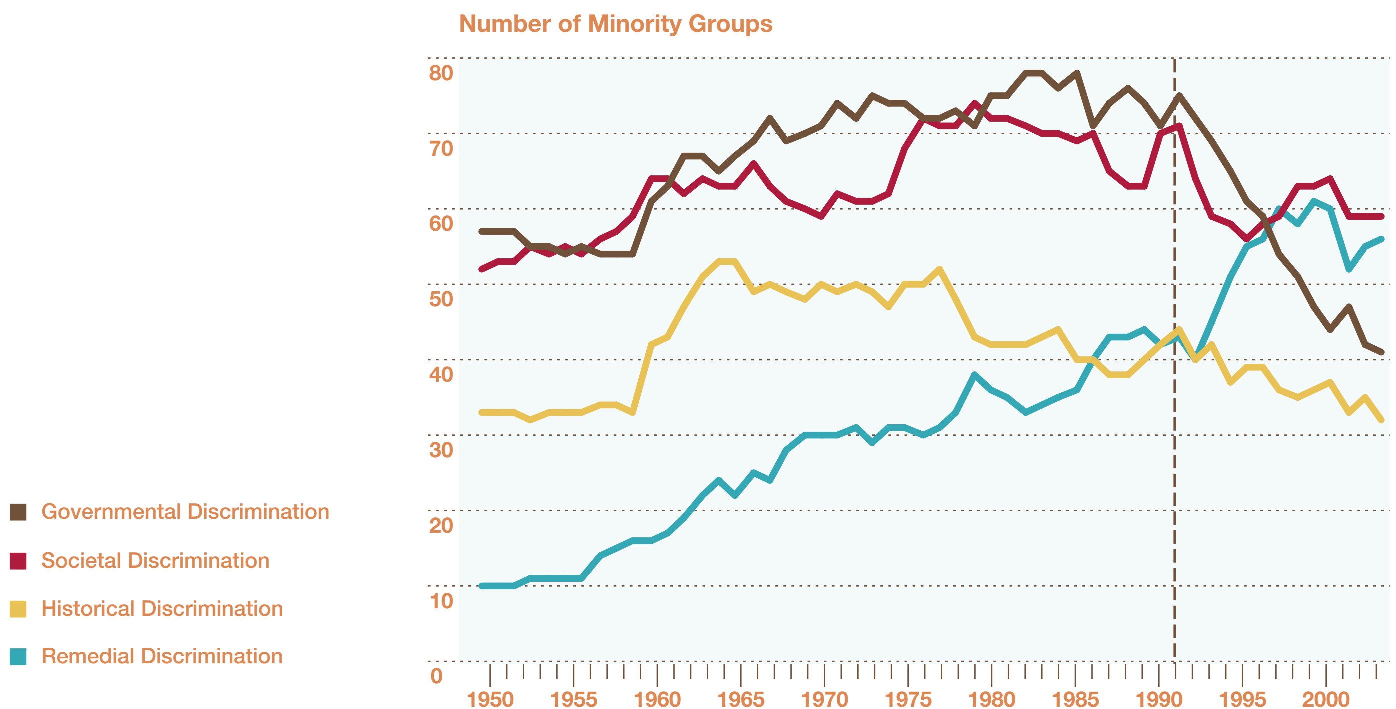
Most importantly for comparative and quantitative research, political and economic discrimination follow similar trajectories. However, research indicates that political discrimination is much more closely associated with political conflict behavior than is economic discrimination. Therefore, the remainder of this section will focus on describing trends in political discrimination. The observed decline in ethnic political discrimination is significant for four major reasons. First, there is abundant evidence that high

5 The large jumps in the dotted, population trend lines in the 1960s and early 1970s are caused by changes in the status of the very large population of ethnic-Bengalis in the former East Pakistan. That minority group became a ruling, majority group when Bangladesh gained independence in 1972.

levels of political discrimination are a key cause of violent ethnic conflict.[6] Second, political empowerment of minorities is a major factor in building civil societies that effectively incorporate all citizens. Third, the decline of political discrimination is of value in its own right as an important improvement in human rights for the minorities concerned. Finally, this change, linked as it may be to the spread of procedural democracy, underscores the importance of institutional change in improving human development for previously marginalized groups.

Group-Level Analyses and Regional Trends in Political Discrimination. The analysis of political behavior most frequently is done at the state level of analysis. After all, the state is the most powerful and prominent political actor and the state-system provides the framework for international politics and global analysis. Data analysis, in particular, is tied to state-level observations because the state is the standard unit for measurement. Discrimination, however, is fundamentally a group level attribute that distinguishes the particular status of distinct, non-state actors from the more general status and attributes of the state and civil society. The MAR project, with its focus on ethnic and religious minorities within states, provides a relatively rare opportunity to examine and compare political dynamics at the group level of analysis. States vary widely in the number and sizes of constituent "minorities at risk" with which they have to contend. Some countries, such as the Koreas, Sweden, Tunisia, or Japan are nearly ethnically homogenous. Others, such as the former-Soviet Union, Pakistan, Indonesia, and Uganda, are

Figure 6.3: Global Trends in Political Discrimination of Minorities, 1950-2003



6 For an overview of work on the relationship between political discrimination and political violence see Gurr, *Peoples versus States*. The MAR discrimination variables have also been used in the ongoing analytic research of the U.S. Government's Political Instability Task Force (PITF; formerly known as the State Failure Task Force). Discrimination factors significantly in several of the PITF Phase IV political instability risk models, including the global, sub-Saharan Africa, and autocracy models, and factors very prominently in the ethnic war model. Information on PITF research can be found on the State Failure Web site at www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/stfail. See also, sections 7 and 8 in this report.

extremely ethnically diverse. Still others, like the United States, are extremely diverse, yet political interests are not primarily focused on ethnic group mobilization. Ethnic group affiliation, mobilization, and competition among ethnic groups for state power are more likely to characterize politics in lesser developed countries. Examining the issue of ethnic political discrimination at the group and regional levels can reveal important differences in prevailing patterns of societal composition and contention.

The numbers of groups subject to governmental discrimination closely follows the global trends in armed conflict and autocratic governance.

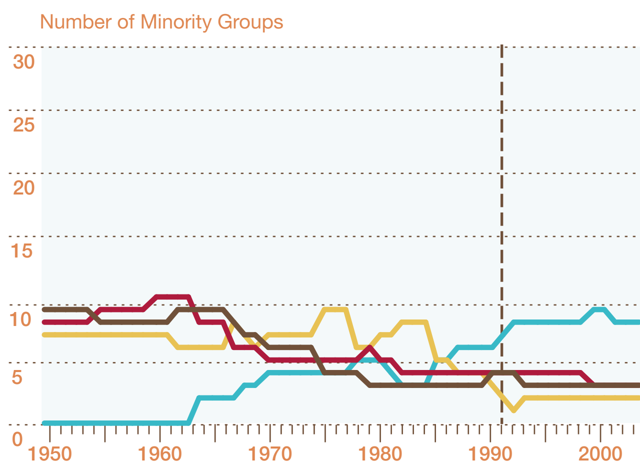
Figure 6.3 presents an alternative perspective on global trends in political discrimination, as compared with those in figure 6.1 above. Figure 6.3 charts the annual numbers of ethnic minorities in the world that are subject to the four different categories of political discrimination (MAR groups that are coded as experiencing "no discrimination" are not included). Again, one has to keep in mind the fact that the number of states and, therefore, the potential number of ethnic groups increases quite substantially during the decolonization period in Africa that spans, roughly, the years 1960-1975. This perspective on global trends in discrimination clearly corroborates the observation made earlier, that remedial policies to improve the political status of minorities groups have increased steadily since 1950: here from only ten groups benefiting from such policies in 1950 to fifty-six in 2003. This figure, however, shows that the numbers of groups subject to governmental discrimination more closely follows the global trends in armed conflict and autocratic governance (see section 3 and 4 in this report). That is, the numbers increase during the Cold War period and drop sharply in the 1990s. The number of groups with historical disadvantages declines from the late 1970s, presumably as a result of the increase in the numbers of groups benefiting from remedial policies. The trend for societal discrimination gives some cause for concern as the numbers, while fluctuating periodically, have not diminished substantially. The practice and consequences of ethnic discrimination in general social relations appear to be much more difficult to change than governmental policies.

In order to facilitate comparison of regional trends and differences in key attributes of conflict and governance, the Peace and Conflict report series routinely examines six world regions; these regions and the countries that comprise each region are listed in the Peace-Building Ledger (see section 2 in this report). Figures 6.4 through 6.9 chart regional trends in political discrimination. The North Atlantic, Latin America and the Caribbean, and North Africa and the Middle East regions have similarly low numbers of politicized ethnic minorities: 27, 33, and 28 respectively in 2003. Of those, eleven groups in the North Atlantic and nine in North Africa and the Middle East are coded as having no political discrimination in 2003; only one group is coded with no discrimination in Latin America in 2003. The other three regions: the Former Socialist Bloc, Asia and the Pacific, and Africa South of the Sahara, have similarly large numbers of "minorities at risk": 66, 61, and 96 respectively in 2003. In the Former Socialist Bloc countries, thirty-nine of sixty-six groups currently face no discrimination. In the Asia and the Pacific region, only twelve of sixty-one groups are coded with no discrimination in 2003. In the Africa South of the Sahara region, fifty-one of ninety-six MAR groups face no political discrimination in 2003.

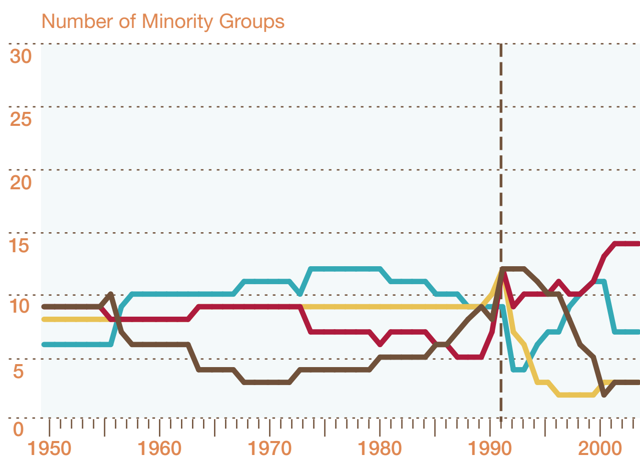
Examining the issue of political discrimination from the group level, world regions vary substantially in their patterns of change in political discrimination since the 1950s. The durable Western democracies that predominate in the North Atlantic region have relatively few "minorities at risk" as the political salience of ethnicity is generally of lesser

Figure 6.4: Regional Trends in Political Discrimination of Minorities, 1950-2003

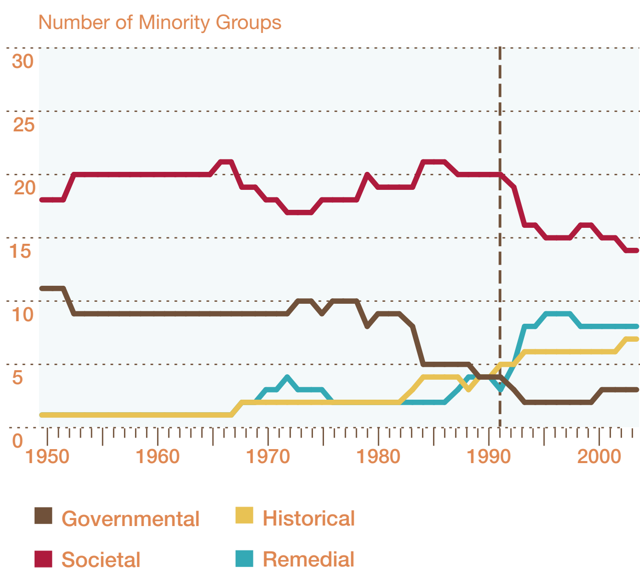
a. North Atlantic



b. Former Socialist Bloc Countries



c. Latin America and the Caribbean Countries



importance in affluent societies. The groups that are mobilized on ethnicity tend to have a higher profile, however, as they stand in sharp contrast to normative standards of equal opportunity, accountability, and transparency. The discrimination trends are quite clear in this region (see figure 6.4a). The decline in active ethnic discrimination began in the mid-1960s and continued through the 1980s; a decline in historical disadvantages is notable especially in the 1980s. Over the same span, the number of groups benefiting from remedial policies increased. In the United States, for example, treatment of minorities has changed radically during this period. Of the four MAR groups in the U.S. two in 1950 were targeted by specific discriminatory government policies, African Americans and Amerindians. The other two, Hispanics and Native Hawaiians, experienced widespread societal discrimination. By 1990 three of these groups benefited from effective public policies to redress the effects of past discrimination and indigenous people no longer experienced pervasive societal discrimination. Similar developments improved the status of most minorities in other Western societies. We should note though that some groups continue to experience open political discrimination, including foreign workers in Switzerland, non-citizen Muslims in France, and the numerically-large Roma populations in France, Spain, Italy, and Greece.

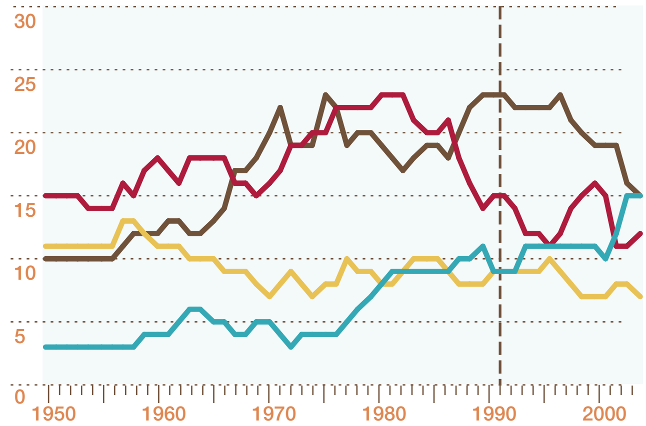
In contrast, remedial policies for MAR groups in the Former Socialist Bloc countries were more common, particularly as a result of reforms implemented after the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953 (see figure 6.4b). Governmental discrimination remained low through the mid-1980s, but – contrary to Western experience – the numbers of groups subject to governmental discrimination began to increase in the 1970s and rose sharply in the waning years of the "great socialist experiment," as did the numbers of groups subject to general societal discrimination, as ethnic tensions precipitated the dissolution of, first, the Soviet Union and, then, the Yugoslavian federation. Attempts by newly independent governments to restrict the activities of ethnic minorities opposed to the changes that rocked the socialist world were fairly quickly reversed as the situation stabilized in the mid-1990s. The promise of ascension to the European Union has been largely responsible for the swift moderation in governmental discrimination. Ethnic tensions, however, remain strong in this region, as evidenced by the high and increasing number of

groups facing active, societal discrimination or exclusion. The Communist regimes of Eastern Europe sought to improve the status of their Roma minorities, for example, whereas eight of the nine Roma populations of contemporary East European states are coded as suffering from overt discrimination (the Roma of Hungary are the exception). What remain invisible in the discrimination trends are the highly charged, ambiguous, and unresolved relationships among the ethnic groups that had comprised the Yugoslavian federation. Here, ethnic tensions remain high but discrimination has "disappeared" largely because of a continuing, strong foreign presence that actively enforces a legal equity. Other situations appear equitable as a direct result of de facto separation of contending ethnic groups, as currently characterizes politics in Moldova, Georgia, and Azerbaijan.

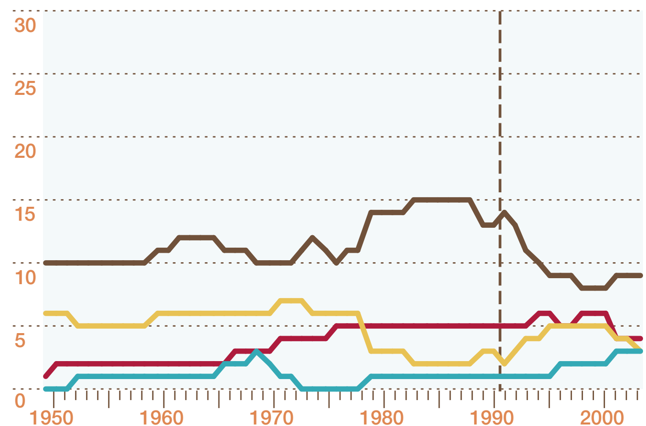
The most striking feature of political discrimination in Latin America and the Caribbean (see figure 6.4c) is the high numbers of MAR groups that are politically marginalized by societal discrimination. Indigenous peoples and the descendants of African slaves make up almost all the minorities in the region. From 1950 until 1993 over half these groups suffered societal discrimination. The main improvement in the last two decades has been a shift from public policies that restricted the political rights of indigenous peoples toward policies that empower and improve their political status. Some have gained land and cultural rights, for example in Colombia and Venezuela, whereas in Bolivia and Ecuador indigenous parties have become major players in national politics. While there has been some decline in social exclusion in the 1990s, societal discrimination remains a serious obstacle to social integration and democratic consolidation in Latin America.

The treatment of ethnic groups in Asia and the Pacific (see figure 6.4d) differs significantly from the global pattern, with much higher numbers of groups subject to governmental discrimination than in the three regions discussed above. What is more, the numbers increased rapidly during the 1960s and remained high until very recently; the numbers only begin to decrease in 1996. The high numbers of groups facing official sanctions correspond to similarly high numbers of groups that face societal exclusion, although these numbers begin to fall in the early 1980s. The numbers of marginalized groups with historical disadvantages but no active exclusion remain fairly constant across the study period. On a

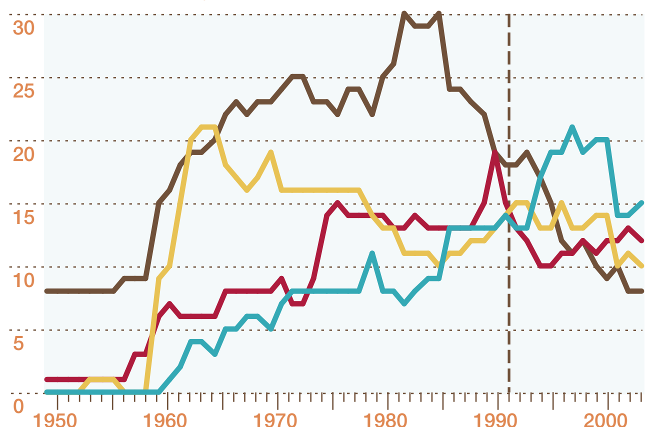
d. Asia and the Pacific Countries



e. North Africa and the Middle East Countries



f. Africa South of the Sahara Countries



more positive note, like the general global trends noted above, the regional trends for Asia and the Pacific show a substantial increase in the number of beneficiaries for remedial actions, beginning in earnest in the mid-1970s. Specific MAR groups in this region have followed very different trajectories. Sri Lankan Tamils were free of discrimination in 1950 but were subject to discriminatory government policies from the 1960s onward, while the Taiwanese experienced public discrimination at the hands of the Mainland Chinese oligarchy from the 1950s to the late 1990s but, after that oligarchy lost political control, experience no discrimination in the 21st century.

What is especially unique [in North Africa and the Middle East] is the lack of any real movement toward remedial actions for disadvantaged groups.

For most of the last half-century a larger proportion of minorities has suffered from governmentally sanctioned discrimination in North Africa and the Middle East than in any other world region (see figure 6.4e). In the 1980s about half the MAR groups in the region were targets of discriminatory policies. Moreover, the region has seen few of the regime changes such as those that that led to shifts in the status of minorities in the post-Communist states. Nonetheless, consistent with global trends, governmental discrimination declined in the 1990s in the North African and Middle East region. Currently nine of the region's MAR groups are subject to governmental discrimination, a number that is unlikely to diminish further, at least in the short term, because it includes two transnational groups that are almost everywhere disadvantaged. In 2003, Palestinian minorities faced governmental or societal discrimination in Israel, Jordan, and Lebanon while the Shi'a experienced overt discrimination or marginalization in Bahrain, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq (where a major shift has occurred in 2004-05, to the disadvantage of the once-dominant Sunni minority). Political empowerment of the long repressed Shi'a majority in Iraq is likely to have serious repercussions in other regional states, the consequences of which are difficult to foretell. What is especially unique in this region is the lack of any real movement toward remedial actions for disadvantaged groups.

Countries that comprise the region of Africa South of the Sahara strike a unique profile in the treatment of ethnic groups (see figure 6.4f). Most countries in this region gained independence during the study period, with the largest increase in new states beginning in 1960 and continuing through the decade. State formation in the newly independent states of Africa was often characterized by serious contention among established ethnic groups vying for control of the central state (see section 7 following). Contention between and among ethnic groups continues to complicate conflict dynamics in many of the continent's young states, particularly as the majority of African states began to democratize their political processes in the 1990s. The regional trend in governmental discrimination closely follows the regional trend in autocratic regimes (see figure 7.1) with a steep increase in the number of groups subject to official sanctions through the mid-1980s and falling sharply from the peak in 1985 (30 groups) through the most recent year recorded (8 in 2003). A similar trajectory is found for numbers of groups subject to societal discrimination; those numbers increase until they peak with nineteen in 1990. However, the numbers of groups facing social exclusion have not continued to fall but have, rather, leveled off in recent years. Another unique aspect of ethnic politics in Africa is the large number of historically disadvantaged groups that continue to subsist on the margins of states and societies in the relatively poor region. What is common with the African trends is the steady and substantial increase in the number of ethnic groups benefiting from remedial policies. Most of the MAR groups in Africa are "communal contenders" for power. When one group gains hegemony it reduces political access for rival groups. When the latter gain power they redress the balance. This "taking turns" at the political table may explain some of the relatively low overall level of political discrimi-

nation in the region. But it also can lead to protracted, deadly competition between rival groups and the most severe forms of discrimination and repression, as has the Hutu-Tutsi rivalry in the Great Lakes region.

Conclusion. Overall, the last half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st has witnessed significant changes in the treatment of ethnic minorities with important implications for political incorporation, ethnic conflict, and human rights. While there are important regional differences, everywhere the weight of official discrimination has lifted. While this trend began in Western democracies in the late 1960s, by the 1990s it had reached all parts of the world. Some regions still have a relatively high level of official discrimination but for the most part the prospects for minorities are markedly better in 2003 than in 1950 or 1960. There are still troubling patterns in certain regions. For example, while governmental discrimination has declined markedly in Latin America the same is not true of societal discrimination against indigenous peoples and Afro-Latin Americans, which remains high into the 21st century. Latin American societies may replicate the experience of Euro-American democracies, where government shifts from official discrimination to remedial policies led the way for subsequent declines in societal discrimination. Prospects for improvement in the status of religious and national minorities in the Middle East and North Africa are troubling, especially given the increasing tensions in this region since the United States' invasion of Iraq in March 2003. Democratization, by itself, may not improve the quality of group relations in this region, at least in the short run, and may lead to increasing ethnic demands that are difficult to reconcile. Nine of the thirteen ethnic groups facing governmental or societal discrimination in this region in 2003 reside in countries with, at least nominally, democratic regimes: Iran, Israel, Lebanon, and Turkey. In addition, the region's only other democratic state, Cyprus, has been divided along ethnic lines since 1974.

Minority demands for equal political rights and respect for human rights since the 1980s have become global norms whose impact extends across regional and regime lines.

In considering key turning points in the qualities of relationships between states, societies, and ethnopolitical groups, we note three fundamental changes. One concerns the relationship between liberal democracy and ethnic minorities. In the late 1960s, following the successes of the African-American civil rights and the indigenous rights movements in the United States, ethnic social movements in many democracies began to demand that governments live up to the inclusive and participatory rhetoric of democratic discourse. A second turning point is reflected in the dual nature of ethnic relations in socialist states. Socialist countries were among the first to proclaim the voluntary nature of political relations among constituent groups and institute that recognition of group equality in the constitutional "right to secede." This principle, of course, eventually led to the dissolution the socialist federations along ethnic lines but those dissolutions, except in the case of Bosnia, occurred with limited violence and the newly independent, former socialist states have been largely successful in consolidating democratic governance and limiting discrimination. A third turning point can be found in the end of colonialism and the universal recognition of self-determination and human rights principles. In all, minority demands for equal political rights and respect for human rights since the 1980s have become global norms whose impact extends across regional and regime lines.

Monty G. Marshall

Earlier editions of the Peace and Conflict series have noted the generally low peace-building capacities of African countries when viewed from the global perspective. Indeed, nearly eighty percent of all countries coded red (low) for peace-building capacity in the two previous reports are located on the African continent, and over half of all African countries were coded red in those reports. The fact that many African countries suffer generally low levels of societal development is well known. Yet, Africa is not necessarily a poorly endowed continent nor can we claim that African peoples are less capable of the achievements associated with higher levels of systemic development. The one thing that most clearly distinguishes Africa from other regions of the world is the newness of its state system. All but four of the fifty African countries gained their independence, that is, their modern statehood, in the latter half of the twentieth century. State building is no simple task, and the building of modern, viable states has everywhere, and in all times, been fraught with enormous difficulties. This section attempts to move beyond the simple, comparative notion that countries in Africa are poorer and more vulnerable to political instability than countries in other regions of the world and gain some insight into the special problems confronting African states as they work to modernize their societal systems and increase their peace-building capacities over the longer term.[1]

Nearly eighty percent of all countries coded red (low) for peace-building capacity are located on the African continent.

Peace and Conflict 2001 examined the strong negative relationship between societal capacity and outbreaks of armed conflict and charted the concentration and spread of armed conflicts almost exclusively in countries in the lowest three quintiles of societal capacity during the post-World War II era (figures 5a and 5b). A simple assessment of the situation in Africa might claim that political violence is prevalent because the continent is poor. In conflict theory, however, the concentration of armed conflicts in the world's poorest countries presents something of a puzzle. The ability to finance and wage war while defending one's home territory and providing basic social services for a supporting population requires fairly advanced societal networks and capabilities. Poor people make poor soldiers; they generally lack training, equipment, supplies, discipline, and loyalty. Therefore, how can and why do the poor take up arms to challenge the authority of the central state? In most cases, the state, even in circumstances of abject and pervasive poverty, will be relatively strong and well organized compared with any domestic challengers. For the poor, lack of motive to change their abject circumstances is not the issue but, rather, lack of means and, perhaps, lack of motivation. We should expect periodic outbursts of riots, rebellion, and banditry, but not sustained warfare, or protracted social conflict.

Several theories have been proposed to explain outbreaks of armed conflict in lesser developed countries. These include reactions to perceptions of exploitation and injustice, resistance to encroachments by central authorities, defense of traditional social structures and ways of life, competition among contending identities and political agendas, expressions of indignation, opportunism, and predation. Regardless of the potential to engage in violent collective action, when armed conflict breaks out in poor countries the potential for the emergence of a humanitarian crisis is immediate and severe. Contrary to our notions of military combat, direct battles between armed forces in poor

1 The Africa analysis in Peace and Conflict 2005 has been supported by the Africa Telematics Program with funding from USAID.

countries are relatively rare. Armed conflict disrupts patterns of everyday life and its principal victims are non-combatant populations. A simple, alternative formulation of the situation in Africa might propose that the continent remains poor because it is consumed by instability and armed conflict. The creation of a poverty-conflict trap is a very real dilemma in underdeveloped countries.

This section explores conflict, development, and governance trends in the countries of Africa. Africa provides a unique opportunity to trace these general trends, for most countries, from their inception as independent states through the span of their first generation, roughly from 1960 to 2004. A two-stage model is developed to explain the observed patterns of political instability in Africa with the aim of gaining a better understanding of the prospects and opportunities for avoiding the pitfalls that contribute to a conflict-poverty dilemma and for climbing out of and moving beyond the syndrome of arrested development.

Societal-systems analysis emphasizes fundamental relationships among societal development, political conflict, and governance.

Societal-Systems Analysis and Political Instability in Africa. Societal-systems analysis provides the basis for a unique approach to understanding political instability in the African context.[2] This approach emphasizes fundamental relationships among three core systemic processes: societal development, political conflict, and governance. The quality of the interplay between conflict and governance dynamics determines the potential for both societal and system development. Qualities of systemic development, in turn, define the circumstances of societal conflict and determine the scope of alternatives and the possibilities for conflict management. High levels of societal conflict and, especially, outbreaks of political violence hamper more complex forms of association and production by undermining social networks and limiting societal and systemic integration. This, in turn, affects government performance and induces a preference for more coercive, instrumental (i.e., autocratic) policies to ensure the greater social order but at the cost of further alienating and marginalizing the general population. Thus, political instability is viewed as a societal-systemic (crisis) condition characterized by serious and, often, complex disruptions (i.e., instability events) in the central state's capacity to make, implement, and administer conventional, non-violent, public policy. As such, political instability can only be fully understood by accounting for adverse changes in both the qualities of governance and conflict interactions.

The U. S. Government's Political Instability Task Force, formerly known as the State Failure Task Force, has pursued a variant of this approach to "design and carry out a study on the correlates of state failure. The ultimate goal was to develop a methodology that would identify key factors and critical thresholds signaling a high risk of crisis in countries some two years in advance." [3] (Phase I report, 1995, p. iii) The Task Force combines four distinct categories of political instability events: 1) revolutionary wars, 2) ethnic wars, 3) genocides and politicides, and 4) adverse regime changes. The category of

2 Societal-systems, or systemic, analysis is explained in detail in Monty G. Marshall, *Third World War: System, Process, and Conflict Dynamics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999). "The theoretical perspective is that political violence is the research problem [and cause of underdevelopment] and that such violence occurs under conditions of systemic failure, that is, when normative conflict management strategies are unsuccessful or inoperative." (p. 128)

3 The Political Instability Task Force is an assembly of leading academic experts that has issued four, periodic "Phase" reports on its ongoing, active research agenda. Information on the Task Force, case selection criteria, and copies of the first three reports are available on the Task Force Web site at http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/stfail; the Phase IV report will be available soon.

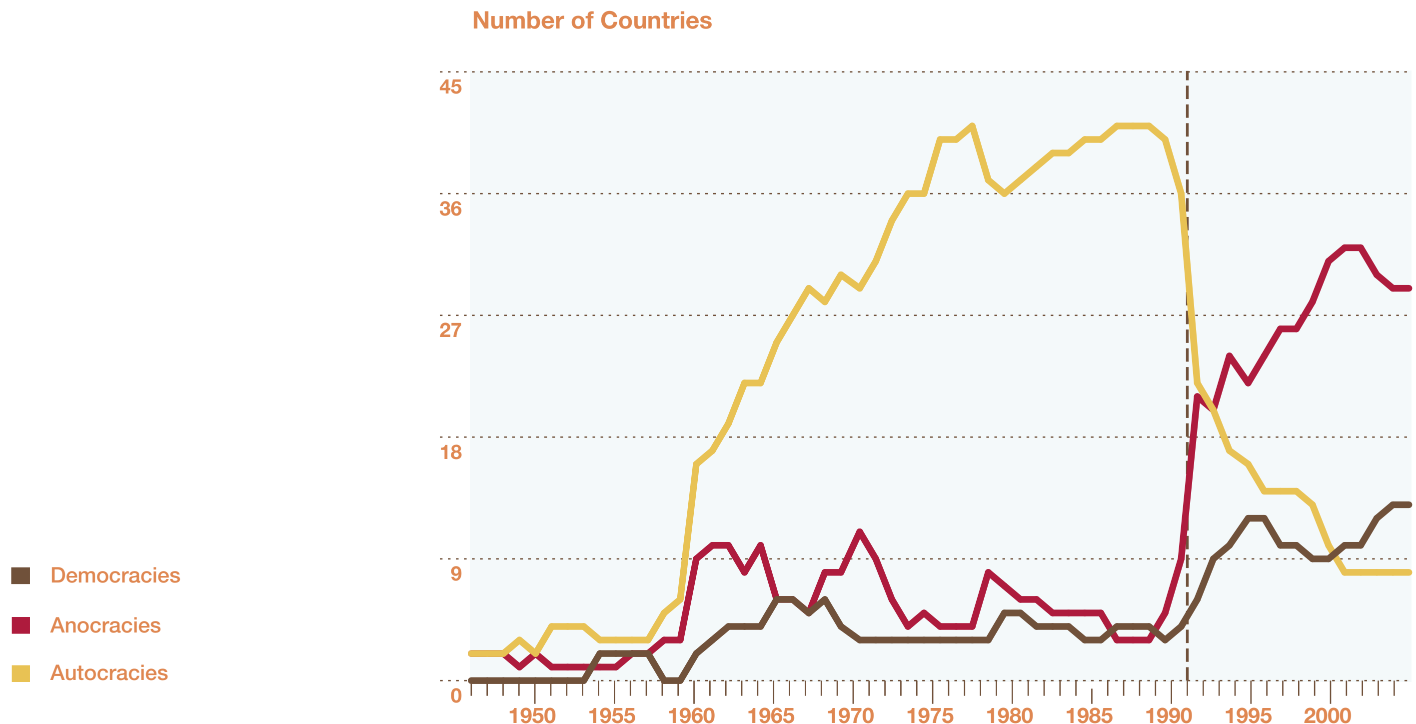
Instability events very often happen concurrently, the onset of one event coincides with or is followed by the onset of overlapping or sequential instability events.

"adverse regime changes" actually encompasses four types of regime changes: 1) major and abrupt shifts away from more open, electoral systems to more closed, authoritarian systems, 2) revolutionary changes in political elites and the mode and institutions of governance, 3) contested dissolution of federated states or secession of a substantial area of a state by extrajudicial means, and 4) complete or near-total collapse of central state authority and the ability to govern. Changes toward greater openness and more inclusive forms of governance are not considered political instability events and are not included in analyses of state failure. Likewise, wars for independence and other interstate wars are considered external projections of state power, rather than instability events, and are not included. By combining these several classes of political instability events, the Task Force quickly recognized that instability events very often happen concurrently, that the onset of one event coincides with or is followed by the onset of overlapping or sequential instability events. Periods of instability are often characterized by unique combinations of instability events and these "consolidated cases" of general political instability can thus be distinguished from periods of political stability. The approach used here builds on the Task Force's approach but expands coverage to include three additional types of instability events: 1) successful coups d'etat, 2) attempted coups d'etat, and 3) serious episodes of inter-communal violence in which the state is not directly involved.[4] Each of these several types of political instability events was plotted along a time-line for each of the fifty countries in Africa and clusters of events demarcated periods of general, political instability. Periods of stability and instability for each country in Africa since 1946 are listed in table 7.1, below.

African Regional Trends in Governance, Armed Conflict, and Instability. Three charts are presented that describe general, regional trends in governance, armed conflict, and political instability for countries in Africa annually over the contemporary period, 1946-2004. Figure 7.1, "Africa: Regimes by Type, 1946-2004," charts annual changes in the numbers of three basic types of political regimes: democracies, anocracies, and autocracies (see section 4 for a description of the regime types). The chart presents a very distinct "signature" for institutional authority in African countries that was shaped largely by the period of European colonization. In 1950, there were only four independent states in Africa: Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa. The number increased to nine by the end of the 1950s but jumped sharply as eighteen countries, mainly French colonial territories, gained independence in 1960. The number of states in Africa rose to forty-three by 1970. The last territory to leave European control was Djibouti (from France in 1977). More recently, two countries have emerged from control by other African countries: Namibia gained independence from South Africa in 1990 and Eritrea separated from Ethiopia in 1993. Sovereignty of the former-Spanish controlled territory of Western Sahara remains in dispute since it was occupied by Morocco and Mauritania troops in 1979. Although Mauritania has since relinquished its claim, local resistance by Polisario Front militants to its annexation by Morocco was strong until a cease-fire was arranged in 1991, and the issue of territorial sovereignty remains unresolved.

4 It must be noted that in many personalistic, autocratic regimes there are neither set limits on the length of executive tenure nor explicit, legal provisions for leadership succession. In these regimes, change of leadership may only be accomplished through successful coup d'etat and, so, simple change of leadership may not necessarily be symptomatic of general instability. Of fifty-six (56) successful coups in Africa during the study period, only seven (7) occurred as discreet events; forty-nine (49) occurred during a period of general, political instability. Similarly, eighty-four (84) reported coup attempts occurred during periods of instability and twenty-eight (28) occurred as discreet events. Inter-communal violence events must reach the same, standard "1,000 conflict-related deaths" criteria used to identify revolutionary and ethnic war events and are considered evidence of a state's incapacity to ensure societal stability.

Figure 7.1: Africa: Regimes by Type, 1946-2004



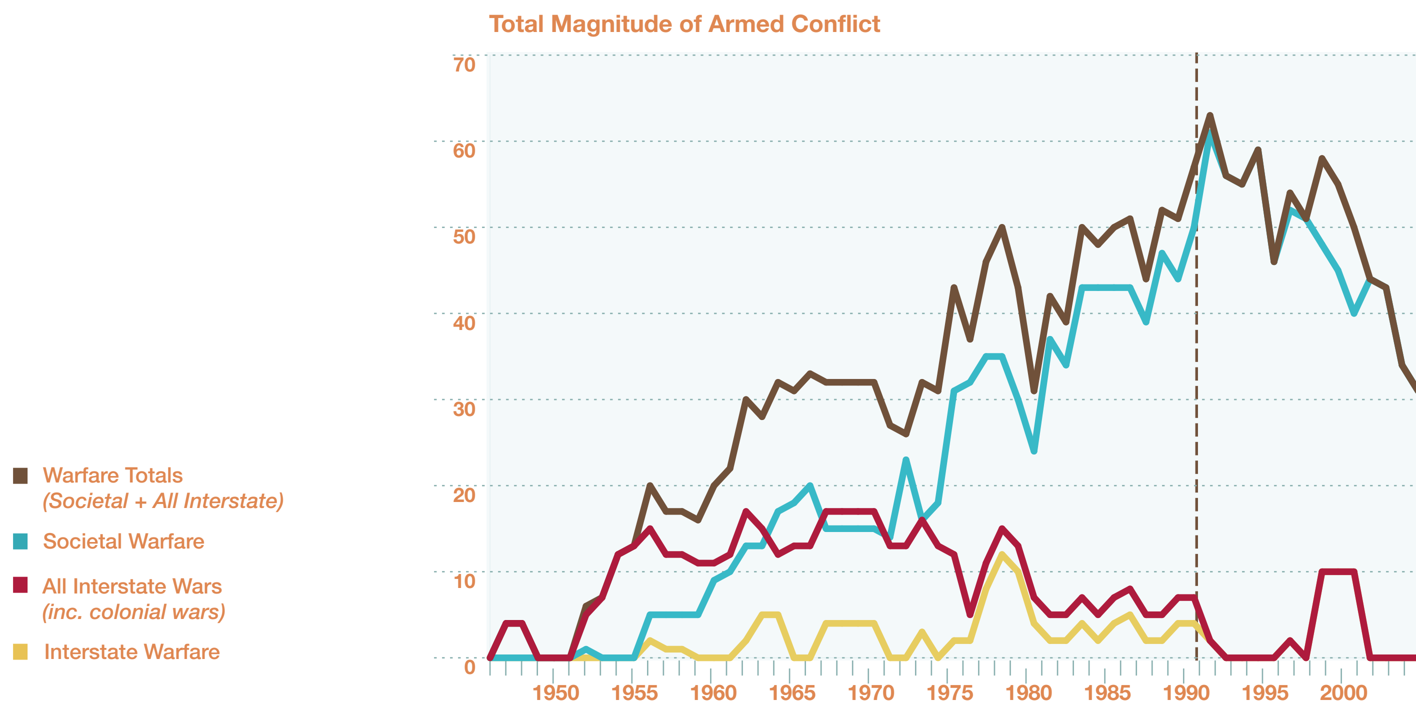
The picture that emerges from the regime trends diagram is that experiments in democratic forms of governance in Africa were relatively rare and short-lived during the Cold War period. At the time of emergence as independent states, only ten countries were governed by democratic regimes, twenty-one countries had autocratic regimes, fourteen were anocracies, and one emerged without an effective central government (Zaire in 1960). Within ten years from their date of independence, six of the ten new African democracies had failed and those states seized by autocratic rule: Lesotho, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda. Only Botswana, Mauritius, and Namibia have maintained democratic regimes since their inception; the democratic regime in The Gambia lasted nearly forty years before falling to autocratic rule in 1994.[5] All fourteen countries that emerged from the period of colonial rule with mixed forms of governance (i.e., anocracies) fell into autocratic rule within fifteen years. In the late 1980s, eighty-five percent of African countries were governed by personalistic, bureaucratic, or military dictatorships. Only eight countries initiated democratic transitions during the Cold War era: Morocco, Sierra Leone, and Sudan in the 1960s; Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana (twice), Nigeria, and Uganda in the 1970s; and Sudan, again, in the 1980s. None of these early attempts lasted more than five years before falling once again under autocratic rule.

The end of the Cold War period triggered major changes in the prevalent forms of governance in Africa. By 1992, the number of autocracies in Africa had fallen by half and continued to decline through the 1990s, reaching a low of eight in 2000. The number of democratic regimes, however, increased to just twelve by 1994 from three in 1989; there were thirteen democracies in Africa at the end of 2004. Nearly all African coun-

The end of the Cold War period triggered major changes in the prevalent forms of governance in Africa.

5 The white-minority regimes in Apartheid South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) were nominally democratic but highly restricted, with the majority of the populations in these countries politically, economically, and culturally disenfranchised.

Figure 7.2: Africa: Trends in Violent Conflict, 1946-2004



tries have experienced some improvement in the qualities of governance since 1990. However, many of the new democratizing regimes have faltered along the way and some, such as Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea Bissau, and Ivory Coast, have failed. Two countries counter the generally positive trend by moving toward greater autocracy in the 1990s: The Gambia and Zimbabwe. The sudden shift away from autocratic forms of governance in post-Cold War Africa provides strong evidence of the negative link between political violence and democratization. The countries that made the most dramatic moves toward democracy were almost invariably those that had experienced no, or very minor, armed conflict since 1946. Benin, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, and Senegal have established democratic regimes in largely peaceful societies.[6] Bold moves toward democracy sometimes triggered armed conflicts in peaceful societies: regime transitions in Central African Republic, Comoros, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea Bissau, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Niger, and Sierra Leone have been complicated or compromised by serious armed violence. The abrupt cancellation of elections in Algeria triggered a long and devastating civil war.[7] Three peaceful countries, Burkina Faso, Djibouti, and Tanzania, have begun to liberalize their regimes at a more measured pace; others, such as Cameroon, Gabon, and Guinea have only modestly eased restrictions on political activity. Only Nigeria and Mozambique instituted major democratic changes following protracted experiences with civil and communal warfare. By and large, states with past, recent, or current experiences with major societal wars remain autocratic, are struggling to design or establish a power-sharing government to end civil wars and dampen intense factionalism, or have collapsed.

6 Democratization in Senegal occurred despite the onset of a low-intensity separatist war in the isolated Casamance region.

7 Algeria had experienced a very brief period of state formation instability from 1962-1966 following a very intense and bitter war for independence from France. Algeria remained stable for twenty-five years prior to the onset of civil war in 1991.

Incomplete democratization and persistent poverty remain a potentially volatile mixture.

The greatest change in the governance profile of Africa has been a dramatic increase in the number of quasi-democratic, or anocratic, regimes. Nearly sixty percent of African countries were governed by anocratic regimes in 2004 and, of these, half are characterized by highly factionalized political competition. General poverty and political factionalism have proven inimical to the persistence and consolidation of democratic forms of governance. During the Cold War period, anocratic regimes were highly prone to the onset of instability events; liberalizing regimes lasted less than four years on average and seldom lasted for more than ten years (see Peace and Conflict 2003, figures 4.2 and 4.3). In the initial years of post-Cold War Africa, poor, anocratic regimes appear to be less prone to political crises; many have persisted for ten or more years without serious disruption or setback. Incomplete democratization and persistent poverty remain a potentially volatile mixture and a major concern for regional security and development prospects.

"Africa: Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946-2004" (figure 7.2) charts annual measures of two general types of armed conflict: interstate warfare (red line) and societal warfare (revolutionary, ethnic, and communal wars; blue line). Interstate warfare commonly refers to wars involving the armed forces of two or more sovereign states. In the contemporary Africa context, the majority of interstate wars charted during this period are "wars for independence" from European colonial domination. The end of the Cold War in 1991 also marks the end of "decolonization" in Africa as Namibia gained independence from South Africa in 1990 and Eritrean separatist forces defeated Ethiopian forces in 1991 and initiated secession for Eritrea (a process completed in 1993). Most classic interstate wars between African states are brief and low-intensity confrontations; many involve boundary disputes. Egypt has engaged in the greatest number of interstate wars but most of these have championed pan-Arab, rather than African, disputes. During the main part of the African decolonization period (1960-1975), interstate and societal wars were roughly comparable in annual magnitude. As political agendas transformed from establishing the general facts of local sovereignty to designing and administering the details of public policies, societal warfare in African countries jumped sharply and increased steadily through the remaining years of the Cold War period; finally peaking in 1991 and accounting for about one-third the global total. Since 1991, annual warfare totals in Africa have diminished by half; most of the decrease has occurred in the past five years.[8] Except for the fairly brief, but intense, border war between Ethiopia and Eritrea in 1998-2000 (which was, in many ways, simply a resurgence of their bitter civil war), interstate war has not been a major factor in African armed conflict. This simple observation, however, obscures the importance of cross-border support for rebel groups and periodic raids against rebel refuge bases in neighboring states. The difficulties that poor and developing states have in defending their borders, territory, resources, and populations from external intervention has been quite vividly illustrated by the complexities and intrigues that have beset the Democratic Republic of Congo (former Zaire) since 1996, as five neighboring countries, Angola, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda, and Zimbabwe, openly committed armed forces to combat in Congo's civil war. Gurr and Marshall have found that support from foreign states is a crucial element in the decision of ethnic

8 The historical record is crucial in fixing the end of wars and periods of political instability; endings of wars and periods of instability can only be objectively demarcated by the absence of political instability events over a period of five or more years. Recent trends are the result of expert assessments of current situations; there is a risk that some wars will experience a resurgence of hostilities or that a new instability event will occur. In general, a war is considered to have ended with an effective cease-fire and and agreement on, or a commitment by warring parties to actively and faithfully negotiate, a peace accord.

groups to wage and sustain war against the state; support from kindred groups in neighboring countries can also be important.[9]

Two factors help to explain the great disparity between expected low levels and observed high levels of warfare: marginalization and external involvement.

Two factors help to explain the great disparity between the expected low levels of political violence in Africa and the observed high levels of warfare. Perhaps the most important factor is the economic and political **marginalization** of the majority of the populations of many African countries. Most African economies are heavily dependent on extra-regional trade in primary commodities. Government revenues are less often based on taxation of exchange transactions, incomes, or commercial activities and more likely derived from state-ownership or control of principal commodities, collection of export duties, and receipt of foreign assistance. Commercial cross-border trade among African countries is almost non-existent; most local trade, including cross-border trade in consumer goods, is conducted through the "shadow economy" or "black markets." Vast populations are neither integrated into national economies nor organized in productive endeavors and information/exchange networks (i.e., they remain non-organized, non-politicized, and non-mobilized in reference to the national economy and political system). They have little or no personal stake in the existing system nor, in all likelihood, in any alternative system other than traditional social groups. They remain both vulnerable and undervalued populations and, in times of war, they are often treated as expendable populations, both by government authorities and rebel challengers. The voices of marginalized populations remain silenced when politics are debated or peace is negotiated. Very often during wars, marginalized civilian populations are neither provided basic services nor protected from assaults or confiscation by the armed forces or criminal elements. Even the most essential services may be neglected, destroyed, or consciously withdrawn. During times of war, their main form of protection is to abandon their land and livelihood and flee. They become the wards of foreign states, catered to by NGOs, and, sometimes, protected by international organizations. Far more people die in African wars as a result of disruptions in essential production, exchanges, and health services and at the hands of armed marauders than die "honorably" on the battlefields. Small wars tend to create enormous humanitarian disasters.

How do wars persist under conditions of poverty and the systematic victimization of marginalized populations? Without an economically viable and defensible support base, the attrition of warfare should work to end wars rather quickly or, at least, reduce them to a sustainably low level of activity. The second most important factor in explaining the anomaly of large wars in poor societies is **external involvement**. Whereas, local populations have little stake in the outcomes of national politics and national politics has little stake in local populations, foreign actors may feel they have high stakes in the outcomes of local competition and control of commodity production. War efforts in Africa are largely sustained through external exchange and supply with foreign agents, whether through direct military assistance, informal trade in small arms and contraband, or formal exchange of security goods for raw materials. During the Cold War period, the "superpower rivalry" largely accounts for the protractedness of wars, as well as their escalation. Since the end of the Cold War, large wars have almost disappeared from Africa. Yet, large populations remain "armed and dangerous" and the legacies of war carry the plague of personal violence and organized crime. This is the cultural foundation of the modern, African state: a culture of violence and marginalization. This is the climate in which democracy is expected to blossom and endure.

9 Ted Robert Gurr and Monty G. Marshall, "Assessing the Risks of Future Ethnic Wars," chapter 7 in T. R. Gurr, *Peoples versus States* (Washington, DC: United Stated Institute of Peace Press, 2000).

Table 7.1: Periods of Stability and Instability in African Countries

Country	War of Independence	Year Begin	Initial Instability Type	Initial Stability Gained	Post-Formation Instability	Instability Type	Regained Stability	Post-Formation Instability 2	Instability Type 2	Regained Stability
Algeria	1954-62	1962	3	1966	1991	3	x			
Angola	1961-75	1975	3	2003						
Benin		1960	1	1973						
Botswana		1966	0	1966						
Burkina Faso		1960	0	1960	1980	1	1991			
Burundi		1962	3	1978	1987	3	x			
Cameroon	1955-60	1960	2	1960						
Central African Republic		1960	1	1984	1996	3	2004			
Chad		1960	3	1995						
Comoros		1975	1	1979	1991	1	2001			
Congo (Brazzaville)		1960	1	1978	1993	3	2003			
D. R. Congo		1960	3	1966	1977	2	1981	1992	3	x
Djibouti		1977	0	1977	1991	3	1995			
Egypt*					1952	3	1953	1992	2	1999
Equatorial Guinea		1968	3	1982						
Eritrea	1961-91	1993	2	1993						
Ethiopia*					1960	3	2001			
Gabon		1960	0	1960						
Gambia		1965	0	1965	1994	1	1997			
Ghana		1960	1	1985						
Guinea Bissau	1962-74	1974	2	1974	1997	3	x			
Guinea		1958	0	1958						
Ivory Coast		1960	0	1960	1991	3	x			
Kenya	1952-63	1963	3	1970						
Lesotho		1966	1	1970	1986	1	2001			
Liberia*					1980	3	2004			
Libya		1951	0	1951						
Madagascar	1947-48	1960	0	1960						
Malawi		1964	0	1964						
Mali		1960	0	1960	1990	3	1996			
Mauritania		1960	0	1960	1977	1	1986			
Mauritius		1968	0	1968						
Morocco	1954-56	1956	2	1956	1965	1	1973			
Mozambique	1965-75	1975	2	1993						
Namibia	1965-90	1990	2	1990						
Niger		1960	0	1960	1990	3	1998			
Nigeria		1960	3	x						
Rwanda		1961	3	1974	1990	3	2002			
Senegal		1960	1	1964	1992	2	2000			
Sierra Leone		1961	1	1972	1991	3	2002			
Somalia		1960	0	1960	1969	1	1970	1987	3	x
South Africa*					1984	2	1997			
Sudan		1954	3	x						
Swaziland		1968	1	1974						
Tanzania		1961	0	1961						
Togo		1960	1	1971						
Tunisia	1952-54	1959	0	1959						
Uganda		1962	3	x						
Zambia		1964	1	1969	1990	1	1998			
Zimbabwe		1970	3	1988						

** Asterisks denote "old states" that gained independence prior to 1950.*

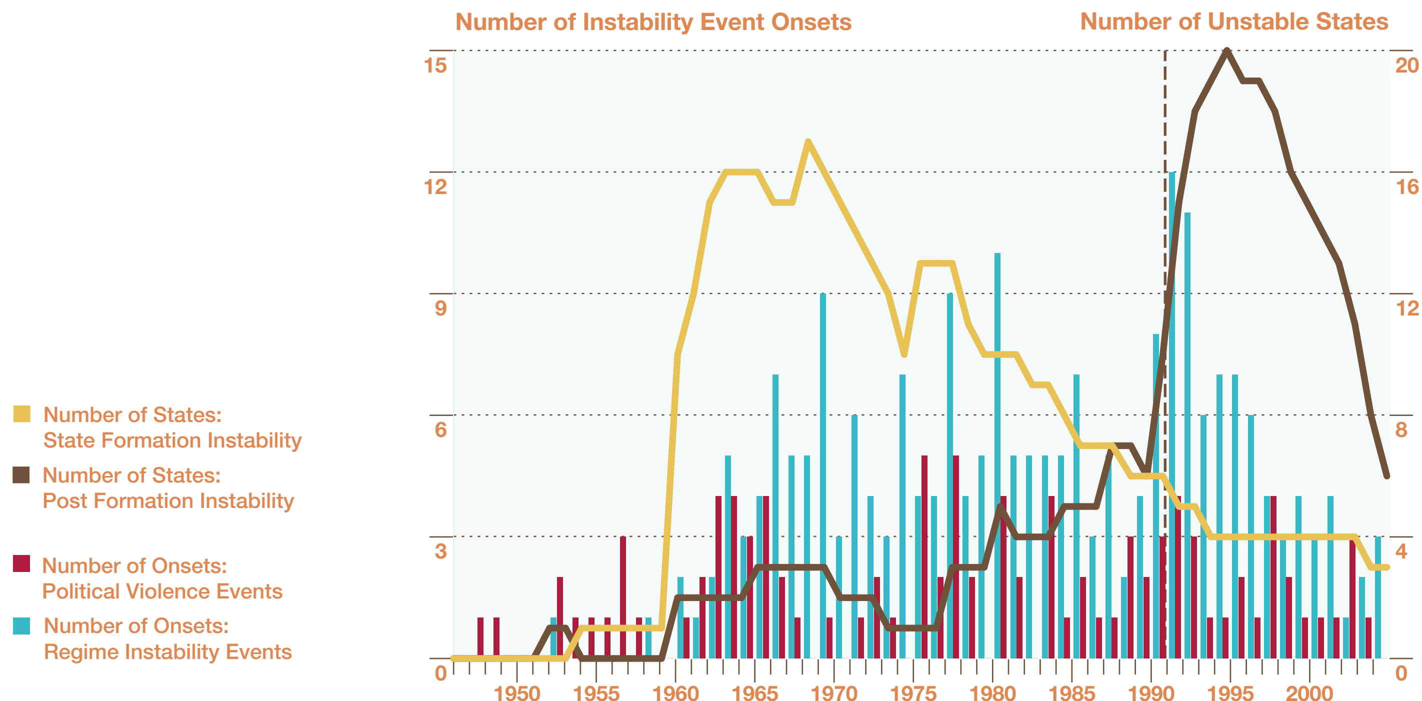


Figure 7.3: Political Instability in Africa, 1946-2004

The third African trend graph, "Political Instability in Africa, 1946-2004" (figure 7.3), combines information on the onsets of regime and political violence events with annual trends in the numbers of unstable states to gain a more comprehensive picture of political instability in African states. "Political stability" here is defined by the absence of major armed conflict and lack of serious disruptions to the central regime's ability to make, implement, and administer public policy. Corollary to these basic traits is the proposition that changes to the quality of government reform toward greater transparency, openness, inclusiveness, competitiveness, and accountability are more likely to occur during periods of political stability. Societal-system stabilization is a process that can only be considered successful, in these terms, when the state manages to avoid the occurrence of political violence or disruptive regime events for a period of ten years or more. Instability provides greater opportunities for both societal and elite challenges to the status quo. For analytic purposes, a period of instability for any given country begins with the onset of the first instability event and ends with the conclusion of the last instability event in a sequence of adverse events. Sequential instability events in African states occur fairly frequently, with armed conflict often overlapping shorter or sudden regime events. Two forms of instability are charted in figure 7.3: state formation instability (orange line; instability that disrupts the establishment of a viable state in a newly independent country) and post-formation instability (black line; instability that disrupts an established, stable state). Table 7.1 lists periods of stability and instability for each country in Africa.[10]

10 Event plots for each of the fifty countries in Africa can be viewed on the Center for Systemic Peace Web site at http://members.aol.com/cspmgm/africa.

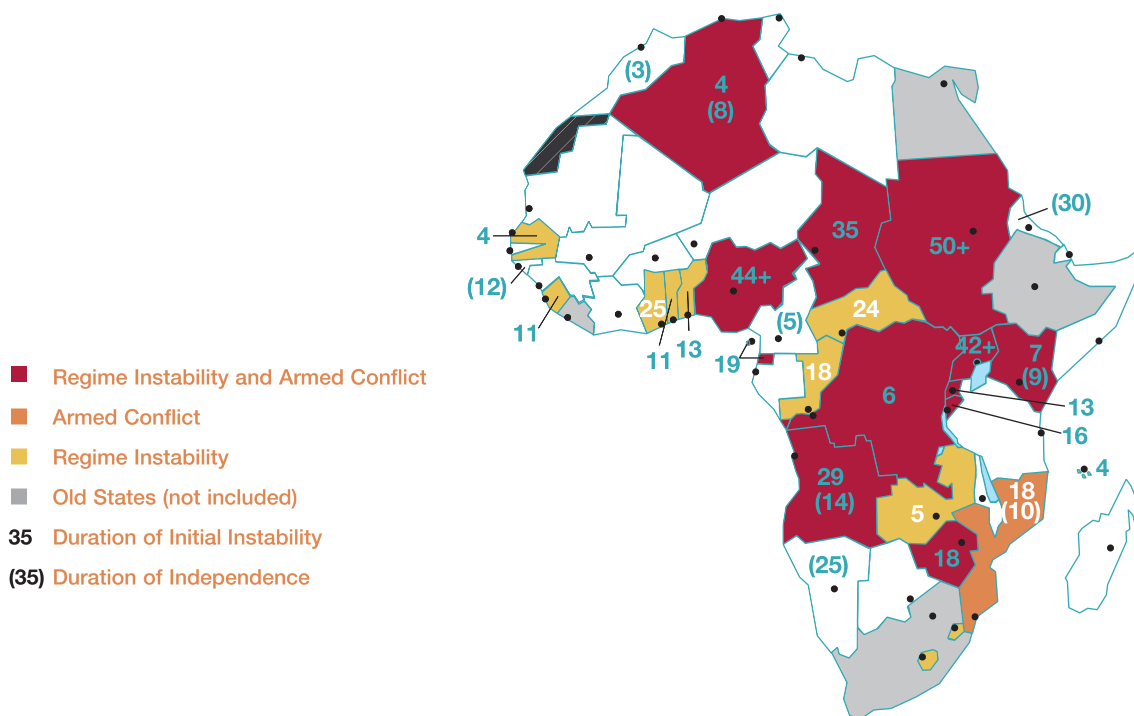
Instability in African states has remained a fairly constant and serious problem since the decolonization period began.

The chart shows that instability in African states has remained a fairly constant and serious problem since the decolonization period began in the 1960s. Stabilization of newly independent countries proved difficult as more than half of all countries (25 of 46) experienced a period of state formation instability immediately following independence (ranging from four to thirty-five years for the 22 countries that eventually gained stability; thirteen years on average). Of these, three countries have not yet achieved effective political stability: Nigeria, Sudan, and Uganda; a fourth country, Angola, appears to have finally gained basic stability with the end of its protracted civil war with UNITA in 2002 (including these cases raises the average for state formation instability to seventeen and one-half years). Eleven countries experienced a second period of instability and one has experienced two subsequent periods of instability. On the other hand, twenty-one countries were able to establish stable states at the date of independence and, of these, twelve have remained stable through 2004. On average, over seven new instability events occurred annually and twenty-five to fifty percent of African states were experiencing a period of instability at any point from 1960 through 2002 (an estimated eighteen percent are unstable in early 2005). Although there is a much lower number of unstable states in between the peak in state formation instability in 1968 and the rapid onset of post-formation instability in the early 1990s (averaging about twenty-five percent of African countries), the scope and frequency of instability events in Africa only begins to decrease in the late 1990s. In the most recent year (2004), nine states are considered politically unstable. The relatively low number of unstable countries in early 2005 is somewhat speculative as it is based largely on projections of continued stabilization trajectories in Central African Republic, Comoros, Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), Liberia, and Rwanda. These five countries are particularly vulnerable to new challenges and disruptions that would send them back into instability; proactive international engagement is vital to ensure recovery in these situations. Countries with ongoing periods of instability in early 2005 include Algeria, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea Bissau, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda.

Modeling Political Instability in Africa: the Africa Instability Ledger. In the most basic systemic terms, the conceptualization of instability as a social problem presupposes, and derives from, a pre-existing condition of stability. The stability of a social system must be established before it can be ended or undone. Modern social systems build upon and, very often, combine smaller, "traditional" social systems and transform these structures into more complex configurations that have a greater potential for value production and preservation. System stability emerges at higher levels of technical and organizational complexity from a condition of non-stability among established, constituent, social units and free agents through the development of effective institutions and procedures for organizing and managing social behavior, resources, and interactions. Over time, traditional loyalties are redefined in terms that are compatible and complementary to loyalties to the greater political system and a common "national" social identity. In the African context, the overlay of the modern state system upon traditional social systems was created and constructed by various European colonial administrations. As a result, loyalties to parochial and common social systems remained at odds and, often, divisions were reinforced by perceptions of illicit collaboration between local and foreign elements in the colonial structures.

In order to understand the problem of instability in African states, we must first examine the process of state formation. As mentioned above, transitions from European colonial to local administration were successful in establishing a stable state system in only nineteen of forty-four contemporary cases. Additionally, two states that emerged somewhat more recently from control by other African states, Namibia from South Africa in 1990 and Eritrea from Ethiopia in 1993, also successfully established stable states. Nine African countries gained self-rule following wars of independence; of these, five wars ended with independence (Cameroon, Eritrea, Guinea Bissau, Morocco, and Namibia) and four independence wars transformed to civil wars (Algeria, Angola, Kenya, and Mozambique). Of twenty-five situations where stable states were not established immediately, twelve cases of state formation instability involved only regime instability events and twelve involved both regime instability and armed conflict events; only one, Mozambique, was characterized by protracted armed conflict without the occurrence of any regime instability events. Figure 7.4 provides a graphic display of the countries affected by state formation instability in Africa.

Figure 7.4: State Formation Instability in Africa



France and Great Britain were the main colonial powers in Africa and these two powers administered their respective colonial territories in different ways. The British were far more likely to try to establish open, electoral systems of governance in their territories, going so far as to establish “self-governing” territories in selected cases, whereas the French were more likely to establish autocratic administrations. In all, eight former-British territories were ruled by democratic regimes at the date of independence but, of these, only three democratic systems survived for more than seven years: Botswana, The Gambia, and the remote island state of Mauritius (The Gambia fell to autocratic rule in 1994). Two former-British colonies succeeded in establishing stable, autocratic regimes: Malawi and Tanganyika (now Tanzania). In all, five (of fifteen) former-British colonies established stable states upon gaining independence (Cameroon may be counted as a

sixth, as it emerged as a union of British and French territories). The French territories favored autocratic (11) or restricted anocratic regimes (7) at independence and these fared somewhat better than the former-British territories in establishing stable systems of governance: ten of eighteen (eleven if one includes Cameroon). Five of these stable states, however, later lapsed into instability, whereas only one of the five, former-British, stable states lapsed into instability. Former-British colonies were somewhat more likely than the French to have established democratic or partly democratic systems by the end of 2004: ten of fifteen compared to nine of eighteen (Cameroon is partly autocratic). No significant differences, other than the differences in forms of government described above, that can be attributed to colonial heritage have been identified in extensive analyses of instability in Africa.

New states had great difficulty in establishing social bases of support… and managing contention among competing, politicized social groups.

In order to better understand the roots of instability in newly independent African countries, that is, state formation instability, a binary logistic regression analysis was conducted. Two factors were identified by the analysis that distinguish the twenty-one stable from twenty-five unstable states:

- **Political Factionalism**, distinct political and/or social identity groups polarize and promote incompatible or uncompromising political platforms prioritizing parochial interests and creating a contentious atmosphere in which negotiated solutions to policy differences are difficult to achieve; political deadlock, coercive practices, and inequitable policy outcomes are common under such circumstances (in more democratic systems), and
- **Elite Ethnicity, or Ethnic Group Capture of the State**, ethnicity is politically salient among ruling elites and members of the ruling ethnic group(s) are strongly favored in the distribution of political positions and, especially, in command positions in the military, often including restrictions on political access and activities of other constituent ethnic groups (in more autocratic systems).[11]

These two factors alone correctly distinguish eighty percent of the cases. In short, new states had great difficulty in establishing social bases of support for central authority and managing contention among competing, politicized social groups over control of the political agenda and public policies. Local or parochial interests, including identification with and loyalty to traditional social systems, tended to outweigh common interests and overpower the central state's nascent conflict management capabilities. Stabilization was most often accomplished through autocratic force rather than broad-based coalitions and negotiated accords among competing groups. Countries almost invariably emerged from periods of state formation instability with strongly, autocratic governments of one type or another; the only exceptions are Chad, which only established reasonable stability in 1995, and Mozambique, which ended its long civil war and established a stable system in 1993; these two countries emerged with anocratic regimes. As mentioned, three countries have not yet managed to establish a reasonably stable state system: Nigeria, Sudan, and Uganda; a fourth country, Angola, appears to be entering a period of stabil-

11 "Political factionalism" and "elite ethnicity" are very closely related problems in newly independent states where political parties and professional associations are weak or absent and local patronage or ethnic affiliations are the main bases of support for political action. The two problems diverge as political opportunities and social networks diversify and institutions are established. As measures of political interaction, "factionalism" can only occur where there is open (democratic) competition; factionalism is repressed under autocratic rule. On the other hand, elite ethnicity is most likely to occur when leaders rely on ethnic group loyalties for support in establishing and maintaining (autocratic) control of the state; securing loyalty and support often requires leaders to favor their ethnic group and exclude rival groups, especially, in regard to the military.

ity with the end of its civil war against UNITA rebels in 2002 and its effective repression of Cabindan separatists.

Further tests were conducted in order to gain greater understanding of the dynamics of state formation. Stable state formation tended to occur in countries with smaller, non-mobilized and non-politicized populations at the time of independence. Unstable states tended to have large, diverse, and urbanized populations, lending further credence to the difficulties of manageability and group integration in larger, more complex social systems. Factors that correlate strongly with measures of the intensity and duration of state formation instability include ethno-linguistic fractionalization, large populations, large urbanized populations, and regional insecurity (armed conflicts in neighboring countries). In addition, higher energy imports and energy consumption, indicating a more modernized economic sector, correlated with greater intensity of state formation instability.

In brief, problems of system manageability and contending social identities presented enormous challenges to efforts by indigenous, modernizing political elites in establishing and administering a modern state structure in newly independent African states. These challenges were substantially muted in countries where large segments of the population were not politically mobilized. Lack of politicization and mobilization continue to characterize political dynamics in many African countries and these are strongly associated with issues of marginalization and other impediments to progressive social integration and societal development, that is, the progressive development of a civil society. The most serious impact of marginalization for conventional political processes is its attendant lack of collective pressure for accountability in ruling elites and transparency in political processes. Corruption and coercion tend to thrive in such an environment.

Problems of system manageability and contending social identities presented enormous challenges.

The duration of periods of state formation instability range from four years to more than fifty, averaging seventeen and one-half years. Nine of these initially unstable countries managed to stabilize within ten years and another ten countries stabilized with twenty years; as noted, four remained unstable into the 21st century. Twelve of twenty-five countries experiencing state formation instability fell into a later period of post-formation instability; one of these (Democratic Republic of Congo) regained stability only to fall into instability once again (periods of stability ranged from 9 to 28 years; 16 years average). Nine countries that encountered state formation instability have gained and maintained stability; four have remained stable for thirty years or more. On the other hand, nine of twenty-one countries that did not experience a period of state formation instability fell into a later period of instability and one of these (Somalia) regained stability and fell into instability a second time (periods of stability ranged from 9 to 31 years; 21 year average). Only ten countries have remained stable since independence: Botswana, Cameroon, Gabon, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Tanzania, and Tunisia (enduring for 37 to 50 years); in addition, two countries, Namibia, and Eritrea, emerged with stable regimes in the 1990s and have remained stable for fifteen and twelve years respectively. It appears that differences in state formation experiences have not, by themselves, affected the likelihood of a state falling into a period of post-formation instability. Evidence does show that subsequent lapses back into periods of instability were much more likely to involve outbreaks of armed conflict than initial lapses into instability. Periods of post-formation instability tend to be shorter, averaging eleven years.

In order to gain better understanding of *post-formation instability* in African states, a second series of models was developed to distinguish between conditions characterizing periods of stability from conditions associated with periods of political instability, particularly the onset of instability. After demarcating periods of instability for all countries in Africa (see table 7.1), the two years just prior to the year of onset of instability were tagged as the target set. Five year periods just prior to the target set years were designated as leading years and the five years immediately following the end of a period of instability were designated as recovery years. Stability years were thus defined as all years more than five years after the end of a period of instability (including wars for independence) and more than seven years prior to the onset of a period of instability. This method produced a test set of 882 annual cases of stability covering forty-one countries contrasted to 54 annual cases in the instability target set (twenty-five countries). Problems with missing data reduce the test sample to 640 annual cases of stability and 40 annual cases of pre-instability, removing cases of instability in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Liberia, Lesotho, South Africa, and Somalia (two cases) from the target set. Seven countries in Africa are generally recognized as qualitatively and quantitatively distinct from the rest of the countries of the continent: these include the north African countries of Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia, the remote island state of Mauritius, and the Republic of South Africa. Initial tests were run, and the initial model developed, without these seven countries.

The most serious impact of marginalization is the lack of collective pressure for accountability and transparency… corruption and coercion tend to thrive in such an environment.

Bivariate correlations were run on various instability measures using over one thousand possible explanatory variables to verify known correlates of conflict and instability (identified in theoretical literature and research findings) and to identify new candidate variables.[11] Patterns of association emerged from initial tests and promising variables were used in the development of regression models. Binary logistic regression models were developed to distinguish between the stability/pre-instability dichotomy and multiple regression models were developed to test ordered progressions in affective conditions for various system phases: stability, leading years to instability, years immediately preceding instability, years of instability, and recovery years. The indicators used in the final version of the model were selected because they are well-grounded in conflict theory and prior research and remained robust across various formulations of the dependent variable, different methodologies, and model designs. The final model developed to characterize the onset of political instability in sub-Saharan African states was then applied to all of Africa with surprisingly strong results. With a single additional variable: GDP per capita (constant 1995 US$), the model performed equally well for all of Africa as it did for the subset of sub-Saharan African countries. The research modeling provides the basis for the Africa Instability Ledger (table 7.2); model parameters are detailed in Appendix table 11.4. Key factors identified with the onset of post-formation instability include the following:

- **Dependency**, governments that are overly dependent on foreign aid and foreign trade for operating revenues (foreign aid as a percent of gross capital formation; foreign aid per capita; trade openness; high export duties, low government revenues, low investment);
- **Polarization**, societies that have politicized and mobilized social identity constituencies through inequitable use of public policies, particularly in regard to ethnic differ-

12 The Political Instability Task Force (PITF) global database was used for the tests (version 15v1; data covers all countries over the period 1955-2002). The PITF global, annual time-series database has been compiled and developed by the Task Force since 1994; it integrates data from all major data sources that have reasonably broad country and time coverage.

Table 7.2: Africa Instability Ledger

Peace-Building Capacity	Actual Instability	Predicted Instability	Country	Aid Dependency	GDP per Capita	Political Discrimination	Elite Ethnicity	Political Factionalism	State Formation Instability	Population Density	Land Area	Forest Cover	Leadership Succession	Neighborhood: Democracies	Neighborhood: Armed Conflict	Muslim Country
Red	Yellow		Algeria	Green	Green	Red	Red	Red	Yellow		Yellow					Yellow
Red	Yellow		Angola					Red	Yellow		Yellow		Red	Green	Yellow	
Green			Benin				Yellow		Yellow	Yellow		Yellow	Red	Green	Yellow	
Green			Botswana	Green	Green							Red		Green		
Red			Burkina Faso	Yellow	Yellow				Yellow			Red	Yellow	Green	Yellow	Yellow
Red	Red	Yellow	Burundi	Red	Red				Yellow	Red					Yellow	
Yellow		Red	Cameroon			Red	Yellow	Red				Red	Red		Yellow	
Red	Red	Red	Central African Republic		Yellow			Red	Yellow			Red			Yellow	
Yellow	Orange	Red	Chad		Red		Red	Red	Yellow		Yellow				Yellow	Yellow
Yellow	Yellow	Red	Comoros	Yellow			Red		Yellow	Red						Yellow
Red	Yellow	Yellow	Congo (Brazzaville)	Yellow			Red		Yellow			Red	Yellow		Yellow	
Yellow			Djibouti	x				Red							Yellow	Yellow
Red	Red	Red	D. R. Congo (Kinshasa)	Red	Red				Yellow		Yellow	Red			Yellow	
Yellow		Yellow	Egypt	Green	Green		Red		o	Yellow			Red		Yellow	Yellow
Yellow		Yellow	Equatorial Guinea	x	Green	Yellow	Yellow		Yellow			Red	Red			
Yellow			Eritrea	Red	Red									Green	Yellow	Yellow
Red	Yellow	Red	Ethiopia	Red	Red		Yellow	Red	o	Yellow					Yellow	Yellow
Green		Yellow	Gabon	Green	Green							Red	Red		Yellow	
Yellow		Yellow	Gambia	Yellow										Green		Yellow
Yellow		Yellow	Ghana						Yellow	Yellow		Yellow			Yellow	
Red		Yellow	Guinea				Yellow	Red					Yellow	Green	Yellow	Yellow
Red	Red	Red	Guinea Bissau	Red	Red			Red		Yellow		Yellow		Green		Yellow
Red	Red		Ivory Coast	Yellow			Yellow	Red		Yellow		Yellow		Green	Yellow	Yellow
Yellow			Kenya		Yellow				Yellow	Yellow				Green	Yellow	
Yellow	Yellow		Lesotho					Red	Yellow	Yellow				Green		
Red	Yellow		Liberia	x	Red			Red	o			Red			Yellow	
Yellow		Yellow	Libya	Green							Yellow		Red		Yellow	Yellow
Yellow			Madagascar	Yellow	Red		Yellow					Yellow				
Green			Malawi	Red	Red					Red		Yellow		Green		
Green		Red	Mali	Yellow	Yellow			Red			Yellow				Yellow	
Yellow			Mauritania	Red			Yellow						Yellow	Green	Yellow	Yellow
Green			Mauritius	Green	Green					Red						
Yellow			Morocco	Green	Green					Yellow					Yellow	
Yellow			Mozambique	Red	Red								Yellow	Green		
Green			Namibia		Green									Green		
Yellow			Niger	Red	Red						Yellow			Green	Yellow	Yellow
Red	Red		Nigeria	Green	Yellow	Yellow			Yellow	Red				Green		Yellow
Red	Yellow	Yellow	Rwanda	Red	Yellow		Yellow		Yellow	Red					Yellow	
Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Senegal			Yellow			Yellow	Yellow		Yellow				Yellow
Red	Yellow	Red	Sierra Leone	Red	Red		Yellow	Red	Yellow	Yellow					Yellow	Yellow
Red	Yellow		Somalia	x			Yellow							Green		Yellow
Green			South Africa	Green	Green		Red		o		Yellow			Green		
Red	Red	Red	Sudan		Yellow	Red	Red		Yellow		Yellow				Yellow	Yellow
Green			Swaziland		Green				Yellow	Yellow			Yellow	Green		
Yellow			Tanzania	Yellow	Red			Red				Yellow		Green	Yellow	
Yellow			Togo		Yellow		Yellow	Red	Yellow	Yellow			Red	Green		
Green			Tunisia	Green	Green			Red		Yellow			Yellow		Yellow	Yellow
Red	Yellow		Uganda						Yellow	Red			Yellow		Yellow	
Yellow			Zambia	Red			Red	Red	Yellow			Red		Green	Yellow	
Green			Zimbabwe				Red		Yellow				Red	Green		

Notes:
"x" under Aid Dependency denotes missing data; model scores are estimated. "o" under State Formation Instability denotes states that gained independence prior to the post-World War II "decolonization" phase.

Continuous variables:
Red icons indicate bottom quintile; yellow icons indicate second from bottom quintile; green icons indicate top quintile.

Dichotomous variables:
Red and green icons indicate that dynamic quality exists; yellow icons indicate that structural/exogenous quality exists.

ences (official policies of political discrimination or repression of constituent ethnic groups; ethnic group capture of the state; political factionalism);

- **Unmanageability**, countries that must manage large territories, particularly those with substantial forested regions; concentrated, high density populations; or contentious social divisions institutionalized during conflicts over the original terms of state formation (state formation instability; high population density; large land area; high percentage of forest cover);
- **Leadership Succession**, states where the political process is overly dependent on key personalities are highly susceptible to succession struggles, leading to instability (top ranking political leader in power for twenty years or more);
- **Neighborhood Effects**, weak states not only have trouble managing internal political dynamics, they are highly vulnerable to negative external influences from repressive or unstable neighboring countries (less democratic neighbors; societal war in at least one neighboring country); and
- **Islamic Countries**, only one-third of Islamic countries experienced state formation instability but seventy percent have experienced post-formation instability; on the other hand, sixty-four percent of non-Islamic countries experienced state formation instability with only one-third experiencing post-formation instability (countries with Muslim populations comprising forty or more percent of the country's population).

Globalization adds powerful, new dynamics to politics in weak African states that are not fully understood but almost entirely unregulated.

Some Observations on Instability, and Systemic Development, in Africa. In reviewing the contemporary trends in political violence and instability in Africa, the first consideration must be of the enormous human and material losses, costs, and consequences of such widespread and persistent turmoil. African states have been and remain generally poor, underdeveloped, and overly dependent on export trade in primary commodities with OECD countries. Evidence suggests that, during the Cold War period, countries that continued to concentrate export trade with one country, usually the former-colonial power, enjoyed a lesser risk of instability. This may be explained by the foreign power's vested interest in supporting stability in their client state. On the other hand, countries that had substantial trade with one of the superpowers had relatively high incidence and intensity of instability, suggesting that the strategic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union may have exacerbated, or at least capitalized on, conflict dynamics in developing states in Africa. Supply of armaments to client states surely helps to explain the intensity and longevity of many of these conflicts. The increasing globalization of trade becomes evident in Africa during the 1980s as diversification of trading partners becomes increasingly common. Globalization adds powerful, new dynamics to politics in weak African states that are not fully understood but almost entirely unregulated.

What can be said is that, since 1990, per capita incomes have fallen substantially in one-third of African countries and remained stagnant in another one-quarter. Of those that have made gains, the majority has experienced little or no civil warfare since independence. Four others that have made gains, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Mozambique, and Uganda, emerged from devastating civil wars in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and their economies are better considered to be rebounding rather than expanding (the first three remain among the poorest countries in Africa). Sudan stands as an anomaly as it has

Given the general weakness of the commercial sector and civil society in many African countries, the recent shift toward democratization will be difficult to sustain.

managed to wage deadly wars through the 1990s and still increase its income, mainly due to the recent discovery of oil.[13] What seems clear is that, in countries that are heavily dependent on primary commodity trade, entrepreneurial incentives to gain and maintain control of the state are extremely powerful. Established, well-organized, social identity groups enjoy crucial advantages in the competition to gain control of the state, and gaining control of the state may enable these groups to increase their advantages over contending groups. This, of course, assumes that acquired capital gains are re-invested in local enterprises and not transferred out of the country. Only as the foundation of the economy moves from primary commodities to commercial enterprises would co-optation of a rising commercial class and the formation of a broader-based support coalition among political elites be necessary. Given the general weakness of the commercial sector and civil society in many African countries, the recent shift toward democratization will be difficult to sustain.

In the absence of the conflict-mitigating effects of a broad-based, proactive civil society with substantial stakes and personal interests in maintaining the system, elite rivalry, outgroup resistance, and entrepreneurial violence can be expected to further complicate the inherent problems of manageability in African societies. Under these circumstances, it can be expected that both deprivational and aspirational grievances among marginalized populations and disadvantaged outgroups would be similarly intense counterparts to the elite struggle for control of the state in defining the character and quality of political dynamics in the societal development process. As such, both "greed" and "grievance" should be expected to provide strong motivations to challenge and change the status quo, or, in the worst case, to simply undo it.[14] The probability of instability under these conditions is high and the actual occurrence of instability events, then, depends largely on circumstantial opportunities.[15] Things can fall apart very quickly in weak countries and, once they have fallen apart, it can be extremely difficult to put things back together. In particular, evidence suggests that capital and investment flows shift significantly away from countries in the years immediately preceding their lapse into instability and this shift may further increase system destabilization and undercut the potential for recovery. Needless to say, countries experiencing instability do not attract favorable capital and investment flows, making stabilization even more difficult to regain.

Yet, given the propensity for instability in African states, the substantial decreases in armed conflict, autocratic regimes, and political instability charted since 1991 are encouraging. Ideologies of political confrontation and struggle that dominated Cold War politics have given way to the rhetoric of engagement and accommodation. The numbers of humanitarian and other non-governmental organizations have increased thirty-fold. Important gains have been made but the continuation and consolidation of those gains

13 The greatest gain has been in Equatorial Guinea, where the discovery of oil has increased per capita income by over 700% since 1990. The autocratic regime in this country has a long history of severe repression of oppositional groups.

14 The "greed" versus "grievance" debate concerning alternative motivations driving civil wars in developing countries is most closely associated with Paul Collier's work at the World Bank; see Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers* 56.4 (2004): 563-595.

15 These findings and claims are largely consistent with those presented in Fearon and Laitin's recent study of civil wars, in which they argue that "The factors that explain which countries have been at risk for civil war…the conditions that favor insurgency. These include poverty, political [regime] instability, rough terrain, and large populations." James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, 97.1: 75-90.

Transparency is the key to a self-regulating society and investments in communication technologies are as critical in the era of democratization and globalization as electrification has been to the era of industrialization.

remains in jeopardy. Wars may end but the complex consequences and legacies of war will continue to resonate for many years to come. Research provides strong evidence that political instability in African states, and particularly serious and protracted armed conflicts, create long-term impediments and complex challenges to societal development processes. While the majority of countries in Africa enjoy more open political processes since the 1990s, many others remain deeply-divided societies with failed or failing states and limited alternatives for transforming divergent images of the past and present to convergent images of the future. The most invidious consequences of past wars and instability are the abundance of unemployed fighters, the proliferation of weapons, and unregulated markets. Organized crime thrives under such conditions.

Proactive international engagement is and will remain crucial over the medium term in helping countries to manage social tensions and stimulate the development of self-regulating civil societies. A focus on humanitarian assistance, conflict mediation, and security guarantees in the short term should give way to an emphasis on transparency and accountability guarantees over the longer term. Corruption is generally recognized as one of the most serious impediments to the development of civil society. Whereas petty corruption is a general nuisance that requires the complicity of state authority, grand corruption is, perhaps, the greatest threat to security and development in Africa and this plague requires mobility, liquidity, and a sophisticated network of global accomplices. In the new world order, corruption and insecurity are transnational issues that require multilateral solutions. Compensating for in-country security and accountability deficits can best, and may only, be accomplished through regulatory procedures instituted and administered by the larger, established, global and regional legal systems. Transparency is the key to a self-regulating society and investments in communication technologies are as critical in the era of democratization and globalization as electrification has been to the era of industrialization. Our evidence suggests that political instability in African countries is strongly, negatively correlated with general issues of human security; provision of education, health, and basic social services; investments in commercial infrastructure; and expansion of modern, communications and information technologies. This is the essence of a conflict-poverty trap.

Nobel Prize-winning economist Amartya Sen has been a leading proponent of the importance of personal freedoms to societal development and, so, of the potential for democratization in overcoming problems of insecurity and arrested development in developing societies. “Freedoms are not only the primary ends of development, they are also among its principal means.”[16] If the new democracies of Africa are going to foster these freedoms and tap human potential to lead the way out of the current cycle of poverty and violence, voice and visibility will have to improve until responsiveness by African governments becomes routine. Citizens must feel they have a stake in the system and that they share a common cause in a promising future, not only in regard to competing interests and constituencies within their society but with the world around them.

16 Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), p. 10.

8. ASSESSING RISKS OF GENOCIDE AND POLITICIDE

Barbara Harff

In 1994, in response to a request by senior U.S. policy makers, the State Failure (now Political Instability) Task Force, hereafter simply the Task Force, was established to design and carry out a data-driven study of the preconditions of state failure, defined to include ethnic and revolutionary wars, adverse or disruptive regime transitions, and genocides and politicides. In 1998, in response to President's Clinton's policy initiative on genocide early warning and prevention, the author, a senior consultant with the Task Force, was asked to design and carry out a study that would use her own and other data sources to establish an empirically and theoretically grounded, data-based system for risk assessment and early warning of genocidal violence.

The following definition, developed by the author, is used to identify historical and future cases. Genocides and politicides are *the promotion, execution, and/or implied consent of sustained policies by governing elites or their agents – or, in the case of civil war, either of the contending authorities – that are intended to destroy, in whole or part, a communal, political, or politicized ethnic group*. In genocides the victimized groups are defined by the perpetrators primarily in terms of their communal characteristics. In politicides, by contrast, groups are defined primarily in terms of their political opposition to the regime and dominant groups. The definition parallels those developed by other comparative researchers such as Helen Fein and Frank Chalk. The definition has been used to identify forty-one cases of genocide or politicide in the world since 1955. These cases are listed in table 8.1 and mapped in figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1: Genocides and Politicides since 1955

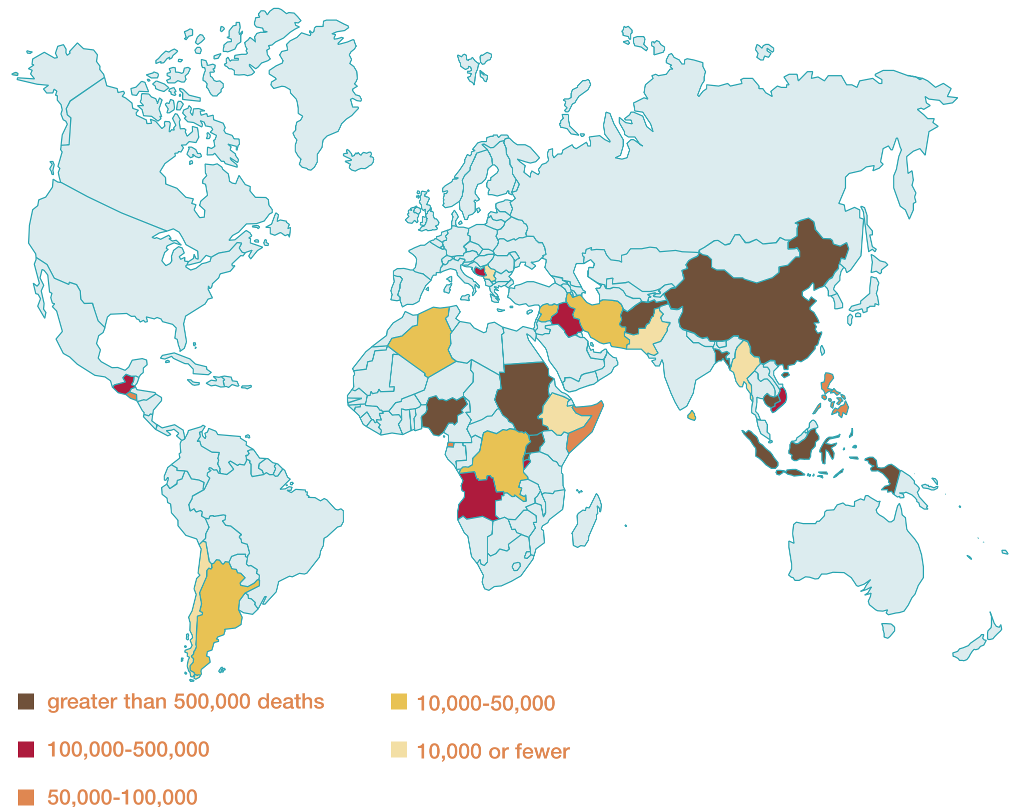


Table 8.1: Countries Experiencing Episodes of Genocide or Politicide since 1955

Country	Dates	Estimated Deaths
Afghanistan	4/78-4/92	1,800,000
Algeria	7/62-12/62	9,000-30,000
Angola I	11/75-11/94	500,000
Angola II	12/98-3/02	70,000-100,000
Argentina	3/76-12/80	9,000-20,000
Bosnia	5/92-11/95	225,000
Burma (Myanmar)	1/78-12/78	5,000
Burundi I	10/65-12/73	140,000
Burundi II	8/88-8/88	5,000-20,000
Burundi III	10/93-12/93	50,000
Cambodia	4/75-1/79	1,900,000- 3,500,000
Chile	9/73-12/76	5,000-10,000
China I	3/59-12/59	65,000
China II	5/66-3/75	400,000-850,000
D. R. Congo (Zaire) I	2/64-1/65	1,000-10,000
D. R. Congo (Zaire) II	3/77-12/79	3,000-4,000
Equatorial Guinea	3/69-8/79	50,000
El Salvador	1/80-12/89	40,000-60,000
Ethiopia	7/76-12/79	10,000
Guatemala	7/78-12/90	60,000-200,000
Indonesia I	10/65-7/66	500,000-1,000,000
Indonesia II	12/75-7/92	100,000-200,000
Iran	6/81-12/92	10,000-20,000
Iraq I	6/63-3/75	30,000-60,000
Iraq II	3/88-6/91	180,000
Nigeria	6/67-1/70	2,000,000
Pakistan I	3/71-12/71	1,000,000-3,000,000
Pakistan II	2/73-7/77	5,000-10,000
Philippines	9/72-6/76	60,000
Rwanda I	12/63-6/64	12,000-20,000
Rwanda II	4/94-7/94	500,000-1,000,000
Somalia	5/88-1/91	15,000-50,000
Sri Lanka	7/89-1/90	13,000-30,000
Sudan I	10/56-3/72	400,000-600,000
Sudan II	9/83-10/02	2,000,000
Sudan III	7/03-present	250,000
Syria	4/81-2/82	5,000-30,000
Uganda I	2/71-4/79	50,000-400,000
Uganda II	12/80-1/86	200,000-500,000
South Vietnam	1/65-4/75	400,000-500,000
Yugoslavia	2/98-6/99	10,000

The results of this effort have been described in detail in various Task Force reports and academic journals. The structural model used in this analysis identifies six causal factors that jointly differentiate with reasonable accuracy (76%) the 36 serious civil conflicts that led to episodes of genocidal violence between 1955 and 2004 and 93 other cases of serious civil conflict that did not. Case-by-case inspection of false negatives and false positives suggests, first, that several false positives could easily have escalated into genocide or politicide, such as Mozambique in 1976, where widespread killings were carried out by Renamo rebels but did not target specific communal groups. Second, most of the false negatives are due to ambiguity about when to date the onset of genocide, or problems with the lag structure used to estimate the model. For example, the first genocide in Sudan was dated from 1956 (the beginning of the southern rebellion) but more accurately probably began in the late 1950s or early 1960s. Another is Chile 1973 (targeting of the left by the Pinochet regime), where the country was classified as a democracy (which it was at the end of 1972) because all model variables are measured one year prior to the onset of the episode. Accuracy increases to nearly 90% when such temporal inconsistencies in the data are taken into account.

The six factors in the genocide and politicide structural model are as follows:

- **prior genocides and politicides:** a dichotomous indicator of whether a genocide or politicide has occurred in the country since 1945;
- **political upheaval:** the magnitude of political upheaval (ethnic and revolutionary wars plus regime crises) in the country during the previous 15 years, excluding the magnitude of prior genocides;
- **ethnic character** of the ruling elite: a dichotomous indicator of whether the ruling elite represents a minority communal group, such as the Tigrean-dominated regime of Ethiopia;
- **ideological character of the ruling elite:** a belief system that identifies some overriding purpose or principle that justifies efforts to restrict, persecute, or eliminate certain categories of people;
- **type of regime:** autocratic regimes are more likely to engage in severe repression of oppositional groups;
- **trade openness** (export + imports as % of GDP): openness to trade indicates state and elite willingness to maintain the rule of law and fair practices in the economic sphere.

More recent theoretical and empirical work suggests that one additional factor should be taken into account when assessing risks of future genocidal violence. If minorities are targeted for **severe political or economic discrimination**, the risks of future genocide or politicide against those groups increase. It also is important to recognize that, where central political authority has collapsed or where contending groups make rival claims to state authority, any challenging group motivated by an exclusionary ideology may follow genocidal policies. They may target communal rivals, supporters of opposing groups, remnants of a prior regime, or a regime struggling to (re)establish central authority, as the Serbs did in Bosnia. These acts of violence resemble "terrorism" (see section 9 following), but if the intent is to destroy the target group in whole or part, they are genocide or politicide. Both of these additional factors, severe discrimination against groups and the promotion of exclusionary ideologies by challengers to state authority, have been taken into account in the new analysis that is summarized in the accompanying table (see table 8.2).[1]

Table 8.2 lists all countries with serious armed conflicts, regime crises, or high vulnerability to crisis at the end of 2004. Although the model developed by the Task Force was used to identify relevant risk factors, the checklist approach employed to develop this table and the resulting risk assessments differ from the methods used and results reported by the Task Force. The seven risk factors for genocide are shown in summary form for each of these countries, and the countries are listed in descending order of numbers of risk factors present. Sudan, where genocide is underway in Darfur, tops the list along with Burma and Algeria. In Algeria the risks are heightened because of the Islam-inspired exclusionary ideology of armed militants. Burundi and Rwanda are other examples of high-risk countries in which the greatest threat comes from the exclusionary ideology of challenging groups – in these cases the anti-Tutsi ideology of armed Hutu militants. Near the bottom of the list are mostly-democratic countries such as Turkey, Colombia, and India which are challenged by armed conflicts but have few or – in the case of Thailand – none of the preconditions of genocide and politicide. Countries with four, five, or six risk factors need closest international scrutiny.

Risk Assessment, Early Warning, and Early Response. Whereas systematic risk assessment is better than what we had before, it is not enough to tell us more precisely WHEN genocidal violence is likely to begin. What high risk profiles tell us is that a country is in the latter stages of upheaval that may result in genocide or politicide. This alone should be enough to prompt preventive action. In other words it is then that less costly approaches, i.e. financial, humanitarian or rescue operations combined with subtle or not so subtle political pressures, could work to prevent onset or escalation of violence against vulnerable populations.

To bridge the gap between risk assessment and the onset of genocidal violence, a pilot study, designed by the author, was developed to monitor on a daily basis countries identified at high risk. The theoretical underpinnings of this study were published in 1998 (see note 1 above). The theoretical base is extremely complex using 10 factors and triggers that are measured by observing political events. It requires tracking roughly 70 indi-

1 Barbara Harff and Ted Robert Gurr, “Systematic Early Warning of Humanitarian Emergencies,” *Journal of Peace Research* 35.5 (1998): 551-579. Barbara Harff, “No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955,” *American Political Science Review* 97.1 (2003): 57-73. The Genocide/Politicide project Web site can be found at www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/genocide.

Table 8.2: Risks of Genocide and Politicide in Countries with Political Crises in Early 2005

Countries (No. of risk factors)[1]	RISK FACTORS: Prior Geno/ politicides	Upheaval since 1988[2]	Minority Elite	Exclusionary Ideology[3]	Type of Regime	Trade Openness[4]	Possible target groups[5]
Sudan *(6 of 7)*	Yes: 1956-72, 1983-2001	Very high	No: Northern majority dominates	Yes: Islamist	Autocracy	Low	Southerners; Nuba; Darfur peoples
Burma *(6 of 7)*	Yes: 1978	High	No: Burman majority	Yes: Nationalist dominates	Autocracy	Very low	Kachin; Karen; Shan; Chin; Arakanese Muslims; democratic opposition
Algeria *(6 of 7)*	Yes: 1962	Very high	No	Yes: Secular nationalists regime vs. Islamists	Autocracy	Medium	Berbers; Islamists; government supporters
Burundi *(5 of 7)*	Yes: 1965-73, 1993, 1998	Very high	Yes: Tutsis dominate	Regime No; Hutu militants Yes	Autocracy	Medium	Tutsis; supporters of exiled Hutu militants
Rwanda *(5 of 7)*	Yes: 1963-64, 1994	High	Yes: Tutsi dominate	Regime No; Hutu militants Yes	Autocracy	Medium	Tutsis; supporters of exiled Hutu militants
Ethiopia *(5 of 7)*	Yes: 1976-97	High	Yes: Tigreans dominate	No	Autocracy	Medium	Gambella peoples; supporters of Oromo; Somali secessionists
D. R. Congo *(4 of 7)*	Yes: 1964-65, 1977	High	Yes: narrow coalition of Kabila supporters	No	No effective regime	Medium	Hutus; Tutsis; political and ethnic opponents of Kabila regime
Uganda *(4 of 7)*	Yes: 1972-79, 1980-86	High	No	No	Autocracy	Low	Supporters of Lords Resistance Army
Afghanistan *(4 of 7)*	Yes: 1978-89	Very high	No: coalition	Regime No; Taliban Yes	Partial democracy	Very low	Supporters of Karzai regime
Pakistan *(4 of 7)*	Yes: 1971, 1973-77	Medium	No: Punjabi majority dominates	Regime No; Islamists Yes	Autocracy	Medium	Ahmadis; Hindus; Sindhis; Shi'a; Christians
China *(4 of 7)*	Yes: 1950-51, 1959, 1956-75	Medium	No	Yes: Marxist	Autocracy	Medium	Uighers; Tibetans; Falun Gong; Christians
Angola *(4 of 7)*	Yes: 1975-2001	Very high	No: coalition	No	Autocracy	Very high	Supporters of UNITA; Cabindans
Sri Lanka *(4 of 7)*	Yes: 1989-90	High	No: Sinhalese majority dominates	Regime No; Tamil separatists Yes	Partial democracy	High	Sri Lankan Tamils
Nigeria *(3 of 7)*	Yes: 1967-69	Low	No: Muslim majority dominates	Regime No; Islamists yes	Partial democracy	High	Ijaw and other Delta peoples; Christians in North
Somalia *(3 of 7)*	Yes: 1988-91	Very high	No: clan rivalries	No	No effective Regime	No data	Issaq in Somaliland; clan rivals in south
Nepal *(3 of 7)*	No	High	No	Regime No; Maoists Yes	Autocracy	Medium	Supporters of Maoist insurgents
Iraq *(3 of 7)*	Yes: 1961-75, 1988-91	High	No: coalition in formation	Regime No; Sunni Islamists yes	Transitional	(no data)	Supporters of U.S. presence; Shi'a; Kurds
Saudi Arabia *(3 of 7)*	No	Low	No	Yes: Wahabism	Autocracy	Medium	Shi'a
Israel *(3 of 7)*	No	Very high	No	Yes: Ethno-nationalism	Democracy	High	Palestinians; Arab Israelis
Indonesia *(2 of 7)*	Yes: 1965-66, 1975-92	Medium	No: Javanese dominate	No	Partial democracy	High	Papuans; Acehnese; Chinese; Christians
Ivory Coast *(2 of 7)*	No	Medium	No: southern majority dominates	Yes: Ivoirian identity	Partial democracy	High	Muslim northerners; immigrants from Volta
Russia *(2 of 7)*	Yes: mid-late 1940s	Low	No	No	Partial democracy	Medium	Chechens
Turkey *(2 of 7)*	No	Low	No	Yes: Secular nationalism	Democracy	Medium	Supporters of separatist Kurds
Yemen *(2 of 7)*	No	Low	No	Regime No; Jihadists Yes	Autocracy	High	Supporters of Jihadist insurgents
Colombia *(1 of 7)*	No	Very high	No	No	Democracy	Medium	Peasants in FARC-controlled areas
India *(1 of 7)*	No	Medium	No	No	Democracy	Low	Muslims; Christians
Thailand *(0 of 7)*	No	Low	No	No	Democracy	Very high	Supporters of Muslim insurgents

cators on a daily basis. International organizations and NGO's could develop simplified tracking devices based on this model that will help to analyze assorted information and provide early warnings in specific situations.

The theoretical basis of the early warning system described above is anchored in the genocide literature. The definition of genocide and politicide used closely resembles those employed by other scholars. Thus discussion can focus on prevention rather than debating etiology or definitions. Moreover the risk assessment and early warning systems are easy to understand and can be simplified for use by policy makers and observers in the field who are not necessarily familiar with social science techniques and jargon. What is most needed now are preventive tools that are tailored to the specific needs of particular communities at a particular time. The next big challenge for early warning research is to learn more about what works to prevent genocidal violence in which kind of situations and at which time.

High-risk profiles of genocide or politicide…
alone should be enough to prompt preventive action.

Footnotes for Table 8.2 at left:

1 Prepared by Barbara Harff and Ted Robert Gurr, February 2005. Countries are listed according to their number of risk factors. One additional risk factor is added based on more recent analyses: officially-sanctioned discrimination against one or more minority groups. Such groups are named in bold under Possible Target Groups. Indicators of the risk factors were originally compiled for the U.S. Government's State Failure (now Political Instability) Task Force. The table has been updated using year 2003 information except that Trade Openness values are for 2002. Bold italic entries are high-risk conditions. The table includes all countries with serious armed conflicts, regime crises, or high vulnerability to crisis at the end of 2004, as identified by Monty G. Marshall based on analyses elsewhere in this report and listed in Appendix table 11.1

2 Categories used for upheaval scores: low = 1-9, medium = 10-20, high = 21-34, very high = 35-60

3 Exclusionary ideology is present if either the regime (governing elite) or a challenging elite is motivated by such an ideology. This is a modification of the risk analysis included in Harff, "No Lessons Learned."

4 Categories used for trade openness scores: very low, 20 or less; low, 21-40; medium, 41-70; high, 71-100; and very high, greater than 100. Countries with low scores on this variable but high levels of international political engagement aimed at stabilizing internal conflicts are recoded medium, signifying low risk. This adjustment has been made for Burundi, Rwanda, and Pakistan.

5 Possible victim groups are identified based on country-specific information compiled by the authors. Groups in bold are subject to officially sanctioned political or economic discrimination according to 2003 data coded by the Minorities at Risk project at the University of Maryland. If any such group is identified, it is counted as a seventh risk factor.

9. GLOBAL TERRORISM: AN OVERVIEW AND ANALYSIS

Monty G. Marshall

Terrorism, and the current "war on terrorism," has become the most important security theme of the twenty-first century. Undergirding the problem of terrorism are the lingering fears of totalitarianism and nuclear annihilation, terrorism's predecessors as the main security themes of the twentieth century. Mix these three themes together in a cauldron of globalization and super-empowerment and you have a virtual witch's brew of unreasoning fear. Yet, while the current, global "war on terrorism" may be something new, the problem of "terrorism" is as old as humanity. Brutal violence has long been used as a tool for making strong, and unforgettable, political statements. In the immediate aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States' World Trade Center and Pentagon buildings, and the United States' retaliatory attacks on al Qaeda bases in Afghanistan and the forced ouster of that country's radical Taliban regime, we were asked by policy makers to "[u]ndertake a broad evidence based overview and detailed analysis of the ways in which terrorism presents a fundamental threat to societies and the global social order….In this context, it is important to clarify the social roots of terrorism, a distinct aspect of conflict, and to clarify its relationship to social integration and disintegration trends." This section provides a summary of the research and findings of that study and concludes with a brief update that examines trends in post-9/11 global terrorism.[1]

The problem of "terrorism" is as old as humanity.

Defining Terrorism. In order to study a social phenomenon, great or small, it must be somehow distinct and readily distinguishable from other, similar social phenomena. Terrorism, if it can be objectified, is surely a subset of violence, that is, if it is not held to be synonymous with violence. Terrorism, as a form of political violence, has one essential quality: **the intentional targeting of civilian, non-combatant populations**.[2] It is here proposed that terrorism's essential quality of targeting civilians with political violence has several additional qualities that distinguish it from other forms of political violence, among these are the following:

- There are two fundamental political forms of terrorism that derive from the prevailing structures of authority and are part of the same **strategic interactive process**: repressive and expressive forms of terrorism. Repressive terrorism is used by authorities against constituents in an attempt to ensure social order; expressive terrorism is used by constituents against authorities, or symbols of authority, in an attempt to draw attention to a political agenda.
- The simple act of terrorism is necessarily a one-sided imposition of violent force upon a victim. This implies an **asymmetrical power or authority relationship**. The asymmetry may be structural (i.e., a stable asymmetry between a relatively strong and a weak actor) or temporal (i.e., a momentary, situational or imagined advantage wherein a generally weak actor may be temporarily, relationally strong as in a surprise attack launched before the target can muster adequate protection).
- An additional, perhaps more controversial, quality of this conception of terrorism refers to the perceptual impact of the terrorist act. The quality of "terror" in an act of terrorism is somehow related to social expectations and the social context: terror-

1 A copy of the full report is available on the Web at www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/papers/GlobalTerrorism.pdf.

2 Intent is always difficult to establish. Here intent is evidenced by direct, sustained, and/or systematic (i.e., patterned) targeting of non-combatant (civilian) populations.

ism is an **extraordinary act of violence**; it must stand in contrast to our normal expectations of adversity. It must seize our attention and hijack our imagination if it is to be effective as a special form of political violence.

- And finally, terrorism is perpetrated by a terrorist, that is, it is a highly **individualized and personalized** use of violence, making it more immediate and tactically and logistically distinct from more complex forms of militant action, thus, rendering it hardly distinguishable from psychopathic, sociopathic, or criminal violence.

Terrorism stands at the nexus between individual and collective action, the emotional and rational, the conventional and the unconventional.

Terrorism, as a political act, stands at once at the nexus between individual and collective action, the emotional and rational, the conventional and the unconventional. It can be the strongest form of protest, the weakest form of rebellion, or a specialized tactic in a broader process of tyranny or warfare.

Designing Terrorism as a Dependent Variable. The concept of "terrorism" that informs this study focuses exclusively on the direct targeting of civilian populations in acts or episodes of political violence. Two new indicators of global terrorism were constructed to inform a quantitative analysis of the social roots of global terrorism: one with a broader focus on episodes of collective political violence and warfare (CPV) with and without "excessive targeting of civilian populations" and another with a narrow focus on tactical acts of terrorism (TERROR). The period of study is the ten-year period leading to the 9/11 attacks that signaled the beginning of the current "global war on terrorism."

The Collective Political Violence (CPV) scale measures general, ordinal levels of state, non-state, and communal group violence within a particular country during the 1990s. The scaling of the CPV variable also reflects whether an episode of collective political violence involves the excessive targeting of civilians. The term "excessive targeting of civilians" focuses on the deliberate and systematic use of violence against non-combatant populations in situations of political conflict by either state or non-state actor groups that can be considered *in excess* of the general suffering of civilian populations that is associated with warfare and "collateral damage." The scaling was constructed using information and data from the Minorities at Risk (MAR) and State Failure Problem Set (SFPS) datasets for the ten-year period 1991-2000 according to the rules summarized in table 9.1 (rules are detailed in Appendix A in the full report). Annual conflict information was aggregated for the ten-year period and a single ordinal indicator of magnitude value was assigned for each country for the entire period based on comparative levels of violence. The nine-category CPV indicator was then separated into three classifications of cases for further comparative analysis: states experiencing collective political violence with excessive targeting of civilians (CPVCIV), states experiencing political violence without excessive targeting of civilians (CPVNOCIV), and states without collective political violence (the control set).

The second, more narrowly focused, indicator of terrorism proved to be more difficult to construct. There are no known databases that have compiled systematic, global information on individual incidents of terrorism except the two datasets on international terrorism commonly referred to as the RAND-St. Andrews and ITERATE datasets.[3] International terrorism requires that either the actor or target of the terrorist act must

3 A new, global database on more general forms of terrorist events is being compiled by Gary LaFree at the University of Maryland from records originally collected by the Pinkerton Agency over the period 1960-1997. That data was not available for the present study. The Center for the Study of Terrorism and Response to Terrorism was established in early 2005 at the University with a Center of Excellence grant from the Department of Homeland Security.

Table 9.1: Description of Collective Political Violence (CPV) Categories

Level	General Category Description
8	Systematic, lethal targeting of civilian populations either directly, through the use of deadly force, or indirectly, through restrictions on access to food, water, and/or other basic needs; this may, but does not necessarily, occur within a context of armed insurrection (CPVCIV = 4)
7	Major, sustained, armed insurrection during which state and/or non-state militant groups regularly, and indiscriminately, target civilian populations with deadly terror and intimidation tactics and repressive policies (CPVCIV = 3)
6	Major, sustained, armed insurrection or communal fighting without substantial evidence of intentional targeting of civilian populations (CPVNOCIV=4)
5	Limited, localized, or sporadic major armed insurrection during which state or non-state militant groups occasionally, and indiscriminately, target civilian populations with deadly terror and intimidation tactics and repressive policies and/or non-state groups engage in serious communal fighting (CPVCIV = 2)
4	Limited, localized, or sporadic major armed insurrection without substantial evidence of intentional targeting of civilian populations or serious communal fighting (CPVNOCIV = 3)
3	Limited, localized armed rebellions of limited duration or sustained campaigns of terrorist incidents with limited scope during which there is evidence of intentional, but largely discriminate, targeting of civilian political leaders by state or non-state militant groups or serious communal fighting (CPVCIV = 1)
2	Limited, localized armed rebellions of limited scope and duration without substantial evidence of intentional targeting of civilian populations (CPVNOCIV = 2)
1	Small scale political violence (CPVNOCIV = 1)
0	No evidence of political violence during the 1990s

International (or transnational) terrorism is only a small portion of the global problem of terrorism.

have crossed an international border; it does not include acts of terrorism where both the actor and target reside within the same country. As such, international (or transnational) terrorism is assumed to represent only a small portion of the global problem of terrorism. In order to construct an indicator of the more general form of terrorism that includes both national and international terrorism, a new database was constructed. Terror is a psychological response that gains its peculiar social stature in the collective consciousness; it is in large part, a media, and mediated, event. Evidence of terror must necessarily find its way into the news media and, as such, the public record. Keesing's Worldwide publishes a monthly series, Keesing's *Record of World Events*, which is a widely respected source for global news reports. It compiles news accounts, summarizes, and records what are generally considered to be the most important political events in each country of the world. This resource has long been a mainstay of comparative political research in political stability and security issues. Most importantly, Keesing's Worldwide provides its archives in an electronic format that is keyword searchable.

Using various keyword searches of the Keesing's archives, a comprehensive listing of all terrorist events (TERROR) was compiled covering the time period from January 1, 1991, through September 10, 2001.[4] The cutoff date of September 10, 2001, was used so that the sample would not be affected by changes resulting from the extraordinary response to the September 11, 2001, attacks.[5] The Keesing's records were then reviewed for applicability and duplication and then coded as discreet terrorist events. Nearly all reports provided information on number of fatalities. The events were sorted according to the nature of the primary targets of the attack: civilians, political figures, or security forces. For the purposes of analysis, and maintaining consistency in our definition of terrorism,

4 The main keywords used include all word forms of terror; a secondary pass was conducted keying the various terrorist tactics of political violence: massacre, abduct, kidnap, hostage, assassinate, bomb, and hijack.

5 The TERROR variable covers a slightly longer period of time than the CPV variable; it includes year 2001 data for the months prior to the 9/11 attacks.

Terrorism is a global threat through its possible association with war. By itself, [it] is a technique of relatively minor effect.

only attacks on civilians and political figures were included in the dataset used to construct the terrorism indicator. (Appendix B in the full report provides a listing of the 878 civilian and 392 political global terrorism cases – some cases record more than one event). A six-point Guttman scale was designed that ranks each country according to the number of deaths resulting from terrorist incidents attributed to actors from that country during the study period. Table 9.2 summarizes the coding rules (cut points) for the TERROR indicator.

Table 9.2: Description of the Global Terrorism (TERROR) Indicator

Level	General Category Description
5	Greater than 1,000 deaths
4	Greater than 200 and less than or equal to 1,000 deaths
3	Greater than 100 and less than or equal to 200 deaths
2	Greater than 20 and less than or equal to 100 deaths
1	Less than or equal to 20 deaths
0	No deaths or incidents recorded

Findings. A great part of the perception of threat in terrorism must stem from the acknowledged connections between terrorism as a individuated micro-event (the restricted concept of terrorism) and terrorism as a collective macro-event (the broad concept of terrorism as tyranny and warfare). Terrorism may remain an isolated and radical act of political violence or it can be an integral part of warfare. Warfare, of course, represents the greatest threat to global peace and security, particularly in the age of mechanized and technologically-advanced weaponry. In this sense, terrorism is a global threat through its possible association with war. Terrorism as a specialized form of political violence, by itself, is a technique of relatively minor effect. Very few examples of this tactical form of terrorism have caused more than 100 deaths (we have documented ten such incidents in the past seven years). The highest fatality count after the 3,000 deaths resulting from the 9/11 attacks during this seven year period is the 330 officially acknowledged deaths attributed to the attack on the school in Beslan, Russia on September 1, 2004. By way of comparison, in the 1990s there were on the order of about 300 reported deaths per annum by international terrorism and 3,000 reported deaths per annum by acts of local terrorism. In contrast, according to calculations based on data from the Armed Conflict and Intervention project, there were over 300,000 deaths in the world per annum in warfare in the 1990s, the majority of which were deaths among non-combatant populations affected by wars. In the period 1939-1945, the period of total war among the advanced industrial countries, there were well over 4,000,000 deaths per annum, a large proportion of which involved non-combatant populations caught in harm's way.[6] It seems clear from this comparison of effects that the commonly understood form of terrorism can only be considered a global fear. However, our greatest fears can be realized when the state becomes the terrorist, or when the powerful weapons created by the state fall into the hands of the evildoer. Total war and genocide are both creations of the state, as are weapons of mass destruction and weapons of mass effect. When the state takes an active role in the cycle and process of violence and terrorism, the magnitude of terror's toll increases exponentially.

6 Monty G. Marshall, *Third World War: System, Process, and Conflict Dynamics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), p. 3 and n4, p. 6.

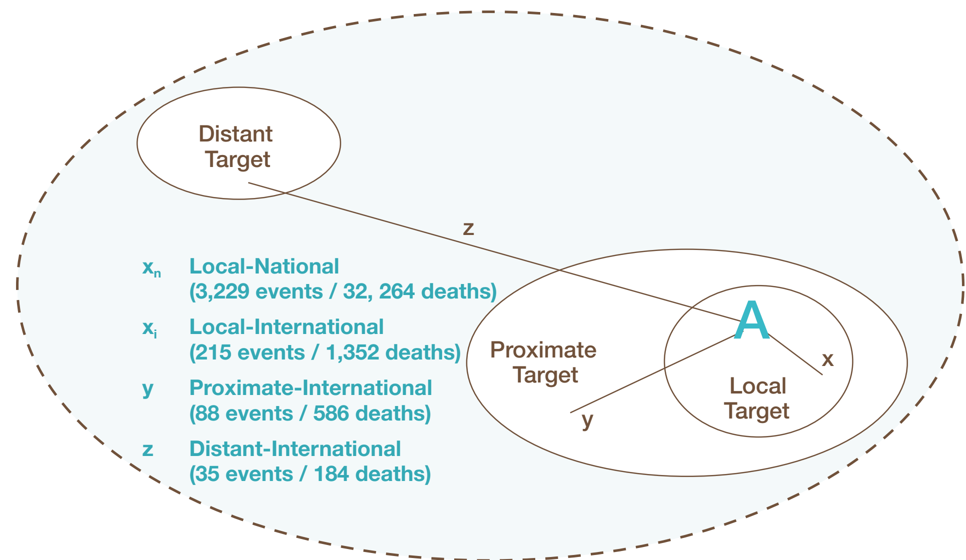
The above discussion leaves open the possibility that the global fear of terrorism may be transformed to a global threat. The most direct connection between fear and threat comes in the escalation of a social conflict from isolated acts of terrorism to systematic acts of warfare. Many claim that terrorism can be considered a global threat either due to the potential use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) or through the systematic use of terrorist attacks to cause mass disruption in our increasingly globalized social system. Neither of these fears has yet been realized. There is no way to assess the possibilities of WMD terrorism; the technical impediments to the use of WMD by non-state terrorists are enormous. Yet, while technical impediments may explain the absence of "nuclear terrorism," such impediments cannot, by themselves, explain the absence of other biological or chemical forms of WMD terrorism.

Mass disruption terrorism would require considerable "global reach" by a fairly disciplined and sophisticated terrorist organization. Many claim that the al Qaeda "network" represents this kind of terrorist organization. Is there evidence that terrorism has the "global reach" that would make it a threat to global security? The TERROR measure can be used to illustrate the spatial, power gradient principle as it applies to specific acts of terrorism. The data can be parceled into categories based on spatial gradients, or distance:

- **National** acts of terrorism, where a single country provides actor, target, and location, can be separated from international acts of terrorism, where persons from more than one country are involved in the event.
- The category of **international** terrorism can then be broken out into
  - **local** acts, where an actor acts within his home country and strikes a foreign target,
  - **proximate** acts, where an actor acts in a country adjoining his home country to strike a target, and
  - **distant** acts, where an actor acts in a country that does not border his home country to attack his chosen target.

The results of the spatial analysis of terrorism for the ten years leading up to the September 11, 2001, attacks (see figure 9.1) shows that over 90% of the incidents listed in the global terrorism (TERROR) data are in the category of national terrorism and these events account for about 94% of the fatalities (3,229 incidents and 32,264 deaths). Within the general category of international terrorism, local events account for 63% of the incidents and 66% of fatalities (215 incidents and 1,352 deaths), proximate events account for 25% of the incidents and 25% of the deaths (88 incidents and 506 deaths), and distant events account for 10% of the incidents and only 9% of the deaths (35 incidents and 184 deaths). Civilian targets comprise nearly 97% of the targets of terrorism during the pre-9/11 period, whereas political targets (what one might consider relatively "hardened targets") constitute the remaining 3% of attacks on non-combatant populations. Attacks on political targets are highly likely to focus on very specific targets and individual political figures so the fatalities associated with this category of terrorism are usually much smaller than attacks on civilian targets. Also, public figures have a much higher "comparative value" than anonymous civilian targets; attacks on non-political (civilian) targets rely on high mortality to achieve acceptable levels of terror effect or media coverage. Interestingly, distant international attacks are far more likely than any other category of terrorist event to be directed at political targets, with over 25% of the deaths and 37% of the incidents in this category during the pre-9/11 period having political targets. Terrorists clearly demonstrated minimal capacity for the "global reach" necessary for mass disruption terrorism in the years prior to the 9/11 events.

Figure 9.1: Actor-Target Relationships in Global Terrorism, 1991-2001



Terrorists clearly demonstrated minimal capacity for the "global reach" necessary for mass disruption terrorism in the years prior to the 9/11 events.

The two indicators developed especially for this study attempt to measure the problem of global terrorism in both its macro-event (CPV) and micro-event (TERROR) aspects. The two scales correlate fairly strongly (.698) for the 160 countries included in the study.[7] The TERROR variable correlates more strongly with the CPVCIV subset (excessive targeting of civilians; .735) than with the CPVNOCIV subset of cases (.484). Initial investigation provides a comprehensive correlation analysis of the target variables: CPV, CPVCIV, CPVNOCIV, and TERROR, covering the period 1990-1994. The time period used in calculating the correlations in the tables is somewhat arbitrary; it is simply the "leading" half of the time period on which the target variables are based. All time periods were examined in the correlation analyses, from the 1970s to present, as were all years from 1980 to present. Most of the variables contained in the database are structural variables; these variables change very slowly over time. As such, the basic relationships between these structural variables and the target variables remain consistent and mostly constant over the short- to medium-term. And, as it is proposed that there are fundamental, mutually reinforcing, simultaneous relationships among the structural, social conflict, and political authority characteristics, we should expect the correlations between key variables to track together over time. A five-year period was chosen as the representative sample because of differences in time coverage among the 1500 variables examined: some provide annual data, some biennial, some quinquennial, and some decadal; the five-year sample captures all the variables. The early 1990s was chosen because it is at once a leading and concomitant period for the target variables; evidence to identify the "social roots" of terrorism should be strongest during this period. Not all variables display relatively invariant relationships with the target variables; some appear to be consequential or, at least, subsequential; that is, the strength of the correlation increases during the 1990s (these variables are noted by a double asterisk in Appendix C of the full study).

7 Only countries with total population greater than 500,000 are included. The U.S. Government's Political Instability Task Force compiled the global database used in this study. The Task Force is a panel of senior, academic experts and is managed by the Central Intelligence Agency. U.S. law prohibits the CIA from collecting or analyzing U.S. domestic information and, so, the database does not include information on the United States. As such, the U.S. is not included in the majority of the correlation analyses.

As terrorism is intimately associated with other forms of political violence, we expect that the "social roots" and correlates of terrorism would be quite similar to the "social roots" and correlates of the various forms of civil warfare. In the most general terms, the results of the analyses of the terrorism indicators closely parallel the results reported by the Political Instability Task Force (PITF) in their analyses of state failure events, particularly the three categories of civil warfare events: ethnic war, revolutionary war, and genocide and politicide.[8] The PITF has reported that outbreaks of these major collective political violence events are strongly associated with various measures of:

- **poverty, underdevelopment, and maldistribution of resources** (e.g., higher infant mortality, lower GDP per capita, political discrimination, lower levels of general education, lower health expenditures, lower calories per capita, poorer sanitation);
- **weak regimes and poor governance** (e.g., weak autocracies, partial democracies, ineffective legislatures, newly constituted regimes);
- **poor regional integration** (e.g. low openness to trade, low memberships in regional organizations, low trade with neighboring countries); and
- **bad neighborhoods** (e.g., high number of bordering states with armed civil conflicts, high percentage of autocratic neighbors).

These basic findings are strongly supported in the global analyses of terrorism in the 1990s. This has important implications for policies aimed at combating terrorism. In particular, it emphasizes the importance of measured responses that do not contribute to an escalatory process that increases the likelihood of transformation of scattered acts of terrorism to systematic campaigns of violence or open warfare. "War is hell" and, as such, it tends to breed sympathy for the devil. In order to maintain the criminality of terrorism, the tactic of terrorism must remain disassociated from the passions, rationalizations, and justifications of war.

These basic findings… emphasize the importance of measured responses that do not contribute to an escalatory process.

One qualifying finding is that larger countries, in the sense of both territory and population, were somewhat more likely to experience terrorism, as it is defined in this study. Of course, this finding may be largely an artifact of the behavior under study and the ways it has been measured. Larger states are more difficult to govern, especially when undergoing development processes. And, because of the way the problem condition is measured, larger states have a greater probability of reaching an absolute threshold based on numbers of deaths and of having multiple political groups to potentially engage in oppositional activity. A second such finding is that states with a high level of activity in the global system or that straddled several regional subsystems were somewhat more likely to be targets of international terrorism, although these states were much less likely to be the targets of deadly acts of terrorism.

Taken together, the variables listed in the correlation tables in Appendix C of the full report provide a fairly broad profile of circumstances under which civilian populations are at greatest risk of gross violations of human security and integrity.

- **Demographic factors** include lower life expectancy, higher male "youth bulge," and higher ethnic fractionalization. While higher fertility rates are associated with greater violence against civilians, population growth is not (correlations with birth

8 For more information on the U.S. Government's Political Instability Task Force and its research findings see the State Failure Web site at www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/stfail.

rates and death rates, not reported, are nearly equal). Religious fractionalization is not linearly related to terrorism, although it is possible that there is a more complex, non-linear relationship that would not be detected in these simple tests.

- **Human capital factors** include higher infant mortality, lower health expenditures, lower general caloric intake, higher percentage of uneducated adults, and lower rates of education of females.
- **Economic capital factors** include lower income, lower productive efficiency (GDP per unit of energy), lower consumption of electricity, lower access to telecommunications, lower tax revenues, higher technical cooperation grants (no strong relationship to non-technical grants), high levels of undistributed debt, lower exports of goods and services, higher proportions of the work force in agriculture, and, while the rate of urbanization appears not to be related to violence and terrorism, the annual growth rate of large urban agglomerations is.
- **Governmental performance factors** include higher repudiation of contracts, higher risk of expropriation, higher corruption, weaker rule of law, lower bureaucratic quality, lower political rights and civil liberties, more exclusive or parochial leadership (ethnic and ideological), and active economic and/or political discrimination.
- **Contextual factors** include ”bad neighborhood” effects such as prevalence of armed conflict in bordering countries, percentage of autocratic neighbors (despite the doubling of democratic regimes in the 1990s), the presence of large numbers of refugees, and a history of armed conflict and regime instability.

Factors associated specifically with excess targeting of civilian populations in armed conflict situations and terrorism focus more on the qualities of the chief executive: fewer institutional constraints on executive power, the centralization of executive power in military or presidential rule, and, in particular, military regimes. Economic factors indicate revenue extraction through higher trade duties (probably to offset limited ability to extract tax revenues), and a greater dependence on fuelwood energy (indicating lower endowments and foreign exchange). Higher levels of excess civilian targeting appears to contribute to escalating central government debt and higher military and arms expenditures while producing much greater internal population displacements and humanitarian crises (higher numbers of multilateral organizations intervening).

General qualities that appear to differentiate collective political violence events with excessive targeting of civilian populations (CPVCIV) from similar events without excessive targeting of civilians include the following:

- **exclusionary ideologies** (strong ethnic and ideological character of the ruling elites, political and economic discrimination);
- **militarization** (military governments, high military expenditures as percent of government expenditures, high numbers of military personnel, high arms as a percentage of imports);
- **restricted human rights** (Freedom House measures of civil liberties and political rights);
- **displaced populations** (high numbers of refugees resident, high estimates of displaced populations); and
- **protracted social violence** (long time periods of sustained violent conflict).

There is also evidence that the targeting of civilians is associated with protracted social conflicts and "over urbanization" (i.e., large numbers of agricultural workers and large cities with fewer middle-size urban areas). The trading patterns of states characterized by armed conflicts with excessive civilian deaths also appear to be distorted by 1) diffuse trading partners (no single, strong trading partner that might influence the state's policies); 2) lower regional integration (lower trade with neighboring countries); and 3) higher levels of trade with autocratic countries. Unique factors that appear to distinguish the excessive targeting of civilian populations during episodes of armed societal conflict display some hints of highly autocratic and/or nationalist regimes ruling with little institutional embeddedness in a general society characterized by weak civic cultures. These more brutal regimes are more susceptible to extralegal changes in leadership (coups), are poorly integrated in the global liberal trade networks (favoring, instead, trade with other autocratic regimes), and have no major trading partner with substantial influence over their policies. These latter interpretations are much more speculative than the more general profiles described above but are deserving of further investigation, especially of the "British factor" that appears to figure so prominently in the avoidance of excess violence against civilian populations.

"Old" democracies that have a higher involvement in international violence and wars are likely to experience greater levels of terrorism.

An important "non-finding" is that nothing seems to strongly differentiate the TERROR variable from the CPV variable, and particularly the CPVCIV variable, except that TERROR is much more likely to occur in the advanced industrial and post-industrial economies than are the higher magnitudes of collective political violence. That is, the developed states appear to be much better at managing or dampening the escalation of violence conflict than avoiding violent conflict all together. These economically and politically advantaged states are likely to experience much higher numbers of terrorist incidents but far lower numbers of deaths. They are also more likely to be the targets of terrorist incidents but, still, these incidents are likely to be less deadly, even when perpetrated by actors from less advantaged countries. A related finding is that the deadly conflict profiles of newly democratized states is much more similar to that of the "old" democracies than that of the non-democracies, giving some weight to the proposition that democracy is an advanced function of successful conflict management performance, rather than the other way around. This does not mean that all democracies are non-violent and peaceful. There are several notable examples of violence-plagued democratic societies, for example, Colombia, India, and Israel. What appears to distinguish higher levels of violence in otherwise democratic societies are lower quality of life measures, higher youth unemployment, political and economic discrimination, higher inflows of foreign workers, high government share of GDP, and a higher proportion of autocracies in their immediate region. Unlike any other category of regime, "old" democracies that have a higher involvement in international violence and wars are likely to experience greater levels of terrorism. In the poorer democracies, violent political conflicts are more likely to escalate to insurrection than in the wealthier "old" democracies. In addition, a larger agricultural sector is associated with higher levels of TERROR in democracies. A more speculative finding regards the correlation between terrorism and workers' remittances: this may indicate that restricted employment opportunities for a technically trained sector of the population (which may be driven to seek employment in other countries) may contribute to higher levels of frustration and dissent among "alternative elite" populations (i.e., underemployed professionals).

It is only when the terrorist becomes the state or the state becomes the terrorist that terrorism's real threat to society, and the social order, is realized.

Some Observations on Post-9/11 Global Terrorism. The most important observation that can be made regarding the problem of global terrorism is that terrorism, as we generally speak of it, is a great security fear, as it is perceived at the personal level, but only a minor threat to the "global social order." "Being killed in a terrorist attack" ranks very near to "being struck by lightning" as a cause of death. This does not mean that terrorism should not be considered a grave threat to societies, however. And, it is at the society level where terrorism poses the greatest threat to the global social order. Terror becomes a global security threat when it opens the door to warfare and tyranny. It is only when the terrorist becomes the state or the state becomes the terrorist that terrorism's real threat to society, and the social order, is realized. Terrorism, by itself, may disrupt due process but cannot create political change; with it, the terrorist attempts to induce change or, through it, to enforce order. Fear is a powerful instrument of politics and statecraft. It is with the state in mind that vigilance regarding the problem of terrorism should begin.

That being said, what can we say about trends in the problem of global terrorism following the September 2001 attacks? One consideration is to look at the number of situations of post-9/11 warfare in which there are excessive targeting of civilian populations (CPVCIV). Among these cases, we include the following:

- **Algeria** (although the numbers have been dwindling for the past two years or more);
- **Democratic Republic of Congo** (general lawlessness in the northeast provinces has allowed systematic victimization of civilians; communal warfare between Hema and Lendu has been particularly brutal);
- **Iraq** (mainly urban insurgency and sectarian fighting involving attacks by disenfranchised Sunni against recently empowered Shi'a populations has led to high numbers of civilian casualties both directly from combat operations and indirectly through severe disruptions in essential services);
- **Nigeria** (communal warfare between Muslim and Christian ethnic groups in Plateau and Kano states have left about 60,000 dead since the late 1990s; communal fighting in Delta state has been of lesser magnitude);
- **Sudan** (the separatist war that erupted in the Darfur region in 2003 has been characterized by direct, large-scale targeting of civilian populations of Muslim black-Africans by local Muslim Arab militias known as the "janjaweed");
- **Uganda** (the rebels of the Lord's Resistance Army in the north have preyed almost exclusively on civilian populations); and
- **Pakistan** (sectarian fighting between Sunni and Shi'a militias have targeted mainly civilian gatherings for attacks).

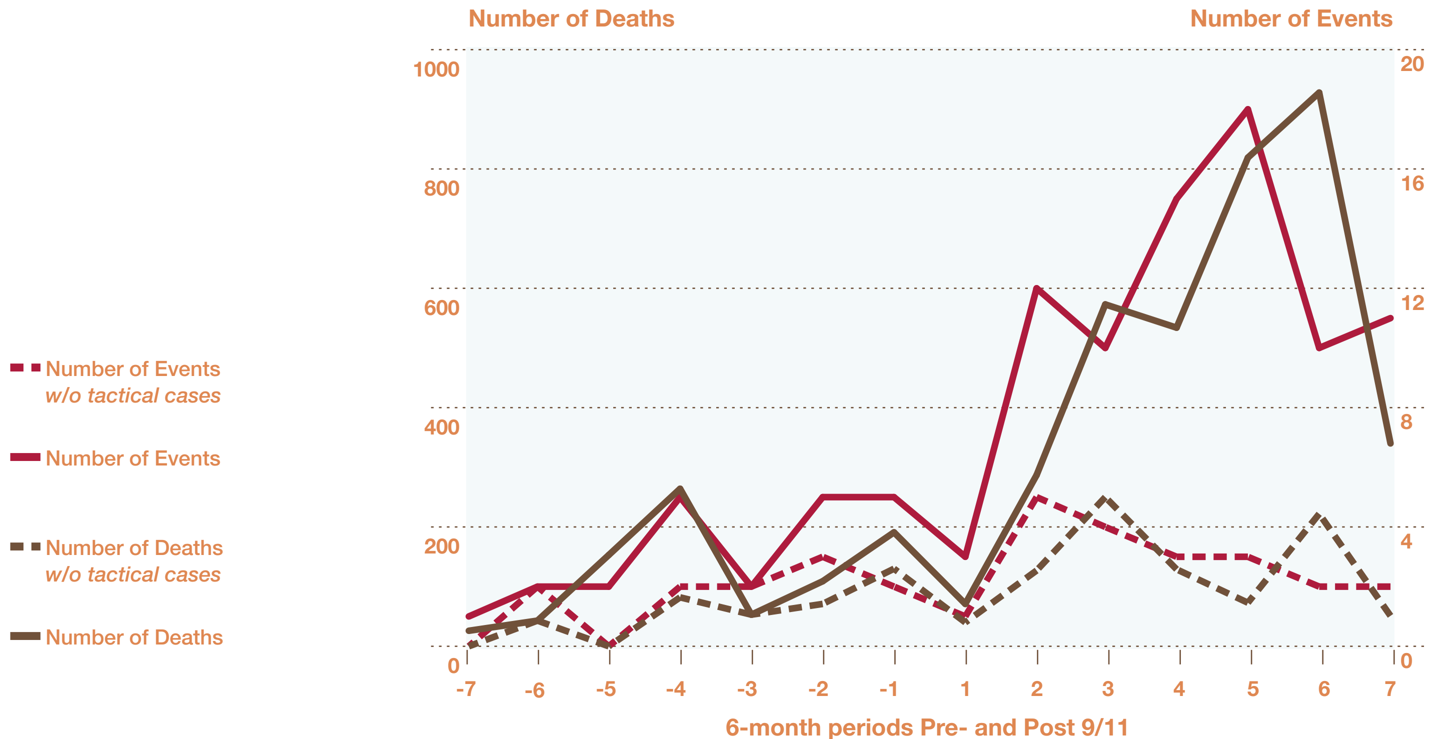
There are borderline cases where civilians have paid a heavy toll in fighting between militants and armed forces and in which there have been occasional attacks on civilians. This list of borderline cases includes Burundi, Colombia, India-Kashmir, Israel-Palestine, and Russia-Chechnya. The latter two borderline cases are complicated by high incidence of terrorist attacks against civilian and political targets. In addition, civilians in Somalia continue to suffer from chronic disruptions in and lack of essential services as much of the country continues to struggle with conditions of general anarchy. A cur-

sory review of current cases involving excessive targeting of civilian populations gives no indication that the "social roots" of this form of terror has changed and, so, that aspect of the earlier study has not been updated.

The most substantial change comes in the numbers and proportions of terrorist attacks against political targets… since 9/11, political targets account for nearly half of reported incidents and nearly one-fifth of reported deaths.

The second consideration is acts of terrorism. Our update of the TERROR variable database from September 12, 2001, through early 2005 allows us to compare post-9/11 actor-target relations as we have for pre-9/11 relations (figure 9.1, above). Two caveats to the reanalysis should be noted: one is that only three and one-half years have elapsed since the 9/11 attacks, so there is limited information available to establish trends, and the second is that there is some intuitive sense that the journalistic culture for reporting terrorist events has changed in the post-9/11 political climate. With these caveats in mind, a number of observations regarding recent trends can be made with reasonable confidence. One is that the profile of actor-target relationships in terrorist incidents and deaths has not changed greatly; it maintains a structure similar to the profile documented for the pre-9/11 decade. National terrorism continues to dominate in both numbers of incidents and numbers of deaths. However, there is some evidence that the proportions of local-international and proximate-international events have increased, particularly the proportions for proximate-international terrorism (where militants travel to a neighboring country to strike targets). At first glance, there is some evidence to support the proposition that both the numbers and proportions of distant-international terrorist events has been reduced in the post-9/11 climate of heightened security; the proportions of distant attacks in international terrorism appears to have fallen from about ten percent to less than three percent. However, this observation is qualified by evidence of increasing mobility of militants, particularly in the Middle East region. The number of distant-international events is underreported due to the difficulty of establishing the nationality of the attacker in many cases. There is strong evidence of a rising pan-Arabist, or even pan-Islamic, component in terrorism events in this region. However, the broader scope of activity linked to increased actor mobility maintains an intensely local focus. Despite recent deadly attacks by Islamic militants on commuter trains in Madrid on March 11, 2004, and commercial airliners flying out of Moscow on August 25, 2004, militants have very rarely attacked outside their home locality, however broadly defined. The most substantial change comes in the numbers and proportions of terrorist attacks against political targets compared with civilian targets. As noted above, political targets accounted for only three percent of terrorist attacks in the 1990s; since 9/11, political targets account for nearly half of reported incidents and nearly one-fifth of reported deaths. The shift toward political targets is particularly true for terrorist attacks in Iraq since the formation of an interim government by U.S. occupational authorities in late 2003.

One additional method by which we can compare pre-9/11 and post-9/11 trends in global terrorism is to focus on the subset of high profile events; these events have the greatest news coverage and, so, our confidence in the completeness of this subset of cases is the greatest. This method and rationale underlies the standard 1,000 battle-death threshold for identifying wars. To establish a high-profile set of terrorist attacks we set a fifteen-death threshold for a single terrorist attack or series of coordinated terrorist attacks. Figure 9.2 charts the numbers of deaths and numbers of events for high profile terrorist attacks for seven six-month periods pre-9/11 and the same number of six-month periods post-9/11. On first look, there appears to be a sharp increase in the trends for both numbers of deaths and numbers of events, following a brief lull in the immediate aftermath



of the 9/11 attacks. However, this increase can be explained almost entirely by the adoption of a highly specialized tactic of warfare by militants in five locations: Iraq (Sunni and pan-Arab), Israel (Palestinian), Pakistan (Sunni and Shi'a), Philippines (Moro), and Russia (Chechens). When events in these locations are removed from the data, the trends show roughly a doubling of this type of activity in the post-9/11 period (to about three events per year). The large number of attacks and deaths located in these conflict situations are almost entirely accounted for by national terrorism; one of the few examples of international terrorism is the car bomb attack on the UN Mission Headquarters in Iraq in August 2003.[9] There is scant evidence of a global terrorist conspiracy in the post-9/11 world that would constitute a threat to global peace and security. In the concluding section of *Peace and Conflict* 2003, we described the increasing violence in the Middle East as the beginning of an "anti-globalization rebellion." Events since then have further reinforced the rationale for that assessment. What the evidence points to is the spread of a specialized tactic of warfare through the Muslim world that may be variously termed the "suicide mission" or "low-tech, human-guided, smart bomb." What is of greatest concern is the use of these tactics in insurgencies. There can be no doubt that the tactic has gained proficiency. The steep drop in the death toll in the most recent period is hopeful. As discussed in the sections on war trends (section 3) and instability in Africa (section 7), there is evidence of a rise in armed conflicts in many Muslim countries that span from west Africa across the Middle East and South Asia to the Pacific island states of Indonesia and the Philippines. It is this general rebellion that poses the greatest threat to societies and, if left unchecked, to the greater global security.

There is scant evidence of a global terrorist conspiracy in the post-9/11 world that would constitute a threat to global peace and security.

9 The situation in Iraq is best characterized as an "internationalized civil war" in which foreign fighters have joined to support a Sunni-nationalist agenda and resist foreign occupation. Although targets are often foreign agents, terrorism remains highly localized.

10. CONCLUSION

I have met the enemy, and he is us. – Pogo (Walt Kelly)

Monty G. Marshall and Ted Robert Gurr

This report offers a broad assessment of global trends in peace and conflict. Our aim, as always, is to provide a factual examination of system performance with a policy-oriented focus on the conjunction of conflict, governance, and development issues. If policy is to be guided by reason, rather than reaction or ideology, periodic performance reviews are crucial. The theme of the first edition in the *Peace and Conflict* series (2001) was the overarching complexity of global system performance. The theme of the second edition was the frailty and vulnerability of a global system emerging from decades of intense conflict and warfare. The theme that emerges in the 2005 edition of the *Peace and Conflict* series is the intrinsic tension between policy choices and system goals. That tension is symbolized in the cover design. In a world system that lacks effective central authority, responsibility and accountability are difficult to establish and, so, political leverage is difficult to employ. The whole becomes the sum of its parts and everyone is both part of the problem and an essential component in the solution. Knowledge, communication, and comparative perspective are key tools in the management of complex social processes.

It is easy to lose perspective when conflict and crisis events loom so large in media fact, and fiction.

The first edition of *Peace and Conflict* in 2001 made the highly controversial claim that global warfare was in decline. In fact, it was that exact controversy that prompted us to initiate the series. When we first approached policy makers in 1999 with our evidence of the dramatic decline in warfare since the end of the Cold War, most dismissed the notion out of hand; they were convinced that the world was becoming a more, not less, dangerous place. It was not until our claim and suggestive evidence for it were published in an op-ed article in the *Los Angeles Times* that the possibility of a decline in global warfare became credible. This is a favorite anecdote of our colleague Andrew Mack, who headed the UN Secretary-General's Strategy Unit at the time. It is an important anecdote because it shows, at once, the "delicacy" of policy perspectives and the power of media sensations. It is easy to lose perspective when conflict and crisis events loom so large in media fact, and fiction. Looking from the "top down," systematic monitoring of conflict processes helps place wildly fluctuating and dramatic events in patterned streams so one can better identify critical continuities and changes in those processes.

Looking from the "bottom up," conflict processes, like globalization, have ever-widening systemic effects. Local conflicts and failed states have regional and even global system impact, as evident in what we call "vortex" conflict dynamics in western and central Africa, south-central Asia, and the global jihadist terrorist network. Bilateral and country-specific strategies of conflict management and institution-building are not adequate for metastasizing conflicts such as these. Coordinated, multilevel international action is essential, illustrated for example by the Club of Madrid's March 2005 Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security which designed a comprehensive international strategy for confronting terrorism.[1] Regional cooperation and activism among African states has been an important factor in the improving prospects for that much maligned continent, noted in this report. The problem of genocide and politicide provides the most extreme example of a local dynamic that may only be averted by external, proactive

1 See the Club of Madrid Summit's Web site at http://english.safe-democracy.org.

engagement. Similarly, an inclusive, global energy strategy may be needed to defuse rising tensions within oil-producing states, and surrounding neighborhoods, driven by the rapidly expanding demand for energy in the globalizing economy.

An inclusive, global energy strategy may be needed to defuse rising tensions within oil-producing states, and surrounding neighborhoods.

Some political observers and activists fear that the reporting positive trends may contribute to complacency and undermine the progress being made. From our viewpoint, the greater danger lies in the apathy that may result from the notion that global activism and international engagement have no real impact on conflict trends. Global and regional trends in conflict and peace may also be reversed by dramatic, unforeseen events such as the deconstruction of the Soviet Union in 1989-90 and the Islamist response to the U.S.-led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. We can identify at least three kinds of local conflict issues that may escalate to unknowable proportions in the not-too distant future:

- In Asia three flash points for interstate conflict involve the two Koreas, China-Taiwan, and India-Pakistan. All have the potential for nuclear exchanges and the Korean conflict might see the large-scale use of chemical and biological weapons. Wars in either of the first two dyads is likely to prompt large-scale military responses by the U.S. and China might well intervene in a new India-Pakistan war.
- Latin America faces economic and social tensions of unpredictable outcome. Neoliberal economic policies in some countries have delivered (much) less than was promised and have widened the gap between the prosperous and the poor. The resultant political and financial crises have prompted mass protest and resignations of several elected leaders. The larger risks are the rise of anti-democratic populism, the return of the military to politics, and a cascading collapse of seemingly resilient but still young democracies.
- Jihadists in the Islamic world aim much of their revolutionary rage at conservative and corrupt regimes, many of which are allied more or less loosely with the West. It is conceivable that Islamist activists will gain political strength enough in a few places in the Gulf and Central and Southeast Asia that one or a few countries could shift toward theocratic rule, not by force but due to misguided attempts at accommodation. New and weak democracies are vulnerable to demagogues with "clear visions" or sweeping agendas for change. Any such transition would strengthen the jihadist claim to legitimacy and could inspire a rash of Islamist accessions to power.

We concluded in the 2003 edition of *Peace and Conflict* that "[m]ost of the progress toward a more peaceful world during the first post-Cold War decade was a result of patient and determined political and diplomatic efforts to encourage new democracies, to promote respect for human rights, to induce regimes of all stripes to reach accommodation with separatists and revolutions, and to negotiate settlements to international crises" (p. 3). This is as true now as it was two years ago. We also were concerned then that the use of U.S. military force in Afghanistan and prospectively in Iraq posed serious risks, first by displacing armed conflict and resistance to other regions, second by fracturing the post-Cold War peace alliance that has been instrumental in managing global conflict.

Conflict has indeed been displaced, notably by the proliferation of the anti-U.S., anti-Western jihadist movement. International cooperation has also suffered, but the principles and practices have proven resilient enough that many countries now actively

support nation-building work in Afghanistan and in post-election Iraq. The United States for its part has chosen to participate in joint international efforts to contain nuclear proliferation in Iran and North Korea and to check genocide in Darfur. International cooperation in peace-building, in short, seems to have recovered somewhat from the shock of U.S.-led military intervention in the Middle East. To say that serious disagreements and enormous challenges remain is simply stating the obvious, but to underestimate the overall progress being made would be a disservice to those who have worked so hard and contributed so much.

To say that serious disagreements and enormous challenges remain is simply stating the obvious, but to underestimate the overall progress being made would be a disservice to those who have worked so hard and contributed so much.

Appendix Table 11.1: Major Armed Conflicts, Early 2005

This table identifies all major armed conflicts as of April 15, 2005, and tracks changes in the status of these conflicts since our previous report, published in 2003. It has been compiled from ongoing work in tracking global armed conflicts being done by the Armed Conflict and Intervention (ACI) project, a joint project of CIDCM and the Center for Systemic Peace (CSP). In order to be considered a "major armed conflict" a political violence episode must show evidence of systematic and sustained armed violence with an intensity of more than 100 conflict-related deaths per year and results in more than 1,000 conflict-related deaths over the course of the conflict. The ACI research provides general magnitude scores for all major armed conflicts since 1946 (the same magnitude scores used to graph global and regional trends in violent conflict, see figures 3.1 and 7.2). The full list can be found at the CSP Web page: http://members.aol.com/cspmgm/warlist.htm.

Conflict Type and Magnitude Scores: Each of the major armed societal conflicts in the countries listed below are categorized by "conflict type" as Communal, Ethnic, Political, and/or International. Communal armed conflicts involve fighting between militants from local, often ethnic, communities without direct involvement by the central state; the state is a central conflict actor in the other three conflict types. The challenging group(s) in the ethnic conflict category is/are identified in parentheses following the conflict type. General magnitude scores are provided for each episode listed. The magnitude numbers listed represent a scaled, categorical indicator of the destructive impact of the violent episode on the directly-affected society, similar to that used to gauge the destructive power of storms and earthquakes. The scale ranges from 1 (low damage and limited scope) to 10 (total destruction). Magnitude scores reflect the widest range of warfare's consequences to both short-term and long-term societal well-being, including direct and indirect deaths and injuries; sexual and economic predation; population dislocations; damage to cooperative social enterprises and networks; diminished environmental quality, general health, and quality of life; destruction of capital infrastructure; diversion of scarce resources; and loss of capacity, confidence, and future potential. The magnitude scores are considered to be consistently assigned across episodes and types of warfare and for all societies directly affected by the violence, thereby facilitating comparisons of war episodes and charting trends. A detailed explanation of the categorical magnitude scores is provided in the source noted in section 3 (note 1) and on the CSP Web page: http://members.aol.com/cspmgm/warcode.htm. If a societal conflict is linked to an armed interstate conflict, that conflict and its magnitude are identified in italics at the end of the listing.

Current Status of the armed conflicts was assessed as of mid-April, 2005. Only countries with armed conflicts that were considered ongoing at press time and those with armed conflicts in which the fighting has been suspended in the past four years (since January 2001) are described below. General status categories used are as follows: **Ongoing** armed conflicts involve active, coordinated military operations and are further assessed as high, medium, or low intensity (in parentheses); "sporadic" indicates that occasional militant clashes or terrorist incidents occur but there is no evidence of sustained challenges.[1] **Repressed** indicates that sufficient armed force has been deployed to contain serious challenges by the opposition despite the fact that the underlying source of the conflict remains serious and unresolved. **Suspended** indicates that serious armed conflict has been suspended for a substantial period due to stalemate, ceasefire, or peace settlement; all suspended conflicts are considered tentative until the suspension of armed conflict has persisted for four or more years, as it often takes that long to fully implement the terms of the settlement. Suspended status may be qualified as tenuous (in parentheses) if substantial numbers of armed fighters on either side have rejected or ignored the terms of the suspension but are not now openly challenging the peace with serious attacks. Repressed conflicts, as they rely on enforcement without a negotiated settlement, are considered tenuous by definition.

1 *The "intensity" designation of armed societal conflicts differs from the more general "magnitude" measures, both of which are listed in Appendix table 11. 1, and from the level of "hostilities" noted in Appendix table 11. 2 that follows.* **Intensity** *refers to the tenor of actual armed conflicts in early 2005;* **magnitude** *refers to the general societal effects of an armed conflict episode over its entire course;* **hostilities** *refer to the general, operational strategies of conflict interaction (see pp. 23-24).*

Countries Emerging from Major Armed Conflicts Since 2001

Angola

Political/Ethnic war with UNITA (Ovimbundu) from 1975
Magnitude: 6 (suspended, March 2002)

The death of the leader of the rebel group National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), Jonas Savimbi, in February 2002 marked a critical juncture in the devastating civil war that has wracked Angola since its independence in 1975. Fighting largely ended in March 2002 and the signing of a peace agreement in August 2002, which recommitted the rebels and the government to the 1994 Lusaka Protocol, signaled a strong commitment to end the protracted societal war. UNITA has transformed to an opposition party and currently holds about one-third of seats in parliament; next national elections are scheduled for 2006. Risks remain, however, as progress remains slow in demobilizing and integrating 97,000 UNITA fighters into society, absorbing large numbers of returning refugees, establishing law and order over large areas that remain violent and lawless, and alleviating the abject poverty in which the majority of the population continues to live (despite the fact that Angola is Africa's second leading producer of oil). The central government has recently moved to increase its control over diamond areas in the northeast and oil reserves in Cabinda.

Ethnic violence with FLEC separatists (Cabindans) from 1975
Magnitude: 1 (repressed, October 2002)

Cabinda is a small, oil-rich enclave separated from the Angola mainland by a narrow corridor that provides the Democratic Republic of Congo with coastal access. The Angolan government has faced a low-intensity separatist rebellion by members of the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave (FLEC) since the country's independence. The fact that the enclave accounts for about sixty percent of the country's oil revenues at once fuels local resentment, as the area's oil wealth has not benefited the Cabindan population, and increases incentives for strict government control. A government offensive in October 2002 has largely silenced local militants, however, there have been increasing signs that locals are mobilizing to attract international attention and pressure the government for reform through conventional means.

Liberia

Political war with LURD/MODEL from 2000
Magnitude: 1 (suspended, August 2003)

The loose-coalition of rebel forces, known as the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) mounted an armed challenge to Charles Taylor's control of the state after entering northwestern Liberia in July 2000 from bases in Guinea. A second group, the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL), also took up arms against the Taylor regime that had gained power in 1997 following a brutal civil war that began in 1989. The two-pronged insurgency and intense international pressure, finally culminating in the approach of U.S. warships, succeeded in forcing Taylor's resignation and exile on August 11, 2003. A peace agreement among the three contending groups, including remnants of Taylor's National Patriotic Party, was signed a week later. A Transitional Government was established and a UN peacekeeping mission (UNMIL) was deployed to provide security in October 2003. Sporadic violence continued through mid-2004. In November 2004 the three factions agreed to disband their militias and UNMIL announced later that month that disarmament was completed. Elections are scheduled for October 2005.

Rwanda

Ethnic war with Interahamwe/Alir (Hutus) from 1994
Magnitude: 3 (repressed, July 2001)

Tutsi rebels invaded from bases in Uganda and seized control of the government in 1994 following a massive genocide/politicide orchestrated by extremists in the Hutu-dominated government; the action also succeeded in driving large numbers of the Hutu Interahamwe militants into neighboring regions of Zaire (now named the Democratic Republic of Congo, DRC). The Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) maintained a security perimeter in the DRC that kept the Hutu militants from staging attacks in Rwanda but pulled back in response to international pressure. In May 2001, a faction of the Interahamwe militia, known as the Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (Alir), launched major incursions into north-western Rwanda. The Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) decisively quelled the attacks by July 2001. Hutu militants maintain a strong presence in the Kivu region of the DRC and continue to pose a serious threat for the Rwandan government. RPA forces periodically cross into the DRC in pursuit of Hutu militants, most recently in December 2004.

Sierra Leone

Political war with RUF from 1991
Magnitude: 3 (suspended, July 2001)

In May 2001, a UN-brokered peace agreement, initially enforced by British troops, was signed with the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebel group in the hope of ending ten years of societal warfare. A UN peacekeeping mission (UNAMSIL) was established to provide security (its mandate was extended through June 2005) and in March 2002 the government's state-of-emergency was lifted. In May 2002 general elections, generally free of violence and considered fair by international observers, voters strongly endorsed the government of President Kabbah and his Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) that was first elected in 1996 and credited with ending the war. In February 2004, the government announced completion of its disarmament program and, in July 2005, the UNHCR announced the completion of its three-year operation to repatriate some 270,000 refugees. However, future stability remains challenged by central government weakness, widespread poverty, lingering tensions throughout the West Africa region, repatriation of large numbers of refugees, and tensions over control of the diamond-producing region.

Sri Lanka

Ethnic war with LTTE (Tamils) from 1983
Magnitude: 5 (suspended/tenuous, February 2002)

December 2001 elections, reported to be one of the island state's most violent, resulted in the formation of a new ruling coalition led by the United National Party (UNP). The new government quickly implemented its conciliatory agenda, including a willingness to negotiate with the separatist rebels, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The two sides agreed to an internationally monitored cease-fire in February 2002 that has held despite some scattered clashes. Negotiations, held in Norway, continued through 2002 and resulted in the first formal agreement (December 2002) between the warring parties to commit to ending the war and institute a federal system in Sri Lanka. While the expressed willingness of the LTTE to accept regional autonomy was a major contribution to the peace process, deep divisions remain between the LTTE, UNP, and the former ruling coalition,

the People's Alliance. Peace talks were suspended in April 2003 and have not resumed. The main obstacle is the LTTE demand for an Interim Self-Governing Authority (ISGA) in the Tamil region, a demand rejected by the government as a move toward independence. In April 2004, a mutiny by an LTTE faction led by Col. Karuna was put down by force. Tamil areas were hard hit by the December 2004 tsunami and the lack of cooperation between LTTE and government relief efforts further complicated peace prospects.

United States

International violence with al Qaeda in 2001

Magnitude: 1 (suspended/tenuous, September 2001)

On September 11, 2001, two hijacked commercial airliners were intentionally crashed, one into each of the two towers of the World Trade Center in New York; the skyscrapers consequently collapsed. One other airliner was crashed into Defense Department headquarters (the Pentagon) in the nation's capital and another crashed into a Pennsylvania field when passengers succeeded in thwarting the hijackers' plans. While al Qaeda attacks against U.S. targets, mainly in Muslim countries, have continued and U.S. forces are actively pursuing al Qaeda operatives in Afghanistan and Iraq and around the world, there have been no further attacks on U.S. territory since the 9/11 events.

Countries with Ongoing Major Armed Conflicts in Early 2005

Afghanistan

International war with the United States since 2001

Magnitude: 3 (suspended/tenuous; sporadic fighting)

Fighting in Afghanistan has been decreasing substantially since the forces of the Northern Alliance, with the considerable support, including intense aerial bombardments, of the U.S. and its coalition forces, succeeded in ousting the Pashtun-dominated Taliban regime in late 2001. An interim government was established in December 2001. A June 2002 meeting of a Loya Jirga (the traditional assembly) established the Transitional Authority (TA) and elected Hamid Karzai as interim president. A new constitution for Afghanistan was approved in January 2004. The constitution did not, however, address the relationship between the central government and the provinces, which remain outside of Karzai's control. After a voter registration drive marked by considerable violence, presidential elections held in October 2004 resulted in over 83% turnout and victory for Karzai (55%). However, a number of observers noted that Karzai's victory was secured mainly from Pashtun-dominated regions. U.S. forces continue to search for, and mount attacks against, suspected Taliban and al Qaeda remnants, particularly along the border with Pakistan; Pakistani forces continue to pressure rebel forces on the other side of the border. Fighting has subsided during the harsh winter months, as usual, but remnants of the Taliban vow to resume attacks in the spring. A tentative peace seems to have been "bought," at least over the short-term, by allowing the resumption of opium production, which had been nearly eradicated under the Taliban.

Algeria

Political war with GIA/GSPC since 1991

Magnitude: 4 (sporadic, possibly repressed, January 2005)

The Armed Islamic Group (GIA) and Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (a splinter group of the GIA that objected to its strategy of targeting civilians; GSPC) continued their violent campaigns to undermine the secular government, rebuffing President Bouteflika's offer of negotiations toward a peace settlement with the armed wing of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) and rejecting his offer of a general amnesty to all Islamic guerrillas who would lay down their guns. The Algerian government announced in January 2005 that it had broken the resistance of the GIA and that the GSPC was severely weakened due to the loss of much of its leadership and internal dissension.

Burundi

Ethnic war with FNL (Hutus) since 1993

Magnitude: 4 (ongoing, low)

Peace remains elusive as efforts continue to implement the terms of the August 2000 Arusha peace accords. The peace process has been bolstered by the April 2003 transfer of power within the transitional government from President Buyoya (Tutsi) to President Ndayizeye (Hutu) under the terms of the power-sharing agreement and the conclusion of a comprehensive peace agreement with the main Hutu rebel group, the National Council for the Defence of Democracy-Forces for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) in November 2003. A new interim constitution was approved in October 2004, although several Tutsi parties voted against it claiming it granted too much power to the Hutu majority. The transitional government is scheduled to end in November 2005 following elections scheduled for April 2005. Only one main rebel faction remains in armed opposition to the government in early 2005 – the Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People-Forces for National Liberation (Palipehutu-FNL).

Colombia

Political war with FARC/ELN since 1984

Magnitude: 4 (ongoing, medium)

Peace talks initiated by President Pastrana collapsed in February 2002 after more than four years of on-and-off negotiations. The army recaptured the demilitarized zone that had been granted to the rebel group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), in the southern part of the country. Violence had been fairly constant throughout the negotiations, which appeared unable to bring a definitive resolution to the more than 30 years of civil war. In response to the government offensive, FARC initiated a counter-offensive and, further, attempted to disrupt April 2002 elections. One of newly-elected President Uribe's first acts was to declare a state of emergency and, with considerable backing by the U.S., abandon negotiations in favor of counter-insurgency policies; Colombia was given over $3 billion in military aid by the U.S. under "Plan Colombia." The new strategy appears to focus on diminishing the strength of FARC by the use of military force against rebel strongholds and undermining its financial base by destroying coca crops. The smaller rebel faction, the National Liberation Army (ELN), has kept a low profile since 2002. The main right-wing paramilitary group, the United Self-Defense Forces (AUC), came under increasing pressure to disband due to

its reputation for serious human rights violations. AUC leaders signed the Santa Fe de Ralito demilitarization agreement in July 2003 but has been slow to honor the terms of the agreement. Of course, the one issue that most seriously complicates the conflict situation in Colombia is control of the enormous lucrative drug trade.

Democratic Republic of Congo

Political/Ethnic war with various regional factions since 1996

Magnitude: 5 (ongoing, medium)

The Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) has fractured into four distinct regions since armed rebellion first flared in September 1996 forcing the fall of the long-standing and corrupt Mobutu regime in May 1997. The coalition of rebel forces that brought Laurent Kabila to power in 1997 quickly disintegrated and violence resumed. Kabila himself was assassinated in January 2001 and was replaced by his son Joseph Kabila. The presence of large numbers of fighters and refugees from armed conflicts in neighboring states and the active involvement of troops from several regional states has further complicated the situation. Strong international pressure on the warring parties has led to a string of ceasefire and peace agreements including the Lusaka peace accord in August 1999, negotiated withdrawals of foreign troops, and, most recently, the December 2002 power-sharing agreement signed in Pretoria. Negotiations between the government and the two main rebel groups begun in February 2002 ended in early 2003, resulting in a draft constitution calling for an all-party transitional government and the signing of a peace agreement. Joseph Kabila was sworn in as president of the transitional government in April 2003; there were to be four vice presidents—two from the main rebel groups, one from Kabila's government, and one from the unarmed political opposition. Violence continued in the more remote regions, however, especially in the northeastern province of Ituri where communal violence between Hema and Lendu peoples has been especially brutal. Kabila's transitional government continued to face serious challenges in 2004 as it attempts to build strength and extend its authority across the huge country, including failed coup attempts in March and June, a military rebellion in June, and increasing tension with Rwanda in December.

India

Ethnic war with Kashmiri separatists since 1990

Magnitude: 3 (ongoing, medium)

India's strategy of creating peace and stability in the disputed Kashmir territory from within (i.e., attempting to legitimize its administration over the territory by holding democratic elections and engaging in dialogue with the local authorities over self-rule and governance issues) continued to be undermined by Muslim militant groups that seek to either establish an independent Kashmiri state or bring it under rule by Pakistan. Attacks by Islamist militants on the Kashmiri legislative assembly in late September 2001 and on India's parliament building in December 2001 drastically raised tensions between India and Pakistan. Persistent infiltration from Pakistan and attacks by Kashmiri separatists brought the two countries to the brink of interstate war in May-June 2002. While the Indian and Pakistani armies instituted a comprehensive ceasefire agreement for the Line of Control in November 2003 and began bilateral talks in early 2004, separatist violence continues to flare in Kashmir.

Political/Ethnic violence with ULFA (Bodo, Naga, Tripura)

Magnitude: 2 (ongoing, sporadic)

Conflicts in India's northeast provinces have involved many of the region's ethnic groups and several of these conflicts have flared into open violence at various times through the post-independence period. Pressure over control of land and resources and encroachments by central authorities into traditional cultures have resulted in a complex dynamic of communal competition and rebellion. Several of the main tribal areas have been at least partly accommodated by autonomy and regional administration agreements. Large influxes of Bengali immigrants have triggered the rise of militant organizations that use violence in an attempt to limit immigration and maintain local control. The most active groups in 2004 have been the ethnic-Bodo militants and the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) terrorist group.

Communal violence between Hindus and Muslims from 1991

Magnitude: 2 (suspended/tenuous, September 2002)

Widespread communal violence erupted in the western state of Gujarat in late February 2002 between Hindus and Muslims. It was the most intense communal rioting involving India's two main confessional communities since country-wide communal riots that were connected with the Ayodyha Movement in the early 1990s. The violence was sparked when a Muslim "mob" allegedly set a train carrying Hindu activists on fire, killing 58 people (an inquiry later found the fire to have been caused accidentally by a faulty stove). Following that incident over 1,000 people, mostly Muslims, were killed in communal rioting across Gujarat. The BJP-dominated (Hindu-nationalist party) state administration and police did little to quell the violence. In September 2002 an attack on the Swaminarayan Hindu temple in Gandhinagar by suspected Islamic militants left at least 30 people dead. Unlike the February events, the Indian central government quickly stepped in, deploying approximately 3,000 army personnel to stave off another round of retaliatory violence.

Indonesia

Ethnic war with GAM separatists in Aceh province (Acehnese) since 1997

Magnitude: 1 (ongoing, low)

Following the failed implementation of a January 2001 regional autonomy agreement, Free Aceh Movement (GAM) militants and Indonesian armed forces engaged in renewed violence. Although President Megawati Sukarnoputri had pledged, as recently as August 2002, to crush the GAM rebellion, the Indonesian government responded to intense international pressure and signed a new regional peace and autonomy measure with the GAM leadership in Geneva in December 2002. In May 2003, the government imposed martial law in Aceh following the breakdown of the ceasefire and the failure of peace talks in Japan. In November 2004, newly-elected President Yudhoyono extended the state of civil emergency for six months. Coastal and lowland areas of Aceh were devastated by the December 2004 tsunami; the provincial capital, Banda Aceh, was destroyed. Despite offers of a ceasefire by GAM rebels during relief operations in the province, Indonesian forces claimed to have killed 120 rebels during offensive operations in January 2005. Peace talks were resumed in late January although the main hurdle continues to be GAM's insistence on, and the government's rejection of, an independence referendum.

Indonesia *(continued)*

Communal violence between Dayaks and Madurese in 2001

Magnitude: 1 (suspended, March 2001)

Fighting first broke out between Madurese and Dayaks in West Kalimantan in 1996-1997 when 500 people, mostly Dayaks, were killed. Since then there have been three major massacres by the indigenous Dayaks against the Madurese, who originally emigrated from the island of Madura in the 1960s as part of a government-ordered relocation program. The communal conflict escalated in February and March 2001 as Dayak militants, with the avowed aim of driving them off the island, attacked Madurese communities, killing over 1,000 persons. As a result, more than 75,000 Madurese were evacuated by government authorities to other islands before the violence ended.

Communal violence between Muslims and Christians from 1999

Magnitude: 1 (suspended/tenuous, February 2002)

Muslim-Christian communal rioting first erupted in Ambon in January 1999 and quickly escalated as (Muslim) Laskar Jihad militias converged on the islands of the Moluccas and Sulawesi. Despite the signing of peace agreements by Christian and Muslim communal leaders in Sulawesi, December 2001, and the Moluccas, February 2002, communal clashes continued to occur through 2002. The state of civil emergency in the Moluccas was finally lifted in September 2003. While the peace agreement has largely held, sporadic episodes of violence continue, including rioting in April 2004 and several bomb attacks in May 2004.

Iraq

International war with the United States since 2003

Magnitude: 5 (ongoing, high)

The United States, with the support of the UK, invaded Iraq on March 20, 2003, with the stated goal of deposing the Ba'athist regime of Saddam Hussein, as it was allegedly developing WMD capability in contravention of UN Resolutions and was refusing to allow mandated weapons inspections. The Ba'athist regime was quickly deposed and a Provisional Authority was established on April 23 and an Iraqi Governing Council was established in July 2003. Despite concerted efforts to locate them, no weapons of mass destruction nor evidence of their development were found. Local armed resistance to the U.S.-led occupation increased through the year, particularly among Sunni-Arab communities and former-supporters of the Ba'athist regime. Equally disruptive has been an influx of Muslim "jihadists" from across the Middle East. Major armed resistance by a Shi'a militia based in Najaf erupted in April 2004 and again in August 2004 before it was effectively repressed. Insurgency in the so-called "Sunni triangle" north and west of Baghdad continued to grow through 2004 and early 2005, despite major offensives against the rebel stronghold of Fallujah in April 2004 and, again, in November 2004. An interim Iraqi government was installed in June 2004 and general elections were held, as planned, on January 30, 2005; the elections were boycotted by most Sunni-Arabs. As expected, the majority Shi'a community captured the largest number of seats in the new National Assembly, with the U.S.-favored secularists gaining only a small percentage of the vote. At this writing, efforts were ongoing to forge a ruling coalition between the two largest factions: the religious Shi'a and ethnic-Kurds.

Israel

Ethnic war with PLO (Palestinians) in the West Bank and Gaza Strip since 1965

Magnitude: 2 (ongoing, low)

Violent confrontations between Palestinians and Israelis have continued with only short spells of relative calm since the latest outbreak of the Palestinian "Intifada" (uprising) in September 2000. Both sides have escalated their tactics, with Palestinians using suicide-bombings of mainly civilian targets and Israelis enforcing containment, mounting military invasions of Palestinian enclaves (with massive military invasions carried out in the Gaza Strip), and launching preemptive attacks on Palestinian militants. Particularly controversial has been Israel's construction of a security wall outside its internationally recognized border. The conflict continues despite a "road map" peace plan devised by the U.S. and announced in April 2003, and Ariel Sharon's proposed plan for Israeli disengagement from the Gaza Strip approved by the Knesset in October 2004. Hopes for a breakthrough in the stalemated situation have risen following the death of the long-time leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, Yasser Arafat, in November 2004 and the January 2005 election of moderate reformer Mahmoud Abbas as the new Palestinian leader.

Ivory Coast

Political/Ethnic war with MPCI/MPJ/MPIGO (Muslims; Non-Ivorians) since 2002

Magnitude: 2 (ongoing, low)

The current situation in Ivory Coast first began to unravel in December 1999 with a military coup that ousted corrupt President Bedie. When coup leader General Guei attempted to thwart October 2000 presidential elections by first disqualifying the most popular candidates and then nullifying the results, massive demonstrations ensued and a little known politician, Laurent Gbagbo, was sworn in as the elected president. A second, violent confrontation occurred in December 2000 when legislative elections were marred by political maneuvering. After a failed coup attempt in January 2001, all parties pledged to work toward reconciliation. The reconciliation ended with an apparent coup attempt in September 2002, which was quickly followed by the killing of General Guei; these events triggered an eruption of open warfare. A rebel group, calling themselves the Patriotic Movement of Ivory Coast (MPCI), seized control of several areas in the north. In November 2002, two new groups emerged and took control of territory in the west: Movement for Peace and Justice (MPJ) and the Popular Ivorian Movement for the Great West (MPIGO). The Linas-Marcoussis peace accords, providing for a power-sharing government, were signed in January 2003 and a ceasefire between the northern-based rebels and the southern government was brokered in May 2003. French forces were deployed to enforce the accords. All sides in the conflict have decried lack of commitment to the peace process and have continued to threaten violence, leading to stalled implementation of the accords. In February 2004, the UN sent a peacekeeping mission (UNOIC) to the country. In March 2004, the government violently suppressed an opposition demonstration. Rebel forces failed to disarm by the October 2004 deadline and the government launched air strikes on rebel positions in the north, killing a number of French peacekeepers in the process. France retaliated by destroying the Ivorian air force, sparking anti-French and anti-foreigner attacks throughout the country. The human rights situation in the country continues to deteriorate and authority is fragmented among government- and rebel-controlled enclaves.

Myanmar (Burma)

Ethnic war with various non-Burman ethnic groups since 1948

Magnitude: 4 (ongoing, medium)

The ruling military junta, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC, formerly the State Law and Order Restoration Council), maintains its repressive hold on power, however, the SPDC has moved haltingly toward political pluralism by opening up dialogue with the main opposition movement, the National League for Democracy (NLD) under pressure from international donors. The opening has not extended to relations with the various non-Burman ethnic groups residing in the border regions, which remain outside the conventional political process. Sporadic clashes with ethnic militias continue, particularly with the Shan, Karen, and Karenni groups, which have established de facto autonomy over traditional lands. The Prime Minister announced in August 2003 that the government would convene a National Convention to draft a new constitution, the first phase of its seven-step "road map" to democracy; ethnic groups meeting in February 2004 at the Third Ethnic Nationalities Seminar rejected the "road map" and instead called for a "tripartite dialogue" between the SPDC, the NLD and other political parties, and the ethnic minorities. The Karen National Union (KNU) held peace talks with the military government in January 2004; a second round of talks was held in February. It was reported in August 2004 that the SPDC had launched a military offensive against rebels of the Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP), the KNU, and the Shan State Army (SSA). Fresh assaults against rebel bases of the KNPP and the KNU were carried out in January 2005.

Nepal

Political war with the UPF/CPN-M since 1996

Magnitude: 2 (ongoing, medium)

The low-level insurgency, or "People's War," led by the United People's Front (UPF) and Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) had operated mainly in the rural regions of the country but brought their war to the capital city in 2004. The parliamentary government headed by Prime Minister Deuba had pursued a conciliatory approach with the rebel group since 1996 but, after the June 2001 murders of popular King Birendra and his immediate family under suspicious circumstances and the ascension of his brother Gyanendra to the throne, peace talks broke down and the rebels launched an offensive in November 2001. A "state of emergency" was imposed. During 2002, King Gyanendra consolidated power by first dissolving parliament in May 2002 and then dismissing the entire government in October 2002 and replacing it with an interim government comprising his supporters. That government resigned in May 2004 amid serious and continuing public protests and the King returned Deuba to office. In August and, again, in December 2004, the rebels imposed blockades of the capital, Kathmandu. The Maoists have vowed to oust the monarchy and have demanded the formation of a constituent assembly. Fighting escalated in late 2004 and on February 1, 2005, the King dismissed the government again and imposed a state of emergency, suspending civil liberties.

Nigeria

Communal violence between Muslims and Christians in Plateau/Kano/Kaduna states since 2001

Magnitude: 3 (ongoing, low)

Since the movement to impose Shari'a law in the northern Muslim states gained momentum in 1999, tens of thousands have died in communal clashes in the central plains region of Nigeria. The clashes, mainly involving ethnic-Hausa (Muslim) and ethnic-Yorubas (Christian) but also Fulani (Muslim) and Tarok (Christian), generally diminished in 2002 but broke out once again in Kaduna in November 2002 and quickly spread. Serious communal violence between Christians and Muslims continued unabated through mid-2004 but had decreased considerably in the latter months; President Obasanjo lifted the state of emergency in November 2004.

Communal violence between Itsekeri and Ijaw in Delta state since 1997

Magnitude: 1 (ongoing, sporadic)

Ethnic tensions between the Itsekeri and Ijaw in the oil-producing Delta state have erupted in deadly violence on several occasions in recent years. Oil revenues have not benefited local peoples and environmental degradation has raised serious grievances among the Ijaw, who claim that the government has favored the Itsekeri in local politics. In 2004, the Nigerian government and local oil operations faced challenges by the ethnic-Ijaw Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (also known as the Egbesu Boys after the Ijaw god of war), which threatened to attack oil installations and wage "total war" against the government unless self-determination was granted the Ijaw people.

Philippines

Ethnic war with MILF/Abu Sayyaf (Moros) since 1972

Magnitude: 3 (ongoing, low)

The transition of power from President Estrada to his vice-president Gloria Macapagal Arroyo prompted a significant change in the government's policy toward the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), which broke from the main Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) following the latter group's signing of a peace agreement and continued to seek an independent Muslim state in Mindanao. In 2000 Estrada had adopted a hard-line policy against the MILF and launched a military offensive against them. Arroyo, however, initiated a more conciliatory path. Peace talks between the government and MILF began in May 2001 and a cease-fire was signed in August 2001. The peace process stalled, however, in early 2002 as a splinter, extremist group, Abu Sayyaf, staged high profile attacks on civilian targets and the United States extended its global war on terrorism to the Philippines. Malaysia acted as broker for talks between the government and the MILF leadership and, in September 2004, sent a monitoring team to monitor a ceasefire between the two sides. The government and the MILF had in July 2004 agreed to cooperate against kidnapping gangs and the Islamic terrorist group Jemaah Islamiah (JI). Fighting continues with the extremist Abu Sayyaf faction.

Russia

Ethnic war with Chechen separatists since 1994

Magnitude: 4 (ongoing, medium)

The armed conflict between the Russian government and separatist rebels in the republic of Chechnya that had originally begun in 1994 and ended with de facto autonomy for the enclave in 1996 resumed in autumn 1999 when rebels staged attacks in neighboring Dagestan. The continuing war has defied Russia's concerted attempts to crush the resistance and contain the fighting. Failure to contain the rebels has led to increased friction with neighboring Georgia, which has been accused of harboring rebel forces, and periodic attacks by militants in neighboring regions, the most serious incident being an attack on a school in Beslan, North Ossetia on September 1, 2004, that resulted in over 330 deaths (official count; actual numbers may be much higher). Chechen militants

have mounted several deadly terrorist attacks as far away as Moscow over the course of the conflict, including the seizure of 800 hostages in a Moscow theater in October 2002 (that ended with Russian troops storming the theater and resulted in over 150 dead, including all the militants), a metro train bombing that killed 40 in February 2004, and simultaneous commercial airliner bombings in August 2004 that killed 89 persons. Chechen rebels launched attacks into the Russian republic of Ingushetia in June 2004, raiding arms depots and briefly occupying the Ingush Interior Ministry, killing the acting Ingush Interior Minister and nearly 100 others (mostly police and security forces).

Somalia

Ethnic war among various Somali clans and warlords since 1988

Magnitude: 5 (ongoing, sporadic)

Sporadic armed clashes continued to plague Somalia in 2004; many of the more serious factional clashes continue to occur in the capital city, Mogadishu, which has been carved up among rival warlords since the ouster of the Barre regime in 1991. Various regions of Somalia have emerged with fairly stable regional administrations, including Somaliland (1991), Puntland (1998), and Southwestern Somalia (2002). A Transitional National Government (TNG) was formed in September 2000 but it failed to establish any effective authority inside Somalia. In the most recent attempt to reestablish a central authority, a peace agreement including all the main warlords and feuding factions, was signed in Nairobi, Kenya on January 29, 2004, providing for a 275-member transitional legislature and a referendum on a new constitution. Fighting broke out along the border between Somaliland and Puntland in September 2004 and in the southern port of Kismayo. In October 2004, the President of Puntland, Col. Yusuf, was elected President of the new transitional government. The various regional administrations and warlords were slow to concede authority to the new government and it remains unclear whether it will be able to establish authority inside the country.

Sudan

Ethnic war with SLM/A/JEM separatists (Muslim Black-Africans) in Darfur since 2003

Magnitude: 4 (ongoing, high)

Darfur, one of Sudan's most isolated regions, has experienced communal violence in the past but no organized armed group operated in the area until the emergence of the Darfur Liberation Front (DLF) (subsequently renamed the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army—SLM/A) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) in February 2003. The harsh response of the Sudanese government and its support of Arab "janjaweed" militias, accused of massive human rights violations, brought international condemnation of the ethnic cleansing being carried out in the region. Escalating violence in Darfur has claimed tens of thousands of lives and resulted in massive refugee flows. The humanitarian situation in Darfur continued to decline despite a ceasefire called in early 2004. Under threat of international sanctions, the government had agreed to disarm the militias and allow human rights monitors in the area, but little progress had been made by early 2005.

Ethnic war with the SPLA (Non-Muslim Black-Africans) since 1983

Magnitude: 6 (suspended, October 2002)

Fighting has ceased between the government of Sudan and the main rebel group, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), since a comprehensive ceasefire was signed in October 2002. The war had continued through the summer of 2002, despite peace talks and the signing of the Machakos Protocol in July 2002 stating agreement on a self-determination referendum for southern Sudan after a six-year interim period. Numerous rounds of peace talks held throughout 2003 and 2004 finally resulted in a comprehensive peace agreement signed on January 9, 2005, establishing a permanent ceasefire between the rebels and the Sudanese government. The agreement, characterized as "one of the most complex peace deals in history," hopefully brought an end to a twenty-year civil war.

Uganda

Political/Ethnic war with LRA (Langi and Acholi) since 1986

Magnitude: 1 (ongoing, low)

The conflict in north Uganda defies conventional analysis as the main rebel group, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), has established a fairly secure base of operations in the troubled area across the border in the Sudan. The LRA has been preying mainly on the very large refugee and internally displaced populations in the region. A December 1999 agreement between Sudan and Uganda to cooperate in lessening the strength of armed rebel factions in the border regions led to a March 2002 agreement allowing Uganda armed forces to attack LRA bases in south Sudan. One immediate result of the Ugandan offensive in Sudan was an increase in LRA attacks in north Uganda. The March 2002 agreement was extended in December 2002 to allow Ugandan forces access to Sudan territory until the end of January 2003. Despite a 46-day ceasefire and high-level peace talks in late 2004, the government and the LRA failed to reach agreement on a long-term ceasefire and extended peace negotiations. LRA rebels ambushed an army unit in northern Uganda in January 2005, prompting President Museveni to order the resumption of full-scale operations against the rebels.

Appendix Table 11.2: Armed Self-Determination Conflicts and Their Outcomes, 1955-2004

Country and Group *Periods of Armed Conflict* Current Phase	Status in Winter 2004-05
North Atlantic	
France: **Corsicans** *1976-present* Low-level hostilities since 2001	**Ongoing:** A coalition of nationalist groups wins 8 seats in Corsican regional assembly elections in March 2004. Referendum on greater autonomy in exchange for an end to violence proves inconclusive in July 2003; a government crackdown ensues. Divisions emerge within the rebel movement as moderates declare a November 2003 unilateral ceasefire but a faction continues to utilize low-level violence.
Spain: **Basques** *1959-present* Low-level hostilities since 1999	**Ongoing:** The Basque regional government approves autonomy plan that calls for a referendum on self-determination. Spain rejects the proposal and refuses to engage in negotiations with the banned political wing of ETA. ETA resumes symbolic bombings in late 2004 after recent operations by Spanish and French authorities weaken the organization. Some jailed ETA leaders call for an end to violence.
United Kingdom: **Catholics (Northern Ireland)** *1969-94* Contested agreement 1998	**Settled:** Protestant party that opposes the Good Friday Agreement wins the largest number of seats in November 2003 elections for the Northern Ireland assembly. Catholic and Protestant leaders meet throughout 2004 in an attempt to revive the peace process. Disagreement hinges on Protestant demands for photographic evidence of complete IRA disarmament.
Former Socialist Bloc	
Azerbaijan: **Armenians** *1988-97* Cessation of open hostilities since 1997	**Contained:** The OSCE and Russia lead efforts to break the stalemate in the negotiations between Armenia and Azerbaijan. De facto autonomy of Nagorno-Karabakh region. Hundreds of thousands remain displaced. Azerbaijan repeatedly threatens to use force to resolve the impasse.
Bosnia: **Croats** *1992-95* Contested agreement 1995	**Contained:** Creation of confederal Bosnian state and collective presidency in 1995. UN mandate designed to ensure equality of government is implemented, Croats recognized as constituent peoples. Hard-line nationalists representing each ethnic group win October 2002 elections in Bosnia. International forces continue to enforce agreement; NATO hands over peacekeeping duties in December 2004 to a European-led force. Key issues that remain include weapons smuggling, the arrest of war criminals, and border security. Most refugees returned home and 90% of destroyed infrastructure rebuilt.
Bosnia: **Serbs** *1992-95* Contested agreement 1995	**Contained:** (See Bosnia: Croats, above.) Serbs recognized as constituent peoples, but continue to demand more representation, greater autonomy, and amnesty for some war criminals. In December 2004, some Serbian officials are dismissed for impeding hunt for war criminals. Plans to create central defense and police forces proceed despite Serbian efforts to maintain separate administrations.
Croatia: **Serbs** *1991-95* Conventional politics since 1996	**Contained:** Many Serbs who fled fighting in the early 1990s remain refugees and issues regarding their return, property restitution, and the resettlement of Croats in Serb areas remain. Those that return subject to economic and social discrimination. In November 2004, Serbia and Croatia sign an agreement on the protection of minority rights. Human rights organizations criticize Croatia for not addressing crimes against Croatian Serbs.
Georgia: **Abkhazians** *1992-93, 1998-2002* Cessation of open hostilities since 2002	**Contained:** Disputed presidential elections to be held in early 2005. Russia mediates a power-sharing agreement between pro-Georgian and pro-Russian leaders after the results of the first contested elections in October 2004 are annulled. Supporters of opposing factions temporarily occupy government buildings in late 2004. A November 2002 ceasefire holds; negotiations are expected to resume in early 2005. Key issues include confidence-building measures, the return of refugees, and economic cooperation.
Georgia: **South Ossetians** *1991-93* Cessation of open hostilities since 2004	**Contained:** Fighting erupts in mid-2004 as Georgia seeks to assert its territorial integrity by deploying troops in the region. A new ceasefire is reached in November but both sides have yet to complete demilitarization of key conflict zone. Russia and the OSCE continue efforts to promote a settlement that provides effective autonomy and the return of refugees. Georgia now refers to the dispute as a problem between Georgia and Russia; Russian peacekeepers remain in the region.
Macedonia: **Albanians** *2001* Contested agreement 2001	**Settled:** Hard-line Macedonian nationalists sponsor a November 2004 referendum that seeks to repeal decentralization measures; it fails due to low voter turnout. Parliament approves legislation to redraw local boundaries to provide greater autonomy in Albanian-majority areas. In 2001-2002, Albanian is declared as an official language along with reforms to increase Albanian access to public sector jobs. NATO-overseen disarmament process is completed in November 2001 after the ethnic Albanian National Liberation Army (NLA) launched its attack against Macedonian security forces in January 2001.
Moldova: **Gaguaz** *1991-92* Conventional politics since 2003	**Settled:** Autonomous region is created in 1995. Communist party assumes control after regional elections in 2003. Gaguaz nationalists form political parties to counteract efforts to limit opposition activities. Economic development remains a significant issue.

Country and Group *Periods of Armed Conflict* Current Phase	Status in Winter 2004-05
Moldova: Trans-Dniester Slavs *1991-97* Contested agreement 1997	**Contained:** Tensions escalate in the summer of 2004 as Trans-Dniester authorities temporarily force some Moldovan-language schools to close. The Moldovan government retaliates with economic sanctions. A Russian proposal to maintain a permanent military presence in the region is shelved after mass protests in Moldova. The withdrawal of Russian forces and armaments is halted in late 2003 after initial withdrawals in 2001. The OSCE, Russia, and Ukraine continue to mediate between government demands for an asymmetric federation and Dniester claims for equal status.
Russia: Chechens *1991-present* High-level hostilities since 1999	**Ongoing:** Hostilities escalate in 2003-04 as Chechen rebels are reported responsible for a hostage-taking at a Moscow theatre and suicide bombings in the Russian capital. Rebels engage in repeated attacks against Chechen government authorities including the assassination of the Moscow-allied Chechen President in May 2004. The massacre at a North Ossetian school in September 2004 is also attributed to militants with links to the Chechens. Human rights groups criticize a March 2003 referendum in Chechnya that favors inclusion in the Russian federation.
Serbia and Montenegro: Albanians *2000-2001* Contested agreement 2001	**Contained:** Ethnic-Albanian rebels begin offensive against Yugoslav security forces in 2000 in Presevo region bordering Kosovo. NATO brokers peace deal in May 2001 that calls for rebel groups to dissolve and Yugoslav armed forces to leave the Presevo area. Serbian forces still in the region in late 2004 and ethnic Albanians assert that restrictions on their movements remain along with limitations on the use of their national symbols. Albanian political parties demand autonomy and for the status of the Presevo region to be determined alongside the fate of Kosovo. Sporadic violence between Albanians and Serbs continues in the southern region.
Serbia and Montenegro: Kosovar Albanians *1998-99* Cessation of open hostilities since 2004	**Contained:** Clashes between Serbs and ethnic Albanians in March 2004 result in the worst violence since 1999. The first direct talks between Serbian and Kosovo Albanian leaders since 1999 are held in October 2003. Serbs boycott the October 2004 regional elections in which a pro-independence party emerges victorious. Kosovo administered jointly by UN, NATO, and the elected Kosovar legislature; security provided by NATO peacekeeping force. Talks on the final status of the region to be held in mid-2005.
Yugoslavia: Croats *1991* Independence	**Settled:** Croatia independent since 1991. Nearly all remaining Yugoslav Croats reside in Vojvodina, a region which has an ethnic-Hungarian majority. Vojvodina leaders again press for broad autonomy in late 2004 and for protection of the region's minority peoples.
Yugoslavia: Slovenes *1991* Independence	**Settled:** Slovenia independent since 1991.
Latin America and the Caribbean	
Nicaragua: Indigenous Peoples and Creoles *1981-88* Contested agreement 1988	**Settled:** Autonomy granted to two Atlantic Coast regions in 1988. Miskitos revive threats to secede in 2002 citing lack of development in region, government and foreign corporations' infringement on indigenous lands and resources, and the group's lack of political power over own affairs. In 2003, the indigenous peoples demand some $100 million in compensation for the forcible displacement of 8,500 Miskitos during the internal war.
Asia and the Pacific	
Afghanistan: Tajiks *1979-92, 1996-2001* Low-level hostilities since 2002	**Contained:** Interim administration is replaced following national elections in October 2004. A key Tajik leader loses bid for the presidency to the favored Pashtun candidate. Earlier in the year, the loya jirga or grand council approves a new constitution. International forces assist the new government with maintaining order in the Kabul area. Rival ethnic warlords continue to control regional enclaves. The Taliban remains active in the south and the east despite being ousted by U.S.-led coalition in late 2001. Episodic fighting between Uzbeks and Tajiks for control over certain northern towns underway since August 2002.
Afghanistan: Uzbeks *1996-2001* Low-level hostilities since 2002	**Contained:** (See Afghanistan: Tajiks above). Former Uzbek rebel commander fails in bid for the presidency. Episodic fighting between Uzbeks and Tajiks for control over certain northern towns underway since August 2002.
Bangladesh: Chittagong Hill Peoples *1975-96* Contested agreement 1997	**Settled:** A minor rebel faction that seeks independence engages in sporadic attacks against state authorities and former rebels. Dhaka government provides loans and grants to rehabilitate rebels along with initiating development projects in the region. Aspects of the peace accord remain unfulfilled; of particular contention is the continued presence of the army in the hill tracts.
China: Tibetans *1959-67* Militant politics since 1996	**Contained:** Envoys of the Dalai Lama visit Tibet and China in May 2003 and September 2004. Dialogue between Chinese authorities and the Tibetans first initiated in September 2003 after almost a decade of suspended negotiations. The Tibetan government in exile in Dharamsala, India elects its first Prime Minister in 2001. Chinese repression, which first escalated in Tibet in the mid-1990s, continues. The Tibetan culture and religion are targeted. Influxes of Han Chinese are ongoing along with efforts to promote economic development.

Country and Group *Periods of Armed Conflict* Current Phase	**Status in Winter 2004-05**
China: Uighers *1990-2003* Militant politics since 2003	**Contained:** Widespread repression and cultural discrimination since the mid-1990s escalate in the wake of September 11, 2001 as UN Security Council supports China's claim that Uigher separatists are an international terrorist organization. Thousands are arrested, key Uigher lead ers are executed, and reports indicate the use of forced labor camps. Some Uighers who flee to neighboring states are forcibly returned.
India: Assamese *1990-present* High-level hostilities since 1990	**Ongoing:** Efforts to open negotiations stall on government demands that rebels cease their violence and Assamese militants' desires for the inclusion of the option of sovereignty. Thousands protest in December 2004 urging rebel groups to open peace talks. Violence continues despite a late 2003 Bhutanese initiative to eliminate rebel camps and sanctuary in its territory.
India: Bodos *1989-2003* Contested Agreement 2003	**Contained:** 2003 accord creates an autonomous Bodo council following sustained negotiations with one rebel group. Federal funds promote job creation opportunities for former rebels and the development of infrastructure. Remaining rebel faction that seeks independence announces a unilateral ceasefire in October 2004. Elections to the regional council slated for early 2005.
India: Kashmiri Muslims *1989-present* High-level hostilities since 1989	**Ongoing:** Negotiations are initiated between India and Pakistan following their military standoff in June 2002. A ceasefire across the Kashmiri Line of Control has held for more than a year. Indian authorities open talks with Kashmiri rebel leaders who are allowed to meet with Pakistani politicians. Kashmiri representatives press for tripartite talks with India and Pakistan. Kashmiris remain divided over the objectives of widespread autonomy or independence. In November 2004, India announces the first reduction of troops in Kashmir since the insurgency began.
India: Mizos *1966-84* Implemented agreement 1986	**Settled:** Separate federal state of Mizoram created in 1986; former rebel group joins political process and wins state elections the following year.
India: Nagas *1952-64, 1972-2001* Cessation of open hostilities since 2001	**Contained:** State of Nagaland created in 1963; fighting resumed in 1972. Ceasefires with Isak-Muivah rebels since 1997 and Khaplang faction since 2001. Autonomy talks underway since 1997. Naga leaders visit India in January 2003 for talks. Large-scale federal funding provided for development in Nagaland. Attempts to extend potential Naga areas of self-rule to include segments of neighboring states lead to widespread protests and minor violence throughout 2003. Sporadic clashes continue between Naga factions.
India: Scheduled Tribes *1960-present* Low-level hostilities since 1960	**Ongoing:** Peace talks begin with one segment of Marxist rebels in late 2004 following a June ceasefire. Violent hostilities continue in a number of other Indian states. Tribals also utilize conventional means to press for autonomy and integration into the political system.
India: Sikhs *1978-93* Contested agreement 1992	**Settled:** Insurgency contained by 1993; Punjabi moderates win state elections in 1992 and 1997 but lose power in 2002. Police report arrests of separatist leaders. Former militants form political party in April 2004 to pursue peaceful campaign for independent state. A Sikh becomes India's Prime Minister following the 2004 federal elections.
India: Tripuras *1967-72, 1979-present* High-level hostilities since 1980	**Ongoing:** Separate federal state of Tripura created in 1972. Most members of one rebel faction enter a ceasefire agreement in April 2004; however, their demands for assuming the Chief Minister position in Tripura are rejected. Little improvement in the law and order situation as other rebel groups agitate for an autonomous homeland. Kidnappings, village raids, immigrant killings, and clashes with army continue.
Indonesia: Acehnese *1977-present* High-level hostilities since 2003	**Ongoing:** Hostilities re-emerge in May 2003 after more than a year hiatus following the negotiation of an interim peace accord in December 2002. Talks collapse in May 2003; the international observers are withdrawn from Aceh and martial law is imposed as Indonesia engages in a large-scale military campaign against the rebels. In 2004, Jakarta rules out any foreign involvement and suggests that special autonomy form the basis of any future talks. A segment of the rebels still favors independence. Despite heavy casualties, rebel forces maintain attacks against state authorities.
Indonesia: East Timorese *1974-99* Independence	**Settled:** East Timor independent since May 2002. The UN assistance mission is extended until May 2005. Elections are also slated for 2005. Refugee repatriation is largely complete. Negotiations between Indonesia and East Timor continue on demarcation of their common border and how best to address human rights violations that occurred during the 1999 referendum on self-determination. Some pro-Indonesian militias remain armed.
Indonesia: Papuans *1964-present* Low-level hostilities since 2000	**Ongoing:** Level of violence increases in Irian Jaya province since 2000 as Papuans continue to demand East Timor-like independence referendum. It is alleged that the government is using East Timor style militia groups to further regional hostilities. Proposals include granting the region special autonomy and dividing it into two provinces. Large-scale migration to Irian Jaya still underway. No substantial talks are held since 2001.
Laos: Hmong *1945-79, 1985-present* Low-level hostilities since 2004	**Ongoing:** Long-running anti-communist insurgency that was re-ignited in mid-2000 is largely repressed by late 2004. Sporadic rebel attacks reported as hundreds surrender. Repression campaign alleged to include resettlement programs, starvation, rape, and ethnic cleansing. Restrictions on entry in Hmong areas limit available information.

Country and Group *Periods of Armed Conflict* Current Phase	**Status in Winter 2004-05**
Myanmar: Chin/Zomis *1985-present* Low-level hostilities since 1985	**Ongoing:** Human rights organizations document religious persecution, torture, forced labor, and forced displacement in areas where the Christian Chins reside. One rebel faction agrees to open talks with the junta but the offer is withdrawn following the arrest of pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi in 2003. The Chins are one of the few groups yet to reach a ceasefire with the junta.
Myanmar: Kachins *1961-94* Uncontested agreement 1994	**Settled:** 1994 ceasefire agreement allows Kachins to retain weapons and control some areas. Reports of infrastructure development in group areas also include mention of widespread deforestation. Divisions among the Kachin groups emerge in January 2004 but they are resolved by year's end.
Myanmar: Karenni *1945-present* Low-level hostilities since 2003	**Ongoing:** Ceasefire agreement in 1995 crumbled quickly as the military resumed offensive against the Karenni. Rebel groups hold preliminary talks with the government in November 2002; meetings scheduled for April 2004 are postponed. Clashes between the two sides continue.
Myanmar: Karens *1945-present* High-level hostilities since 1949	**Ongoing:** A December 2003 ceasefire between the junta and the Karen is violated as sporadic clashes continue. Negotiations between the two sides are halted after the change in the Burmese leadership in October 2004. The new junta leaders maintain that they will continue the negotiation process; however, reports in late 2004 indicate an intensification of repression in Karen areas and the displacement of thousands into neighboring Thailand.
Myanmar: Mons *1975-97* Contested agreement 1995	**Settled:** 1995 ceasefire agreement allowed Mons to retain weapons and control some areas. Last major rebel faction surrendered in 1997, but some smaller separatist factions continue sporadic violence. The Mons are active participants in the broader pro-democracy struggle in Myanmar.
Myanmar: Rohingyas *1991-94* Contested agreement 1994	**Contained:** Some rebel factions are reported to be active despite a 1994 ceasefire agreement reached with a major rebel group. Tens of thousands of Muslim Arakanese (Rohingya) refugees remain outside Burma. Others who have returned report being subject to forced labor, restrictions on movement, and economic oppression.
Myanmar: Shan *1962-present* High-level hostilities since 2000	**Ongoing:** Rebel factions continue to attack state authorities despite a 1996 ceasefire agreement reached with some Shan members. No negotiations are held with the hold-out rebels. Large-scale suppression in Shan state in effect since the mid-1990s.
Myanmar: Wa *1989* Contested agreement 1989	**Settled:** Largest Wa group continues to abide by 1989 ceasefire agreement and forms coalition with Burmese armed forces. In an effort to improve relations with Thailand and the United States, the main Wa organization asserts that it will ban all opium production in Wa areas by the middle of 2005. Border clashes with Thai troops trying to stem the drug trade in Wa-dominated areas are reported.
Pakistan: Baluchis *1973-77, 2003-present* Low-level hostilities since 2003	**Ongoing:** New rebel organization emerges to challenge dominance of ruling Punjabi elites along with opposing military campaign in Baluch areas which is part of the Pakistani offensive against elements of al Qaeda. Bombings become more frequent from mid-2004 and include an attack on the region's leading politician. Conventional protests also held to oppose military activities in the region and to press for greater autonomy including local control over natural resources and input in development of megaprojects.
Pakistan: Bengalis *1971* Independence	**Settled:** Bangladesh independent since 1971.
Papua New Guinea: Bougainvilleans *1989-98* Contested agreement 2000	**Settled:** Minor rebel faction opposes peace accord but abstains from the use of violence. Negotiations continue on the final draft of the Bougainville constitution; elections are to be held in early 2005. Broad autonomy is provided under a March 2002 agreement and a referendum on independence is expected to be held in 10-15 years
Philippines: Igorots *1976-86, 2002-present* Low-level hostilities since 2002	**Ongoing:** Clashes between Igorots and the armed forces reported in mid-2004. Also, rivalries between competing group organizations result in occasional violence. Retraction of portions of the 1986 autonomy agreement in late 2004 as the government dissolves its regional offices in the Cordillera Administrative Region. Earlier, the budgets of three local agencies were eliminated. Some Igorot rebels allied with the communist NPA in 2002. Peace talks suspended with NPA rebels in 2004 due to the group's demand to remove its designation as an international terrorist organization.
Philippines: Moros *1972-present* Talk-fight in 2004	**Ongoing:** Malaysian-led international force deployed in October 2004 to monitor a ceasefire between the government and the MILF reached in mid-2003. Sporadic clashes continue; earlier ceasefire reached in 2001 also subject to numerous violations by both sides. Negotiations expected to resume soon under Malaysian auspices. Minor Abu Sayyaf faction remains outside of the peace process. Former rebels govern the autonomous southern Muslim region. Regional elections are slated for mid-2005. Promoting peace and economic development along with the degree of autonomy in Moro areas remain sources of contention.

Country and Group *Periods of Armed Conflict* Current Phase	Status in Winter 2004-05
Sri Lanka: **Tamils** *1975-2001* Cessation of open hostilities since 2001	**Contained:** Norway attempts to restart the peace process stalled since April 2003 over rebel demands for the establishment of an interim self governing authority in the north and the east. A 2002 ceasefire reached through Norwegian auspices holds despite violations by both parties. Divisions within the major Tamil rebel group erupt in violence in 2004 and a faction breaks away seeking to protect the rights of Tamils in the east. Some $4.5 billion in aid is pledged for rehabilitation and reconciliation. Some Sinhalese political and religious leaders actively oppose the peace process.
Thailand: **Malay-Muslims** *1995-98, 2004-present* High-level hostilities since 2004	**Ongoing:** Martial law is imposed in Thailand's southern Muslim-majority provinces in January 2004 following a resurgence of bomb attacks by Muslim rebels. Hundreds are reported dead and violence escalates following the October deaths of some 90 Muslim protestors at the hands of the security forces. Hostilities were muted since 1998 following the government's military crackdown. Proposals to address the growing violence include the creation of a new govern ment ministry charged with southern Islamic affairs to reduce isolation and religious and language differences. Reports assert that the Thai Muslims have now established links with regional Islamic organizations in Malaysia and Indonesia.
North Africa and the Middle East	
Iran: **Kurds** *1979-94* Conventional politics since 1996	**Contained:** Armed rebellion mainly suppressed in the mid-1990s; scattered acts of violence involving Kurdish separatists reported in 2004. Protests held to demand autonomy in Iran and to support the Iraqi Kurds. Kurdish leaders subject to arrest for raising group rights or addressing the broader Kurdish claim for self-determination. The potential future status of the Iraqi Kurds remains a source of concern for the Iranian authorities.
Iraq: **Kurds** *1980-92* Cessation of open hostilities since 1997	**Contained:** Kurdish politicians to participate in nationwide elections set for January 2005. The interim Iraqi government includes 8 Kurds. An interim constitution drafted in March 2003 pro vides the Kurds with some autonomous rights but a permanent constitution is not expected to be in place until later in 2005. Since 1991, an autonomous Kurdish region in northern Iraq was protected by U.S. and British air superiority. Kurdish groups cooperated with the U.S.-led forces that ousted the Saddam Hussein regime in 2003 and they maintain de facto control over the Northern Kurdish-dominant regions. Fearful that the Kurds will be required to make too many concessions in a new, democratic Iraq, some 2 million Kurds sign a petition demanding a referendum on self-determination. However, any attempts at separate statehood will likely be opposed by Turkey, Iran, and Syria who also host Kurdish minority communities. The U.S. has also stated its opposition to an independent Northern Iraqi Kurdistan.
Israel: **Palestinians** ***(West Bank and Gaza, disputed)*** *1968-93, 2000-present* High-level hostilities since 2001	**Ongoing:** Partial transfer of West Bank and Gaza to Palestinian control, following contested 1994 agreement. Failure by Israel to fully abide by agreements leads to resumption of militancy, "Second Intifada," in September 2000. Hostilities increase as September 2001 ceasefire and U.S. and Saudi Arabian mediation efforts fail. Israeli government refuses to negotiate with Arafat-led Palestinian leadership. PLO leader visits Syria, Lebanon, and Kuwait in December to repair ties strained for the past decade. Elections for a new president are held in January 2005 following the death of Arafat in November. Newly-elected leader Mahmoud Abbas seeks a ceasefire with militant Palestinian groups. Key Israeli-Palestinian issues on the path to a two-state settlement include Israeli settlements, exchange of prisoners, the status of refugees, and the allocation of Jerusalem.
Morocco: **Saharawis** ***(Western Sahara, disputed)*** *1973-91* Cessation of open hostilities since 1991	**Contained:** In late 2004, Morocco states that it is ready to reopen talks based on the protection of its territorial integrity. Morocco again rejects a UN proposal to hold a referendum on independence which it has repeatedly postponed since the early 1990s. A small UN force remains in place to monitor the ceasefire and some 150,000 refugees are in camps in Algeria. Demonstrations are held in late 2004 in Western Sahara to press for self-determination.
Turkey: **Kurds** *1984-1999, 2004-present* Low-level hostilities since 1999	**Ongoing:** The PKK, now known as Kongra-Gel, ends its 5 year unilateral ceasefire in June 2004 asserting that Turkish security forces have refused to accept the truce. By year's end, rebels reported to be responsible for more than 50 attacks against security forces in the Kurdish-dominant southeast despite a renewed military offensive. Many rebels alleged to have sought refuge in northern Iraq after the 1999 Turkish government crackdown. In the ensuing years, Ankara enacts greater cultural rights for the Kurds in order to help open talks on EU membership.
Africa South of the Sahara	
Angola: **Cabindans** *1991-present* Low-level hostilities since 2003	**Ongoing:** Rebellion that began with Angolan independence in 1975 continues in the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda. Negotiations between Angolan authorities and rebel groups stalled in 2003 partly due to government claims about the fragmentation of the rebel forces. In September 2004, the main militant groups merge to form a single organization. Government repression through 2002 limits rebel activities; in addition many members have surrendered. Angola unveils plans to promote social and economic development projects in the enclave and in late 2004, the first new oil exploration project in Cabinda in some 30 years is announced.

Country and Group *Periods of Armed Conflict* Current Phase	Status in Winter 2004-05
Chad: **Southerners** *1979-86, 1992-98* Uncontested agreement 1994-97	**Settled:** 1997 agreements allow most factions to become political parties; some rebels inte grated in army. Umbrella group of exiled armed movements and political parties, including former southern Chadian separatists, re-open dialogue with government in 2002. Rebels form their own political party and seek dialogue in late 2004. The government addresses economic concerns by promising to distribute the majority of oil revenues throughout the country.
Djibouti: **Afars** *1991-2001* Uncontested agreement 2001	**Settled:** Agreement reached with major Afar faction, FRUD, in 1995. FRUD joins the ruling government. Talks that began with remaining rebel faction in April 2000 end with a peace agreement in May 2001, which decentralized governmental institutions, instituted a multi-party system, and promoted rehabilitation for war-torn areas. A former FRUD member announces his candidacy for the presidential elections set for early to mid 2005.
Ethiopia: **Afars** *1975-1998* Cessation of open hostilities since 1998	**Contained:** Despite reports of minor clashes between rebels and the army in 2002 and 2003, relations have improved since the 1998 ceasefire. Afar groups still seek to reunite Eritrea with Ethiopia; in late 2003 rebels attempt to disrupt Ethiopia-Eritrea border demarcation. Some Afars favor the removal of the Tigray-led Ethiopian regime.
Ethiopia: **Eritreans** *1961-91* Independence	**Settled:** Eritrea independent since 1993.
Ethiopia: **Oromos** *1973-present* High-level hostilities since 2001	**Ongoing:** 1994 regional autonomy agreement rejected by some Oromo factions seeking an independent Oromia state. Rebellion intensifies during Ethiopia-Eritrea border war of 1999-2000 and again in 2001. Joint Kenyan and Ethiopian border strikes during 2004 weaken rebel capa–bilities. Group members alleged to receive training in Eritrea. In November 2004, rebels offer to open negotiations with the government; Ethiopia expects rebels to renounce violence first. Norway attempts to mediate but no direct negotiations arise.
Ethiopia: **Somalis** *1963-present* High-level hostilities since 2001	**Ongoing:** Segments of the group maintain violent struggle to achieve an independent Ogaden state. Others accept 1994 regional autonomy agreement. Hostilities increase since 2001 as the government commits more troops to fighting Ogaden insurgency once Ethiopia/Eritrea border conflict is diffused. No talks with the regime are reported.
Mali: **Tuaregs** *1990-95* Uncontested agreement 1995	**Settled:** Implementation of peace agreement largely complete. Rebels disarmed and integrated into army along with other Tuaregs in the civil service and teaching professions. Last splinter group lays down arms in September 2001. International investors assist development projects. A Tuareg is Mali's current Vice-President.
Niger: **Tuaregs** *1988-97* Uncontested agreement 1995	**Settled:** Sporadic violence through 2004 as some former rebels are disgruntled with the pace of reintegration of soldiers and economic marginalization of the north. Banditry is also reported to be a problem in northern Niger. Some fighters incorporated in the military, police, customs, and civil service. Previous insurgent activity in late 2001.
Nigeria: **Ibos** *1967-70* Militant politics since 1999	**Contained:** Armed secessionists defeated in 1970 and reintegrated into Nigerian polity. One large faction still seeking separate Biafran state and utilizing protest and civil disobedience. Apparent split between Ibos using conventional politics and militants seeking separate state. In 2004, Nigerian regime declares that key Ibo organization is a rebel group. Ibos attempt united front to contest 2007 presidential elections.
Nigeria: **Ijaw** *1995-present* Low-level hostilities since 1995	**Ongoing:** Niger Delta militants continue to engage in kidnappings and seizure and destruction of oil installations to press for autonomy, sharing of oil revenues, greater participation and integration into political life, and withdrawal of Nigerian armed forces from their communities. Clashes with the armed forces also reported. No significant negotiations in late 2004; Nigerian regime rules out talks until militants disarm.
Senegal: **Casamançais** *1991-2001* Contested agreement 2001	**Settled:** Sporadic violence resumes in early 2004 as minor rebel faction continues to oppose peace accord while another ceases armed struggle in late 2003. Peace deal reached in 2001 results in the return of refugees and the reintegration of some rebels. Talks in 2003 and 2004 between some rebels and the government lead to another peace agreement. Regime announces large-scale projects to improve infrastructure in region. Former rebels transforming into political party to contest next elections.
Somalia: **Isaaqs** *1986-90* Cessation of open hostilities since 1991	**Contained:** De facto regional independence of Somaliland since 1991. Somaliland government does not participate in ongoing Somali peace talks, claiming that the problems do not affect Somaliland since it is an "independent state." Overwhelming support for independence of Somaliland demonstrated by June 2001 referendum. Violent clashes over territorial disputes occur between Somaliland and Puntland in October-November 2004.

Country and Group *Periods of Armed Conflict* Current Phase	Status in Winter 2004-05
Sudan: Muslim Black-Africans (Darfur) *2003-present* High-level hostilities since 2003	**Ongoing:** Rebels in the western region of Darfur attack government forces in February 2003 citing neglect and discrimination. Retaliation by the armed forces and the pro-government Arab "janjaweed" militias results in systematic killings and refugee flows. Ceasefires and agreements to improve humanitarian access are repeatedly violated. African Union mediators seek to promote a settlement but talks in late 2004 do not address key issues such as sharing of power and wealth in the region. The UN refers to Darfur as the worst humanitarian crisis in the world; more than 1.5 million are internally displaced or based in Chadian refugee camps. More than 70,000 and as many as 300,00 are reported dead. Some 1,000 African Union troops are in place to facilitate humanitarian assistance and help monitor ceasefires.
Sudan: Nuba *1985-2002* Uncontested agreement 2005	**Settled:** The Nuba Mountains region is to be jointly administered by the Southerners and the government, as part of the terms of the 2005 peace agreement (see below). The region will have its own local government that will be ruled by a governor until elections are held in three years. The agreement follows a mid-2002 ceasefire in the Nuba Mountains region, and negotiations in 2003 and 2004 that settled the allocation of government positions and the distribution of revenues.
Sudan: Non-Muslim Black-Africans *1956-72, 1983-2002* Uncontested agreement 2005	**Settled:** SPLM/A and the government sign a comprehensive peace agrement in January 2005. It provides for the sharing of political power, civil service positions, and the division of oil and non-oil wealth. Sharia law will not apply to non-Muslims throughout the country. The Khartoum government is expected to withdraw close to 100,000 troops from the south within two and a half years while the rebels will pull out of northern areas within a year. A UN peace observer-mission will oversee the implementation of the accord. A July 2002 agreement allows for administrative autonomy in southern Sudan for six years after which a referendum on independence is to be held. The two sides will jointly administer three disputed areas including the Nuba mountains.

Appendix Table 11.3: Other Self-Determination Conflicts

Group and Country	Politically Active Since (post-WWII)	Current Phase (Winter 2004-2005)
North Atlantic		
Belgium: Flemings	Late 1950s	Conventional politics
Belgium: Walloons	Late 1950s	Conventional politics
Canada: Indigenous Peoples	Early 1960s	Conventional politics
Canada: Quebecois	Early 1960s	Conventional politics
Finland: Saami	Early 1950s	Conventional politics
France: Basques	Late 1950s	Militant politics
France: Bretons	Late 1940s	Conventional politics
Italy: Sardinians	Late 1940s	Conventional politics
Italy: South Tyrolans	Mid 1940s	Conventional politics
Norway: Saami	Early 1950s	Conventional politics
Spain: Catalans	Late 1940s	Conventional politics
Sweden: Saami	Early 1950s	Conventional politics
Switzerland: Jurassians	Early 1950s	Conventional politics
United Kingdom: Cornish	Late 1990s	Conventional politics
United Kingdom: Scots	Late 1940s	Conventional politics
United States: Indigenous Peoples	Mid 1960s	Conventional politics
United States: Native Hawaiians	Early 1970s	Conventional politics
United States: Puerto Ricans	Early 1950s	Conventional politics
Former Socialist Bloc		
Azerbaijan: Lezgins	Early 1990s	Militant politics
Georgia: Adzhars	Late 1980s	Conventional politics
Kazakhstan: Russians	Early 1990s	Conventional politics
Kyrgyzstan: Uzbeks	Late 1980s	Conventional politics
Romania: Magyars (Hungarians)	Late 1940s	Conventional politics
Russia: Avars	Late 1990s	Conventional politics
Russia: Buryat	Late 1940s	Conventional politics

Group and Country	Politically Active Since (post-WWII)	Current Phase (Winter 2004-2005)
Russia: Kumyks	Late 1980s	Conventional politics
Russia: Lezgins	Early 1990s	Conventional politics
Russia: Tatars	Early 1960s	Conventional politics
Russia: Yakut	Early 1990s	Conventional politics
Slovakia: Hungarians	Late 1960s	Conventional politics
Ukraine: Crimean Russians	Early 1990s	Conventional politics
Ukraine: Crimean Tatars	Late 1960s	Militant politics
Uzbekistan: Tajiks	Late 1980s	Conventional politics
Yugoslavia: Hungarians	Early 1990s	Conventional politics
Yugoslavia: Montenegrins	Early 1990s	Conventional politics
Yugoslavia: Sandzak Muslims	Early 1990s	Conventional politics
Latin America and the Caribbean		
Bolivia: Highland Indigenous Peoples	Early 2000s	Militant politics
Brazil: Indigenous Peoples	Early 1970s	Militant politics
Chile: Indigenous Peoples	Early 1970s	Militant politics
Colombia: Indigenous Peoples	Late 1940s	Conventional politics
Ecuador: Lowland Indigenous Peoples	Early 1970s	Militant politics
Mexico: Indigenous Peoples	Early 1970s	Militant politics
Peru: Lowland Indigenous Peoples	Early 1980s	Militant politics
Trinidad & Tobago: Tobagonians	Early 1970s	Conventional politics
Asia and the Pacific		
Australia: Aborigines	Late 1940s	Conventional politics
Bhutan: Lhotshampas	Early 1950s	Militant politics
China: Mongols	Late 1980s	Militant politics
India: Kashmiri Buddhist Ladakhis	Late 1980s	Conventional politics
India: Kashmiri Hindus	Early 1990s	Conventional politics
India: Reang (Bru)	Late 1990s	Militant politics
Indonesia: Dayaks	Mid 1990s	Conventional politics
Pakistan: Pashtuns (Pathans)	Early 1950s	Militant politics
Pakistan: Sarakis	Mid 1990s	Conventional politics
Pakistan: Sindhis	Late 1940s	Conventional politics
Sri Lanka: Muslims	Mid 1980s	Conventional politics
Taiwan: Aboriginal Taiwanese	Mid 1980s	Conventional politics
Vietnam: Montagnards	Late 1940s	Militant politics
North Africa and the Middle East		
Algeria: Berbers	Early 1960s	Militant politics
Cyprus: Turkish Cypriots	Early 1960s	Conventional politics
Lebanon: Palestinians	Early 1960s	Militant politics
Africa South of the Sahara		
Angola: Bakongo	Early 2000s	Conventional politics
Cameroon: Westerners	Late 1950s	Militant politics
Comoros: Anjouanese	Late 1990s	Conventional politics
Congo-Kinshasa: Lunda and Yeke	Late 1940s	Conventional politics
Equatorial Guinea: Bubis	Early 1990s	Militant politics
Namibia: East Caprivians	Late 1990s	Militant politics
Nigeria: Oron	Late 1990s	Militant politics
Nigeria: Ogoni	Early 1990s	Militant politics
Nigeria: Yoruba	Early 1990s	Militant politics
Somalia: Puntland Darods	Late 1990s	Conventional politics
South Africa: Afrikaners	Mid 1990s	Conventional politics
South Africa: Khoisan	Mid 1990s	Conventional politics
South Africa: Zulus	Late 1940s	Conventional politics
Tanzania: Zanzibaris	Early 1960s	Conventional politics
Uganda: Baganda	Late 1940s	Conventional politics
Zambia: Lozi	Late 1940s	Militant politics
Zimbabwe: Ndebele	Early 1950s	Conventional politics

Appendix Table 11.4: Model Parameters and Data Sources

Table 2.1: The Peace and Conflict Ledger 2005

Model: Peace-Building Capacity

Red icons are valued at "-2," yellow icons are valued at "-1," and green icons are valued at "+1?"; blanks are treated as "not applicable" data or "neutral" indicators. Icon values are summed for each country across the seven indicators: Human Security, Self-Determination, Discrimination, Regime Type, Regime Durability, Societal Capacity, and Neighborhood, and divided by the number of applicable indicators (i.e., number of icons listed for each country). "Peace-building capacity" is a composite indicator for which red icons are assigned to countries whose average indicator (icon) score is less than or equal to -1; yellow icons when the average score is greater than -1 and less than or equal to zero; and green icons when the average score is greater than zero.

Data Sources: Ledger Indicators

Human Security – Marshall, Major Episodes of Political Violence: armed conflict totals; Minorities at Risk: rebellion and communal conflict; Harff: genocides and politicides; Gibney, Political Terrorism Scale: U. S. State Department and Amnesty International report scores; Marshall and Ramsey Marshall, Global Terrorism: deaths; U. S. Committee for Refugees, World Refugee Survey: refugees and internally displaced persons.

Self-Determination – Gurr and Khosla, self-determination movements (Peace and Conflict appendix tables 2 and 3).

Discrimination – Minorities at Risk: group political discrimination and group population proportion.

Regime Type – Polity IV: polity score (-10 to -6 "autocracy," -5 to +5 "anocracy," and +6 to +10 "democracy"; special codes: -66, -77, and -88 are considered "anocracies").

Regime Duration–Polity IV: regime durability.

Societal Capacity – Correlates of War, National Material Capabilities: energy consumption and total population; World Development Indicators: GDP per capita (constant 1995 US$).

Neighborhood – Marshall, Major Episodes of Political Violence: number of neighboring countries with armed conflict and sum of armed conflict scores of neighboring countries; Political Instability Task Force: proportion of neighboring countries with autocracies or partial or full democracies.

Table 6.2: African Instability Ledger 2005

Model: Peace-Building Capacity

See description under Table 2.1, above.

Model: Actual Instability

Red icons denote countries that are currently experiencing a period of general political instability; periods of instability are identified by the occurrence of multiple instability events and may include successful coups, coup attempts, adverse regime changes, major armed conflicts (revolutionary wars, ethnic wars, communal wars, genocides, or politicides), or the collapse of central authority (see table 7.1). Yellow icons denote countries that appear to be emerging from a period of instability, although they may continue to experience sporadic incidents of low intensity political violence. A period of general political instability is considered to have ended (and stability re-established) when no instability events are recorded in a particular country for a period of five or more years.

Model: Predicted Instability

Color icons denote countries that are identified by a "predictive" model to have the combination of conditions associated with countries that transition from a politically stable to an unstable state within three years. A red icon under "Predicted instability" denotes a positive score on at least one of the model equations. A yellow icon indicates a score greater than –10.00 and less than zero. Three binary logistic regression models were developed to distinguish stable countries from countries that would transition to a period of instability within two years. One model includes all sub-Saharan African countries except South Africa; the other two models include all African countries. The variables used in the models are listed in the African Instability Ledger (table 7.2); the three models use the same variables with only a few exceptions.

Sub-Saharan Africa model

Classification accuracy: stable 502 (3) 99.4%; unstable 31 (7), 81.6%:

0.022 (Aid Dependency) + 11.074 (Political Discrimination) + 3.158 (Elite Ethnicity-Majority) + 6.244 (Political Factionalism) + 5.474 (State Formation Instability) + 0.058 (Population Density) + 0.697 (Area) + 0.236 (Forest Cover) + 5.218 (Leadership Succession) – 0.410 (Neighborhood: Partial Democracies) – 0.296 (Neighborhood: Full Democracies) + 2.021 (Neighborhood: Armed Conflict) + 11.794 (Muslim Country) – 29.614

All-Africa model

Classification accuracy: stable 616 (4), 99.4%; unstable 35 (5), 87.5%:

0.015 (Aid Dependency) – 0.008 (GDP per Capita) + 16.045 (Political Discrimination) + 4.788 (Elite Ethnicity-Majority) + 12.126 (Political Factionalism) + 3.031 (State Formation Instability) + 0.055 (Population Density) + 0.372 (Area) + 0.248 (Forest Cover) + 8.317 (Leadership Succession) – 0.591 (Neighborhood: Partial Democracies) – 0.129 (Neighborhood: Full Democracies) + 4.482 (Neighborhood: Armed Conflict) + 12.126 (Muslim Country) – 28.576

***All variables in the equations are significant at 0.05 or better, except Aid Dependency in the All-Africa model 2 (0.077). Four countries are excluded from the models because they have never achieved stability: Angola, Nigeria, Sudan, and Uganda. Cases of instability in six countries are excluded because they have missing data on key variables: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Liberia, Lesotho, Somalia (2), and South Africa.*

State-Formation Instability Model

(not included in Table 7.2; reported in Section 7, p. 52) *Classification accuracy: stable 17 (5), 77.3%; unstable 20 (4), 83.3%*

2.813 (Political Factionalism) + 2.474 (Elite Ethnicity-Majority) + 2.459 (Elite Ethnicity-Minority) – 1.496

***All variables in the equation are significant at 0.02 or better*

Data Sources: Africa Instability Indicators

Aid Dependency: World Bank, World Development Indicators: aid as percentage of gross capital formation

GDP per Capita: World Development Indicators: GDP per capita (constant 1995 US$)

Political Discrimination – Minorities at Risk: group political discrimination (percent of population facing category 4 "official policies or repression" only; red icon indicates 10% or more of population, yellow indicates more than 2% but less than 10% of population)

Elite Ethnicity – Harff: ethnicity is salient for ruling majority/minority (dichotomous, yes or no)

Political Factionalism – Polity IV: political competition (categories 6 or 7 only; dichotomous, yes or no)

State Formation Instability – Marshall: state experienced regime instability immediately following independence (dichotomous, yes or no)

Population Density – World Development Indicators: population density (people per square kilometer)

Land Area – UN World Population Prospects: area in square kilometers

Forest Cover – UN FAO: forest/woodland area (divided by land area)

Leadership Succession – Bienen and van de Walle, Leadership Duration: executive in office 20 years or more (15 -19 years denoted by yellow icon)

Neighborhood: Democracies – Political Instability Task Force: percent neighboring countries are partial or full democracies (50% or greater)

Neighborhood: Armed Conflict – Marshall, Major Episodes of Political Violence: number of neighboring countries experiencing any type of major armed conflict (dichotomy; none/one or more)

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