

Data Appendix for Monica Duffy Toft, *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton University Press, 2010)

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1. List of Wars

State	War	Start	End	Warterm	Recur?
USSR I	Ukraine	1942	1950	0	0
Greece	Greek Civil War	1944	1949	0	0
USSR II	Lithuania	1944	1952	0	0
China I	Revolution: Final Phase	1945	1949	1	0
Indonesia I	War of Independence	1945	1949	1	0
Israel/Palest	War of Independence	1945	1949	0	0
Bolivia I	Popular Revolt	1946	1946	1	0
India Ia	Partition	1946	1949	3	1
Iran I	Kurds/Mahabad	1946	1946	0	0
Philippines I	Huks	1946	1954	0	0
Vietnam I	French-Indochina War	1946	1954	1	0
Madagascar	MDRM/Independence	1947	1948	0	0
Paraguay	Coup Attempt	1947	1947	0	0
Burma I	Communist Revolt	1948	1989	0	0
Colombia I	La Violencia	1948	1958	2	0
Costa Rica	Civil War	1948	1948	1	0
India II	Hyderabad	1948	1948	0	0
Malaysia	Malayan Emergency	1948	1960	0	0
South Korea	Yosu Sunch'on Revolt	1948	1948	0	0
Yemen North I	Coup	1948	1948	0	0
China IIa	Tibet	1950	1951	0	1
Indonesia II	Ambon/Moluccans	1950	1950	0	0
Korea	Korean War	1950	1953	3	0
Bolivia II	Bolivian Revolution	1952	1952	1	0
Egypt	Free Officers' Coup	1952	1952	1	0
Kenya I	Mau Mau	1952	1956	0	0
Morocco I	War of Independence	1952	1956	1	0
Tunisia	War of Independence	1952	1956	1	0
Indonesia III	Aceh Revolt	1953	1959	0	0
Algeria I	War of Independence	1954	1962	1	0
China IIb	Tibet	1954	1959	0	0
Argentina	Coup	1955	1955	1	0
Cameroon	War of Independence	1955	1960	1	0
Sudan Ia	Anya Nya	1955	1972	2	1
Cuba	Cuban Revolution	1956	1959	1	0
India III	Naga Revolt	1956	1997	3	0
Vietnam II	Vietnam War	1957	1975	1	0
Indonesia IV	PRRI Revolt	1958	1961	0	0
Iraq I	Army Revolt	1958	1958	1	0

Lebanon Ia	First Civil War	1958	1958	2	1
Iraq II	Mosul Revolt	1959	1959	0	0
Laos	Pathet Lao	1959	1973	2	0
Burma IV	Kachins	1960	1994	0	0
Guatemala	Guatemalan Civil War	1960	1996	2	0
Zaire/Congo I	Katanga/Stanleyville	1960	1965	0	0
Angola I	War of Independence	1961	1974	0	0
Ethiopia I	Eritrea	1961	1993	1	0
Iraq IIIa	Kurds	1961	1970	2	1
Yemen North II	N. Yemeni Civil War	1962	1970	1	0
Algeria II	Opposition to Bella	1963	1963	0	0
Cyprus Ia	Greek/Turk Clashes	1963	1964	3	1
GuineaBissau I	War of Independence	1963	1974	1	0
Rwanda Ia	First Tutsi Invasion	1963	1964	0	1
Mozambique I	War of Independence	1964	1975	1	0
Burundi Ia	Hutu Coup Attempt	1965	1965	0	1
Chad	FROLINAT	1965	1997	2	0
Domin Republic	Dominican Civil War	1965	1966	2	0
India Ib	Kashmir	1965	1965	3	1
Indonesia V	PKI Coup Attempt	1965	1966	0	0
China III	Cultural Revolution	1966	1969	1	0
Namibia	War of Independence	1966	1990	2	0
Uganda I	Buganda	1966	1966	0	0
Nigeria I	Biafra	1967	1970	0	0
Cambodia Ia	Khmer Rouge	1970	1975	1	1
Jordan	Palestinians	1970	1971	0	0
Pakistan I	Bangladesh	1971	1971	1	0
Sri Lanka Ia	JVP I	1971	1971	0	1
Bangladesh	Chittagong Hill	1972	1997	2	0
Burundi Ib	Hutu Rebellion	1972	1972	0	1
Philippines IIIa	Moro Rebellion	1972	1996	2	1
Zimbabwe	Front for Liberation of Zimbabwe	1972	1979	2	0
Chile	Army Revolt	1973	1973	1	0
Pakistan II	Baluchi Rebellion	1973	1977	0	0
Cyprus Ib	Coup/Turk Invasion	1974	1974	3	0
Iraq IIIb	Kurds	1974	1975	0	1
Angola IIa	Angolan Civil War	1975	1994	2	1
Ethiopia II	Tigray	1975	1991	1	0
Indonesia VI	East Timor	1975	1999	2	0
Lebanon Ib	Second Leb Civ War	1975	1990	0	0
Morocco II	Western Sahara	1975	1991	3	0
Mozambique II	RENAMO	1976	1992	2	0

Ethiopia III	Ogaden	1977	1978	0	0
Afghanistan I	Civil War: Mujahideen, Taliban	1978	2001	1	0
Cambodia Ib	Vietnamese Intervention	1978	1991	2	0
Iran IIa	Iranian Revolution	1978	1979	1	1
Nicaragua	Revolution/Contras	1978	1990	2	0
El Salvador	FMLN/FDR	1979	1992	2	0
Syria	Sunni v. Alawites	1979	1982	0	0
Iraq IIIc	Kurds	1980	1991	0	0
Nigeria II	Maitasine	1980	1984	0	0
Peru	Shining Path	1980	1999	0	0
Uganda II	War in the Bush	1980	1986	1	0
Iran IIb	NCR/Mojahedin	1981	1982	0	0
India IV	Sikh Insurrection	1982	1993	0	0
South Africa	Racial Violence	1983	1994	2	0
Yemen South	S. Yemeni Civil War	1986	1986	1	0
Sri Lanka Ib	JVP II	1987	1989	0	0
Azerbaijan/USSR	Nagorno-Karabakh	1988	1994	3	0
Burundi Ic	Hutu/Tutsi	1988	1988	0	1
Liberia I	NPFL	1989	1997	1	0
Georgia I	South Ossetia	1990	1992	3	0
Rwanda Ib	Tutsi Invasion/Genoc	1990	1994	1	0
Burundi Id	Hutu/Tutsi	1991	1991	0	1
Iraq IV	Shi'ite Insurrection	1991	1993	0	0
Moldova	Trans-Dniester Slavs	1991	1997	3	0
Sierra Leone	RUF	1991	2002	0	0
Yugoslavia I	Croatian Secession	1991	1995	2	0
Georgia II	Abkhazia	1992	1993	3	0
Tajikistan	Tajik Civil War	1992	1997	2	0
Yugoslavia II	Bosnian Civil War	1992	1995	2	0
Russia Ia	First Chechen War	1994	1996	3	1
Yemen	Southern Revolt	1994	1994	0	0
Zaire/Congo II	Post-Mobutu	1996	2002	2	0
Brazzaville	Factional Warfare	1997	1997	1	0
Angola IIb	UNITA Warfare	1998	2002	3	0
GuineaBissau II	Coup	1998	1999	1	0
Yugoslavia III	Kosovo	1998	1999	1	0

2. Codebook

Conflict identifiers

INCLUDED: Coded as 1 if the conflict appears in the data for Toft (2010). The data are regularly updated.

CCODE: Correlates of War country code of state where civil war occurs.

STATE: State where civil war occurs. Roman numerals following the country name indicate distinct wars in which the country participated. Lower-case letters following the Roman numeral indicate the continuation of a single war with at least a two-year gap in between the different phases. For example, India Ia, Ib, and Ic denote three separate wars between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, whereas India II refers to a separate conflict in Hyderabad.

WAR: A brief name for the war.

START: The year in which the civil war began. When such a date is not clearly agreed upon, use date that corresponds to first public act of group violence. If this date is not available, use date that acts as lower bound; e.g., if unclear when group activities commenced but date of the formation of the group directly responsible for unrest is known, use the date the group formed. (See analytic summaries.)

END: The year in which the civil war ended. (Missing entries indicate the war is ongoing). Coded as date when one side establishes decisive victory or settlement is reached, even if low-level insurgency continues. If insurgency following victory by one side or an attempted settlement reaches level of 1000 or more battle deaths per year, war should be considered ongoing. (See analytic summaries.)

DURATION: The number of months the civil war lasted, inclusive of first and last, using above criteria.

War termination

WARTERM: Method of war termination: military victory by government (= 0), military victory by rebels (= 1), negotiated settlement (= 2), stalemate/ceasefire (= 3), war is ongoing (= 4).

A party has achieved a military victory if it has the authority to determine the composition of the government post-war. A rebel group may sign a ceasefire with the government and members of the rebel group may even be allowed to participate in the government, but if it is the government that has the power to determine the extent of the rebels' participation, it would still be considered a military victory for the government. A negotiated settlement requires a formal document signed by the parties that sets up a process to end hostilities and form a new government with both or all combatants as parties to that government. Stalemates are agreements to end hostilities but not form a common government. Coded by the author; see analytic summaries, below.

MILVIC: Dummy variable coded as 1 if the war ended with a military victory by either the government or the rebels.

MVGOV: Dummy variable coded as 1 if the war ended with a military victory by the government.

MVREB: Dummy variable coded as 1 if the war ended with a military victory by the rebels.

NEGSET: Dummy variable coded as 1 if the war ended with a negotiated settlement.

STALECEAS: Dummy variable coded as 1 if the war ended with a stalemate/ceasefire.

GUARDUM: Dummy variable coded as 1 if a third party state provides a post-conflict security guarantee. The third party promises to enforce the terms of the peace treaty after the belligerents sign it, and these promises can be either verbal or written. (Source: Walter 2002, updated to include recent cases.)

SSRI: A combination of two variables from Barbara Walter's "Civil War Resolution" data set (Walter 2002). The first measures whether or not the combatants will form a new army after the war based on quotas from each side. (Coded as MILPACT in Walter's data.) Although it does not indicate the nature or the extent of reforms of the armed forces, nor does it mention the state of the police, this model nevertheless serves as a good indicator of whether any consideration of the disposition of the armed forces was part of the settlement. The second variable indicates the extent to which a settlement is implemented. It is a categorical variable with four values: no negotiation; active formal negotiation; a signed settlement; and a successfully implemented settlement. (Coded as PEACEPROCESS in the Walter set.) For this analysis, the combination SSRI variable only includes those cases in which a successfully implemented settlement was present. If the settlement was well-executed, the variable was coded "1." Unsuccessful implementations were "0."

RECUR: Dummy variable coded as 1 if the civil war recurred. Wars are considered to have recurred if they take place when the principal combatants and the principal stakes are the same as those of a previous conflict. (See analytic summaries.)

MONTHB4RECUR: The number of months between the conclusion of the civil war, and the time until the war recurred. If the war did not recur, then this variable is the number of months between the conclusion of the civil war and the time the data are right-censored.

Conflict type

IDENTITY: Dummy variable coded as 1 if the war is rooted in ethnic or religious identity. (Source: Correlates of War, expanded by the author, see analytic summaries.)

COLONIALWAR: Dummy variable coded as 1 if the war is a colonial war. (Source: Correlates of war, expanded by the author, see analytic summaries.)

TERRWAR: Dummy variable coded as 1 if the war is rooted in a dispute over territorial claims. Coded by the author, see analytic summaries.

Fatalities

Fatalities data were based on the International Peace Research Institute (PRIO/Lacina 2006), COW, and other sources. Where information was available from both COW and PRIO, fatalities are coded as the mean of the two figures.

The data used in this set count military deaths and deliberate killing of civilians. They do not count deaths caused by indirect factors such as displacement, starvation, or disease. While PRIO differentiates between battle deaths and total deaths, COW does not. In cases where PRIO reported low levels of non-battle casualties (fewer than 5% of the total), but no figure for total casualties, then the PRIO figure was still used.

TOTALDEATHS: The total number of military personnel and civilians killed violently during the civil war.

LNTOTALDEATHS: The natural logarithm of TOTALDEATHS.

DEATHSPERMONTH: Total military and civilian deaths during the civil war divided by the number of months the war lasted.

LNDEATHSPERMONTH: The natural logarithm of DEATHSPERMONTH.

STARTYRPOP: The civil war state's population in the year the war started. (Source: Correlates of War, "National Material Capabilities" data.)

DEATHSPERCAPITA: TOTALDEATHS divided by the STARTYRPOP.

Economic indicators

Figures for civil war states' GDP were compiled from Angus Maddison's Historical Statistics for the World Economy.

GDPPRE5: The civil war state's GDP 5 years before the start of the war.

GDPPRE1: The civil war state's GDP 1 year before the start of the war.

GDPSTARTYR: The civil war state's GDP in the year the war started.

GDPENDYR: The civil war state's GDP in the year the war ended.

GDPPOST5: The civil war state's GDP 5 years after the war ended.

GDPPOST10: The civil war state's GDP 10 years after the war ended.

GDPPOST15: The civil war state's GDP 15 years after the war ended.

GDPPOST20: The civil war state's GDP 20 years after the war ended.

The following figures for "percentage change" in GDP were calculated by taking the civil war state's GDP the year before the war started, subtracting the civil war state's GDP in another given year, and then dividing by GDP in the year before the war started.

GDPCHANGEPRE5: Percentage change in the civil war state's GDP between 5 years before the war started and the year before the war started.

GDPCHANGE0: Percentage change in the civil war state's GDP between the year before the war started and the year the war started.

Political indicators

Data on regime type were taken from the POLITY IV Project, "Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2007" (Marshall/Jagers 2007). All data are drawn from the POLITY variable, following the author's recommendation that these are more reliable than the POLITY2 measure.

POLPRE5: The civil war state's POLITY score 5 years before the start of the war.

POLPRE1: The civil war state's POLITY score the year before the start of the war.

POLITY0: The civil war state's POLITY score the year the war started.

POLITY5: The civil war state's POLITY score 5 years after the war ended.

POLITY10: The civil war state's POLITY score 10 years after the war ended.

POLITY15: The civil war state's POLITY score 15 years after the war ended.

POLITY20: The civil war state's POLITY score 20 years after the war ended.

The following figures for "percentage change" measure the absolute difference between the civil war state's POLITY score in a given year versus the year before the war started. A negative number indicates that the civil war state's POLITY score in a given year is lower than it was in the year the war started.

These differences are measured in absolute terms –rather than in relative terms – because the POLITY measure revolves around zero and its values are all between -10 and 10. A change of 1 point in either

direction could therefore represent a 100% change (ie, 1 to 2), an 11% change (ie, 9 to 10) or an incalculable change (ie, 0 to 1) if measured in relative terms.

POLITYCHANGEPRE5: The absolute difference between the state's POLITY score 5 years before the war and its score the year before the war.

POLITYCHANGE0: The absolute difference between the state's POLITY score in the year the war started and its score the year before the war.

POLITYCHANGE5: The absolute difference between the state's POLITY score 5 years after the war ended and its score the year before the war.

POLITYCHANGE10: The absolute difference between the state's POLITY score 10 years after the war ended and its score the year before the war.

POLITYCHANGE15: The absolute difference between the state's POLITY score 15 years after the war ended and its score the year before the war.

POLITYCHANGE20: The absolute difference between the state's POLITY score 20 years after the war ended and its score the year before the war.

Dummy variables

DECSTART: dummies indicating the decade in which the war started.

DECEND: dummies indicating the decade in which the war ended.

FIVESTART: dummies indicating the five-year period in which the war started.

FIVEEND: dummies indicating the five-year period in which the war ended.

DECON: dummies indicating whether the war was ongoing in a given decade.

FIVEON: dummies indicating whether the war was ongoing in a given 5-year period.

AFRICA: dummy indicating whether the conflict took place in Africa, including North Africa.

ASIA: dummy indicating whether the conflict took place in Asia.

MIDEAST: dummy indicating whether the conflict took place in the Middle East, not including North Africa.

LATAM: dummy indicating whether the conflict took place in Latin America.

1. Comparison to Data in Doyle/Sambanis (2000) and Fearon (2004)

Two other prominent data sets display less correlation between war termination and recurrence: Doyle/Sambanis (2004) report that 17% of military victories recur versus 20% of negotiated settlements. Fearon's data (2004) see 12% of victories collapse versus 9% of negotiated settlements. In neither of these sets are rebel victories more stable than government victories. There are several coding differences across these data sets that account for these results.

First, and most importantly, Doyle/Sambanis and Fearon do not code several negotiated settlements which ultimately failed. Fearon does not account for Iraq's settlement with the Kurds in 1970; Angola's 1994 Lusaka Protocol between UNITA and the MPLA; and the Philippines' 1996 peace deal with the Moro Liberation Front. Doyle/Sambanis include Angola (1994) but neither of the others. In all of these cases, the parties signed formal documents that established a process to end hostilities and include all combatants as part of the government. They are clear instances of failed negotiated settlements.

Second, Doyle/Sambanis and Fearon have a lower conflict intensity threshold than the data used for this book. There are 20 wars in Doyle/Sambanis and 13 wars in Fearon that had fewer than 1,000 fatalities. These wars demonstrate a higher rate of successful negotiated settlements than do more intense conflicts. (Removing these conflicts from Doyle/Sambanis, for instance, raises the percentage of negotiated settlements that fail from 20% to 25%.)

Since this book focuses on mechanisms for containing mass violence in civil war, it is theoretically justified to exclude conflicts below this 1,000-fatality threshold. Table 1 below shows the impact of imposing this restriction on the Doyle/Sambanis and Fearon data.

Third, there are 10 wars of independence considered in this book's data that Doyle/Sambanis exclude: Algeria, Cameroon, Guinea-Bissau, Indonesia, Madagascar, Malaya, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, and Tunisia. Almost all of them were won by rebels, and none of them recurred. These wars make up a substantial fraction of post-WWII armed conflict. (Doyle/Sambanis do include many other wars of independence, i.e., Chechnya, Biafra, Burma, Southern Sudan, Western Sahara, and Yemen.) But even if one were to argue that colonial wars in the 1940s-60s were a special class of armed conflict that should be excluded from the data, this does not affect the results presented in the book. (See chapter 4.)

Finally, there are a number of instances where the data sets differ on matters of interpretation about how to aggregate or disaggregate certain conflicts. Doyle/Sambanis, for instance, consider Afghanistan to have experienced three separate wars from 1978-2001, and Guatemala to have undergone separate civil wars from 1966-72 and 1978-94. Both Doyle/Sambanis and Fearon consider the Sandinista and Contra uprisings in Nicaragua to be separate conflicts, and they each code separate Congolese civil wars

in 1996-97 and 1998 onward. None of these conflicts are separated in the data for *Securing the Peace*, based on the judgment that their combatants were essentially the same, that they were fighting over the same issues, and that the war could not be considered “terminated” in the interim.

Table 1. Summary of Data Sets

Ratio of recurrences to civil war terminations by type

	Toft	Fearon	Fearon 2	DS	DS 2
Rebel Victory	8/48 (17%)	6/43 (14%)	5/35 (14%)	10/55 (18%)	10/48 (21%)
Government Victory	3/35 (9%)	3/31 (10%)	3/30 (10%)	4/29 (14%)	4/26 (15%)
All Victories	11/83 (13%)	9/74 (12%)	8/65 (12%)	14/84 (17%)	14/74 (19%)
Settlements	6/24 (25%)	2/22 (9%)	2/18 (11%)	5/25 (20%)	5/20 (25%)
Ceasefire/Stalemates	5/14 (36%)	2/9 (22%)	2/9 (22%)	9/24 (38%)	9/19 (47%)

Toft: Data presented in *Securing the Peace*

Fearon: Original Fearon (2004) data

Fearon 2: Fearon data without conflicts below 1000 deaths/year

DS: Original Doyle/Sambanis (2004) data

DS 2: Doyle/Sambanis data without conflicts below 1000 deaths/year

2. Analytic Summaries of Civil Wars (in chronological order by start date)

These summaries cover each war included in the data for Toft (2010), not including ongoing conflicts.

A note on sources: These analytic summaries were compiled from a wide range of sources, with the goal of providing a brief overview of each conflict in the data set. Particularly useful references are noted below. In general, the following works also provide useful references for basic histories and statistics on civil conflicts.

Ali, Taiser M. and Robert O. Matthews eds. 1999. *Civil Wars in Africa: Roots and Resolution*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Arnold, Guy. 2008. *Historical Dictionary of Civil Wars in Africa*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press.

Beckett, Ian F. W. 2001. *Modern Insurgencies and Counter-Insurgencies: Guerillas and their Opponents since 1750*. New York: Routledge.

Clapham, Christopher ed. 1998. *African Guerillas*. Oxford: James Curry Ltd.

Clayton, Anthony. 1999. *Frontiersmen: Warfare in Africa Since 1950*. London: UCL Press.

Clodfelter, Micheal. 2008. *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Encyclopedia of Casualty and Other Figures, 1494-2007*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company.

DeRouen, Karl Jr and Uk Heo, eds. 2007. *Civil Wars of the World: Major Conflicts Since World War II*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

Dupuy, R. Ernest and Trevor N. Dupuy. 1993. *The Harper Encyclopedia of Military History: From 3500 B.C. to the Present, 4th ed.* New York: HarperCollins.

Johnstone, Ian ed. 2007. *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Beckett (2001) provides especially helpful bibliographies for many of the conflicts in the data set.

USSR I (Ukraine) 1942-1950

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was formed in October of 1942 when various anti-German, -Polish and -Soviet opposition groups coalesced into a united armed front for an independent Ukraine. Militant resistance continued into the mid-1950s, causing the deaths of thousands of Soviet troops and of 150,000 people overall, and was eliminated only after severe Soviet repression and the implementation of large-scale deportation policies. The death in battle of the UPA commander, General Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka), in March of 1950, marked the beginning of the end and signaled the approaching collapse of the anti-occupation struggle.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Beckett (2001); Slepian, Kenneth. 2006. *Stalin's Guerillas: Soviet Partisans in World War II*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas; Schulte, Theo J. 1989. *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia*. New York, NY: Berg.

USSR II (Lithuania) 1944-1952

Lithuanian partisans known as the "Forest Brothers" took up arms against the Soviets after the re-incorporation of the republic into the U.S.S.R. in July of 1944. The guerrilla resistance, based in the dense Lithuanian forests, was eventually suppressed by the end of 1952. Close to 10,000 partisans died during the struggle.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Slepian, Kenneth. 2006. *Stalin's Guerillas: Soviet Partisans in World War II*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas; Schulte, Theo J. 1989. *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia*. New York, NY: Berg; Vardys, Stanley. 1963. The Partisan Movement in Postwar Lithuania. *Slavic Review* 22:3, 499-522.

Greece (Greek Civil War) 1944-1949

Communist rebels, led by General "Markos" Vafiades and supported by Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, rose in resistance against the newly reestablished post-War Greek government from December of 1944 until October of 1949. The Greek Civil War, as it is now known, was comprised of two phases: guerrilla warfare from 1944 through 1945; and full-scale, nation-wide war from 1946 through 1949. The government initially received support from British occupation forces still in the area, but lost that support once Britain's severe economic troubles forced her to withdraw. The government subsequently received assistance from the U.S. under the Truman Doctrine. The initial phase was settled via a fragile truce, which followed the suppression of uprisings by British forces; the second phase was concluded following large-scale Greek government military victories and suppression of the opposition. It is estimated that roughly 150,000 people died during the war.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Woodhouse, C.M. 2002. *The Struggle for Greece 1941-1949*. London, UK: Hurst and Company; Joes, Anthony James. 1992. *Modern Guerilla Insurgency*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Indonesia I (War of Independence) 1945-1949

The Indonesian War of National Independence was fought between the Indonesian People's Army and British and Dutch forces, and lasted from October 1945 until December 1949. The Indonesians had declared their independence following the surrender of the Japanese in August 1945, who had won possession of the colony from the Dutch in the midst of World War II. With the conclusion of World War II and the subsequent withdrawal of Japanese forces from the islands, the British and Dutch returned in an effort to reestablish colonial control. Heavy fighting between the occupiers and Indonesian nationalists ensued. When the British abandoned their colonial aspirations in 1946, the Dutch were left to wage an often difficult and unruly campaign on their own. They were never able to establish secure control over the territory, and in May 1949 they agreed to a UN-negotiated ceasefire. Indonesia was granted full sovereignty by the Dutch in December 1949. Casualty estimates average approximately 6,000.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Holland, Robert ed. 1994. *Emergencies and Disorder in the European Empires*. London: Frank Cass;

China I (Communist Revolution: Final Phase) 1945-1949

The Chinese Communist Revolution, stalled during the events of World War II, resumed after the surrender of the Japanese in August of 1945 and reached the level of general war in November of the same year. Following an unsuccessful and temporary truce mediated by the United States in January of 1946, the Communists gradually gained territory and support from the Kuomintang Nationalist government, until the Nationalists, led by Chiang Kai-shek, were forced to flee to Taiwan in September of 1949. More than one million deaths in total were reported.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Beckett (2001); Levine, Steven I. 1987. *Anvil of Victory: The Communist Revolution in Manchuria, 1945-1948*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press; Westad, Odd Arne. 2003. *Decisive Encounters: The Chinese Civil War, 1946-1950*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Israel/Palestine (Ethnic Unrest/War of Independence) 1945-1949

Ethnic conflict in the Middle East reached crisis levels in November 1945, when various Zionist terrorist groups stepped up their campaign for Israeli independence by banding together to form the umbrella Hebrew Resistance Movement and attacking both Palestinian civilians and British occupation troops. UN efforts to mediate the escalating conflict failed, and the British retained a heavily-battered military presence for nearly three more years in a futile attempt to maintain order in the territory. Tensions and casualties increased dramatically in the early months of 1948 following a November 1947 announcement by the UN that Palestine would be partitioned into separate Jewish and Arab states. Civilians and militia volunteers alike were targeted by both Palestinians (who were reinforced by volunteers from around the Arab world) and Jews as they fought to take control of lands once held by the now-retreating British. In May of 1948 the British officially withdrew and granted the Israelis their independence, prompting neighboring states to follow through on their threats to invade should a

Jewish state be recognized in their midst. Over the course of the next few weeks, Israel was invaded by Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Transjordan and Egypt, and intense fighting continued on all fronts with few exceptions for the next six months. An armistice was declared in January 1949, bringing an end to the First Arab-Israeli war. No peace agreements were ever signed, but Israel ended up with de facto control over a significantly greater area of territory than had been delegated by the UN partition plan. Total casualties are estimated at more than 15,000 for the five-year period.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Herzog, Chaim. 1984. *The Arab-Israeli Wars: War and Peace in the Middle East from the War of Independence through Lebanon*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Iran I (Mahabad Republic) 1946-1946

Ethnic Kurds living in northwest Iran declared their independence in January of 1946 under the banner of the short-lived Mahabad Republic. Though the republic was established with the approval and support of the Soviets, the U.S.S.R. provided no military protection whatsoever when the Iranian government finally sent in troops to crush the movement in December of 1946. An estimated 14,500 people were killed during the independence attempt.

Bolivia I (Popular Revolt) 1946-1946

The government of Gualberto Villaroel Lopez was violently overthrown by a coalition of students, teachers and workers in July of 1946 following an economic downturn and the accumulation of unfulfilled promises on the part of the regime. Villaroel's government, which received no protection from the army during the revolt, was replaced with a provisional liberal government. Approximately 1,000 people were killed during the four days of rioting and uprisings.

India Ia (Partition/First Indo-Pakistani War) 1946-1949

Hindu-Muslim rioting erupted throughout India in July of 1946. The fragile anti-colonial bond between the two groups which had until then held sectarian violence in check disintegrated when it became clear that Britain was preparing to grant the region its independence. Intercommunal violence raged for the year previous to and for the six weeks following the Independence and partition of India and Pakistan in August of 1947. Hundreds of thousands of people were slaughtered and over ten million were forced to flee their homes in attempts to make it over the line of partition, with this initial period of large-scale violence ending several weeks later only as a result of the wholesale separation or elimination of persecuted minorities. Violence erupted once again in October of 1947 in the predominantly Muslim state of Kashmir after the Raja decided to have his territory join India. The Indian army was deployed to suppress the Muslim uprising, and was soon met by Pakistani forces sent across the border to assist the Kashmiri rebels. Thus, this latter part of the conflict has come to be known as the First Indo-Pakistani War, though inter-state war was never officially declared. As of the January, 1949 UN-brokered ceasefire, India had established de facto control over most of the province, though an official agreement was never reached and the region remains a source of contention today. Death estimates for the period of 1946-1949 average approximately 760,000.

Philippines I (Huk Insurrection) 1946-1954

The Huks were a pro-Marxist guerrilla group that had originally formed to fight Japanese occupation of the Philippines during World War II. After the surrender of the Japanese and the establishment of an independent Philippines, the Huks turned their efforts in August of 1946 toward violently combating what they perceived as the corrupt and socially inequitable policies of the Philippine government. The insurrection, which drew as many as 12,000 active participants at its 1948 peak, was finally quashed in 1954 as a result of a combination of civic action and counter-guerrilla military strategy employed by the Philippine Ministry of Defense. Luis Taruc, leader of the Huks, surrendered to the Government in May of 1954, bringing an end to a war that had cost 9,000 people, including 5,000 civilians, their lives.

See: Greenberg, Laurence. 1987. *The Hukbalahap Insurrection*. Washington, DC: US Army Center for Military History. Kerkvliet, BJ. 1982. *The Huk Rebellion*. Berkeley, CA: University of California.

Vietnam I (French-Indochina War) 1946-1954

Vietnam's violent bid for independence began in December of 1946 when French garrisons stationed in the country were attacked by the Vietminh, a communist-dominated political party based in the North and led by Ho Chi Minh. Despite the establishment in 1949 of a Vietnamese provisional government recognized by France and the United States, the Vietminh continued to wage an increasingly destructive guerrilla war with significant help from the Chinese. In March of 1954 the rebels laid siege to the strategic French stronghold at Dienbienphu in northwestern Vietnam, and in May of 1954 the French defending Dienbienphu were forced to surrender. France's bid to maintain influence in the country was subsequently effectively dead. The Geneva Accords of July 1954, in addition to officially declaring a ceasefire, established a Vietminh government north of the 17th parallel and designated the southern region of the country for Vietnamese non-communists. Approximately 600,000 people lost their lives during the war.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Dalloz, Jacques. 1990. *The War in Indo-China 1945-54* tr. Josephine Bacon. Dublin, Ireland: Dill and Macmillan. O'balance, Edgar. 1964. *The Indo-China War*. London: Faber and Faber.

Madagascar (MDRM/Nationalist Revolt) 1947-1948

Nationalist Malagasy tribesmen rose in revolt in March of 1947 against the French, who had declared the island to be a French overseas territory in 1946. The revolt, which was blamed on extremist factions within the Democratic Movement for Malagasy Renewal (MDRM), was put down by December of 1948, but not before 6,000 people had been killed in the violence.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Clayton, Anthony, 1994. *The Wars of French Decolonization*. New York: Longman.

Paraguay (Coup Attempt) 1947-1947

A coalition of left-wing political dissidents led by Colonel Rafael Franco rose in rebellion against the military dictatorship of General Higinio Morinigo in March of 1947. After six months of civil war, the rebels were crushed by forces loyal to Morinigo in August of 1947. Approximately 2,500 people died during the fighting.

Yemen North I (Coup) 1948-1948

The theocratic reign of Imam Yahya of the Hamid family was brought to an end in a coup in February of 1948 by a coalition of dissidents, some unhappy with the regime for religious, social or economic reasons, and some purely seeking to advance their own political power. The Imam, killed during the coup, was replaced for a few short weeks by ringleader Abdulla al-Wazir, who was in turn deposed in mid-March by Yahya's son, Ahmad. Ahmad's re-usurpation of power placed rule of North Yemen back into the hands of the Hamid family, and he ruled with an iron fist for nearly 15 more years. Approximately 4,000 Yemenis lost their lives over the course of the tumultuous month.

Burma I (Communist Revolt) 1948-1989

The Burmese Communist Party (BCP) was formed in 1939 and officially went underground in March of 1948 following the establishment of an independent Burma. At its height in 1978, the party had a membership of 23,000 and at one point controlled a 20,000 square-kilometer base in northeastern Shan State. The Burmese government received assistance from the United States, which donated equipment and supplies to help fight rebel groups suspected of involvement in the international opium trade. The BCP benefited from a close relationship with China, but by the 1980s, China began to move away from its policy of full-fledged support for the BCP, pressuring BCP members to abandon their cause. The BCP waged war against the Burmese government until April of 1989, when it collapsed and disintegrated as a result of internal mutinies. No differentiated statistics for death estimates are currently available for each sector of the Burmese civil war.

See: Cady, John F. 1958. *A History of Modern Burma*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; Charney, Michael W. *A History of Modern Burma*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press; Smith, Martin. 1991. *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity*. London: Zed Books.

Costa Rica (Civil War) 1948-1948

After the results of Costa Rica's presidential election of 1948 were annulled by Congress in March of that year, civil war broke out between the supporters of Otilio Ulate, the winner of the election, and those of his defeated rival, Rafael Calderon Guardia. Despite receiving assistance from the governments of Nicaragua and Honduras, Calderon's forces were unable to defeat those backing Ulate, led by Colonel

Jose "Pepe" Figueres Ferrer. Ferrer took control of the government and established a military junta in May of 1948, after nearly 2,000 people had died.

Colombia I (*La Violencia*) 1948-1958

La Violencia refers to the period of Colombian history from 1948 through 1958, during which civil war ravaged the cities and the countryside as Liberal and Conservative factions struggled for control of the central government. Violence began in April of 1948, when the Liberal populist leader Jorge Eliecer Gaitan was assassinated; after only three days of resulting rioting in Bogota, nearly 2,000 people had died. Factional unrest quickly spread to the outlying areas, and continued unabated until a political compromise was reached in 1957. Liberals and Conservatives agreed to alternate rights to the national presidency, and in August of 1958 Lleras Camargo, a Liberal, became the first president elected under the National Front. 300,000 people died during the decade of violence.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Safford, Frank and Marco Palacios. 2001. *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society*. New York: Oxford University Press; Oquist, Paul. 1980. *Violence, Conflict, and Politics in Colombia*. New York: Academic Press. Osterling, Jorge. 1989. *Democracy in Colombia*. New Brunswick: Transaction.

Malaysia (Malayan Emergency) 1948-1960

The Malayan Emergency spanned a period of twelve years, from June of 1948 through July of 1960, during which guerrilla warfare and endemic terrorism ravaged the Malay Peninsula. The initiators of the struggle were members of the Malaysian Communist Party (MCP, or Min Yuen), a group initially trained and armed by the British to fight Japanese occupiers of the peninsula during World War II. After the expulsion of the Japanese, the MCP turned their efforts against their British overlords and the Malaysian puppet authorities. The MCP, backed in part by the government of China, systematically murdered rubber planters and brutally terrorized the countryside for over a decade, cloaking their Communist agenda in a thin guise of demands for national independence (the illegitimacy of which was revealed after MCP efforts continued even after Malaysia had become independent in 1957). The British, eager to defeat the guerrillas at a time when communism was perceived to be spreading rapidly, sent 45,000 troops to the colony and succeeded in enlisting the support of Australia and New Zealand. The MCP was eventually defeated as a result of a combination of large-scale military offensives, progressive economic and political policy adjustments, and the massive resettlement of peasants and squatters. Malaysians living in remote jungles were moved to "New Villages," out of the influence of the Communist terrorists, and the MCP suffered and was eventually defeated as a result of lack of support and recruits. In July of 1960, the government declared the emergency to be officially over. Total deaths numbered over 12,000.

See: Clutterbuck, Richard L. 1966. *The Long, Long War: Counterinsurgency in Malaya and Vietnam*. New York, NY: Praeger; Nagl, John A. 2002. *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Short, Anthony. 1975. *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya 1948-1960*. London, UK: Frederick Muller.

Burma II (Karen Revolt) 1948-Present

The tribal rebellion of Christian Karens in southeastern Burma is considered to be one of the longest-running wars of the twentieth century, stretching from August of 1948, when the Karens captured Thaton and Moulmein, to the present day. Ethnic Karens comprise one of the largest of a plethora of tribal groups within the state, most of which have been fighting the Burmese government in one form or another since independence was granted by the British in 1948. The group, led by the Karen National Union (KNU), which has as its objective the establishment of an independent Karen state, has been strengthened at times as a result of uneasy alliances with other rebel factions, the most notable of which was a collaboration formed with rebel Communists in the early years of the war. The Burmese government, on the other hand, has benefited from the assistance of the United States, which has donated machinery and supplies for the purposes of fighting an opium trade that rests largely in the hands of rebel groups. Because the Karen revolt is only one part of a much wider pattern of Burmese civil unrest, differentiated statistics specific to each faction are not available. Fighting between the Karens and the government continues to this day, as neither side, despite significant periodic advantages and disadvantages, has ever secured a decisive military victory.

See: Cady, John F. 1958. *A History of Modern Burma*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; Charney, Michael W. *A History of Modern Burma*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press; Smith, Martin. 1991. *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity*. London: Zed Books.

India II (Hyderabad) 1948-1948

Civil unrest erupted after the Muslim Nizam of Hyderabad opted to have his 81% Hindu state join Pakistan instead of India following the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. In what it labeled a "Police Action," India amassed troops along the Hyderabad border in the spring of 1948 and eventually invaded the state in September of that same year. Hyderabad was quickly annexed by India, after some 2,200 people had died during the ethnic unrest and ensuing occupation.

South Korea (Yosu Sunch'on Revolt) 1948-1948

A short-lived communist-led revolt of several army regiments took place in the port city of Yosu in October of 1948. The revolt was crushed by the government, and approximately 16,000 people lost their lives.

Korea (Korean War) 1950-1953

Following the surrender of Japan at the end of World War II, the United States and the USSR agreed to divide Korea along the 38th Parallel for the purposes of disarming Japanese troops: those to the north of the line would surrender to the Soviets, while those in the South would be managed by the Americans. Though the U.S. saw this division as a temporary logistical provision, the Soviets took the boundary to represent a permanent political border. They refused to cooperate both with U.S. attempts to convene talks on the status of the peninsula as a whole, as well as with subsequent UN efforts to establish an

independent Korean government through free elections. In August of 1947, after two years of Soviet non-cooperation, the Republic of Korea was proclaimed in the South, and within two more years the U.S. had completely withdrawn from the peninsula. Viewing the South as illegitimate, the Soviets set up a puppet Communist government in the North, establishing its capital at Pyongyang and financing and organizing a meticulously well-trained and well-equipped North Korean Army (NKA). It was this army that invaded the South in June of 1950, taking the entire international community by surprise. The NKA's aggressive action was met almost immediately by a U.S.-led 14-nation military response on behalf of the United Nations, and was the beginning of a tumultuous war that would last over three years. Though the North Koreans were initially only supported by Soviet financing and supplies, Chinese troops entered the war on their behalf in November of 1950 after the U.S. coalition had fought its way up through the territory of the North. The war would see offensives and counteroffensives that would dramatically swing battlefield advantage from one side to the other every few months, and fighting was not terminated for good until July of 1953, when negotiations led to an armistice that accepted the existing battle line (about halfway up the peninsula) as the de facto political boundary. Approximately 1,000,000 people lost their lives because of the war.

See: Clodfelter (2008).

Indonesia II (Ambon/Moluccans) 1950-1950

Following the independence of Indonesia, the Calvinist Moluccans of the island of Ambon, who had supported the Dutch during the Indonesian War of Independence, declared their own independence in April of 1950. Indonesia, eager to consolidate its territory and quell any internal ethnic uprisings, sent troops to the island in July and quickly conquered it by December of the same year. Over 12,000 Ambonese soldiers and their families were forced to flee to the Netherlands, and approximately 5,000 people were killed during the initial occupation and the low-level terrorist violence that ensued.

China IIa (Tibet) 1950-1951

The government of Communist China asserted its sovereignty over Tibet in October of 1950 when it sent a large invasion force to take control of the country. Though Tibet was fully annexed by September of 1951, the Dalai Lama, the spiritual and political leader of the ethnic Tibetans, was allowed to remain in the state as a figurehead, and little about the Tibetan way of life was changed until the coming of the Cultural Revolution in the mid-1950s. Despite a Tibetan appeal to the UN, no foreign intervention took place during the initial annexation, and approximately 5,000 people died during the operation and the ensuing first year of occupation.

Tunisia (War of Independence) 1952-1956

The Tunisian War of Independence began in March of 1952, when widespread rioting broke out throughout the country in protest of French colonial rule. A guerrilla war followed for the next four

years under the leadership of Habib Bourguiba, who eventually became the country's first president. France granted independence to Tunisia in March of 1956. Approximately 2,500 people were killed during the war.

See: Clayton (1999); Clayton. 1994. *The Wars of French Decolonization*. New York: Longman. Clayton, Anthony. 1988. *France, Soldiers, and Africa*. London: Brassey's.

Bolivia II (Bolivian National Revolution) 1952-1952

The Bolivian National Revolution took place in April of 1952, when the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), a worker- and peasant-oriented (though not Communist) political opposition group, succeeded in overthrowing the military junta that was then in power. The MNR armed civilians, miners and peasants, and succeeded in ousting the junta within only a couple of days. Roughly 1,000 people died in the fighting. The Bolivian Revolution is considered to be one of the most important social revolutions in Latin American history, primarily on account of the sweeping and massive reforms that were enacted once the MNR, led by Victor Paz Estenssoro, came to power. The tin-mining industry, which had been corruptly supported by previous governments, was nationalized, peasants were given the right to own property, and universal suffrage was extended to all citizens regardless of literacy or property status, making the previously-powerless Indian peasant minority a formidable consideration in Bolivian politics for decades to come.

Egypt (Free Officers' Coup) 1952-1952

Disenchanted by Egypt's humiliating defeat in the Israeli War of Independence and weary of residual British influence within the government, an underground group known as the "Free Officers" formed within the army in 1949 with the intent of overthrowing the regime of King Faruk. In July of 1952, fearing that the King would soon take action against them, the leaders of the Free Officers usurped power and forced Faruk to abdicate. Approximately 1,000 people died during the coup.

Kenya I (Mau Mau) 1952-1956

The Mau Mau Revolt, though commonly thought of as a nationalist struggle because of the significant role it played in the eventual achievement of Kenyan independence, was primarily a struggle over gross economic inequalities within Kenyan society. Because the British settlers held most positions of power and prosperity, the majority of the struggle was directed against British rule and consequently took on a nationalist tone. However, the fact that a lower-intensity Mau Mau revolt continued against the African elite even after Kenyan independence was obtained demonstrates that the struggle was not primarily nationalist in nature. The Mau Mau were based in the remote forests of Kenya and drew their support primarily from the Kikuyu tribe, though a significant number of Kikuyu opposed the operation. Violent resistance began in October of 1952 with the brutal murders of a British farmer and his family, and continued for nearly four years in a campaign of terrorist and guerrilla violence, during which approximately 12,000 people were killed. The British sent 50,000 troops to Kenya to squash the revolt, and although they were successful in wiping it out almost entirely by November of 1956, they were

forced to recalculate the costs and benefits of maintaining their East African colonies. Kenya eventually received its independence from Britain in 1963, though almost all of the inequalities that had prompted violence remained intact even after the African leadership had taken over.

See: Clayton (1999); Clayton, Anthony. 1984. *Counter-insurgency in Kenya*. London: Sunflower. Bennett, Huw. 2007. The Other Side of the COIN: Minimum and Exemplary Force in British Army Counterinsurgency in Kenya. *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 18:4, 638-664.

Morocco I (War of Independence) 1952-1956

Riots erupted in Casablanca in December of 1952 in protest of the allegedly French-sponsored assassination of a Moroccan trade union leader. Spearheaded by the outlawed pro-independence party known as *Istiqlal*, anti-colonial agitation grew steadily among the Moroccan populace over the next few months. Sultan Mohammed V was deposed and exiled by a French-backed uprising of tribal leaders in Marrakesh in August of 1953, but the ploy to weaken the independence movement was unsuccessful. Increasing anti-colonial sentiment led to terrorist resistance that soon made the country ungovernable, and in November of 1955 Sultan Mohammad was reinstated as ruler. The French granted Morocco its independence in March of 1956, after approximately 3,000 people had been killed.

See: Clayton (1999); Clayton. 1994. *The Wars of French Decolonization*. New York: Longman. Clayton, Anthony. 1988. *France, Soldiers, and Africa*. London: Brassey's.

Indonesia III (Acheh Revolt) 1953-1959

The Indonesian region of Acheh had established a penchant for rebellion long before its war with Indonesia was declared in September of 1953. Having fought lengthy battles against both Dutch and Japanese colonizers, the Achenese continued their fight for independence against the newly sovereign Indonesian government once it became clear that promises of autonomy for the devoutly Muslim province would not be fulfilled. Led by Acheh governor Tengku Muhammad Daud Beureueh, the rebels waged a six-year guerilla campaign from the forests and mountains of the region that was at times closely associated with the broader and more extreme *Darul Islam* movement sweeping Java and Sulawesi. In May of 1959, however, most of Daud Beureueh's followers deserted him and signed a separate peace with the Indonesian government that established Acheh as a "Special Region" with autonomous status. 15,500 people were killed during the course of the revolt.

China IIb (Tibet) 1954-1959

Open revolt in Tibet began in August of 1954, when an uprising in the Kham region forced the Chinese army to withdraw temporarily from the area. The revolt, carried out by 40,000 Kham tribesmen, was eventually put down by brutal suppression and the executions of those involved. Sporadic resistance continued until March of 1959, when a massive revolt broke out in Lhasa, forcing the Dalai Lama to flee to safety in India. The rebellion was suppressed by the Chinese army after a week of heavy fighting, and

guerrilla activity subsequently decreased considerably. Roughly 85,000 people were killed during the series of revolts.

See: Jian, Chen. 2006. The Tibetan Rebellion of 1959 and China's Changing Relations with India and the Soviet Union. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 8:3, 54-101.

Algeria I (War of Independence) 1954-1962

The Algerian War of Independence was launched in November of 1954, when the Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN) attacked various French military, police, and communications outposts throughout the territory. At first viewed with some reserve by the general Algerian populace and other, non-violent independence movements, the FLN swiftly grew in ranks and legitimacy in the first few years of the war. French retaliation against civilians in response to FLN terrorism drove Algerian popular support into the hands of the guerrillas, and for eight long years the war caused the complete disruption of the French-Algerian way of life. Pressured by domestic opinion and by French settlers (*colons*) to keep the situation under control, the French government would eventually send 400,000 troops, nearly half of its entire army, to the territory in an unsuccessful bid to stem the violence. As the years unfolded, the war became unmanageable: the FLN's tactics were met by equally violent attacks undertaken by extremist *colons* against both native Algerians and the French army. When newly-installed President Charles de Gaulle, realizing the impossibility of a French victory, proposed a referendum in the territory on the matter of Algerian independence, *colon* violence swelled to new heights. De Gaulle nonetheless followed through on his promise and a cease-fire was declared in March of 1962. *Colon* violence dropped precipitously following the declaration of Algerian independence in May of that year, as nearly all French nationals left the territory. By the end of the war, nearly 180,000 people had died, 82,000 of which were civilians. Other than FLN use of Tunisian military bases, there was no external involvement in the war.

See: Clayton (1999); Clayton. 1994. *The Wars of French Decolonization*. New York: Longman. Clayton, Anthony. 1988. *France, Soldiers, and Africa*. London: Brassey's; O'Ballance, Edgar. 1967. *The Algerian Insurrection, 1954-62*. London, UK: Faber and Faber; Home, Alastair. 1977. *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962*. New York: Viking.

Cameroon (War of Independence) 1955-1960

Violent anti-colonial demonstrations took place in French Cameroon in July of 1955, prompting the outlawing of the main Cameroon independence party, the Union des Populations Camerounaises (UPC). What followed was a five-year guerrilla war led by the UPC that eventually made its way as well into the neighboring region of British Cameroon. France eventually agreed to independence for its territory, which was secured in January of 1960. British Cameroon joined the newly independent Republic of Cameroon in January of 1961, following a UN-directed plebiscite. A total of 32,000 people were killed during the resistance.

See: Clayton (1999); Clayton. 1994. *The Wars of French Decolonization*. New York: Longman. Clayton, Anthony. 1988. *France, Soldiers, and Africa*. London: Brassey's

Sudan Ia (Anya Nya) 1955-1972

The first Sudanese civil war began in August of 1955 when the Equatoria Corps, a Southern military division of the Sudanese army, mutinied and went into hiding with their weapons. It was from this beginning that the *Anya Nya* movement, a guerrilla effort aimed at establishing an autonomous region in the Christian-dominated South, arose. Intent on retaining its control, the northern-based Islamic central government waged an eighteen-year struggle against the *Anya Nya* with assistance from Egypt and the Soviet Union. The Southerners received assistance from Ethiopia, Congolese rebels and Israel. A negotiated settlement to the war was achieved in March of 1972 in the form of the Addis Ababa accords, which designated the South as an autonomous region within the Sudan. Approximately 250,000 people, most of them civilians, were killed throughout the course of the war.

Jok, Jok M. 2007. *Sudan: Race, Religion and Violence*. Oneworld Books; Collins, Robert O. 2008. *A History of Modern Sudan*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Johnson, Douglas H. 2003. *Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*. James Currey.

Argentina (Coup) 1955-1955

After nearly ten years of rampant corruption and unfulfilled promises of economic prosperity, Argentinean dictator Juan Peron was deposed in a military coup in September of 1955. Approximately 2,000 people died during the three days of civil war, though Peron himself escaped via a Paraguayan gunboat and eventually settled in exile in Spain.

India III (Naga Revolt) 1956-1975

Nagaland erupted in rebellion in March of 1956, when Angami Zapu Phizo established the underground Naga Federal Government (NFG) and Naga Federal Army (NFA). Nearly twenty years of rebellion ended in November of 1975, when the Nagas agreed to halt violent activity in exchange for general amnesty. Roughly 3,500 people were killed during the fighting.

See: Ali, S. Mahmud. 1993. *The Fearful State: Power, People and Internal War in South Asia*. London: Zed Books.

Cuba (Cuban Revolution) 1956-1959

After a stint of a few years spent training in Mexico while exiled from their homeland, Fidel Castro and a group of revolutionary followers attempted to return to Cuba in November of 1956, bent on replacing the corrupt and dictatorial regime of Fulgencio Batista with a government that embodied Communist principles. The group was met with heavy government resistance when they landed, but Castro was able to flee to the Sierra Maestra Mountains with what few followers he had left alive. For the next two years the rebels waged a guerrilla campaign from the mountains, slowly building up a solid base of public support before finally moving out and driving on Havana in the late months of 1958. The rebels

were able to easily take the capital, and in January of 1959 Castro became leader of Cuba after Batista had fled the country. Nearly 5,000 people died in the course of the revolution.

See: Thomas, Hugh. 1971. *The Cuban Revolution*. London: Harpercollins; Banochea, RL and M San Martin. 1974. *The Cuban Insurrection*. New Brunswick: Transaction; Sweig, Julia. 2002. *Inside the Cuban Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Vietnam II (Vietnam War) 1957-1975

With the independence of Vietnam following the end of the French-Indochina war and the 1954 Geneva Accords' provisional partition of the country along the 17th parallel, a temporary separation of the ideological factions of North and South was achieved. Massive instability followed in the South, as 850,000 refugees from the North poured in to a country whose economy was in ruins and whose various religious and ethnic sects were engaged in constant jockeying for political control. Severely repressive measures undertaken by Prime Minister Ngo Dinh Diem to maintain order only further exacerbated the conditions of social unrest. By October of 1957, networks of Communists who had remained in the South following partition (the Viet Cong) had been rearmed, retrained and regrouped by the North Vietnamese and were engaged in a full-scale civil war with the South Vietnamese government. Viet Cong guerrillas terrorized government officials and South Vietnamese villagers who refused to go along with the Communist agenda, actions which quickly invited the attention of Western democracies convinced that Vietnam was the lynchpin among the Southeast Asian dominoes. Massive intervention on behalf of the South Vietnamese government followed. The United States, which initially sent only 400 Green Beret "Special Advisors" (to train the Civilian Irregular Defense Groups - CIDG - Montagnards) in May of 1961, would eventually send a military contingent of over 500,000 troops by 1969. South Korea, Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines also contributed militarily to the efforts of the South, while China and the USSR supported the efforts of the North. By 1964, regular soldiers of the North Vietnamese army were fighting alongside Viet Cong guerrillas, and from 1965 until 1968 the North consequently faced a relentless bombing campaign at the hands of the U.S. military. Unused to engaging in guerrilla warfare and unable to gain a military advantage in the dense jungles, the U.S. government began withdrawing troops from the nation in 1969. Facing mounting body counts and strong public disapproval of the war, the U.S. negotiated a ceasefire in Paris in January of 1973, and the defense of South Vietnam was left wholly to the South Vietnamese army. Defense efforts absent Western assistance did not last long, and the South was overrun by Northern troops in April of 1975. The two parts were joined in a unified, communist Vietnam in November 1975, and the civil war was officially brought to a halt. More than 2,000,000 people were killed during the course of the nearly twenty year-long war.

See: Clodfelter (2008); see the extensive bibliography in Beckett (2001: 213-15).

Indonesia IV (PRRI Revolt) 1958-1961

The Revolutionary Government of the Indonesian Republic (PRRI) was proclaimed by a rebel group of Sumatran military officers, Masyumi party politicians and others in February of 1958 while President Sukarno was out of the country. The tensions between the central government and Sumatra and the

eastern regions, which had spurred the coup, had developed following the resignation of Mohammad Hatta in 1956. It was Hatta that the PRRI sought to install in Sukarno's place. Despite U.S. aid to the rebels, the Indonesian military was able to put down most of the revolt within a year. By June of 1961 nearly all of the remaining PRRI rebels had surrendered and the central government had established firm control over the outlying Indonesian regions. More than 31,000 people had died during the fighting.

Lebanon Ia (First Lebanese Civil War) 1958-1958

The First Lebanese Civil War erupted as Muslims and Druze took to violent rebellion against the Christian Maronite government, the tensions which had been growing steadily within Lebanese society finally coming to a head in April of 1958. Viewing themselves as cheated and under-represented in a government that disproportionately favored the minority Christians, Muslims were encouraged to fight by a recent surge in Pan-Arab sentiment and by a sense of general unrest in the Middle East following an Army revolt in Iraq. Lebanese President Camille Shamun (Chamoun) appealed for Western intervention, arguing that an opportunistic invasion by (Soviet-backed) Syria was imminent, and was granted the assistance of over 14,000 U.S. Marines. The presence of the Marines stabilized the situation on the ground, and tensions were eased by an agreement among the parties to replace President Shamun with General Fuad Shihab. The Marines withdrew in October of 1958, and, though approximately 1,400 people had died in the violence, the First Lebanese Civil War is generally thought of as an extremely mild episode of civil unrest compared to other Middle Eastern wars and insurrections.

Iraq I (Army Revolt) 1958-1958

The Hashemite monarchy of King Faisal II was overthrown by an army revolt in July of 1958. The newly established Iraqi government was led by coup-leader Brigadier General Abdul-Karim Qassem. Nearly 2,000 people died during the short war.

Iraq II (Mosul Revolt) 1959-1959

One of several revolts against the new government of Brigadier General Abdul-Karim Qassem that took place in 1959, the Mosul Revolt was initiated in March by the army garrison stationed in Mosul and was backed by the Shammar tribe. The Shammars controlled land between Mosul and Syria and feared impending agrarian reforms planned by Qassem, and the garrison's leaders were discontent with, among other things, Qassem's impending withdrawal from the Western-backed Baghdad Pact defense program. The rebellion was brutally suppressed, with nearly 2,000 people dying as a result.

Laos (Pathet Lao) 1959-1973

Independence from France in October of 1953 gave rise to a three-way political power struggle between Leftists, pro-Western Rightists and Neutralists within the Laotian Government. As the Rightists slowly gained more positions of authority throughout the 1950s and consequently attempted to suppress their opposition, discontent grew. The Communist Laotian Patriotic Front (also known as the Pathet Lao), purportedly aided by North Vietnam, launched a 7,500-man offensive in Northern Laos in July of 1959, thus officially beginning the Laotian Civil War. The fighting, which lasted for fourteen years and was interspersed by weak periodic ceasefires, took place chiefly between the Pathet Lao and primarily-Rightist Royal Government forces, though the Neutralists, shifting alliances and loyalties constantly throughout the war, were able to seize (and lose) power several times in occasional coups. Military advantage throughout the early part of the war lay with the Communists, who had managed to gain control of more than three-fifths of the country before U.S. intervention slowed their success. Though the U.S. had already stationed 5,000 troops in Northern Thailand in 1962 to prevent the Pathet Lao from crossing into that country, the first major U.S. action taken against the Communists took place in 1965, when American fighter-bombers began targeting Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese positions in the Northern regions of Laos. Bombing missions increased in intensity and frequency as the Communists continued to fight with success in the North, and the C.I.A. trained and armed members of the Northern Highland Hmong (Meo) tribe in order to reinforce Laotian Royal Army soldiers. North Vietnamese support of the Pathet Lao reached a peak of 67,000 troops, though most were involved in guarding the Ho Chi Minh trail, and support for the Communists was also received from the USSR and China. In addition to U.S. intervention, the Laotian Government was aided by Thailand, which sent 15,000 troops to support the Royal Lao Army, and South Vietnam, which launched an unsuccessful attempt to seize control of the Ho Chi Minh trail from the Communists in 1971. Military advantage and strategic territorial control continued to change hands until a ceasefire was declared in February of 1973: a coalition government comprised of all major warring parties was formed and significant battlefield fighting ceased. By 1975 the Pathet Lao gained control of the country in a generally non-violent fashion and a People's Republic was established in Laos. Nearly 25,000 people died as a result of the civil war.

Burma III (Shan Rebellion) 1959-Present

The Shans of Northeastern Burma have been in revolt against the Burmese central government since May of 1958, when a group known as the "Young Brave Warriors" (*Noom Suk Harn*) was established to free Shan state from official Burmese rule and from the Chinese KMT, who were occupying the area at the time. Though a good number of Shan rebels made peace with the government in 1989, some members of the Shan State Army (SSA), the group's most dominant rebel force in recent decades, stayed underground or joined other rebel forces.

See: Cady, John F. 1958. *A History of Modern Burma*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; Charney, Michael W. *A History of Modern Burma*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press; Smith, Martin. 1991. *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity*. London: Zed Books.

Burma IV (Kachin Rebellion) 1960-1994

The Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) and its military wing, the Kachin Independence Army (KIA), waged war against the central Burmese government from their inception in February of 1960 until February of 1994, when an agreement was reached following the withdrawal of support from China, a series of damaging government offensives, and the rise in influence of more moderate groups within the organization. The Kachins, a predominantly Christian ethnic group residing in Northeast Burma, had been fighting for the independence of the region from the officially-Buddhist state. They secured a measured degree of autonomy and economic support from the government following the cessation of hostilities.

See: Cady, John F. 1958. *A History of Modern Burma*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; Charney, Michael W. *A History of Modern Burma*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press; Smith, Martin. 1991. *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity*. London: Zed Books.

Zaire/Congo I (Katanga/Stanleyville) 1960-1965

The first series of Congolese civil wars followed an eleven-year period at the end of Belgian colonial rule during which tribal unrest and political disorder were rampant. When the Congo was granted its independence in June of 1960, the turmoil which had thus far been kept at least partially in check by the Europeans exploded into a state-wide situation of near-anarchy in which looting, rioting, rape and murder became endemic. For the five years following independence, the Congo would limp through a near-total collapse of central authority that was the result of constant coups, scores of rebellions and massive foreign intervention. Two issues among the many that plagued Congolese political life during these years of the First Republic stand out. The first, which consumed nearly all of the government's attentions during the initial three years of the war, was the status of the breakaway province of Katanga, led by Moïse Tshombe. Katanga, rich in natural resources and consequently the site of an extensive Belgian-created manufacturing infrastructure, had always received preferential treatment from European colonizers and had thus developed a sense of identity that emphasized its distinction from the rest of the territory. When the Congo was declared independent, leaders of Katanga in turn declared their own independence from the Congo. Patrice Lumumba, the Congo's Leftist premier, appealed to the UN for assistance in suppressing the revolt and welcomed military advisors sent by the Soviet Union and other members of the Communist Bloc. Like many African nationalists at the time, Lumumba's sympathetic relationship with the Communist world was founded upon shared vehemently anti-West sentiments. Adding to these sentiments was the continued presence of nearly 10,000 Belgian troops in Katanga, which the Congolese government saw as an aggressive Western attempt to usurp the state's newfound sovereignty. The UN responded to Lumumba's plea, demanding the withdrawal of the Belgians and sending a peacekeeping force that at its maximum strength would reach almost 20,000 troops. After years of fighting, the removal and death of Lumumba, and the departure of the Belgians, the Katanga rebels were finally defeated by UN troops in December of 1962. UN presence in the Congo was drastically reduced thereafter and was eliminated completely by the end of 1964. Concurrent to the Katanga problem were various revolts throughout the state, most notably in the region of Stanleyville. Following the ousting of Lumumba in September of 1960, a pro-Lumumba government was established in Stanleyville to rival the central administration. Backed by the Communist bloc, the Stanleyville rebels fought the now pro-West central government until late in 1964, when they were defeated by a Congolese army strengthened by Belgian and U.S. intervention. Widespread tribal revolt

continued throughout the Congo, and was only contained through severely repressive measures instituted by Joseph Mobutu following his ascent to power in November of 1965. Roughly 65,000 people were killed during the course of the conflict.

Guatemala (Guatemalan Civil War) 1960-1996

The Guatemalan Civil War began in November of 1960, when several army units revolted against the government of General Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes. The revolt was easily put down with U.S. assistance, but discontent among several army officers and among the peasant population in general spawned subsequent Leftist movements that were united under the banner of the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR) in 1962. Though the FAR and other revolutionary movements were never particularly successful, the Guatemalan military, led by Colonel Carlos Arana Osorio and trained and supplied by the United States, escalated the war in 1966 by terrorizing the peasant Indian population through the use of counter-insurgency death squads. What had started as a war of ideology in defense of the poor soon became one tinged with strong ethnic overtones, though other groups with suspected Leftist orientations, such as teachers, clergy, students and union leaders, were targeted as well. The war continued for thirty-six years, through several coups and changes in government and numerous reshufflings of rebel group structure and organization. It was finally brought to a close in December of 1996 when leaders of the Guatemalan National Liberation Unit, the main rebel umbrella organization, made peace with the government of President Alvaro Arzu after sweeping social and economic reforms were promised. Nearly 150,000 people had died since the beginning of the civil war.

Angola I (War of Independence) 1961-1974

The Angolan War of National Independence broke out in March of 1961, shortly after neighboring Congo had obtained its own independence from Belgium. Angolan rebel groups, formed in the late 1950s by educated elites but crippled by a lack of secure territory, were finally strengthened once an independent Congo offered them a safe base from which to operate. The 1961 revolt, a result of Angolan dissatisfaction with the land ordinances and labor practices of their Portuguese colonizers, was led by the two original rebel groups, the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola), backed by money and weapons from the CIA, China and the Congolese government, and the pro-Marxist MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), backed by money and weapons from Cuba. A third rebel group known as Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) would break off from the FNLA in 1966 and become one of the chief parties in the war as well. The Portuguese government responded to the initial revolt, during which 700 white settlers were killed, by massacring over 20,000 black Angolans with months. After the initial violence died down, Portugal instituted significant land and labor reforms along with a hearts and minds campaign, and succeeded in weakening the rebels' cause by creating significant dissension among the native Angolan. Though they maintained a low-level of guerrilla resistance for over 13 years, the rebels were never a serious threat to Portuguese control of the territory. A coup in Lisbon forced the government to reassess its colonial struggles (most of which had been far less successful than the war in Angola), resulting in a ceasefire in October 1974. Portugal formally granted Angola its independence in November of 1975. Independence only gave way to more intense and bitter fighting though, as the three rebel groups quickly turned their violent efforts against

each other, each group seeking to control the government of the newly sovereign state. Close to 70,000 people were killed during the course of the war.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Clayton (1999); Van Der Waals, W.S. 1993. *Portugal's War in Angola, 1961-1974*. Rivonia, South Africa: Ashanti Publishing;

Ethiopia I (Eritrean Secession) 1961-1993

The war for Eritrean independence began in September of 1961, spearheaded by the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), a Soviet-backed Marxist guerrilla organization composed primarily of educated Arabic-speaking Muslims from the large cities. In spite of brutally repressive measures taken by the Ethiopian government of Haile Selassie, the ELF grew in strength throughout the 1960s due in large part to widespread popular support. In 1970, the war was complicated by the emergence of the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front (EPLF), also Soviet-backed and Marxist but more radical and comprised of a larger percentage of Tigrinya-speaking Christians, as a rival to its predecessor. The two groups proceeded to fight each other throughout the early 1970s, engaging in a mini-war in which 3,000 Eritreans were killed before the EPLF emerged victorious. The ELF managed to stay intact, but was eventually completely destroyed following a second round of EPLF-ELF fighting in 1981. In the meantime, the Ethiopian government of Haile Selassie had been overthrown during the revolution of 1974 by the Communist Dergue, which continued to brutally repress the efforts of the Eritreans. Although the EPLF had made significant advances during the middle of the decade, the Ethiopians were able to regain nearly all lost territory when the Soviets suddenly switched sides in 1977 and began shelling key Eritrean positions. The U.S., which had supported the efforts of Selassie, had withdrawn support from the Dergue, though the Israelis, seeking to minimize possible Arab influence in the Red Sea region, maintained support for Ethiopia for the duration of the war. The war continued for thirty years, causing the deaths of roughly 50,000 people and drastically complicating efforts to relieve famine in the area during the early 1980s. It was finally brought to an end following several years of successful EPLF offensives in the late 1980s and a final alliance formed between the EPLF and Tigraen rebels that caused the collapse of the Ethiopian army in May of 1991. A September 1993 referendum secured Eritrean independence.

See: Clapham (1998); Longrigg, Stephen H. 1974. *A Short History of Eritrea*. Westport: Greenwood Press; Young, John. 1996. The Tigray and Eritrean Peoples Liberation Fronts: A History of Tensions and Pragmatism. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34:1, 105-120.

Iraq IIIa (Kurds) 1961-1970

The Iraqi Kurds mobilized for revolt in September of 1961, with promises of autonomy from Iraqi General Abd al-Karim Qassem remaining unfulfilled. Seeking an independent Kurdish region in the north, the Kurdish army known as the *Pesh Merga*, led by Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) leader Mustafa Barzani, waged war from the mountains in the northeast and were at various times supported by Iran, the USSR, Israel, and the United States. Turkey remained neutral during the conflict, but allowed Iraqi Kurds to cross freely through Turkish territory. The war continued despite periodic

attempts at cease-fires until March of 1970, when Barzani was lured to the bargaining table with additional promises of autonomy from the newly installed Ba'th government. A peace agreement was signed, though it would last for only four years before fighting would again be renewed. 50,000 people had been killed during this phase of the conflict.

See: O'Ballance, Edgar. 1973. *The Kurdish Revolt: 1961-1970*. London, UK: Faber and Faber; Chaliand, Gerard. 1994. *The Kurdish Tragedy*, tr. Philip Black. London: Zed Books; Ciment, James. *The Kurds: State and Minority in Turkey, Iraq and Iran*. New York: Facts on File, Inc.

Yemen North II (Yemeni Civil War) 1962-1970

The Yemeni Civil War erupted in September of 1962, when Colonel Abdullah al-Sallal took control of the country during a republican uprising and deposed the royalist government of Imam Mohammed al-Badr. The imam escaped to the mountains and raised an army, which was supplied with arms and advisors by the monarchical states of Saudi Arabia and Jordan. The republicans, on the other hand, were reinforced by a contingent of 70,000 Egyptian troops sent by Gamal Abdel Nasser and the United Arab Republic. The Royalists remained strong despite Egyptian involvement, and controlled nearly three-quarters of the country at the time of Egypt's withdrawal from the conflict in 1967. Their advantage was short-lived, however, as the Republicans won a key victory at San'a in 1968 that marked a turning point in the war and irreversibly damaged Royalist morale. The Royalists conceded defeat and signed a peace agreement in April of 1970, ending the eight year-long civil war at a cost of more than 75,000 casualties.

Guinea-Bissau I (War of Independence) 1963-1974

The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), after several years of formal negotiations failed to secure independence for the two Portuguese territories, declared war on Portugal and began attacking army posts and police stations in January of 1963. In 1973, after the rebels had won control of two-thirds of the country, they proclaimed its independence and renamed the territory the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Portugal refused recognition, but later granted independence to Guinea in September of 1974 following a military coup in Lisbon. More than 11,000 people died during the war for independence.

Algeria II (Opposition to Bella) 1963-1963

An opposition group led by National Assemblyman Hocine Ait Ahmed declared war on the regime of Algerian Prime Minister and soon-to-be-President Ben Bella in June of 1963, disillusioned with Bella's increasing usurpation of power and intent on replacing him by force. Ait Ahmed's group, the Front of Socialist Forces (FFS), gained some territory in the Kabyle region but was never particularly successful. The FFS' struggle ended in November of 1963 when a key ally of Ait Ahmed, Colonel Ou El Hadj, made peace with the government. Remnants of the group, however, continued a low-level operation against

the government for another year, under the guise of the National Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CNDR). Estimated casualties total 1,500.

Cyprus Ia (Turks/Greeks) 1963-1964

Serious disagreement between Greek and Turkish Cypriotes over the implementation of the newly-independent country's constitution arose. Greek Cypriotes contended that the measures the Turks sought to implement were impractical, and President Makarios took steps to amend the constitution to thwart the Turkish agenda. As a result, communal violence erupted in December 1963. After months of failed attempts by international actors to reestablish peace, Turkey sent planes to defend Turkish Cypriote positions. With the threat of war between Greece and Turkey imminent, the UN brokered a ceasefire agreement between the Turkish and Cypriote governments in August 1964. Approximately 2,000 people died as a result of the conflict.

See: Crawshaw, Nancy. 1978. *The Cyprus Revolt*. Boston: Allen and Unwin; Scobie, WI. 1975. *The Struggle for Cyprus*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Rwanda Ia (First Tutsi Invasion) 1963-1964

Bands of Tutsi guerrillas who had fled Rwanda following the country's three year-long civil war (1959-1962; fewer than 1000 battle deaths per year) reorganized and, armed with bows and arrows and a few rifles, invaded the country from Burundi in December of 1963. The Tutsi bands were repulsed by the Hutu government's army, with roughly 20,000 fatalities occurring during the course of the invasion. This figure includes the retaliatory mass-killings of Rwandan Tutsis that followed, with anywhere from 9,500-126,000 Tutsi men, women and children being massacred before the end of January 1964.

Colombia II (FARC Insurgency) 1964-Present

The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the most successful of the present-day guerrilla organizations operating in the country, was established in May of 1964 by several members of the Communist Party of Colombia (PCC). Since then, the Leftist FARC insurgency has continued, sustained by for-profit kidnappings, raids on military posts and facilities, and entanglement in the illicit cocaine trade. Several attempts at maintaining a sustained peace process have been made, but the war continues. FARC now controls a large portion of the southern region of the country.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Beckett (2001); Safford, Frank and Marco Palacios. 2001. *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society*. New York: Oxford University Press; Oquist, Paul. 1980. *Violence, Conflict, and Politics in Colombia*. New York: Academic Press. Osterling, Jorge. 1989. *Democracy in Colombia*. New Brunswick: Transaction.

Mozambique I (War of Independence) 1964-1975

A war undertaken for the sake of securing Mozambican independence began in September of 1964, when targets in the northern regions of the country were attacked by the Front for the Liberation of

Mozambique (FRELIMO), a rebel organization drawn chiefly from the Makonde tribe and operating primarily out of Tanzania and Zambia. Although the Portuguese sent a large military contingent to the territory and received assistance from South Africa and the white Rhodesian government, their efforts were unable to quell the rebellion and proved ultimately unsuccessful when faced with the guerrilla tactics of the insurgents. By 1974, FRELIMO had won control of the north and most of the central region of the territory. An April 1974 coup in Lisbon led to the relinquishment of all Portuguese territories, with Mozambique being granted its independence in June of 1975. More than 33,000 casualties resulted from the war.

See: Henrikson, TH. 1978. *Mozambique: A History*. London: Rowman and Littlefield; Henrikson. 1978. *Revolution and Counterrevolution: Mozambique's War for Independence*. London: Rowman and Littlefield.

Dominican Republic (Dominican Civil War) 1965-1966

The civilian government of the Dominican Republic, installed in 1963 following a coup in which leftist president Juan Bosch had been deposed, was ousted by Bosch supporters in April of 1965, triggering a year-long civil war during which more than 3,000 people would die. Fighting ensued between the leftists, a combination of civilians and junior military officers, and rightist members of the Army and Air Force, led by General Elias Wessin y Wessin. A force of 20,000 U.S. troops descended on the country with the intention of preventing the leftists from securing control of the government, and in May a truce agreement was signed, bringing a provisional military junta to power. Civil war resumed when the junta ordered an attack on remaining rebel positions, and fighting continued until June of 1966, when a centrist won presidential elections sponsored by the Organization of American States, and both the U.S. and OAS contingents began their withdrawals.

India Ib (Second Kashmir War) 1965-1965

The Second Kashmir War began in August of 1965 when pro-Pakistan Muslim guerrillas infiltrated Indian Kashmir and drew fire from Indian forces. Within a few days, Pakistani regular forces had entered the area and the Indian army was engaging the Pakistanis in addition to the Kashmiri guerrillas. Fighting continued until September, when both sides accepted a UN resolution that called for a cease-fire. As per the Soviet-brokered Tashkent Declaration of 1966, both sides withdrew to their pre-August 1965 positions. Casualties for the conflict total roughly 6,000.

Indonesia V (Coup Attempt and PKI Elimination) 1965-1966

An unsuccessful coup undertaken by a group of pro-communist military officers in September of 1965 led to brutal mob reprisals against members of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) and against ethnic Chinese throughout the country. Particularly zealous were members of Ansor, the Nahdatul Ulama's youth organization, who saw the elimination of communists as a mandate of a "holy war" carried out in the name of an Islamic Indonesia. Between 300,000 and 500,000 people were massacred before March of 1966, when a politically-weak President Sukarno was forced to transfer power to Major General Suharto, and some semblance of order was restored.

Burundi Ia (Hutu Coup Attempt) 1965-1965

A weak coup attempt, driven partially by personal ambition but fueled by Hutu feelings of disenfranchisement and subordination, was led by radical Hutu leader Gervais Nyangona against the regime of Burundian King Mwambutsa IV in October of 1965. The coup failed, but sparked a few days of Hutu uprisings in which 500 Tutsi were killed. The army quickly crushed the insurrections, bringing total casualties to an estimated 5,000.

Chad (FROLINAT) 1965-1997

Riots broke out in the Muslim region of Northern Chad in November of 1965 in response to what was perceived as tax abuse and corruption on the part of Chad's central government, dominated by Southern Christians. The riots quickly evolved into a full-scale Northern rebellion, which was, as of 1966, led by the Front for the National Liberation of Chad (FROLINAT), a Muslim organization financed and supplied by Libya, a neighboring state which had interests in regaining control over several strips of land in Northern Chad over which sovereignty was in dispute. In response to significant FROLINAT advances during the first few years of the war, French assistance was requested and received; from 1968 through 1971, 3,500 French troops were sent to the North to combat rebel forces. By the time they left, the rebellion, though not altogether crushed, had been effectively stalled. Following the French withdrawal, FROLINAT forces were again built up, with yet more Libyan assistance, and by the time Chadian President Francois Tombalbaye was assassinated during a military coup in 1975, they had regained control over major portions of the Northern region. France once again intervened in 1978 to repel the group's advances. In February of 1979, the government of Chad again found itself in new hands. The military leadership which had taken over following Tombalbaye's assassination was deposed by followers of Hissane Habre, an important rebel commander who was leader of the Armed Forces of the North (FAN), a subdivision of the now-disintegrating FROLINAT. A coalition government was formed, with Habre being named Defense Minister and Goukouni Oueddide, Habre's rival and leader of the Popular Armed Forces (FAP) subdivision of FROLINAT, being named President. Civil unrest continued, and in March of 1979 Southern Christians engaged in large-scale slaughters of Muslims living in the region. A year later, in March of 1980, the coalition government broke down and civil war resumed in the North, this time with conflict occurring between the formerly tenuously-united Muslim factions of the FAP and FAN, led by Oueddide and Habre respectively. With Libyan assistance, Oueddide's FAP forced Habre's FAN to retreat, and a formal merger between Libya and Chad was announced. Essentially an annexation of Chad by Libya, the announcement met with strong international disapproval and Libya was forced out of the country by pressure from other African nations. Without Libyan support, Oueddide's forces lost control of the capital in 1982 and Habre returned to take over the government. In June of 1983, Oueddide's FAP was able to win certain regions of the North before French and U.S. intervention forced the group back. A "Red Line" was established by French forces along the 16th parallel, north of which Oueddide would have control, and south of which Habre would rule. Various Libyan-backed attempts by the FAP to breach the line were repulsed by French special forces, and in October of 1986 Oueddide made the surprising move of abandoning his long-time Libyan ally and attempting to make peace with Habre. Habre refused, and with the support of Northern tribes that had formerly back his rival, Habre took control of the North in the final months of 1986, forcing Oueddide to flee. The now-united Chadians then forced remaining Libyan troops out of the country with French and U.S. help, and a cease-fire was declared which provided for relative stability for nearly two years. In

November of 1990, however, Chad was again rocked by invasion and a change of government. The Mouvement Patriotique du Salut (MPS), another Libyan-backed rebel organization, invaded the country from the Sudan, and Idriss Deby, a former commander-in-chief of the armed forces who had been exiled by Habre, took power. Deby's reign has been characterized by promises of democratization marred by government massacres of civilians in the South, and by ongoing insurgencies throughout the country led by numerous resistance groups. The state of civil war continues today. More than 20,000 people died as a result of Chad's conflict with FROLINAT until 1997.

China III (Cultural Revolution) 1966-1969

After the Communists had secured political power in 1949 and the Chinese economy had begun to be restructured during the 1950s under the People's Commune system, there remained one aspect of the revolution that had, according to Chairman Mao Tse Tung, yet to be fulfilled. In order to prevent the establishment of a rigid class system from taking root within the party and society, a cultural purification would be necessary. To accomplish this, children were sent to "Re-education Camps," institutes in the countryside in which they were taught to fear those members of the party who could be perceived as adhering to "Rightist" views. In addition, the People's Liberation Army was reorganized, becoming the most visible symbol of the new Maoist agenda and the subject of many of the era's propaganda efforts. Beginning in May of 1966, when the publication of the first "Big Character Poster" at Beijing University prompted the inauguration of the violent phase of the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards and the PLA succeeded in routing many communist leaders and intellectuals deemed overly Rightist. Near-chaos ensued for the next three years, and was curtailed only when the PLA, with the reluctant permission of Mao, began to reign in the unruly youth of the Red Guards in an effort to stem their now overly-destructive enthusiasm. PLA-dominated "Three-in-One Committees" took power in the provinces and Chinese youth were sent away once again to be "re-educated" in favor of a more moderate political approach. In April of 1969, the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party officially declared the Cultural Revolution to be over, after 500,000-600,000 people had been killed.

Uganda I (Buganda) 1966-1966

After the British granted Uganda its independence in October of 1962, King Mutesa II, Kabaka (king) of Buganda, governed both the kingdom of Buganda and Uganda proper, which were joined by a loose federal relationship. A year later, Mutesa was elected president, and a new constitution established the position of prime minister, filled by Ugandan politician Milton Obote. In March 1966, Obote deposed Mutesa, who fled to Buganda and organized a separatist movement. Ugandan troops seized the Kabaka's palace in May of 1966, establishing Obote's authority as president over Buganda and compelling Mutesa to flee the country. Casualties from the two days of fighting average roughly 2,000.

Namibia (War of Independence) 1966-1990

The Namibian War of National Independence lasted from August of 1966, when the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) inaugurated its armed struggle, until March of 1990, when Namibia was officially declared to be an independent state. The conflict was precipitated by South Africa's refusal to withdraw from the territory following a 1966 United Nations resolution that revoked the country's mandate over the region. Despite multiple attempts to negotiate a settlement, the SWAPO insurgency

raged on, with the guerillas being trained by Cuban soldiers in neighboring Angola and using Angolan bases for shelter following the departure of the Portuguese in 1975. A U.S.-mediated peace agreement was finally reached in 1988, linking South African withdrawal from the region to Cuban withdrawal from Angola, and in March of 1990 Namibia became an independent state. Roughly 22,500 people were killed throughout the course of the war.

See: Moorcraft, Paul. 1990. *African Nemesis*. London: Brassey's. Beckett, Ian F. W. and John Pimlott eds. 1985. *Armed Forces & Modern Counter-Insurgency*. London: Croom Helm.

Nigeria I (Biafra) 1967-1970

A July 1966 military coup led by several Muslim army officers from the northern Hausa tribe led to violence against members of the predominantly-Christian Ibo tribe of the southeast who had moved to other regions of the country, prompting a mass exodus of Ibos from all regions of Nigeria back to Biafra, their native region in the southeast. After a May 1967 declaration of independence by oil-rich Biafra, the Nigeria government sent troops to retake the region in June of 1967. Although Biafran forces had initially been able to defend and even increase the territory under their control, extensive arms exports from Britain, the Soviet Union, and other Communist countries ultimately swayed the balance in favor of the Nigerian government. Biafrans contended that the supply of military equipment, which General Gowon of Nigeria claimed were commercial purchases, were intended as military aid to Nigeria. After several years of fighting, the government secured a complete military victory against Biafran forces in January of 1970, ending the war and Biafra's hopes for self-determination. Approximately 2 million of its original 12 million residents had died – nearly 90,000 as a direct result of the fighting – and the once-modernized country now lay in ruin.

Philippines (NPA Insurgency) 1969-present

The New People's Army (NPA), formed by a small group of Communist students in 1969, grew into a formidable government opponent by building support first among rural workers and then among marginalized residents of the urban slums. By the mid-1980s, the army consisted of 20,000 guerrillas and had a support base of 1 million people. The Marcos regime took to extreme measures to counter the rebels, including a declaration of martial law from 1972 to 1981. After the 1986 overthrow of the Marcos regime, the popularity of the new government and backlash against NPA violence contributed to a drop in support for the Communist terrorist group. Although the new government had initially attempted to improve relations with the NPA, its inability to appease NPA rebels resulted in a reversion to the violent tactics employed by the Marcos regime. NPA insurgency continues to this day.

Jordan (Palestinians) 1970-1971

Intermittent fighting between the Jordan army and Palestinian commandos occurred from February of 1970 to June 1971. During one confrontation in September 1970, Syrian troops attacked northern Jordan on behalf of the Palestinians, but Jordanian troops forced the invaders back into Syria. This incident was ended after roughly 2,100 casualties by a cease-fire with terms favorable to the Jordanians. The Jordanian army initiated a final confrontation with the commandos in June of 1971 in response to their failure to abide by the terms of the cease-fire, capturing or forcing out of the country the

remaining commandos. In late November, the Prime Minister of Jordan was assassinated, with members of the Black September Organization, named after the September 1970 warfare, claiming responsibility.

See: O'Ballance, Edgar. 1973. *Arab Guerilla Power, 1967-1972*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books.

Cambodia Ia (Khmer Rouge) 1970-1975

After monarch Prince Sihanouk was deposed by prime minister General Lon Nol in 1970, the fragile peace that he had helped maintain shattered. Lon Nol incited the persecution of suspected Viet Cong and the Vietnamese minority in the countryside; meanwhile, the once-fledgling Communist opposition group Khmer Rouge quickly drew support. Although U.S. aerial campaigns at times slowed the Communist guerrillas, Khmer Rouge, aided by the North Vietnamese, was able to gain control of the country piece by piece by means of destructive bombings and their overwhelming manpower. More than 200,000 fatalities resulted from the conflict.

Pakistan I (Bangladesh) 1971-1971

Agitation in East Pakistan (in the province of East Bengal) over the dominance of West Pakistani interests allowed the independence-oriented Awami League to win all but two of the National Assembly seats allocated to East Pakistan. In an attempt to stifle the movement for East Pakistani autonomy, the army killed and arrested thousands in East Bengal, prompting Awami leader Sheikh Mujibar to declare the region the nation of Bangladesh. India assisted initially by training Bengali rebels and later by fighting the Pakistani army directly, defeating them during twelve days of warfare in December. A half a million people died as a result of the conflict.

See: Clodfelter (2008).

Sri Lanka Ia (JVP I) 1971-1971

The JVP, also known as the Che Guevarists, revolted against the leftist government of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike in April of 1971. The opposition was suppressed in the cities within weeks, but rebellion in rural areas continued until June, by which point the majority of JVP members had been either imprisoned or killed. An estimated 1,815 casualties occurred during the conflict. Ceylon (now known as Sri Lanka) received various forms of military aid from the U.S.S.R, India, Pakistan, and Britain.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Mohan, Ram. 1989. *Sri Lanka: The Fractured Island*. Harmondsworth Press.

Bangladesh (Chittagong Hill) 1972-1997

The Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh are home to thirteen distinct indigenous tribes, comprised mostly of Buddhists with a small Hindu minority. The peoples of the tracts have been subject to political exclusion and discrimination first by the Muslim Pakistanis and then by the Muslim independent Bangladeshi government since the collapse of the British empire in the region. After Bangladeshi

military reprisals in the region in retaliation for suspected tribal collaboration with the Pakistanis during the war of independence, a politically-oriented national movement, the Jana Sanghati Samiti (JSS), was formed in February of 1972, followed shortly by the formation of an armed wing, the Shanti Bahini. Violence escalated dramatically in the mid-1970s, when the Shanti Bahini began to attack Bangladeshi military outposts in the region along with Bangladeshi Muslim settlers. Army reprisals and guerrilla attacks continued until December of 1997, when a peace accord was signed between the government and the JSS, providing for a small degree of autonomy for the Tracts. An estimated 20,000 people died as a result of the conflict.

See: Islam, Syed Nazmul. 1981. The Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh: Integrational Crisis between Center and Periphery. *Asian Survey* 21:12, 1211-1222; Ahsan, Syed Aziz-al and Bhumitra Chakma. 1989. Problems of National Integration in Bangladesh: The Chittagong Hill Tracts. *Asian Survey* 29:10, 959-970; Arens, Janneke. 1997. Winning Hearts and Minds: Foreign Aid and Militarisation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. *Economic and Political Weekly* 32:29, 1811-1819.

Burundi Ib (Hutu Rebellion) 1972-1972

Following its independence, the Tutsi-dominated leadership in Burundi turned over several times during a series of coups. In April of 1972, a predominantly Hutu group rebelled in the capital against the president in support of former King Mwami Ntare V, and were soundly defeated. President Mobutu of Zaire sent troops to maintain order in the capital; meanwhile, the Burundi army, partnered with the Tutsi youth movement, engaged in reprisal killings of Hutu of various social classes, but focusing in particular on students and the educated elite, whom they viewed as the strongest threat to Tutsi authority. The massacre of Hutu continued through the end of July of 1972. An estimated 50,000 casualties resulted from the fighting.

Philippines IIIa (Moro Rebellion) 1972-1996

Muslim rebels in the southern Mindanao and Sulu regions of the Christian Philippines broke out into open rebellion in September of 1972 when the government of Ferdinand Marcos attempted to impose martial law in the area in order to stem growing religious and separatist unrest. The Moros, led by the Moro National Liberation Front, refused to give up their weapons and went on to wage a costly guerrilla war which at points saw nearly eighty percent of the combat forces of the Philippines deployed to its theatre. The Moro effort declined dramatically after a failed peace agreement in 1976, due mostly to infighting between Muslim tribes, though the war continued on a lower level with intermittent failed ceasefires until the Jakarta Peace Agreement of September 1996. Signed by the most prominent of the Moro factions at the time, the MNLF, the agreement granted the region an increased scope of autonomy. Close to 50,000 fatalities resulted from the fighting.

Zimbabwe (Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe) 1972-1979

Resistance against Ian Smith's white Rhodesian government intensified in December 1972, when opposition group ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) orchestrated an attack in the northeast. As fighting escalated, so did pressure from international actors, including the UN, which had imposed

sanctions against Smith's government in 1968. In December 1979, an agreement to establish a transition government with black participation was signed. Elections were held the following February, and on April 18, 1980, Zimbabwe's independence was recognized by the international community. Roughly 12,000 casualties resulted from the conflict.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Clayton (1999); Cilliers, JK. 1985. *Counter-Insurgency in Rhodesia*. London: Croom Helm.

Pakistan II (Baluchi Rebellion) 1973-1977

The rise of nationalism among the Baluchis of Pakistan, a nomadic tribe with counterparts in Afghanistan and Iran, can be attributed to the Baluchis perception of the central government as restrictive and ineffectual and their fear of being overrun by incoming settlers. In February 1973, Pakistani authorities removed the elected political group from the provincial government and arrested leaders of various opposition parties; resistance quickly escalated into full-scale war. Despite receiving extensive military aid from the shah of Iran, who feared a similar uprising among Baluchis in Iran, fighting between the Pakistani government and Baluchis did not cease until 1977, when the regime of President Zia ul-Haq took power and employed a more conciliatory approach in dealing with the rebels. Roughly 8,700 fatalities resulted from the conflict.

See: Ali, S. Mahmud. 1993. *The Fearful State: Power, People and Internal War in South Asia*. London: Zed Books.

Chile (Army Revolt) 1973-1973

Widespread dissatisfaction with the socialist Popular Unity government headed by Salvador Allende Gossens culminated in a September 1973 military coup which took more than 5,000 lives. The succeeding regime, led by General Pinochet, committed human rights violations, repressed opposing political groups, and suspended democratic processes.

Iraq IIIb (Kurds) 1974-1975

Although the Iraqi government had offered the Kurds autonomy in 1970, disagreement over who would retain control over oil-rich Kirkuk compelled Kurdish leader Mullah Mustafa Barzani to reject the Iraqi offer in March 1974. In response, Iraqi forces invaded Kurdistan. The Kurds initially received arms support overtly from Iran and covertly from the CIA, but when both parties withdrew their aid in March of 1975, the Kurds were left at the mercy of Iraqi troops, who killed Kurdish rebels in retaliation and forced many more into exile. More than 16,000 people died as a result of the fighting.

See: Chaliand, Gerard. 1994. *The Kurdish Tragedy*, tr. Philip Black. London: Zed Books; Ciment, James. *The Kurds: State and Minority in Turkey, Iraq and Iran*. New York: Facts on File, Inc.

Cyprus Ib (Coup/Turk invasion) 1974-1974

A July 1974 coup staged by the Greek Cypriot National Guard and with the support of Athens deposed Cypriot President Archbishop Makarios III and installed what most observers thought to be a government that would soon push for “enosis,” or union, with Greece. The move towards enosis was cut short, however, by a Turkish military invasion late in the month aimed at protecting the interests of the Muslim Turkish minority from domination by the Christian Greek majority. 5,800 fatalities resulted from the invasion. The Turks partitioned the island in August of 1974, and the territorial ethnic division has remained in place ever since.

Angola Ila (Civil War) 1975-1994

Following Angola’s independence from Portugal, fighting broke out among three groups seeking control of the government—the radical, Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), headed by Agostinho Neto; the moderately leftist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), lead by Jonas Savimbi; and Holden Roberto’s relatively conservative National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). With Portugal’s encouragement, the warring parties formed a coalition government, but fighting between the MPLA and FNLA factions broke out a day after the new government took power on January 31, 1975. In July of 1975, the MPLA, trained by the Cuban military, drove the two rival groups out of the capital city of Luanda, causing the coalition government to collapse. Cold War politics drew in extensive international intervention: Cuba initially provided military training, then troops, to the MPLA; the MPLA also received military advice and weaponry from the Soviet Union (costing the USSR about \$1 billion each year by the late 1980s) and were joined on the battlefield by Congolese exiles from Katanga. Unita was supported by Zambia and Tanzania and received aid from the United States; their forces were reinforced by South African troops as well as mercenaries from various countries. The MPLA achieved victory in initial conventional fighting, causing the disintegration of the FNLA, but Unita, unable to accept defeat, took the war to the bush. The intervention of international actors fueled the guerrilla warfare until the late 1980s, when it became clear that neither side could achieve victory. Although the foreign powers involved in the war signed a ceasefire in August of 1988, the MPLA refused to conduct direct talks with Unita until 1990. UN-supervised elections were held in September 1992, but Savimbi refused to accept MPLA’s victory and again instigated violence, funding FNLA activities through control of Angola’s diamond industry. Key government victories in 1994, achieved with the assistance of South African mercenaries, induced Savimbi to agree to a ceasefire in November 1994, one of the terms of which gave Unita a share of the power within the government. Close to a quarter-million people had died as a result of the conflict. By 1998, however, fighting between the two parties had resumed.

See: Clayton (1999); Van Der Waals, W.S. 1993. *Portugal’s War in Angola, 1961-1974*. Rivonia, South Africa: Ashanti Publishing.

Ethiopia II (Tigray) 1975-1991

The Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF) was formed in 1975. Unlike the Eritrean rebels, the pro-Marxist TPLF did not ultimately seek secession from Ethiopia, but sought to establish Ethiopians’ right to self-determination. The Tigreans were able to force the national government out of the region in 1989

since the Soviets' suspension of arms shipments undermined the government's ability to fight the rebels. The TPLF continued its advance, joining efforts with the mainly Amhara Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement. The resulting organization, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary and Democratic Front (EPRDF), captured Addis in late May of 1991 and established a new government. Roughly 15,000 fatalities occurred as a result of the fighting.

See: Clapham (1998); Young, John. 1997. *Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Erlich, H. 1983. *The Struggle Over Eritrea*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Lebanon Ib (Second Lebanese Civil War) 1975-1990

The Second Lebanese Civil War began in April of 1975 as a result of the massacre of a busload of Palestinians who were traveling through a Maronite Christian town in the northern region of the state. PLO retaliations against Christians propelled the country into a full-blown civil war, and by the end of 1975 the Maronites had gained an advantage over a coalition of Muslim forces. Full-scale PLO intervention in support of Muslim forces in early 1976, combined with the desertions of Muslims from the Lebanese Army and the subsequent splitting of the army into Christian and Muslim factions, preceded massive Muslim victories in Beirut and in the northern Christian regions. Backed into a corner, the Christians appealed for Syrian help, and the Syrians, fearful of increasing anarchy and the possibility of an Israeli intervention, invaded Lebanon in June of 1976. The Syrian army made its way through the country towards the southern border, repelling Lebanese Muslim, Druze and PLO forces on its way. A ceasefire was imposed in November of the same year, after more than 150,000 casualties.

Indonesia VI (East Timor) 1975-1999

After the Portuguese abandoned their colonial rule over the region of East Timor, a civil war broke out in August of 1975 between the newly-established Timorese political parties vying for control of the government. Following the securing of power by *Fretilin*, the most left-leaning of the warring parties, Indonesian troops invaded the country in December of the same year and by July of 1976, predominantly-Christian East Timor had become a province of Muslim Indonesia. Large-scale massacres of the Timorese population ensued, and *Fretilin* rebels took up arms against the occupying Indonesian army. Low-level violence continued until an August 1999 referendum on self-determination was held, the result of which was a resounding call for the independence of the state. Violence escalated immediately prior to and following the referendum when Indonesian troops and Indonesian-backed paramilitary organizations engaged in a widespread terror campaign aimed at intimidating voters. Control of the territory was officially handed over by the Indonesian government to a UN-sanctioned multinational peacekeeping force in September of 1999, after roughly 35,000 fatalities.

Morocco II (Western Sahara) 1975-1991

Although President Franco of Spain was receptive to the independence efforts of Polisario Front in Morocco, after his death in October 1975, Spain, absorbed in its domestic political situation, withdrew its commitment to Polisario and began evacuating the country. Just months earlier, a UN mission had determined that the majority of the population favored an independent government run by Polisario, but Morocco's King Hassan protected his position by lying about the outcome of the UN mission and

rallying a sizeable volunteer army to fight the Polisario for territory being abandoned by the Spanish. Many of the Sahawari, nomadic peoples of the Western Sahara comprising the basis of Polisario's support, fled to Algeria; the Polisario's military arm, the Saharawi People's Liberation Army (SPLA), received considerable military support from Algeria. By the early 1980s, the cost of defending Morocco from the SPLA had all but drained the country's economy. In 1988, King Hassan's government reestablished diplomatic relations with Algeria and, in a departure from his thirteen-year refusal to recognize the Polisario Front, announced that he would engage in talks with the rebel group. The UN Security Council approved a plan to monitor a ceasefire in the Western Sahara and prepare for a referendum on the area's fate in April 1991. Although the ceasefire has been in place since September 1991, UN efforts to mediate a lasting peace continue to be unsuccessful. Roughly 15,000 fatalities have resulted from the fighting.

See: Hodges, Tony. 1983. *Western Sahara: The Roots of a Desert War*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Mozambique (Renamo) 1976-1992

A year after Mozambique achieved independence in 1975, civil war broke out between between the Marxist government (Frelimo) and Renamo, a rebel group established by Rhodesian intelligence to thwart Zimbabwean nationalists based in Mozambique. After Zimbabwe achieved independence, Renamo moved its base to South Africa, where it received considerable arms support and manpower from the government. Renamo carried out a "scorched earth" policy, destroying industrial and agricultural infrastructure and committing atrocities against civilians. Warfare complicated efforts to assist victims of drought and famine. With no end of the conflict in sight, Frelimo altered the constitution to legitimate political participation by Renamo; the leaders of both groups signed a peace agreement in October 1992 after more than a million fatalities had resulted from the civil war.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Clayton (1999).

Ethiopia III (Ogaden) 1977-1978

Full-scale warfare between the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) and the Ethiopian government began in July of 1977 when the rebels were backed by the invasion of Ethiopia by neighboring Somalia. Somali forces fought alongside WSLF insurgents in an attempt to secure independence for the Muslim Somali-dominated Ogaden region of Christian Ethiopia. Despite significant initial Somali and WSLF gains, Ethiopia secured a Somali retreat in March of 1978 following the sudden switch of Soviet military support from the Somali to the Ethiopian side. The retreat of the Somali soldiers effectively ended the WSLF uprising in the region, though a small-scale insurgency continued to be waged for some years following the conclusion of the war. Roughly 27,500 casualties resulted from the conflict.

Iran IIa (Iranian Revolution) 1978-1979

Disillusioned with unsuccessful agricultural and industrial reforms, extensive corruption and repression throughout the government and the steady infiltration of Western influence throughout Iran, Islamic seminary students in Qom took to the streets in January of 1978 in a demonstration of support for the exiled fundamentalist and anti-Shah opposition leader Ayatollah Khomeini. Police opened fire on the

protesters, leading to the eruption of a violent cycle of demonstrations and police massacres which led to roughly 7,500 fatalities and culminated in a groundswell of opposition support and the abdication of the shah in January of 1979. The regency left behind in the wake of the Shah's departure was unable to secure popular control, and in February of 1979 the Ayatollah Khomeini, who had transmitted messages of revolutionary propaganda throughout the preceding year of unrest from his exile in Iraq and then France, returned to the country and proclaimed the establishment of the Islamic republic.

Nicaragua (Revolution/Contra Insurgency) 1978-1990

When middle class opposition leader Pedro Joaquin Chamorro was assassinated in January of 1978, Nicaraguan dictator Somoza was assumed to be responsible, prompting riots, strikes, and reinvigorating opposition. The Sandinistas (FSLN), a Communist rebel group that had been involved in low-level insurgency since 1961, stormed the government headquarters in August 1978 and became national heroes. The Sandinistas launched a full-scale attack, starting in southern Nicaragua and eventually surrounding the capital city Managua in July 1979. Although the FSLN and other opposition groups had mutually agreed to establish a democratic government, the FSLN seized control of the government. Members of FSLN opposition groups as well as former supporters of Somoza coalesced to form two groups of insurgents, whose members were referred to as Contras. A two-year lapse in support from the CIA as well as factionalism among the Contras, however, contributed to the inability of the Nicaraguan Resistance to undermine the regime. After several unsuccessful attempts to negotiate peace agreements in the late 1980s, national elections were set for February 1990, which Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, the candidate representing various united opposition groups, won. Although the Contras signed a ceasefire, Contra unrest broke out later that year. Fatalities totaled nearly 60,000 for the conflict.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Beckett (2001); Tierney, John J. Jr. 1982. *Somozas and Sandinistas: The US and Nicaragua in the Twentieth Century*. Washington, DC: Council for Inter-American Security / Council for Inter-American Security Educational Institute; Walker, Thomas W ed. 1991. *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Nicaragua*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press; Booth, John A. 1985. *The End and the Beginning: The Nicaraguan Revolution*, 2nd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Afghanistan (Civil War) 1978-2001

A leftist coup staged by renegade military units loyal to the Marxist-Leninist Khalq (People's Faction) Party deposed Afghan leader Mohammed Daoud in April of 1978. The new regime, advised, supplied and trained by the Soviets, was met with almost immediate widespread and violent resistance from Islamic rebels (Mujahideen) drawn from the independent Muslim mountain tribes. Though the Mujahideen were only loosely organized and often turned their attention to fighting rival tribes instead of the new government, the guerilla rebellion spread throughout the country and within a year was able to severely threaten the existence of the leftist regime. This threat, combined with the instability produced by infighting among party leaders in Kabul, compelled a full-scale Soviet invasion of the country in December of 1979. The occupation would last until February of 1989, when the Soviets would withdraw after suffering ten years of heavy casualties and an inability to quell the resistance of the Mujahideen and move past the stalemate on the ground. The leftist Afghan government continued to fight the rebels following the Soviet withdrawal, but was forced from power by the army in April of

1992. The Mujahideen occupied Kabul and took power shortly thereafter, but internal power struggles once again plunged the country into a state of anarchy.

The Taliban, a mostly-Pushtun fundamentalist Muslim militia which had as its goal the establishment of a unified Afghan state ordered according to the strictest of interpretations of Islamic law, coalesced into an organized group in September of 1994 and drew its initial adherents from refugee camps set up along the Afghan-Pakistani border during the Soviet occupation and civil war. Under the influence of fanatical religious leaders promising the reestablishment of a semblance of order and taking advantage of the infighting among Mujahideen leaders in Kabul following their ascension to governmental control in 1992, the Taliban rapidly gained power and influence in the southern regions of the country. Backed by Pakistan, which had hired the group to protect Pakistani truck convoys traveling through the vast violent and anarchic regions littering Afghanistan, the Taliban went on the offensive in early 1995 and by September of 1996 had taken control of most of the country, including Kabul. By the time of the October, 2001 American military intervention, the Taliban had established control of over ninety percent of the country and faced resistance only from a small group of Mujahideen rebels based in the north. The Northern Alliance and American intervention effectively toppled the Taliban government in December of 2001, though pockets of fierce resistance remained in regions of the country. Well over one million fatalities had resulted from the conflict since its inception.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Girardet, Edward. 1985. *Afghanistan: The Soviet War*. London, UK: Croom Helm; Isby, David C. 1989. *War in a Distant Country Afghanistan: Invasion and Resistance*. London, UK: Arms and Armour; Maley, William. 2002. *The Afghanistan Wars*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Murshed, S. I. 2006. *Afghanistan: The Taliban Years*. London: Bennett and Bloom.

Cambodia Ib (Vietnamese Intervention) 1978-1991

The relationship between Cambodia (which Khmer Rouge renamed Democratic Kampuchea) with Vietnam deteriorated due to border clashes and strong anti-Vietnamese sentiment. Vietnam invaded Cambodia in December 1978 and established the People's Republic of Kampuchea, headed by former DK commander Heng Samrin. Although the Vietnamese army occupied most of the countryside and major cities, they continued to struggle against Khmer Rouge loyalists and newly-formed resistance groups, resulting in roughly 200,000 casualties. At the behest of the Soviets, upon whom Vietnam had relied for aid during the war, Vietnam announced its planned withdrawal from Cambodia, which was completed in September of 1989. UN- sponsored peace negotiations between the four Cambodian opposition groups, completed in October 1991, set forth the framework for free elections.

El Salvador (FMLN/FDR) 1979-1992

The threat of death squads, which were formed in 1975 to overthrow the military junta but also made a practice of murdering members of opposition parties, plunged El Salvador into a state of disarray. In October 1979, El Salvador's military dictator was overthrown in a coup orchestrated by younger officers, who promised to institute democratic reforms and eliminate the death squads. The junta, however, made no such reforms. The guerrilla organization FMLN, which coalesced as a direct response to the death squads, undertook numerous offensives against government forces, which benefited from substantial monetary aid, military training, and weapons from the United States. The FMLN received

supplies from Cuba and Nicaragua and indirectly from the Soviet Union. After thirteen years of war and roughly 62,000 fatalities, the government and FMLN signed a ceasefire, which stipulated that the guerrillas disband, the leaders of the violent insurgencies be purged, and the government reduce its army size by half and recognize the role of leftist groups in Salvadorian politics. The FMLN has been incorporated into the political scene, and the ceasefire has not been broken.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Byrne, Hugh. 1996. *El Salvador's Civil War: A Study of Revolution*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner;

Syria (Sunni v. Alawites) 1979-1982

The Muslim Brotherhood, aimed at undermining the secular regime of the Alawite minority, triggered full-fledged civil war in June 1979, when a Ba'ath party officer gunned dozens of his Alawite cadets. Similar assassinations of Alawite officials and civilian personnel occurred throughout Syria over the next three years. In February 1982, President Assad sent in the military to reclaim the city of Hama from the Brotherhood, killing roughly 15,000 and somewhat dampening the terrorist activities of the Brotherhood.

Peru (Shining Path) 1980-1999

During the 1960s, the highly influential professor Abimael Guzman Reynoso used his position to indoctrinate many into a Mao-inspired form of Marxism which took hold in villages throughout the country. The followers of his movement, the *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path), first took to arms in May 1980, when they attacked a polling station during national elections. Brutal fighting between the Senderistas and the government ensued, with the unfortunate consequence of rural civilians being the frequent target of purges by groups. More than 30,000 fatalities resulted from the conflict. While the group remains in rebellion, the arrest of Guzman in 1992 and current leader Oscar Ramirez Durand in 1999 has significantly reduced the threat that they once posed.

See: Gorriti, Gustavo. 1999. *The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru* tr. Robin Kirk. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Iraq Ilc (Kurds) 1980-1991

Iraqi Kurds hoped to use the Iran-Iraq War for their quest for autonomy, escalating guerilla activities in the late 1980s. A no-fly zone established in 1991 by U.S.-led Operation Provide Comfort created a region of limited Kurdish autonomy in northern Iraq. However, the fate of Iraqi Kurds is still at the mercy of neighboring countries, especially Turkey, which, fearing its own Kurdish elements, has at times hindered the flow of aid and people through its border; and, of course, Saddam Hussein's regime, which continues widespread human rights violations against the Kurds. Approximately 24,000 people died as a result of this phase of the conflict.

See: Chaliand, Gerard. 1994. *The Kurdish Tragedy*, tr. Philip Black. London: Zed Books; Ciment, James. *The Kurds: State and Minority in Turkey, Iraq and Iran*. New York: Facts on File, Inc.

Nigeria II (Maitatsine) 1980-1984

Rioting by the Maitatsine Islamic sect erupted in Kano, Nigeria in December of 1980. The Maitatsine followed leader Alhaji Muhammadu Marwa and practiced black magic. Nigerian police opened fire on the group after a mob attacked the house of the governor of Kano, killing an estimated 6,000. The Maitatsine were outlawed following the incident, but the sect continued to draw followers. Subsequent clashes occurred in 1982 in Maid Uguri and in the northeastern city of Jimeta in March of 1984. Qaddafi of Libya reportedly backed the cult.

See: Zahradeen, Nasir B. 1988. *The Maitatsine Saga*. Zaria Nigeria: Hudahuda Publishing Co, Ltd; Isichei, Elizabeth. 1987. The Maitatsine Risings in Nigeria, 1980-85: A Revolt of the Disinherited. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 17:3, 194-208.

Uganda II (The War in the Bush) 1980-1986

After seizing control of the presidency in 1966, Milton Obote was unable to control the army. Lieutenant Colonel Amin staged a coup and declared himself president in January of 1971, beginning nearly a decade of violent purges and economic paralysis. Tanzanian occupation of Uganda forced Amin out of country, and national elections were held in December 1980. Although the elections were fraudulent, Obote again proclaimed himself president. Guerilla leader Yoweni Museveni formed the National Resistance Army (NRA) and began the civil war often referred to as "the war in the bush." Government troops looted, abused, and killed civilians in regions perceived to be sympathetic to Museveni.

Obote's army deposed him in July 1985, and General Tito Okello assumed leadership. His inability to contain the banditry of the military eroded the image of his regime. In January 1986, Museveni's troops captured key regions in southwestern Uganda, and Museveni claimed the presidency. However, insurgency continued in northern and western Uganda, from which Museveni's troops withdrew. His troops invaded northern Uganda in 1988 and forced thousands of members of the Uganda People's Democratic Army to surrender, but some members refused and continue to fight. Estimates of total deaths during the five years of civil war usually exceed 100,000.

See: Clapham (1998)

Iran IIb (NCR/Mujahideen) 1981-1982

The Mujahideen movement, originally a pro-Khomeini, anti-Shah revolutionary organization formed in the early 1970s, quickly fell out of favor following the establishment of the Islamic republic in 1979 when its leader, Masud Rajavi, called for the complete separation of Iranian religious institutions from the state. Rajavi ordered his forces into the streets of Tehran in June of 1981, but they were quickly put down by troops loyal to Khomeini. The President of Iran at the time, Bani Sadr, supported the Mujahideen and was soon forced from power by the Ayatollah. Sadr and Rajavi fled to France, and in

July of 1981 they established the National Council of Resistance (NCR), designed to secure the subversion of the new Iranian government. Mujahideen violence continued throughout 1981 and resulted in the killings of several prominent Iranian political leaders, and roughly 14,000 fatalities in total. Violence subsided by the end of 1982 with the increased establishment of control by Khomeini's regime.

India IV (Sikh Insurrection) 1982-1993

A holy war against the Hindu Indian government was declared by a conference of radical Sikh leaders in September of 1982 and was followed by eleven years of guerrilla violence aimed at securing an independent Punjab state. The course of the war saw a series of terrorist attacks which included train derailings and the bombing of a civilian airliner, the storming of the Sikh holy site of the Golden Temple in Amritsar, and the assassination of Indira Gandhi by two of her Sikh bodyguards. Close to 25,000 fatalities resulted from the conflict in total. The rebellion was effectively ended in 1993 by a brutal crackdown by the Indian armed forces; Sikh militant leader Gurbachan Singh Manochahal was killed by the army in February of that year, marking the government's biggest success in its campaign against the radicals.

Sri Lanka II (Tamil Insurgency) 1983-Present

An attack on an army post in July of 1983 by the Liberation Tigers, who sought the creation of a homeland for Sri Lanka's Tamil minority, sparked violent rioting by members of the Sinhalese JVP, during which at least 140 Tamils were killed and many more were displaced. The riots fueled the growth of the Tigers' forces, allowing the conflict between the Tigers and the government to grow increasingly violent. The threat of Indian intervention on behalf of the Tamils prompted the Sri Lankan government to accept a ceasefire creating an autonomous Tamil province monitored by Indian troops. The ceasefire renewed insurgency by the JVP and ultimately failed to suppress violent activities by the Tigers. The government was able to subdue the JVP by late 1989, but a second ceasefire negotiated with the Tigers in 1989 failed. Tiger insurgency continues to this day.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Nieto, W. Alejandro Sanchez. 2008. A War of Attrition: Sri Lanka and the Tamil Tigers. *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 19:4, 573-587; Mohan, Ram. 1989. *Sri Lanka: The Fractured Island*. Harmondsworth Press.

South Africa (Black/White, Black/Black) 1983-1994

A series of raids and terrorist attacks in the early 1980s introduced guerrilla warfare to the struggle between white South African government forces and the predominately-black members of the African National Congress. By 1985, widespread striking and attacks on civil servants prompted the government to declare a state of emergency in parts of the country. For the next three years, the government carried out brutal campaigns to suppress and eliminate suspected opposition, both in South Africa and in neighboring countries, and killing more than 12,000. Despite the media's censorship of these events, continued resistance by the black population and the toll of sanctions and foreign campaigns convinced many that change was needed. Under the administration of F.W. DeKlerk, Parliament repealed basic apartheid laws. Both white and black extremists, dissatisfied with the concessions being made by their

respective leaders, continued acts of terrorism in hopes of sabotaging change. Under the new constitution, elections were held in April 1994, from which Nelson Mandela emerged as the winner.

Sudan Ib (SPLM) 1983-present

A decade after Nimeiri's northern government granted near-autonomy to southern Sudan, the northern regime had proven itself to be a political and economic failure, and oil fields in the South unknown at the time of the Addis Ababa accords had been discovered. Nimeiri split the autonomous southern region into three provinces, violating the terms of the Addis Ababa peace accords and triggering renewed civil war between the Sudanese government and the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement (SPLM) of the south. Despite a military coup in 1985 which removed Nimeiri from power, fighting between the two parties intensified in the late 1980s and continues to this day.

See: Jok, Jok M. 2007. *Sudan: Race, Religion and Violence*. Oneworld Books; Collins, Robert O. 2008. *A History of Modern Sudan*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Johnson, Douglas H. 2003. *Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*. James Currey.

Turkey (Kurds) 1984-present

Kurdish guerrilla attacks against military installations and personnel in August 1984 prompted a large-scale operation by the Turkish government to root out Kurdish insurgency, including incursions into neighboring Iraq. Tensions continue to this day.

See: Chaliand, Gerard. 1994. *The Kurdish Tragedy*, tr. Philip Black. London: Zed Books; Ciment, James. *The Kurds: State and Minority in Turkey, Iraq and Iran*. New York: Facts on File, Inc.

Yemen South (South Yemeni Civil War) 1986-1986

During a January 1986 cabinet meeting, internal dissension among South Yemen's Marxist politburo erupted into gun fighting among bodyguards. Nearly two dozen members of the ruling party were killed, setting off ten days of largely tribal warfare in the capital. President Ali Nasser el-Hassani, recognizing his defeat, fled to Ethiopia. Approximately 12,000 people died as a result of the conflict.

Sri Lanka Ib (JVP II) 1987-1989

The terms of a July 1987 ceasefire between the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil minority angered the JVP, whose members were drawn from the Sinhalese majority. The government used death squads to quell JVP violence – roughly 30,000 fatalities resulted from the campaign – and had completely subdued the rebels by late 1989.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Mohan, Ram. 1989. *Sri Lanka: The Fractured Island*. Harmondsworth Press.

Azerbaijan/USSR (Nagorno-Karabakh) 1988-1994

A long-standing dispute regarding control over Nagorno-Karabakh, a predominantly Christian Armenian enclave surrounded by the territory of Shiite-Muslim Azerbaijan (and formally incorporated into Azerbaijan in 1923), became militarized in February of 1988 following the petitioning of the Soviet government by Armenians in Karabakh for a transfer of the region to Armenia. Low-level violence and large-scale population transfers and expulsions of Azeris from Karabakh and Armenia and of Armenians from Azerbaijan followed, and in July of 1988 the enclave declared itself seceded from Azerbaijan. Soviet troops deployed to the region late in the year, but the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 ended prospects for a militarily-imposed settlement. Nagorno-Karabakh formally declared independence in January of 1992, and Karabakh forces launched an offensive which would secure Armenian control of several Azeri towns during the first half of the year. The Azeris regained control of several of the captured pockets following a counteroffensive in June of 1992, but Azeri, Karabakh and pro-Karabakh Armenian forces continued to battle until a Russian-mediated ceasefire took hold in May of 1994, establishing de facto Armenian control of the enclave. An estimated 20,000 fatalities resulted from the conflict.

See: Chorbajian, Levon, Patrick Donabedian, and Claude Mutafian. 1994. *The Caucasian Knot: The History & Geopolitics of Nagorno-Karabagh*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Books; De Waal, Thomas. 2004. *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*. New York: NYU Press.

Somalia (Clan Warfare) 1988-present

The brutal regime of Siad Barre bred opposition, most notably from the Somali National Movement (SNM), whose exiles returned to the country en masse in May 1988, armed with weapons supplied by Ethiopia. The SNM made significant gains in the north, and despite mass executions carried out by the government, several other rebel groups, whose membership fell largely along tribal lines, carried out mutinies in other regions of the country. Although Barre fled the country in April 1992, the country was in ruins, and warlordism prevented relief efforts from reaching the millions of refugees. Although the U.S.-initiated UN peacekeeping efforts to stem the humanitarian crisis were regarded as a success, the degenerating political situations prompted the withdrawal of U.S. forces, completed by March 1994, and UN forces by March 1995. Warlordism continues to plague the country.

See: Clapham (1998); Hirsch, John L. and Robert Oakley. 1995. *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope*. Washington, DC: USIP.

Burundi Ic (Hutu/Tutsi) 1988-1988

Smaller outbreaks of violence between the two groups took place for several more years. Another massacre took place in northern Burundi in August 1988, when Hutu killed hundreds or possibly thousands of Tutsi, and Tutsi soldiers retaliated by killing many times more of Hutu. Many estimate the number killed to be as high as 20,000.

See: Clodfelter (2008).

India Ic (Kashmir) 1988-Present

Kashmiri Muslims once again launched a guerrilla war against the central Indian government in August of 1988, a move which was met by the deployment of Indian troops to the region in December of 1989. The war has continued ever since, marked by a campaign of terrorist violence by the Kashmiri rebels, massive human-rights violations by the Indian army, the destruction of holy sites throughout the state, and the full-scale exodus of the Hindu minority from the region.

Liberia (NPFL) 1989-1997

Liberia's first multi-party elections, held in October 1985, were marred by widespread fraudulence. Samuel Doe's National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL) emerged victorious, but the country quickly slipped into decline as corruption and human rights abuses became increasingly prevalent. Doe's repressive regime was nearly overthrown a month later by former General Thomas Quiwonkpa, but Quiwonkpa failed and was executed. In December 1989, Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front invaded Liberia to remove Doe's regime from power. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) prevented Taylor from seizing the capital Monrovia, however, and one of Taylor's former associates, Prince Yormie Johnson, killed Doe instead. Taylor refused to cooperate with the interim government, which became fraught by rivalries, and only after two years did Taylor acquiesce to the formation of a five-man transition government. In July 1997, Taylor won national elections, but Liberia remains devastated by years of warfare and more than 150,000 casualties.

See: Clapham (1998); Huband, Mark. 1988. *The Liberian Civil War*. Portland, OR: Frank Cass.

Rwanda Ib (Tutsi Invasion/Genocide) 1990-1994

Threatened by negotiations for a transitional government and the return of Tutsi refugees, extremist Hutus carried out assassinations of the negotiations' supporters, targeting moderate Hutu politicians and shooting down the plane of Hutu leader Habyarimana, en route to talks to finalize the Arusha agreements. The Hutu militia's preoccupation with massacring Tutsis and moderate Hutus allowed the Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) to seize control of the government within four months. Refugees—initially Tutsi, later Hutu as well—returned to Rwanda. Sporadic violence by Hutu guerrillas persists to this day. The death toll from the conflict may have totaled more than half a million Rwandans.

See: Clodfelter (2008); Clapham (1998).

Georgia I (South Ossetia) 1990-1992

South Ossetia enjoyed a special autonomy during the Soviet years, but President Gamsakhurdia revoked the region's autonomy in December 1990. In response, the regional legislature of South Ossetia attempted to secede from Georgia and join already-autonomous North Ossetia, prompting the invasion of Georgian troops. The conflict cost roughly 2,000 casualties. In July 1992, Russian President Yeltsin mediated a ceasefire between the two parties. Peacekeepers monitor the area and help maintain a fragile peace. Georgia does not recognize the region as an independent republic, and there is increasing sentiment in South Ossetia that the region should join the Russian Federation.

Iraq IV (Shi'ite Insurrection) 1991-1993

A U.S.-backed rebellion among Shi'ite Muslims in the south of predominantly-Sunni Iraq broke out in Basra in March of 1991. The insurrection was brutally suppressed by Iraqi forces, who continued to attack residents of the area through November of 1993, causing more than 160,000 casualties and forcing large-scale retreat of Shi'ites into the marshlands and neighboring Iran.

Sierra Leone (RUF) 1991-present

The Revolutionary United Front, aided by Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia, invaded Sierra Leone in March 1991 in an attempt to overthrow President Joseph Saidu Momoh's one-party government, whose efforts to transition to multi-party rule were viewed as questionable. A military coup forced Momoh into exile in 1992, and presidential and parliamentary elections took place in 1996. Despite several attempts to overthrow elected president Kabbah, Kabbah managed to stay in power and negotiated a settlement with RUF, the Lome Peace Agreement, which granted RUF leaders amnesty and positions in the government. RUF, however, violated the terms of the agreement almost immediately, leading to the arrest of RUF's senior members. A second agreement, signed in May 2001, has led to greater progress in the disarmament of the rebels.

See: Clapham (1998); Richards, Paul. 1996. *Fighting for the Rain Forest: War, Youth, and Resources in Sierra Leone*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Yugoslavia I (Croatian Secession) 1991-1995

The republics of Croatia and Slovenia both declared their independence from Yugoslavia on June 25, 1991, but the outcomes for the two republics differed drastically. Slovenia seceded with relatively little bloodshed, but long-standing animosity between Croats and Serbs set the stage for a long and costly war in which at least 10,000 Croats died. The Serbs, who dominated the Yugoslav state and its army, made early gains before a UN-mediated ceasefire in January 1992. However, this and other ceasefires failed, as the Croatian Army attempted to recapture territory lost to the Serbs during the initial phases of the war. The Dayton Peace Accords, signed by the leaders of Croatia, Bosnia, and Serbia in December 1995, marked the end of the conflict.

Moldova (Trans-Dniester Slavs) 1991-1997

The former Soviet republic of Moldova declared its independence in September 1991, escalating tensions between the ethnically-Romanian Moldovan majority and Slav separatists, ethnic Russians and Ukrainians who feared that the newly-independent state would merge with neighboring Romania. Armed by the Russian army, Slav forces were able to achieve several significant victories over the Moldovans. After 1,500 casualties, a ceasefire agreement signed in 1992 by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Moldovan President Mircea Snegur established a joint peacekeeping force in what became the autonomous Dniester Republic the following year. By 1997, plans for the departure of Russian forces were in place, making way for the May 1997 peace memorandum between the Moldovan government and the breakaway republic.

Burundi Id (Hutu/Tutsi) 1991-1991

Fighting along ethnic lines again broke out in November 1991, when the Hutu opposition party PALIPEHUTU organized terrorist attacks, which were suppressed by the army. Roughly 3,000 Burundians died as a result of the fighting.

Algeria III (Fundamentalists) 1992-Present

The Algerian civil war broke out in January of 1992 following the cancellation of parliamentary elections by the country's military-backed government. The Islamic Salvation Front (ISF), a fundamentalist organization bent on ruling according to Sharia law and which had been guaranteed to take control of the legislature had the elections not been cancelled, broke into several factions and took up arms against the ruling secular Council of Five. The most extreme and violent of the factions, the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), has been waging war against the government ever since, despite a unilaterally-declared ISF truce in September of 1997. The GIA has engaged in frequent massacres of civilians, has declared war on all foreigners living within Algeria, and has been blamed for a series of bombings in Paris, France throughout the 1990s.

Yugoslavia II (Bosnian Civil War) 1992-1995

Bosnia and Herzegovina passed a referendum for independence in February 1992, despite a boycott from the Serbs, who were dissatisfied with the share of territory allocated to them in the proposal. Serbian guerrillas, trained and armed by the federal army and the leaders of neighboring Serbia, used their military might to carry out widespread ethnic cleansing campaigns. At the insistence of Western powers, the Croats and Muslims formed a tenuous alliance against the Serbs in March of 1994. Various attempts by NATO and the UN were unsuccessful in containing violence until a NATO strike in August 1995 and a Muslim-Croat campaign to reclaim territory from the Serbs a few weeks thereafter succeeded in limiting Serb control to less than half of Bosnia. All three groups sent representatives to Dayton, Ohio, where a peace accord was signed in December 1995. An estimated quarter-million casualties resulted from the conflict.

Tajikistan (Tajik Civil War) 1992-1997

Communist dominance in Tajikistan's first elections since independence heightened tensions between the Communist ruling party and the opposition, which aligned itself with Islamic forces after the elections in order to strengthen its power base. Demonstrations by the opposition were successful in securing their role in a coalition government formed in May 1992, but predominately-Communist regions refused to recognize this government. Shortly thereafter, violent conflict between the two groups erupted, escalating into massacres and a massive exodus of villagers southward, toward Afghanistan. In December, Communist forces seized control of Dushanbe, unseating the coalition government. Unofficial Uzbek and Russian support for the Communists was ratified the following April with the creation of a CIS peacekeeping force in Tajikistan; meanwhile, the exiled opposition launched raids from Afghanistan, where they received training from the Mujahideen. Hope for peace came in

June 1997, when the warring sides agreed to a power-sharing agreement, which was implemented in 2000. Casualties for the conflict are estimated at 65,700.

See: Djalili, Mohammed-Reza, Frederic Grare and Shirin Akiner. 1998. *Tajikistan: The Trials of Independence*. Geneva: Curzon.

Georgia II (Abkhazia) 1992-1993

Fearful that the Georgian government would eliminate Abkhazia as both a political and cultural entity, the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet voted for its independence from Georgia, to which the Georgian government responded by sending the National Guard to the capital city Sukhumi in August of 1992. At Abkhazia's request, Russia provided some military support. Abkhazian forces captured Sukhumi in September 1993 and forced the Georgians out. Georgia signed a ceasefire with Abkhazia in January of 1994, establishing Abkhazia as one of two autonomous regions in Georgia. The conflict cost roughly 2,500 casualties. The ceasefire remains in effect, although Abkhazian separatists have on occasion violated it.

Burundi Ie (Hutu/Tutsi) 1993-Present

In 1993, the Tutsi-dominated government consented to holding the country's first open elections since independence. The Hutu majority elected fellow Hutu, Melchior Ndadaye, generating fear among the Tutsi of Hutu domination. Members of the army, still predominately Tutsi, assassinated Ndadaye in October of 1993, again triggering widespread reprisal killings along tribal lines. Regional leaders initiated peace talks, and in August 2000, Hutu and Tutsi representatives signed the Arusha Accords. Armed rebel groups, however, refused to accept the peace agreement. While a transitional government established in November 2001 allocates executive authority to both a Hutu and Tutsi, continuing violence on both sides of the conflict has prevented the complete realization of the reforms outlined in the Arusha Accords.

Yemen (Southern Revolt) 1994-1994

Following the unification of North and South Yemen in 1990, rivalries within the leadership destabilized the new government, resulting in a secession attempt by Southern leaders in May of 1994. Northern Yemeni captured the city of Aden in July, after which thousands of southern secessionists went into exile. President Ali Abdallah Salih offered amnesty to all but a few of the southern secessionists, most of whom returned to Yemen. Estimated casualties total 6,250.

Russia Ia (First Chechen War) 1994-1996

The independence-minded Chechen National Congress (CNC) seized control of the republic's government in a bloodless coup in August 1991. Moscow, however, refused to recognize the CNC's legitimacy and furthered its own government for Chechnya, the Provisional Supreme Council. However, many in Chechnya demonstrated in support for the CNC and its leader, Zhokar Dudayev, and the CNC

continued with the mobilization of its National Guard and plans for elections. Dudayev emerged as the victor of the CNC-organized elections of October 1991, but Chechnya and Russia remained in a standoff, culminating in Yeltsin's December 1994 sealing off of Chechnya's borders. Russian troops withdrew from Chechnya after an August 1996 ceasefire, but attacks by Chechen separatists in 1999 renewed the vicious warfare that continues to plague the republic today. An estimated 68,250 fatalities resulted from this phase of the conflict.

See: Gammer, Moshe. 2006. *The Lone Wolf and the Bear: Three Centuries of Chechen Defiance of Russian Rule*. London, UK: Hurst and Company; German, Tracey C. 2003. *Russia's Chechen War*. New York, NY: Routledge; Seely, Robert. 2001. *Russo-Chechen Conflict 1800-2000: A Deadly Embrace*. Portland, OR: Frank Cass. Ben Fowkes ed., *Russia and Chechnia: The Permanent Crisis: Essays on Russo-Chechen Relations*. London, UK: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Zaire/Congo II (Post-Mobutu) 1996-2002

Brutal long-time dictator Mobutu Sese Seko was unseated in a rebellion initiated by neighboring Rwanda and Uganda in September 1996. When rebel forces, under the leadership of Laurent Kabila, unseated Mobutu, hopes for a new era of democracy and prosperity swelled. However, alleged wartime massacres of Hutu by Kabila's forces, his military ties initially to Rwandan Tutsi and later to southern kinsmen, and his autocratic political maneuvers continued until 2002, when several of the warring parties signed a negotiated settlement, which included the disarmament and reintegration of several opposition forces into the state. An estimated 300,000 people died as a direct result of the fighting, and violence continues in many provinces of Congo, especially Kivu.

Brazzaville (Factional Warfare) 1997-1997

Although the terms of a February 1994 agreement between the government and various opposition forces called for the opposition leaders to disarm their militias, former president Denis Sassou Nguesso continued to build his army. On June 5, 1997, over a month before the presidential elections, government forces surrounded Sassou Nguesso's compound in order to disarm and detain members of his group. Sassou Nguesso's forces resisted, marking the beginning of a four-month long war. The Angolan government, motivated by oil interests and a desire to pursue Angolan UNITA rebels who were operating from the Congo, intervened on the side of Sassou. Angola's military engagement was crucial in dismantling the incumbent government, which collapsed in October 1997. Sassou Nguesso proclaimed himself president and drafted plans for his three-year transition government, after which free elections would be held and a constitution would be in place. Outbreaks of fighting occurred in late 1998. In late 1999, the government made peace with many of the rebel groups, granting members amnesty and opening the door for their political participation, but leaders Lissouba and Kolelas turned down the offer and are currently in exile. The legislature and populace approved the new constitution, and Sassou Nguesso won the presidential election in March 2002. Estimated casualties totaled 8,500.

Yugoslavia III (Kosovo) 1998-1999

The predominately-Albanian province of Kosovo petitioned for several years to regain its autonomous status, which the government had revoked in 1989. Under Slobodan Milosevic, Kosovo was kept under police rule. The government's police sweeps in March 1998 only further roused opposition, giving rise to the formation of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), which began a campaign to seize control of the province. Meanwhile, Serbian forces terrorized civilians, drawing heavy criticism and the eventual involvement of NATO forces. NATO's aerial campaign concluded in June 1999, after which Kosovo was made a UN protectorate. Roughly 10,000 people died as a result of the conflict.

Guinea-Bissau II (Coup) 1998-1999

President Vieira removed General Mane from his position as chief of staff of the armed forces. In response, Mane formed a junta that began an armed uprising in June of 1998; despite military support for the Vieira government from neighboring Senegal and Guinea, Mane succeeded in ousting the President in May 1999. In February 2000, the interim government rendered power to the popularly-elected opposition leader Kumba Yala. However, Mane's attempts to undermine Yala's authority resulted in clashes that led to Mane's death in November 2000. Opponents allege the government continues to violate citizens' rights to due process. Casualties are estimated at roughly 2,000.


```

      mvgov | -.5780128   .5641366   -1.02   0.306   -1.6837   .5276747
  identity |  2.36112   .8985088    2.63   0.009   .6000749  4.122165
    terrwar | -.7226262   .6406318   -1.13   0.259   -1.978241  .5329891
lndeathspe~h | .5637865   .1933316    2.92   0.004   .1848635  .9427096
lntotaldea~s | -.301922   .1714145   -1.76   0.078   -.6378881  .0340442
      _cons | -3.640617   1.447293   -2.52   0.012   -6.477259  -.8039749
-----

```

. * Table 1, Model 5

```
. logit recur mvreb identity terrwar lndeathspermonth lntotaldeaths, cluster (ccode)
```

```

Iteration 0:  log pseudolikelihood = -51.725157
Iteration 1:  log pseudolikelihood = -42.785206
Iteration 2:  log pseudolikelihood = -41.580402
Iteration 3:  log pseudolikelihood = -41.552903
Iteration 4:  log pseudolikelihood = -41.552814

```

```

Logistic regression                               Number of obs   =       116
                                                    Wald chi2(5)    =       13.49
                                                    Prob > chi2     =       0.0192
Log pseudolikelihood = -41.552814                Pseudo R2      =       0.1967

```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 66 clusters in ccode)

```

-----
      |               Robust
      |               Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|      [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
      |
  mvreb | -1.465671   .8913984   -1.64   0.100   -3.21278   .2814381
  identity |  2.030394   .7495548    2.71   0.007    .561294   3.499495
    terrwar | -.8279307   .6078199   -1.36   0.173   -2.019236  .3633743
lndeathspe~h | .528022   .1696621    3.11   0.002   .1954903   .8605537
lntotaldea~s | -.2106071   .176745   -1.19   0.233   -.5570208  .1358067
      _cons | -3.918937   1.652637   -2.37   0.018   -7.158046  -.6798268
-----

```

. * Now calculating first differences using Gary King's Clarify package, based on Model 2.

```
. estsimp logit recur negset identity terrwar lndeathspermonth lntotaldeaths, cluster (cco
> de)
```

```

Iteration 0:  log pseudolikelihood = -51.725157
Iteration 1:  log pseudolikelihood = -42.301335
Iteration 2:  log pseudolikelihood = -40.936996
Iteration 3:  log pseudolikelihood = -40.893604
Iteration 4:  log pseudolikelihood = -40.893485

```

```

Logistic regression                               Number of obs   =       116
                                                    Wald chi2(5)    =       14.81
                                                    Prob > chi2     =       0.0112
Log pseudolikelihood = -40.893485                Pseudo R2      =       0.2094

```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 66 clusters in ccode)

```

-----
      |               Robust
      |               Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|      [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
      |
  negset |  1.84954   .8457577    2.19   0.029   .1918851   3.507194

```

```

identity | 2.236172 .8445737 2.65 0.008 .5808378 3.891506
terrwar | -.4159011 .7071628 -0.59 0.556 -1.801915 .9701126
lndeathspe~h | .7617495 .2111788 3.61 0.000 .3478467 1.175652
lntotaldea~s | -.4217806 .170658 -2.47 0.013 -.7562642 -.087297
_cons | -4.537096 1.791328 -2.53 0.011 -8.048035 -1.026158
-----

```

Simulating main parameters. Please wait....

Note: Clarify is expanding your dataset from 136 observations to 1000 observations in order to accommodate the simulations. This will append missing values to the bottom of your original dataset.

% of simulations completed: 16% 33% 50% 66% 83% 100%

Number of simulations : 1000
Names of new variables : b1 b2 b3 b4 b5 b6

. setx mean

. * First differences for NEGSET

. simqi, fd(pr) changex(negset 0 1)

First Difference: negset 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(recur = 0)	-.2736095	.1497821	-.596658	-.0223467
dPr(recur = 1)	.2736095	.1497821	.0223467	.596658

. setx mean

. * First differences for IDENTITY

. simqi, fd(pr) changex(identity 0 1)

First Difference: identity 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(recur = 0)	-.1810373	.0592182	-.2992106	-.0669397
dPr(recur = 1)	.1810373	.0592182	.0669397	.2992107

. setx mean

. * First differences for TERRWAR

. simqi, fd(pr) changex(terrwar 0 1)

First Difference: terrwar 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(recur = 0)	.0393271	.0705902	-.1023165	.1799829
dPr(recur = 1)	-.0393271	.0705902	-.1799829	.1023165

```

. setx mean

. * First differences for LNDEATHSPERMONTH

. * First calculate mean and standard deviation for LNDEATHSPERMONTH

. summarize lndeathspersmonth

      Variable |      Obs      Mean   Std. Dev.      Min      Max
-----+-----
lndeathspe~h |      116   6.619194   1.799767   1.986732   10.95331

. * Calculating first differences based on a change from 1 standard deviation below the me
> an to 1 standard deviation above the mean

. simqi, fd(pr) changex(lndeathspersmonth 4.819 8.419)

First Difference: lndeathspersmonth 4.819 8.419

      Quantity of Interest |      Mean      Std. Err.   [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
      dPr(recur = 0) |  -.2862762   .0874182   -.4689856   -.1283042
      dPr(recur = 1) |   .2862762   .0874182    .1283042    .4689856

. * First differences for LNTOTALDEATHS, using same procedure.

. summarize lntotaldeaths

      Variable |      Obs      Mean   Std. Dev.      Min      Max
-----+-----
lntotaldea~s |      116   9.986853   1.890764   6.907755   14.55635

. setx mean

. simqi, fd(pr) changex(lntotaldeaths 8.096 11.878)

First Difference: lntotaldeaths 8.096 11.878

      Quantity of Interest |      Mean      Std. Err.   [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
      dPr(recur = 0) |   .1566537   .0664446    .039373    .301086
      dPr(recur = 1) |  -.1566537   .0664446   -.3010861   -.0393729

. * Now checking for first differences in other termination types.

. clear

. (54 vars, 136 obs pasted into editor)

. estsimp logit recur milvic identity terrwar lndeathspersmonth lntotaldeaths, cluster (ccode
> )

Iteration 0:  log pseudolikelihood = -51.725157
Iteration 1:  log pseudolikelihood = -40.848664
Iteration 2:  log pseudolikelihood = -39.238955

```



```

identity | 2.030394 .7495548 2.71 0.007 .561294 3.499495
terrwar | -.8279307 .6078199 -1.36 0.173 -2.019236 .3633743
lndeathspe~h | .528022 .1696621 3.11 0.002 .1954903 .8605537
lntotaldea~s | -.2106071 .176745 -1.19 0.233 -.5570208 .1358067
_cons | -3.918937 1.652637 -2.37 0.018 -7.158046 -.6798268
-----

```

Simulating main parameters. Please wait....

Note: Clarify is expanding your dataset from 136 observations to 1000 observations in order to accommodate the simulations. This will append missing values to the bottom of your original dataset.

% of simulations completed: 16% 33% 50% 66% 83% 100%

Number of simulations : 1000
Names of new variables : b1 b2 b3 b4 b5 b6

. setx mean

. * First differences for MVREB

. simqi, fd(pr) changex(mvreb 0 1)

First Difference: mvreb 0 1

```

Quantity of Interest | Mean Std. Err. [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
dPr(recur = 0) | .1093091 .06453 -.0404793 .2239271
dPr(recur = 1) | -.1093091 .06453 -.2239271 .0404793

```

. clear

. (54 vars, 136 obs pasted into editor)

estsimp logit recur staleceas identity terrwar lndeathspermonth lntotaldeaths, cluster (cc > ode)

```

Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -51.725157
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -43.453494
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -42.339645
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -42.325044
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -42.325028

```

```

Logistic regression                               Number of obs = 116
                                                  Wald chi2(5) = 11.50
                                                  Prob > chi2 = 0.0424
Log pseudolikelihood = -42.325028             Pseudo R2 = 0.1817

```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 66 clusters in ccode)

```

-----+-----
|               Robust
recur |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
staleceas | 1.248096   .7728334    1.61  0.106   -2.2666296   2.762821
identity | 2.272918   .7960061    2.86  0.004   .7127743    3.833061
terrwar | -1.076711   .746092   -1.44  0.149   -2.539024   .3856026
lndeathspe~h | .4974119   .178538    2.79  0.005   .1474838    .84734
lntotaldea~s | -.232644   .1808324   -1.29  0.198   -.587069    .1217809
_cons | -4.0402    1.477796   -2.73  0.006   -6.936627  -1.143774
-----+-----

```

Simulating main parameters. Please wait....

Note: Clarify is expanding your dataset from 136 observations to 1000 observations in order to accommodate the simulations. This will append missing values to the bottom of your original dataset.

% of simulations completed: 16% 33% 50% 66% 83% 100%

Number of simulations : 1000

Names of new variables : b1 b2 b3 b4 b5 b6

. setx mean

. * First differences for STALECEAS

. simqi, fd(pr) changex(staleceas 0 1)

First Difference: staleceas 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(recur = 0)	-.1828935	.1288381	-.4661575	.029722
dPr(recur = 1)	.1828935	.1288381	-.029722	.4661575

. clear

. (54 vars, 136 obs pasted into editor)

* End Table 1.

. *Now replicating models from Table 2.

. * Table 2, Model 1.

. logit recur ssri identity negset lndeathspersmonth, cluster (ccode)

Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -51.725157
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -43.479964
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -42.447716
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -42.411509
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -42.411402

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	116
	Wald chi2(4)	=	10.07
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0392
Log pseudolikelihood = -42.411402	Pseudo R2	=	0.1801

(Std. Err. adjusted for 66 clusters in ccode)

	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
ssri	-2.091286	1.355302	-1.54	0.123	-4.747629	.5650565
identity	2.122807	.8586647	2.47	0.013	.4398549	3.805759
negset	1.993301	.8542082	2.33	0.020	.3190842	3.667519

```

lndeathsper~h | .5161269 .1868198 2.76 0.006 .1499669 .8822869
_cons | -7.053608 1.872061 -3.77 0.000 -10.72278 -3.384435
-----

```

. * Table 2, Model 2

```

. logit recur ssri identity negset lndeathpermonth guardum, cluster (ccode)
variable lndeathpermonth not found
r(111);

```

```

. logit recur ssri identity negset lndeathspermonth guardum, cluster (ccode)

```

```

Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -47.086595
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -39.824921
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -39.132098
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -39.110835
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -39.11079

```

```

Logistic regression                               Number of obs =          93
                                                    Wald chi2(5) =           8.83
                                                    Prob > chi2 =           0.1159
Log pseudolikelihood = -39.11079                 Pseudo R2 =            0.1694

```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 49 clusters in ccode)

```

-----
          |               Robust
          |               Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
      ssri | -2.295408   1.373263    -1.67   0.095    -4.986954    .396137
  identity |  1.980583   .8263191     2.40   0.017     .3610269    3.600138
    negset |  1.648305   .8277963     1.99   0.046     .0258544    3.270756
lndeathsper~h | .4880712   .1968363     2.48   0.013     .1022792    .8738632
    guardum | .4304732   .821752     0.52   0.600    -1.180131    2.041077
      _cons | -6.486935   1.920821    -3.38   0.001    -10.25167   -2.722196
-----

```

. * Calculating first differences for Model 2.

```

. estsimp logit recur ssri identity negset lndeathspermonth guardum, cluster (ccode)

```

```

Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -47.086595
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -39.824921
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -39.132098
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -39.110835
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -39.11079

```

```

Logistic regression                               Number of obs =          93
                                                    Wald chi2(5) =           8.83
                                                    Prob > chi2 =           0.1159
Log pseudolikelihood = -39.11079                 Pseudo R2 =            0.1694

```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 49 clusters in ccode)

```

-----
          |               Robust
          |               Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
      ssri | -2.295408   1.373263    -1.67   0.095    -4.986954    .396137
  identity |  1.980583   .8263191     2.40   0.017     .3610269    3.600138
    negset |  1.648305   .8277963     1.99   0.046     .0258544    3.270756
lndeathsper~h | .4880712   .1968363     2.48   0.013     .1022792    .8738632

```

```

guardum | .4304732 .821752 0.52 0.600 -1.180131 2.041077
_cons | -6.486935 1.920821 -3.38 0.001 -10.25167 -2.722196
-----

```

Simulating main parameters. Please wait....

Note: Clarify is expanding your dataset from 136 observations to 1000 observations in order to accommodate the simulations. This will append missing values to the bottom of your original dataset.

% of simulations completed: 16% 33% 50% 66% 83% 100%

Number of simulations : 1000

Names of new variables : b1 b2 b3 b4 b5 b6

. setx mean

. * First differences for SSRI

. simqi, fd(pr) changex(ssri 0 1)

First Difference: ssri 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(recur = 0)	.1378203	.0770633	-.0567177	.2482906
dPr(recur = 1)	-.1378203	.0770633	-.2482906	.0567177

. * First differences for IDENTITY

. setx mean

. simqi, fd(pr) changex(identity 0 1)

First Difference: identity 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(recur = 0)	-.2141284	.0756653	-.3648027	-.0616787
dPr(recur = 1)	.2141284	.0756653	.0616787	.3648027

. setx mean

. * First differences for NEGSET

. simqi, fd(pr) changex(negset 0 1)

First Difference: negset 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(recur = 0)	-.286263	.1553608	-.5989799	-.0027407
dPr(recur = 1)	.286263	.1553608	.0027407	.5989799

. setx mean

```
. * First differences for LNDEATHSPERMONTH using a change from one standard deviation below
> w the mean to one standard deviation above the mean.
```

```
. summarize lndeathspersmonth
```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
lndeathspe~h	116	6.619194	1.799767	1.986732	10.95331

```
. simqi, fd(pr) changex(lndeathspersmonth 4.819 8.419)
```

```
First Difference: lndeathspersmonth 4.819 8.419
```

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(recur = 0)	-.2147651	.0929746	-.4110229	-.0352163
dPr(recur = 1)	.2147651	.0929746	.0352163	.4110229

```
. setx mean
```

```
. * First differences for GUARDUM
```

```
. simqi, fd(pr) changex(guardum 0 1)
```

```
First Difference: guardum 0 1
```

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(recur = 0)	-.0665974	.1184923	-.3261013	.1342183
dPr(recur = 1)	.0665974	.1184923	-.1342183	.3261013

```
. log close
```

Replication of Cox proportional hazard models.

```
. stcox milvic, cluster(ccode)
```

```
failure _d: recur
analysis time _t: monthb4recur
```

```
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -85.91135
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -83.739289
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -83.658327
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -83.658327
Refining estimates:
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -83.658327
```

```
Cox regression -- Breslow method for ties
```

```

No. of subjects      =          117                Number of obs      =          117
No. of failures     =           19
Time at risk        =          39587
Log pseudolikelihood = -83.658327                Wald chi2(1)      =           2.88
                                                Prob > chi2       =           0.0898

```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 67 clusters in ccode)

```

-----+-----
          |                Robust
          |  _t | Haz. Ratio  Std. Err.      z    P>|z|    [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
milvic |   .358653  .2167721   -1.70  0.090   .1096991   1.172589
-----+-----

```

```
. stcox negset, cluster(ccode)
```

```

      failure _d:  recur
analysis time _t:  monthb4recur

```

```

Iteration 0:  log pseudolikelihood = -85.91135
Iteration 1:  log pseudolikelihood = -85.299731
Iteration 2:  log pseudolikelihood = -85.268197
Iteration 3:  log pseudolikelihood = -85.268176
Refining estimates:
Iteration 0:  log pseudolikelihood = -85.268176

```

Cox regression -- Breslow method for ties

```

No. of subjects      =          117                Number of obs      =          117
No. of failures     =           19
Time at risk        =          39587
Log pseudolikelihood = -85.268176                Wald chi2(1)      =           1.25
                                                Prob > chi2       =           0.2641

```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 67 clusters in ccode)

```

-----+-----
          |                Robust
          |  _t | Haz. Ratio  Std. Err.      z    P>|z|    [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
negset |   1.879856  1.062491    1.12  0.264   .6209076   5.691439
-----+-----

```

```
. stcox staleceas, cluster(ccode)
```

```

      failure _d:  recur
analysis time _t:  monthb4recur

```

```

Iteration 0:  log pseudolikelihood = -85.91135
Iteration 1:  log pseudolikelihood = -85.016538
Iteration 2:  log pseudolikelihood = -84.637549
Iteration 3:  log pseudolikelihood = -84.634144
Iteration 4:  log pseudolikelihood = -84.634143
Refining estimates:
Iteration 0:  log pseudolikelihood = -84.634143

```

Cox regression -- Breslow method for ties

```
No. of subjects      =          117          Number of obs      =          117
No. of failures      =           19
Time at risk         =          39587
Log pseudolikelihood = -84.634143
Wald chi2(1)         =           3.05
Prob > chi2          =           0.0805
```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 67 clusters in ccode)

```
-----+-----
          |              Robust
          |  _t | Haz. Ratio  Std. Err.      z    P>|z|    [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
staleceas |    2.724814  1.562987    1.75  0.081    .8852729    8.386803
-----+-----
```

```
. stcox mvgov, cluster(ccode)
```

```
      failure _d: recur
      analysis time _t: monthb4recur
```

```
Iteration 0:  log pseudolikelihood = -85.91135
Iteration 1:  log pseudolikelihood = -85.893553
Iteration 2:  log pseudolikelihood = -85.893552
Refining estimates:
Iteration 0:  log pseudolikelihood = -85.893552
```

Cox regression -- Breslow method for ties

```
No. of subjects      =          117          Number of obs      =          117
No. of failures      =           19
Time at risk         =          39587
Log pseudolikelihood = -85.893552
Wald chi2(1)         =           0.02
Prob > chi2          =           0.8919
```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 67 clusters in ccode)

```
-----+-----
          |              Robust
          |  _t | Haz. Ratio  Std. Err.      z    P>|z|    [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
mgvgov    |    .9158423  .5926429   -0.14  0.892    .2576362    3.255626
-----+-----
```

```
. stcox mvreb, cluster(ccode)
```

```
      failure _d: recur
      analysis time _t: monthb4recur
```

```
Iteration 0:  log pseudolikelihood = -85.91135
Iteration 1:  log pseudolikelihood = -83.863869
Iteration 2:  log pseudolikelihood = -83.726973
Iteration 3:  log pseudolikelihood = -83.724957
Iteration 4:  log pseudolikelihood = -83.724956
Refining estimates:
Iteration 0:  log pseudolikelihood = -83.724956
```

Cox regression -- Breslow method for ties

```
No. of subjects      =          117          Number of obs      =          117
No. of failures      =           19
Time at risk         =        39587
Log pseudolikelihood =   -83.724956          Wald chi2(1)        =           2.61
                                                Prob > chi2         =          0.1059
```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 67 clusters in ccode)

```
-----+-----
          |              Robust
          |  _t | Haz. Ratio  Std. Err.      z    P>|z|    [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
mvreb    |   .2661629  .2178812   -1.62  0.106   .0534999   1.324164
-----+-----
```

stset monthb4recur, failure(recur)

```
failure event: recur != 0 & recur < .
obs. time interval: (0, monthb4recur]
exit on or before: failure
```

```
-----+-----
135 total obs.
18 event time missing (monthb4recur>=.)          PROBABLE ERROR
-----+-----
117 obs. remaining, representing
19 failures in single record/single failure data
39587 total analysis time at risk, at risk from t =          0
      earliest observed entry t =          0
      last observed exit t =          732
```

. stcox milvic identity terrwar lndeathspermonth lntotaldeaths, cluster(ccode)

```
failure _d: recur
analysis time _t: monthb4recur
```

```
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -85.731773
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -74.724767
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -73.976818
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -73.97575
Refining estimates:
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -73.97575
```

Cox regression -- Breslow method for ties

```
No. of subjects      =          116          Number of obs      =          116
No. of failures      =           19
Time at risk         =        39371
Log pseudolikelihood =   -73.97575          Wald chi2(5)        =          27.81
                                                Prob > chi2         =          0.0000
```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 67 clusters in ccode)

```
-----
```

		Robust				[95% Conf. Interval]	
_t	Haz. Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z			
milvic	.2375987	.0952315	-3.59	0.000	.1083117	.5212098	
identity	8.39899	5.700151	3.14	0.002	2.220963	31.76236	
terrwar	.3485131	.1846821	-1.99	0.047	.1233546	.9846528	
lndeathspe~h	1.623229	.2400404	3.28	0.001	1.214802	2.168972	
lntotaldea~s	.7933375	.1023001	-1.80	0.073	.6161641	1.021456	

```
-----
```

```
. stcox negset identity terrwar lndeathspe~h lntotaldeaths, cluster(ccode)
```

```
failure _d: recur
analysis time _t: monthb4recur
```

```
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -85.731773
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -76.328214
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -75.358747
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -75.35308
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -75.353079
Refining estimates:
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -75.353079
```

```
Cox regression -- Breslow method for ties
```

```
No. of subjects      =          116                Number of obs      =          116
No. of failures      =           19
Time at risk         =          39371
Log pseudolikelihood = -75.353079                Wald chi2(5)       =          21.54
                                                Prob > chi2        =          0.0006
```

```
(Std. Err. adjusted for 67 clusters in ccode)
```

```
-----
```

		Robust				[95% Conf. Interval]	
_t	Haz. Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z			
negset	4.740836	2.761884	2.67	0.008	1.513449	14.85054	
identity	7.897871	5.470333	2.98	0.003	2.032072	30.69595	
terrwar	.5976189	.3239455	-0.95	0.342	.2065483	1.729127	
lndeathspe~h	1.761486	.2466527	4.04	0.000	1.338719	2.317763	
lntotaldea~s	.7467806	.0914067	-2.39	0.017	.5874962	.9492508	

```
-----
```

```
. stcox staleceas identity terrwar lndeathspe~h lntotaldeaths, cluster(ccode)
```

```
failure _d: recur
analysis time _t: monthb4recur
```

```
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -85.731773
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -77.59233
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -76.543601
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -76.509647
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -76.509626
Refining estimates:
```

Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -76.509626

Cox regression -- Breslow method for ties

No. of subjects = 116 Number of obs = 116
No. of failures = 19
Time at risk = 39371
Log pseudolikelihood = -76.509626 Wald chi2(5) = 16.50
Prob > chi2 = 0.0056

(Std. Err. adjusted for 67 clusters in ccode)

	Haz. Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
staleceas	3.157772	2.024522	1.79	0.073	.8987846	11.09446
identity	8.883601	6.066044	3.20	0.001	2.33001	33.87039
terrwar	.2956276	.2002314	-1.80	0.072	.0783823	1.114992
lndeathsper~h	1.384753	.1769958	2.55	0.011	1.077888	1.778979
lntotaldea~s	.8560147	.1265612	-1.05	0.293	.640666	1.143749

. stcox mvgov identity terrwar lndeathspermonth lntotaldeaths, cluster(ccode)

failure _d: recur
analysis time _t: monthb4recur

Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -85.731773
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -78.246744
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -77.13095
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -77.125039
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -77.125038
Refining estimates:
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -77.125038

Cox regression -- Breslow method for ties

No. of subjects = 116 Number of obs = 116
No. of failures = 19
Time at risk = 39371
Log pseudolikelihood = -77.125038 Wald chi2(5) = 11.90
Prob > chi2 = 0.0362

(Std. Err. adjusted for 67 clusters in ccode)

	Haz. Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
mvgov	.5568336	.2540886	-1.28	0.199	.2276743	1.361874
identity	10.45722	8.166174	3.01	0.003	2.263091	48.32037
terrwar	.4032515	.2077285	-1.76	0.078	.1469242	1.106773
lndeathsper~h	1.511126	.2135234	2.92	0.003	1.14558	1.993316
lntotaldea~s	.7909434	.1104806	-1.68	0.093	.6015169	1.040023

```
. stcox mvreb identity terrwar lndeathspersmonth lntotaldeaths, cluster(ccode)
```

```
failure _d: recur  
analysis time _t: monthb4recur
```

```
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -85.731773  
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -77.975329  
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -76.428252  
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -76.419862  
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -76.41986  
Refining estimates:  
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -76.41986
```

Cox regression -- Breslow method for ties

```
No. of subjects      =          116          Number of obs      =          116  
No. of failures     =           19  
Time at risk        =          39371  
  
Log pseudolikelihood =       -76.41986          Wald chi2(5)      =          19.32  
                                          Prob > chi2      =          0.0017
```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 67 clusters in ccode)

		Robust				
	_t	Haz. Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
mvreb		.3203178	.2594455	-1.41	0.160	.0654846 1.566833
identity		6.313157	4.018791	2.89	0.004	1.812984 21.98362
terrwar		.4669293	.2173068	-1.64	0.102	.1875451 1.162509
lndeathspe~h		1.437296	.1611713	3.24	0.001	1.15371 1.790589
lntotaldea~s		.8721186	.1328122	-0.90	0.369	.6470662 1.175445

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