



**CIVIL
WARS
OF
THE WORLD**

CIVIL WARS OF THE WORLD

MAJOR CONFLICTS
SINCE WORLD WAR II

VOLUME I

KARL DEROUEN JR
AND UK HEO, Editors

A B C  C L I O

Santa Barbara, California Denver, Colorado Oxford, United Kingdom

Dedicated to our mentor, Alex Mintz

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P R E F A C E

Fortunately, interstate war is becoming ever more rare. Civil wars, however, linger on in many parts of the world. Some lead to few deaths (as in various regional wars in Burma and India), but others have high casualty counts. The latter are the focus of this work.

The academic study of civil war onset, outcome, and duration has received great attention of late. Our goal is to provide a useful resource for scholars and the general public alike. These volumes contain a wealth of information and analysis.

The academic community will benefit from our approach, for our essays are organized along lines followed in current research. The general audience will appreciate the historical overviews we provide. The essays are written in a straightforward prose that does not sacrifice content.

The essays consider the onsets of the respective wars. Topics here range from the role of ethnicity to territoriality and economic grievances. Duration is another important consideration. Why are some wars very long and others relatively short? These are important questions because, as the World Bank observes, civil war is

the opposite of development. A variety of factors are thought to prolong war: contraband (e.g., diamonds, timber, drugs, gold), youth bulges, low opportunity costs for rebels, and the presence of external intervention.

The essays are concerned with the countries that have experienced the most severe civil wars since World War II. Each essay follows a similar format, making comparison across cases easier.

Several individuals helped make this possible: Scott Bennett, Ashley Leeds, Dave Mason, Terry Roehrig, and Mark Tessler helped us find some of our excellent essayists. We are grateful to Nicolas Sambanis, as we made extensive use of the online data set he provides to accompany his 2000 *American Political Science Review* article with Michael Doyle. Alex Mikaberidze of ABC-CLIO was also a tremendous help in assembling the final product.

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**CIVIL
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INTRODUCTION

The Format of the Series

This introduction leads the reader into the country and regional essays contained in the main body of this compendium. The introduction first defines civil war and then provides a rationale for the study of such conflict, including such reasons as the devastating impact of civil war on society and its international repercussions. A brief overview of civil wars since the end of World War II follows, after which causes of these wars are outlined.

As the country and regional essays examine the causes of specific wars, this introduction is limited to a brief overview of general factors that can cause war, which range from limited economic development to divisions within society. A chronology (following the entries) identifies important conflict- and security-related events since World War II. Some of the information used in this introduction is derived from the country and regional essays; when this is the case, the source of information is not cited or listed in the references as it appears later in the compendium. The essays themselves follow a common organizational structure, as do the five regional essays. The information in the regional essays is derived from the country-specific essays unless otherwise referenced.

The Definition of Civil War

There has been debate over what constitutes a civil war. Various definitions have been put forward and have been critiqued. There has also been much debate over defining civil wars in terms of fatalities. This compendium uses the work of Nicolas Sambanis (2004) to define civil

war. According to Sambanis, an armed conflict should be classified as a civil war if

The war takes place within the territory of a state that is a member of the international system (this includes states occupying foreign territories that are claiming independence) with a population of 500,000 or greater. If a civil war occurs in a country with a population below this threshold, it can still be included and can be flagged as a marginal case. The per capita death measure allows the population threshold to be relaxed.

The parties are politically and militarily organized, and they have publicly stated political objectives.

The government (through its military or militias) is a principal combatant. If there is no functioning government, then the party representing the government internationally and/or claiming the state domestically must be involved as a combatant. Extensive indirect support (such as monetary, organizational, and military) from the government to militias might also satisfy this criterion.

The main insurgent organization(s) are locally represented and recruit locally. Additional external involvement and recruitment need not imply that the war is not intrastate. Insurgent groups may operate from neighboring countries, but they must also have some territorial control (bases) in the civil war country, or the rebels must reside in the civil war country.

The start of the war is the first year in which the conflict causes at least 500 to 1,000 deaths. This rule can be relaxed to a range of 100 to

1,000 because fighting might start late in the year. If the conflict has not caused 500 deaths or more in the first year, the war is coded as having started in that year only if cumulative deaths in the next three years reach 1,000.

Throughout its duration, the conflict is characterized by sustained violence, at least at the minor or intermediate level. There should be no three-year period during which the conflict causes fewer than 500 deaths.

Throughout the war, the weaker party is able to mount effective resistance. Effective resistance is measured by at least 100 deaths inflicted on the stronger party. A substantial number of these deaths must occur in the first year of the war.

A peace treaty that produces at least six months of peace marks an end to the war.

A decisive military victory for the rebels that produces a new regime marks the end of the war.

This approach is useful because it takes into account the difficulties of defining a civil war. These include the difficulty of distinguishing interstate from intrastate wars; the lack of clarity surrounding the degree of organization required of the parties to distinguish a civil war from one-sided, state-sponsored violence; the unreliable and incomplete collection of casualty figures; and the determination of the dates an old war stops and a new one starts (Sambanis 2004, 816, 829–30). Furthermore, Sambanis's published work is of a contemporary nature and takes past scholarly research into account.

Post–World War II Civil War

There have been numerous civil wars since World War II. A total of 225 armed conflicts occurring from 1946 to 2001 have been identified. Of these, 163 were defined as internal conflicts (conflict that occurs between the government of a state and internal opposition groups without intervention from other states). Internal conflict has been the dominant form of conflict

throughout most of the post–World War II period and certainly since the late 1950s (Gleditsch et al. 2002, 619, 620–23).

Civil wars have occurred throughout the world but have been more common in some regions. From 1950 to 2001, developing Asia (South and East Asia and Oceania) experienced a persistently high incidence of war. Latin America experienced a severe bout of conflict in the 1980s, and the former Soviet bloc experienced a severe bout in the 1990s, although most of these conflicts were short. The Middle East and North Africa have had a stable and high incidence of civil war since the late 1960s; moreover, the incidence of violent conflict in sub-Saharan Africa has increased. Until the 1980s, Africa had a below-average incidence, whereas now it is comparable to Asia and the Middle East and much higher than Latin America. It is the only region that did not see a decrease in incidence over the 1990s (World Bank 2003, 112–15).

Civil wars have occurred throughout the post–World War II period. In some countries, civil strife that had been “interrupted” by World War II increased when the war ended in 1945. India's struggle for independence from Britain intensified as civil unrest, guerrilla warfare, and mutinies by Indian troops occurred before independence was achieved in 1948 (Bercovitch and Fretter 2004, 207). Similarly, civil strife in China increased. During World War II, Chinese Communist Party forces joined the Nationalist government forces to fight the Japanese, who invaded China in 1937. However, with Japan's defeat, the Communist forces immediately began operations against the Nationalist forces for control of the country and ultimately achieved victory in January 1949.

Further conflict broke out after the immediate post–World War II years and took place against the background of the Cold War. This meant that civil wars often involved fighting between forces identified as Communist or non-Communist. This, in turn, meant that the United States and the Soviet Union often became involved. Full-scale civil war started in

Costa Rica during March 1948, after President Teodoro Picado Michalski delayed the transfer of power after losing the presidential elections. The war continued until the following month, with an estimated 1,000 deaths. The Cuban Communist revolution and civil war took place from 1956 to 1959. During the war, at least 5,000 lives were lost. In 1958, war broke out in Lebanon, and fighting took place between several religious and political factions. The war ended in 1959 with more than 1,300 deaths, but it was a precursor to further war in 1975 (Bercovitch and Fretter 2004, 125, 131, 273).

Wars continued to plague countries after the 1950s. Tensions between the majority Greek population and the Turkish minority increased in Cyprus after independence in 1960. Intercommunal violence and civil war took place from 1963 to 1967, and approximately 1,000 people died. Nigeria experienced much bloodshed in the late 1960s, and war returned to Lebanon in 1975 between Christian and Muslim factions. Approximately 60,000 people lost their lives in the 1975–1976 war, and sporadic fighting continued until 1992, with several serious outbreaks of violence. Uganda experienced civil war from 1981 to 1994 as an insurgency grew against the government established after the 1979 overthrow of Major General Idi Amin by exiled opposition groups. The war cost more than 500,000 lives (Bercovitch and Fretter 2004, 86, 242, 284).

Although major international changes occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s with the end of the Cold War, conflict remained a blight on many countries. Europe experienced the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia, and Africa witnessed genocide in Rwanda. Comparatively isolated countries have not been immune to war, and Melanesia has increasingly emerged as the unstable and violent part of Oceania (Henderson and Bellamy 2002b, 124–34). A separatist and insurgency struggle against the Papua New Guinea government started on the island of Bougainville during 1988. In addition to deaths caused by fighting, an economic and medical blockade claimed many more lives (Bercovitch

and Fretter 2004, 193). The crisis and separatist insurgency originated in landowner concerns over the operation of the Panguna copper and gold mine, and drew on Bougainvillean views of their separateness from mainland Papua New Guinea (New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2005).

During the late twentieth century many countries also moved toward democracy from authoritarian regimes, which led to a change in the type of regime that battled the insurgencies. For instance, conflict continued in Cambodia after the regime of the Khmer Rouge, an extreme Communist group, was overthrown in 1979 by Vietnam. However, the nature of this conflict changed with the Vietnamese withdrawal in 1989 and a move toward democracy following elections in 1993. The Khmer Rouge became increasingly isolated during this period, as it was unwilling to give up its armed struggle, and Cambodian government forces eroded its power base. The group ultimately disintegrated in the late 1990s (Bellamy 2005, 17–20).

Civil war continues to cause misery. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), there were nineteen major armed conflicts in eighteen locations worldwide in 2003, only two of which were fought between states. The SIPRI further noted the volatility of intrastate conflicts, as was shown in 2003 by the increased intensity of conflict in countries such as Burundi (SIPRI 2005). Although the immediate causes of this conflict remain unclear, they are rooted in Burundian society and history. The Tutsi tribe makes up only 15 percent of the population, yet it has dominated the political, economic, and social institutions. This has led to a bitter rivalry with the majority Hutu, and serious conflict (Bercovitch and Fretter 2004, 97). Burundi's first democratically elected president was assassinated in October 1993 after only 100 days in office. Since then, some 200,000 Burundians have perished in widespread violence (CIA 2005).

The current state of international conflict is reviewed in the *Human Security Report 2005* of

the Human Security Centre at the University of British Columbia, Canada. According to this report, the number of armed conflicts around the world has declined by more than 40 percent since the early 1990s. Between 1991 (the high point for the post–World War II period) and 2004, twenty-eight armed struggles for self-determination started or restarted, whereas forty-three were contained or ended. There were twenty-five armed secessionist conflicts under way in 2004, the lowest number since 1976 (University of British Columbia 2005, 1).

Casualties

A common feature of civil wars is the widespread loss of life. Casualties are particularly common among the civilian population and those most vulnerable, such as women, children, and the elderly. This is because cities and urban areas, which are likely to have large civilian populations, are strategically important, and hence control of such areas often is bitterly contested. Battle lines are also frequently nonexistent or poorly defined, with conflict occurring throughout the country, reducing the likelihood that civilians can find safe havens. The horrific impact of civil war provides a fundamental reason for their study: A better understanding should contribute to more constructive and successful ways of ending such wars and, ideally, of preventing conflict from escalating into war.

The human cost of fighting is illustrated by conflicts that are currently taking place, two of which are in Nepal and Iraq. The war in Nepal has developed since the Communist government was dissolved in 1995. The Nepal Communist Party, a radical Maoist group, began an insurrection in rural areas to abolish the monarchy (King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev took the throne in 2001) and to establish a people's republic. In one month alone in 2002, 1,023 died, and in March 2005 it was estimated that over 11,000 people had been killed since the insurgency started (Reuters Foundation 2005). The following month, it was estimated that there were ten killings a day, making the

conflict the deadliest conflict in Asia (Perry 2005). Likewise, the conflict in Iraq has cost many lives since U.S.-led coalition forces seized Baghdad, the capital, and overthrew President Saddam Hussein in April 2003 (Saddam Hussein was later found guilty of crimes against humanity in November 2006 and hanged). Despite coalition attempts to enforce their control and to establish law and order, fighting continues, with U.S. and Iraqi soldiers conducting an operation against insurgents in Tal Afar, Northern Iraq, during September 2005. As of November 2006, the Iraq Body Count, a nongovernmental organization, reported that the minimum number of civilian deaths resulting from the U.S.-led military intervention was 47,440 (Iraq Body Count, 2006).

The devastating impact of civil war is magnified by the indiscriminate use of modern weapons. The firepower of weapons has increased significantly since World War II and can be used to devastating effect by those involved in conflict, particularly in urban areas, where many civilians live. Furthermore, the availability of such weapons has increased. In terms of value, the production of military goods and services predominately occurs in the United States, Russia, China, and Europe. These weapons are then sold around the world. The United States is the world's leading supplier of arms and arms transfer agreements, both in terms of total value and as a percentage. The total value of arms transfers in 2002 was \$10.2 billion, and the total value of arms transfer agreements in 2002 was \$13.3 billion (DeRouen Jr and Heo 2005, xvii).

The impact of modern weapons used near civilians is illustrated by the war in the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s and the continuing conflict in Iraq. The Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia) was proclaimed in 1945 and held together by Josip Broz Tito's Communist regime. However, Tito died in 1980, and tensions between the republics became increasingly open in the late 1980s, as the Communist regime's grip on power was loos-

ened by the reforms sweeping the Soviet Union and the eastern bloc. Ultimately, the country disintegrated, and fighting broke out in September 1990 between Orthodox Serbs and Bosnian Muslims in Bosnia, and between Serbs and Catholic Croats in Croatia. In June 1991, the republics of Slovenia and Croatia declared independence, a development that provoked intense fighting in both republics. By July 1991, Yugoslavia was in a state of complete civil war. Much of the conflict occurred in towns and cities and involved heavy weaponry such as artillery and tanks. Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, was under siege from 1992 to 1995. On August 28, 1995, thirty-seven people alone were killed in the city's main market by a mortar attack (LeBor 2002, 238). According to Iraq Body Count, 24,865 civilians were reported killed in the first two years of the conflict in Iraq. It further estimated that 53 percent of all civilian deaths involved explosive devices. Air strikes caused most (64 percent) of the explosives deaths (Iraq Body Count, n.d.).

No less deadly are the lighter weapons that are readily available. Low-tech weapons continue to be used, with devastating consequences. For instance, many of the Rwandan deaths during the 1994 conflict were caused by machetes. More recently, rocket-propelled grenades and improvised explosive devices (IEDs) have been costly to U.S.-led coalition forces in Iraq. Bombs ranging in sophistication and type have been used to deadly effect in conflicts. Again, Iraq graphically illustrates the impact of such weapons. Here, there have been numerous car bombings, bomb explosions, and shootings, which have killed many civilians and coalition personnel despite the efforts to counter such attacks. In January 2006, a suicide bombing that took place during a funeral service in Miqdadiya, Iraq, killed more than thirty people and wounded many others. The bombing was condemned by the United Nations (UN News Service 2006).

Many deaths and injuries result from war crimes. Fundamental human rights are fre-

quently violated during conflicts as social mores against such crimes are weakened and law and order break down. These developments provide fertile ground for historical animosities to surface, for leaders to exploit tensions, and for factions to seek revenge for perceived past injustices. This, in turn, can cause a cycle of violence as factions commit acts of violence against each other and are met by retaliatory violence. This ultimately increases the level of hatred and the risk of war crimes. Human rights may also be systematically violated, as terror and brutality are used as another means to win dominance and ensure the compliance of the population. Moreover, the breakdown in law and order can provide the opportunity for widespread and systematic violations to take place unhindered and without fear of punishment.

The violation of human rights is shown by the war in the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s. During this war, the various factions committed atrocities. The term *ethnic cleansing* came into use in 1992 to describe the policy of enforcing ethnically homogenous geographical zones by any means, but usually by extreme violence. The atrocities associated with "ethnic cleansing" are graphically shown by the July 1995 massacre of Muslim civilians in Srebrenica, which the UN had designated a "safe area" after its capture by the Bosnia Serbs. The bodies of 12,000 civilians and soldiers are believed to lie in mass graves in the region (Bercovitch and Fretter 2004, 247). According to the International War Crimes Tribunal indictment of former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, "After the fall of Srebrenica in July 1995, almost all captured Bosnian Muslim men and boys, altogether several thousands, were executed at the places where they had been captured or at sites to which they had been transported for execution" (International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, n.d.).

The conflict in Rwanda during the 1990s provides further graphic evidence of the atrocities that can occur. Historically, there had been intense tribal animosities between the Tutsis, who

had held key positions before independence, and the Hutu, who took over these positions when Rwanda was granted independence in 1962. In 1990, the Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) invaded Rwanda. President Juvenal Habyarimana signed a power-sharing agreement with the Tutsis in the Tanzanian town of Arusha during 1993, ostensibly signaling the end of civil war, and a UN mission was sent to monitor the peace agreement. However, in April 1994, the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi were killed in a suspicious plane crash.

It was against this background that extremist Hutu militia and elements of the Rwandan military began the systematic massacre of Tutsis. Approximately 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed. The Tutsi rebels defeated the Hutu regime and ended the killing in July 1994, but approximately 2 million Hutu refugees—many fearing Tutsi retribution—fled to neighboring Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, and the former Zaire (CIA 2005). After the massacres, the UN set up the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) for the prosecution of persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda between January 1, 1994, and December 31, 1994. The first trial at the ICTR started in January 1997. As of March 2005, the ICTR had handed down seventeen judgments involving twenty-three accused. Twenty of them were convicted and three acquitted. The judgments delivered to date have involved one prime minister, four ministers, one prefect, five bourgmestres, and several others who held leadership positions during the 1994 genocide (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, n.d.).

Notwithstanding the horrors of Rwanda, Srebrenica, and elsewhere, the number of genocides and politicides (this term has been used to describe policies that seek to destroy groups because of their political beliefs rather than their religion or ethnicity) fell by 80 percent between the 1988 high point and 2001 (University of British Columbia 2005, 1). However, despite

some moves by the international community to bring to justice those involved with past war crimes, atrocities continue to be witnessed. Tensions have been increasing in the Gambella region of Ethiopia since the 1980s, when the government forcibly resettled people from the central highlands there. This resettlement, and an inflow of ethnic Nuer, have led many Anuak people, the ethnic people of the region, to fear they are being displaced from their traditional lands. According to Human Rights Watch, a nongovernment organization, armed attacks directed against the Anuak community claimed as many as 424 lives in the last weeks of 2003 and the beginning of 2004. At least some soldiers and policemen participated in the violence. The immediate trigger for the violence was a series of attacks by Anuak insurgents against civilians of other ethnic groups in the area (Human Rights Watch 2005).

Gender-based violence is common during war. The incidence of rape increases as law and order breaks down and power is held by those holding weapons, often young males with ready access to alcohol. Violence can occur with poor discipline but might also be used as another way to gain the submission of the population. It is not known whether the incidence of sexual violence in war is increasing or decreasing. Despite the lack of reliable statistics, wartime sexual violence has received far more attention in recent years, and its widespread nature is evident. But it is unclear whether the incidence of attacks is increasing or simply that more are being reported (University of British Columbia 2005, 108).

The incidence of such violence is shown by the recent history of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Ethnic strife and civil war occurred with a massive inflow of refugees in 1994 from fighting in Rwanda and Burundi. A brief civil war in 1997 restored former Marxist President Denis Sassou-Nguesso but ushered in a period of ethnic unrest. An estimated 3.3 million people are thought to have been killed, the vast majority of them civilians. Many have been killed in fight-

ing, but a far greater number have died of disease and starvation (UNICEF, n.d.). The human rights agency Amnesty International has reported that during the course of the conflict, tens of thousands of women and girls have been victims of systematic rape committed by combatant forces. Throughout 2004, women and girls continued to be attacked. Many suffered gang rapes or were taken as sex slaves by combatants. Rape of men and boys was also reported. Rape was often preceded or followed by the deliberate wounding, torture, or killing of the victim. Women suffering injuries or illnesses caused by rape were denied medical care. Furthermore, many women were abandoned by their husbands and excluded by their communities because of prejudice. This condemned them and their children to extreme poverty (Amnesty International 2005).

Many children are recruited as fighters by warring factions. Children are often viewed by factions as a readily available supply of recruits who can be easily trained and indoctrinated, who do not have to be paid, and who require less food than adults. Children as young as eight years of age have been recruited, often through force, and are particularly vulnerable when they have been separated from their families or have become orphans. According to the *Human Security Report 2005*, in the Middle East and Central Asia children are or recently have been involved in combat in Algeria, Azerbaijan, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Sudan, Tajikistan, and Yemen. Colombia uses more child soldiers than any other country in Latin America. In early 2004, as many as 14,000 children were serving in the country's paramilitary and rebel groups. In Asia, children have served in rebel or government forces in Burma/Myanmar, Cambodia, East Timor, India, Indonesia, Laos, Nepal, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and the Solomon Islands. In Burma/Myanmar, it is estimated that there are more than 75,000 child soldiers, one of the highest numbers of any country in the world (University of British Columbia 2005, 113–15).

More casualties can occur under the regime that emerges victorious from a civil war. Groups that use violence to seize power are likely to be willing to use further violence if they feel their power is threatened, and are likely to take action against perceived threats. This can lead to widespread violence against the groups they defeated in order to seize power. Victorious groups might also use force to ensure that their goals and ideals are carried out.

The plight of Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge presents an extreme case of violence in the aftermath of a civil war. Cambodia experienced a brutal civil war during the 1970s as the Khmer Rouge fought the government for control of the country. With the April 1975 fall of Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital, the Khmer Rouge implemented a radical and brutal policy aimed at restructuring society. Although the regime lasted for less than four years, the regime would leave chilling reminders of its atrocities in the form of the killing fields. These were areas where mass executions of men, women, and children took place. By the time the Khmer Rouge lost power in early 1979, as many as 1.7 million lives had been lost through executions, malnutrition, or disease. Overall, up to a quarter of the population is estimated to have died as a direct result of Khmer Rouge policies (Bellamy 2005, 17).

The disastrous impact of civil war continues to be felt long after the fighting has subsided or ended. Higher rates of mortality often remain, for it takes time to rebuild the country's damaged infrastructure, such as health and sanitation systems. The reduced pool of available resources hinders this rebuilding. For instance, there may be few people with the necessary expertise and skills, for such people may have fled the war or have become casualties. This is particularly a problem given the likelihood of increased demand for basic services because of war damage, and the resultant increased threat of infectious diseases but reduced ability to prevent and contain outbreaks. According to one study, during a five-year civil war (the average

length of a civil war is about seven years), infant mortality increases by 13 percent and remains 11 percent higher than the baseline in the first five years of postwar peace (World Bank 2003, 23–24, 93).

Lives are further jeopardized by the remnants of war. Unexploded ordnance often claims lives and causes injuries; land mines are a particular menace. Land mines are frequently used, because they are inexpensive, readily available, and easy to use. This frequent use, along with the difficulty of clearing mines and their potential to indiscriminately harm people, adds to their menace. Moreover, those who survive encounters with mines are often maimed and face the prospect of losing their ability to work and thus their livelihoods. Mined roads and destroyed bridges are significant obstacles to postwar recovery, and minefields around many major population centers place more pressure on land for agriculture and resettlement. Mines also hinder development because they can prevent the use of valuable resources, such as land. The plight of Cambodia highlights the grief caused by mines. In Cambodia, even though 166 million square meters of land were cleared from 1992 to 2001, and a total of 313,586 antipersonnel mines were found and destroyed, 6,422 villages (46 percent of villages) still have areas contaminated with mines and unexploded ordnance. Official reports indicate that in 2001, 173 people were killed and 640 were injured by mines or unexploded ordnance (World Bank 2003, 31).

Refugees

As the death and destruction of war spreads, it is likely that people will attempt to flee the fighting. These people often become refugees with few possessions and are forced to survive with the limited resources they have, at least until they find new homes or are provided assistance at refugee camps. Refugees are unlikely to receive adequate help from a weakened state and are vulnerable to attack. Their plight is further worsened by the trauma they have experienced

witnessing the horrors of war, such as the death and injury of relatives and friends.

According to the *Human Security Report 2005*, for four decades the number of refugees around the world has tracked the number of armed conflicts—growing inexorably, albeit unevenly, from the 1960s to the early 1990s, then falling commensurately as the numbers of wars declined. The number fell from a record high of 17.8 million in 1992 to 9.7 million in 2003. According to the report, the recent upsurge of peace agreements in Africa suggests that this trend will continue, at least in the short term (University of British Columbia 2005, 103).

Afghanistan's recent history is dominated by war, which has resulted in many refugees. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 and remained for ten years to support a Communist regime. This led to intense fighting with the anti-Soviet mujahideen. Although the Soviets withdrew in 1989, and the Communist regime collapsed in 1992, fighting then erupted among the various mujahideen factions. From these factions evolved the Pashtun-dominated Taliban, who sought to impose their extreme version of Islam. The Taliban in 1996 seized Kabul, the capital, and were in control of much of Afghanistan until late 2001. The Taliban were opposed by an alliance of factions drawn mainly from minority communities and based in the north. This alliance received extensive assistance from the United States after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, and the Taliban lost power in 2001. More than two decades of civil war, and the resultant destruction of many towns and villages, have caused the mass movement of Afghanistan's people. During the 1990s, almost 40 percent of the population lived in refugee camps in asylum countries (World Bank 2003, 18). As many as 300,000 Afghans have entered Iran and Pakistan since September 11, 2001, and the resultant intensification of war, and more than 3.5 million have been there for more than ten years (GlobalSecurity.org, n.d.).

Conflict has similarly dominated much of Sudan's recent history. Military regimes favoring

Islamic-oriented governments have dominated national politics since Sudan's independence from the United Kingdom in 1956. Sudan has been embroiled in two prolonged civil wars during most of the remainder of the twentieth century. The wars have been rooted in the northern economic, political, and social domination of non-Muslim, non-Arab southern Sudanese. The second war and famine-related effects resulted in more than 2 million deaths and more than 4 million people displaced over a period of two decades. Peace talks gained momentum in 2002–2004 with the signing of several accords; the final Naivasha peace treaty of January 2005 granted the southern rebels autonomy for six years, after which a referendum for independence is scheduled to be held. A separate conflict that broke out in the western region of Darfur in 2003 resulted in at least 200,000 deaths and nearly 2 million people displaced (CIA 2006). In December 2005, the UN described the security situation in the Darfur provinces as volatile, with reported banditry and looting. The harassment, beating, and killing of internally displaced people was also reported (UN News Service 2005).

Many refugees suffer from severe trauma as a result of their experiences. Approximately 68 percent of Cambodian refugees living on the Thai border have displayed symptoms of major depression, and 37 percent have shown symptoms associated with the diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder. Similar trauma has been reported in Bosnia (World Bank 2003, 29). This is worsened by the inadequate support systems and lack of help. Refugees returning to their homes have also experienced problems. In Sudan, many refugees who went back to their former homes found it difficult to readjust and returned to the places they now live. About 40 percent of returnees who come from Khartoum, the capital, returned there after six months because of social and economic problems (McLaughlin and Selva 2004).

Refugee camps often find it difficult to provide adequate care, food, and shelter to an influx

of refugees fleeing a war. For instance, the UN reported in June 2005 that malnutrition had reached critical levels in the Fugnido and Bonga refugee camps, which house almost 48,000 people in the Gambella region, Ethiopia (IRIN 2005). With inadequate support, infectious diseases can rapidly spread among people already weakened by their flight from conflict, especially those most vulnerable. Measles, meningitis, and diarrhea increased the mortality rates among children under five years in camps for Sudanese refugees in northern Uganda (1994), Rwandan refugees in Zaire (1994), and residents in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (2000) (World Bank 2003, 25). The incidence of malaria also increases as refugees are forced to avoid main travel routes because of fighting, thereby risking travel through areas where the disease can be contracted. Malaria during the mid-1990s was the main cause of morbidity in the Bonga refugee camp (World Bank 2003, 37).

Many refugees who have fled abroad and are not in camps experience major problems too. These people often have little money to afford accommodation and cannot access local support systems because of their legal status or language barriers. The flight of many Nepalese from the conflict in their homeland—it is estimated that seven million out of 27 million Nepalese now live abroad—illustrates the uncertain future refugees face. Many of these people now work in brothels in Bombay and sweatshops in Southeast Asia, as well as in servants' quarters in the Gulf (Perry 2005).

The Difficulty of Ending War

The recurrent nature of war is examined later, but it is worthwhile noting the difficulty of ending war here, as this is another important reason to study the phenomenon and, hopefully, to develop better means of prevention. In any given time period, a civil war can have one of four outcomes: victory by the government, victory by the rebels, a treaty, or a truce (cease-fire with no final settlement) (DeRouen Jr and Sobek 2004, 307).

As is evident in this compendium, a diverse range of factors can contribute to the outbreak of civil war and impact the conflict's duration (general causes are outlined later). This diversity can seriously hinder attempts to establish peace, as negotiations must take these factors into account and overcome the associated hurdles to achieve peace. For instance, compromises are often required on the part of various groups with strong attachments to their goals and negative perceptions of their opponents.

According to the work of James D. Fearon, war is originating as coups or popular revolutions have tended to be short because the "technology" for taking state power depends on defections within the security apparatus. Civil wars since 1945 have lasted significantly longer when they have involved land or natural resource conflicts, conflicts between state-supported migrants from a dominant ethnic group, and the ethnically distinct "sons of the soil" who inhabit the region in question (this approach is detailed later). They also last longer when the rebels have access to finance from contraband goods such as opium or cocaine (Fearon 2004, 297).

According to Karl DeRouen Jr and David Sobek, a number of variables can influence the duration of a war and the outcome. Geographical variables appear to have disparate effects. In particular, civil war in a highly forested state has a significantly lower probability of ending in a government or rebel victory, truce, or treaty. Thus, forest cover increases the probability that war will continue. Civil wars in mountainous states have a significantly lower probability of ending in government victory and a higher probability of ending with a rebel victory or truce. Primary commodity exports increase the probability of government victory, truce, or treaty; however, they do not seem to help rebel victory. Grievances appear to have a slight effect on the outcome of a civil war. States that have an exceptionally unequal distribution of income experience civil wars that are less likely to end in truce. The intervention of the UN plays an important role in a war's outcome. In particular,

the involvement of the UN significantly increases the likelihood of a truce or treaty. In terms of duration, UN involvement increases the expected time needed for both government and rebel victories and decreases the time for a truce or treaty (DeRouen Jr and Sobek 2004, 309–14, 317).

However, even when the international community actively intervenes to end the conflict, fighting often continues. The difficulty of successfully intervening is shown by events in Somalia during the 1990s. Mohamed Siad Barre seized power in 1969, and opposition to his regime began to emerge after he excluded members of the Mijertyn and Isaq clans from government positions. Opposition clans ousted Barre in 1991 but continued fighting; widespread starvation led to the deployment of U.S. forces in 1992. This was ahead of a UN peacekeeping force sent to restore order and safeguard relief supplies. Beginning in 1993, a two-year UN humanitarian effort (primarily in the south) was able to alleviate famine conditions, but when the UN withdrew in 1995, having suffered significant casualties, order still had not been restored. In November 2005, numerous warlords and factions were still fighting for control of the capital city as well as for other southern regions (CIA 2005).

Similarly, Iraq has experienced much conflict, despite the continued presence of coalition forces since the 2003 invasion. It was reported in mid-2004 that there were over thirty-five countries working alongside U.S. forces undertaking military and humanitarian operations in Afghanistan and Iraq (Diehl 2004, 2–3). There were 133,000 U.S. personnel and over 17,000 coalition personnel in Iraq in August 2006, but conflict continues (GlobalSecurity.org, n.d.). There were 106 U.S. fatalities in October 2006, the highest number since January 2005, when another 106 died. The highest number of fatalities from March 2003 to October 2006 was recorded in November 2004 (137) (CNN 2006). Moreover, in December 2005 there were an estimated 20,000 insurgents in

the field on any given day (Ware 2005, 23). There have been many casualties among coalition forces. As of November 21, 2006, there had been 3,113 coalition deaths. Of these, 2,867 were Americans and 125 were Britons (CNN, 2006). These in turn have led to mass protests in coalition countries. The Democratic Party won control of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives in the 2006 mid-term elections, a result influenced by the ongoing conflict in Iraq.

Economic Impact

The impact of civil war on a country's economy is devastating. During a civil war, a society diverts some of its resources from productive activities to destruction. Thus, there is a double loss: the loss of resources that had contributed to production prior to the war's onset and the loss from the damage that the war inflicts (World Bank 2003, 13). Skills are lost with the death and exodus of people, and the damage to the country's infrastructure seriously hinders economic development and activity. For instance, the loss of reliable electricity supplies hits productivity, and damaged transport systems hinder both the inflow of resources and the outflow of products. Moreover, the uncertainty surrounding war discourages investment; it can also encourage economic instability as people seek to stockpile goods, and money loses its value with inflation.

The impact of civil war is shown by the economic performances of countries experiencing such conflict. One study found that, during civil war, countries tend to grow around 2.2 percent more slowly than during peace. Hence, after a typical civil war of seven years' duration, incomes would be about 15 percent lower than had the war not occurred, implying approximately a 30-percent increase in the incidence of absolute poverty. The cumulative loss of income during the war would be equal to about 60 percent of a year's gross domestic product (GDP). Another study examined the economic impact of civil war using data from about eighteen countries affected by such conflict.

For fourteen countries whose average growth rates of GDP per capita could be calculated, the average annual growth rate was negative 3.3 percent. Furthermore, a wide range of macro-economic indicators worsened during the conflict. In all eighteen economies, the external debt increased as a percentage of GDP; in fifteen countries, per capita income fell; in thirteen countries, food production dropped; and in twelve countries, export growth declined (World Bank 2003, 17).

Many countries that have witnessed conflict have experienced severe economic problems. The 1994 genocide decimated Rwanda's fragile economic base, severely impoverished the population, particularly women, and eroded the country's ability to attract private and external investment. Serious problems remain in the country, with 60 percent of the population estimated to be living below the poverty line in 2001, and Rwanda continues to receive significant aid money (CIA 2005). Conflict has also impacted the Nepalese economy. Tourism is an important source of foreign exchange but has been hit hard by the fighting. Tourism was down 43 percent in February 2005 from a year earlier, and there have been fears of starvation (Perry 2005). The loss of revenue has contributed to the poor state of the economy; Nepal is among the poorest and least developed countries in the world, and 40 percent of its population lives below the poverty line. Prospects for investment have been reduced by the ongoing conflict (CIA 2005).

The economic impact of civil war is not confined to the country experiencing the conflict. Because countries are closely interlinked by the global economy, when conflict affects the economy in one country, it is likely to have an impact on others, especially neighbors. The magnitude of the impact is influenced by the nature of the country's economy. Civil war in a country that has a large economy with strategic resources such as oil is likely to have a larger impact on the global economy than a war in a country with a small, resource-limited economy. The country's

location is also important, as war can disrupt international trade.

The impact of war on the global economy is clearly shown by the effect of the conflict in Iraq since 2003. Iraq has historically been a key supplier of oil for the international community. Iraq's economy is dominated by the oil sector, which has traditionally provided about 95 percent of foreign exchange earnings (CIA 2005). Iraq contains an estimated 115 billion barrels of proven oil reserves, the third largest in the world (behind Saudi Arabia and Canada), concentrated overwhelmingly (65 percent or more) in southern Iraq. However, estimates of Iraq's oil reserves and resources vary widely, for only about 10 percent of the country has been explored. Some analysts believe that deep oil-bearing formations located mainly in the vast Western Desert region could yield large additional oil resources ranging from 45 to 100 billion or more barrels (EIA 2005).

The Iraqi conflict has reduced oil production, in turn contributing to international price increases that impact global economic growth. The important oil industry in Iraq, already suffering from a lack of investment and restrictions on imports of machinery and technology under Saddam Hussein, has been hit by the conflict. For instance, pumping at Iraq's only functioning oil terminals in Basra was halted in August 2005 after a power cut thought to have been caused by an attack on a key power line. The conflict has encouraged anxiety over the supply of oil to the global economy. Oil futures settled above \$61 a barrel at the end of December 2005 and finished 40 percent higher than they started in 2005. Moreover, the price of natural gas increased by more than 80 percent in 2005 (*USA Today* 2005).

The impact of the Iraqi conflict on the international economy is increased by the country's location. Iraq is strategically located on the Shatt al Arab waterway and at the head of the Persian Gulf. It also has borders with Iran, Jordan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Turkey. Of particular importance is the impact of the conflict

on Saudi Arabia, given that country's oil wealth. Instability in Saudi Arabia would have a global impact because the country possesses 25 percent of the world's proven petroleum reserves, it is the largest exporter of petroleum, and it has a leading role in the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) (CIA 2005). Indeed, the country's oil industry has been targeted by terrorists. For instance, in May 2004 there were attacks on the petrochemical site in Yanbu and on an oil company compound in Khobar.

War can have a particularly detrimental impact on the economic prospects of countries close to the conflict. This impact is illustrated by both the likelihood of less investment and the disruptive impact on trade. According to the World Bank, having a neighbor at war reduces a country's annual growth by around 0.5 percent (World Bank 2003, 35). Economic growth rates may be adversely affected for a number of reasons, one of which is the disincentive to invest in a region experiencing conflict, as has been the case in Africa. In late 2004, the UN said that instability and war in Africa were having a "ripple effect" across the continent and were discouraging investment. Africa had the lowest level of foreign investment of any continent, about \$15 billion a year. Direct foreign investment in the world's thirty Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries was \$384 billion in 2003 (IRIN 2004).

Trade obstacles caused by war are a particular problem for landlocked countries, such as in Africa. In the 1976–1992 civil war in Mozambique, almost a million lives are estimated to have been lost, many of them civilians who died of hunger and disease (Bercovitch and Fretter 2004, 80). The war in Mozambique also doubled neighboring Malawi's international transport costs and triggered an economic decline. Similarly, the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo closed the river route to the sea for the landlocked Central African Republic (World Bank 2003, 35).

The economic impact of war is worsened by the extra demands that are placed on regional economies. The flight of refugees from a war can strain the economies of neighboring countries that must deal with the influx of people. For instance, many Afghans have entered Iran and Pakistan to escape the conflict in their own country, as already mentioned. The World Health Organization (WHO) has reported that resources have been strained by the influx of Afghan refugees into Pakistan, and that there are major problems. According to WHO, housing conditions are inhuman, sanitation conditions are below minimal standards, and there is inadequate drinking water. WHO warned that, with problems such as these, outbreaks of communicable diseases could occur (WHO n.d.).

Another demand on the economy is the likelihood that threat perceptions, and thus the perceived need for defense expenditure, will increase in countries close to conflict. This can occur with anxiety that the war could spread, there is an increased threat of regional instability, and border disputes might arise as various warring factions seek to use border areas as sanctuaries. The impact of conflict on defense expenditure is shown by an analysis of regional expenditure around the world. In 2003, military expenditure as a percentage of GDP was highest in the Middle East, at 6.7 percent. This was more than double the percentage of expenditure in the Americas (3.3 percent), the second-highest region. Africa and Europe then followed (2.1 percent) (IISS 2005, 316).

Terrorism

Terrorism has allowed weaker and smaller insurgent groups to become actors in international security. Terrorism has occurred globally since World War II and especially since the 1970s. The threat of terrorism has been internationally acknowledged, particularly since the attacks of September 11, 2001, and many countries have sought to counter the threat. This, in turn, has led to changes in the national security structures and foreign policies of various countries. For in-

stance, the United States has allocated significant resources to combat the threat, and the threat has become more important in shaping foreign policy. This is clearly shown by the deployment of substantial forces in Afghanistan and Iraq. Despite this, terrorist groups remain active, and terrorism continues to occur throughout the world.

Numerous terrorist attacks in many countries have occurred in recent years. The United States was attacked on September 11, 2001, in the worst international terrorist attack to date (November 2006). On that day, al-Qaeda suicide attackers hijacked and crashed four U.S. commercial jets—two into the World Trade Center in New York, one into the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., and a fourth into a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania. The attack left nearly 3,000 individuals dead or missing (U.S. Department of State 2005, 107). Later attacks have included deadly bombings on the Indonesian island of Bali in October 2002, in Madrid during March 2004, in London during July 2005, and in Amman, Jordan, during November 2005. According to revised U.S. State Department figures, there were 208 acts of international terrorism in 2003—an increase from the most recently published figure of 198 attacks in 2002 and a 42-percent drop from the 355 attacks in 2001. A total of 625 persons were killed in the attacks of 2003, fewer than the 725 killed during 2002. A total of 3,646 persons were wounded in the attacks that occurred in 2003, an increase from 2,013 persons wounded the previous year (U.S. Department of State 2004). It should be noted that, as new information becomes available, the United States revises previously published statistics.

The growth of terrorist groups has been facilitated by the link between civil war and terrorism. The lack of control exercised over territory by the state, as well as the general absence of law and order during war, can assist terrorist groups. In such areas, terrorists can operate with little or no interference from state authorities. Indeed, terrorists may be helped by some combatants who share the same beliefs. Terrorists can establish organizational structures, recruit and train

followers, develop international terrorist networks, and establish supply networks. Conflict can also make people more receptive to supporting terrorists or at least accepting their presence. As noted later, the decline in living standards and economic opportunities associated with conflict can make promises of support from terrorists more attractive. Similarly, terrorists can exploit the emotional turmoil that often arises with the death and destruction of war; for example, by serving as a channel for retribution.

Afghanistan illustrates how countries at war can become terrorist havens. After the Taliban seized power, it allowed al-Qaeda to establish bases, and Osama Bin Laden, the leader of the terrorist group, allegedly lived there. In 1998, the United States launched missile strikes at suspected al-Qaeda bases after the bombing of U.S. embassies in Africa, and in 1999 the UN imposed an air embargo and financial sanctions to force Afghanistan to hand over Bin Laden for trial. Further sanctions were imposed in January 2001; and after September 11, factions fighting the Taliban received extensive assistance. The Taliban's last stronghold in Kandahar finally surrendered in December 2001. Despite the fall of the Taliban, conflict and lawlessness remain, as elements of both the Taliban and al-Qaeda operate within the country or near its borders, and as of November 2006, Bin Laden had yet to be captured.

International Crime

Civil war is often linked to international crime, such as the manufacture and trafficking of illegal drugs. Civil war creates territory outside the control of a recognized government, in which illegal activities, such as drug cultivation, can become widespread. Moreover, drug cultivation or control of the illegal drug industry can provide an important source of revenue for guerrilla groups. Cultivation can also be encouraged as a source of income for people whose economic options have been reduced by the war or who live in areas under the control of guerrilla groups.

War and the production of drugs are linked. It is estimated that some 95 percent of the global production of opium takes place in countries experiencing civil wars (World Bank 2003, 41). Historically, Colombia has had a problem with banditry, but in 1965 some bandits linked up with left-wing political movements to overthrow the government. By 1998, an estimated 40,000 lives had been lost (Bercovitch and Fretter 2004, 139–40). As conflict intensified during the 1990s, production increased. The U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency estimates that more than 80 percent of the worldwide powder cocaine supply and approximately 90 percent of the powder cocaine smuggled into the United States is produced in Colombia (U.S. Department of State 2005a). Colombian intelligence sources estimate that 40 percent of the country's total cocaine exports are controlled by paramilitaries and their allies in the narcotics underworld, and that it is "impossible to distinguish between paramilitaries and drug traffickers" (Human Rights Watch 2003).

Causes of War

Given war's disastrous consequences, it is vital to better understand the factors that can cause civil war, hopefully to prevent such wars from taking place or at least to enhance the ability to establish peace. The essays in the main part of this book examine in greater detail specific conflicts and their causes, so general factors and approaches are only briefly outlined here. These factors range from the previous occurrence of war to internal divisions and personalities.

History

Once a country has experienced civil war, the threat of more conflict is elevated. The risk of a subsequent war for countries that have experienced war is estimated to be two to four times higher than the risk for new states. One reason for this high risk is that the same factors causing the initial war often remain (World Bank 2003, 83, 104). Indeed, these factors might have become stronger as a result of the destruction and

casualties caused by war. For instance, suspicion and hostility between members of warring factions hinder reconciliation and take time to overcome. The difficulty of bringing to justice key personalities responsible for the conflict is another obstacle to reconciliation. A return to war is also facilitated by the likely postwar unemployment of many people who have little experience except fighting, and by the ready access of groups to weapons. In fact, what is done with weapons stockpiles after a war can also cause tension.

The threat of ongoing conflict is shown by events in Angola. Angola achieved independence in 1975 after a guerrilla war. However, conflict did not cease; a struggle for control of the country resulted in approximately 345,000 deaths from 1975 to 1994 and ended in a stalemate. That year, the Lusaka Accord was signed, and UN peacekeepers were deployed. Conflict occurred in 1997, however, with the failure to implement the agreement, and fighting resumed in March 1998. More than 10,000 people were killed in the new round of fighting. Moreover, it is estimated that nearly 75,000 people died of starvation in 1999 (World Bank 2003, 105). A cease-fire was signed in April 2002, and in February 2003 the UN mission overseeing the peace process concluded its operation. Conflict continued, however, in areas such as Cabinda, an enclave separated from the rest of Angola by the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Barbara F. Walter has studied the recurrent nature of civil war. Her findings support the theory that living conditions that favor individual enlistment in rebel armies—low quality of life and barriers to political participation—can help predict which countries will continue to experience civil war and which will not. “The likelihood of returning to war was both a function of the basic well-being of the country’s population and the accessibility of government decision-making to the average citizen.” According to Walter, “Governments that fought a short war against one set of challengers and governments that ended a previous war in partition were sig-

nificantly more likely to face a violent challenge from a new rebel group. This supports the idea that the outcome and duration of an earlier war can play an important signaling role to other challengers in their decision to act or remain at peace. One war does appear to provide important information to other potential combatants about the potential costs and outcome of their own contest” (Walter 2004, 385).

The Strength of the State

The strength and success of fundamental features of the state influence the likelihood of war. The presence of key political institutions that provide adequate and appropriate avenues to exercise rights, to express opinions, and to address grievances is vital in reducing the likelihood of war. Similarly, a central government is needed that can adequately provide the basics of good governance. These include the provision of basic resources such as clean water and electricity, the provision and maintenance of basic infrastructure such as sanitation and transportation systems, and the upholding of law and order. DeRouen Jr and Sobek have noted the influence of the state’s capacity on conflict. According to their research, effective state bureaucracy undermines rebel victory. A government has an effective bureaucracy when there is a regular process for recruiting and training bureaucrats, when the bureaucracy is protected from political pressure, and when it has the ability to provide services and expertise even in the face of government changes (DeRouen and Sobek 2004, 307, 317).

Where the fundamental features of the state are strong, civil war is less likely. For instance, these features are strong in New Zealand, and this contributes to the very low likelihood of civil war there (Henderson and Bellamy 2002a, 88). However, this is not the case in many countries. The term *failed nation-state* indicates a dangerous development in the aftermath of the Cold War—the breakdown of law, order and basic services in a number of multiethnic states, particularly those in sub-Saharan Africa. This

phenomenon is accompanied by bitter communal conflict, violent ethnic nationalism, militarism, and possibly endemic regional conflict. Examples of this include Liberia and Somalia (Evans and Newnham 1998, 167).

The country's economy influences the state's strength. Poor economic development limits the resources that can be used to build strong political institutions. Likewise, the government's ability to meet the needs and demands of the population are limited by a weak economy. Within such a context, grievances over economic problems such as inflation and unemployment grow as they impact living conditions. As such conditions deteriorate, grievances are likely to become stronger. This is particularly the case now, because technology means that even the poorest and most remote areas often have access to international information. Thus, people are able to learn about better conditions in other areas or countries. Discontent with the government intensifies when the living conditions of groups are uneven due to government favoritism and corruption. Within such a context, people are more likely to support factions that promise better conditions even via the use of force.

The role of a struggling economy both in encouraging an insurgency and in increasing its strength is evident in countries that have experienced civil wars. For instance, the intensification of war in Cambodia during the 1970s and the growing strength of the Khmer Rouge occurred against the background of a failing economy. Lon Nol had seized power through a coup in 1970 against Norodom Sihanouk, and under his regime economic problems worsened. Despite the stagnation of the economy under Sihanouk, in 1969 exports of rice, rubber and corn had brought in \$90 million—a sizeable portion of the gross national product of \$450 million. However, by the end of 1970, the government was spending five times its revenue and earning nothing abroad. From mid-1972 on, there was rarely enough food in Phnom Penh, the capital, and the government increasingly found it difficult to provide even the most basic health serv-

ices. As the population suffered these hardships, Lon Nol and members of his regime benefited from rampant corruption (Shawcross 1979, 220, 222, 224–30).

However, Thad Dunning writes that, although relevant literature suggests that fiscal crisis and economic contraction tend to result in regime change, many resource-dependent countries do not seem to experience political instability. Dunning suggests that one reason for this could be that resource dependence is the outcome of strategic decisions by incumbent elites to limit the extent to which political opponents can challenge their power. Thus, fiscal crisis and economic contraction do not cause regime change or political instability in resource-dependent states. This is because elites can block the viability of challenges to incumbent power through promoting resource dependence (Dunning 2005, 474–75).

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin find that rough terrain increases the probability of civil war onset. Because mountainous geography makes it harder for government forces to locate the rebels, rugged landscape can provide incentives for rebel leaders to initiate conflicts with their governments (Fearon and Laitin 2003).

Natural Resources

The issue of ownership of resources often arises when they are spread unevenly, and this can cause conflict. Much research has been undertaken on the role of natural resources in civil wars. According to a review of work on the link between natural resources and war by Michael L. Ross, the weight of evidence available so far suggests four regularities:

Oil dependence appears to be linked to the initiation of conflict but not to conflict duration. There is some evidence that oil dependence (and possibly mineral dependence) is more strongly associated with separatist conflicts than with other types of conflicts.

Gemstones, opium, coca, and cannabis do not seem to be linked to the initiation of conflict,

but they do seem to lengthen preexisting wars. Timber's role remains untested.

There is no statistical evidence—and very little case study evidence—that links agricultural commodities to either the initiation or the duration of civil war.

The claim that primary commodities are associated with the onset of civil war does not appear to be robust (Ross 2004, 352).

According to Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, the plundering of natural resources can finance opportunistic rebellions, and resources can motivate conflict, especially in the form of secessions. This is because secessionists claim both ownership of the resources and misuse of the money by national authorities through embezzlement by distant elites (Collier and Hoeffler 2005, 632). The work of Macartan Humphreys indicates that countries dependent on agricultural commodities are at risk of war independent of their endowments of oil and diamonds. Humphreys found that Sierra Leone was vulnerable to conflict, not simply because it had gems but also because it had not been through a process of industrialization, and there were clusters of rural communities with relatively weak commercial ties between them (Humphreys 2005, 534). A study of war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo found that conflict intensity increased with the abundance of natural resources and the degree of ruler appropriation (Olsson and Fors 2004, 334).

Richard Snyder and Ravi Bhavnani propose that, in countries rich in lootable resources such as alluvial diamonds, precious hardwoods, and illegal drugs, the ability of rulers to establish and maintain political order depends on three key factors. First, order is dependent on the overall resource profile of the economy, specifically the amount of nonlootable wealth available as a source of revenue. Second, the mode of extraction in the lootable sector is relevant. Whether lootable resources are extracted by hard-to-tax artisans or, alternatively, by large, taxable industrial firms is particularly important. Finally, pat-

terns of state spending impact order. Of particular importance is whether rulers consume revenue frivolously or invest it in strengthening the military, providing social welfare, and improving their capacity to earn future revenue (Snyder and Bhavnani 2005, 588).

The link between diamonds and civil war has been examined by various scholars. First, diamonds have been found to influence the incidence of civil wars but generally not the risk of conflict onset. The effect of diamonds depends on the level of ethnic fractionalization, and they mainly affect ethnic war. Secondly, the geological form of the diamond deposits is important. For instance, easily exploited resources such as secondary diamonds can be used to finance prolonged conflicts. Third, the impact of secondary diamonds on the onset of civil war has been substantially higher since the Cold War ended. Fourth, research suggests that diamonds are dangerous only after production has started. Thus, the mere discovery of a diamond deposit in a country does not seem to affect the risk of civil war (Lujala, Gleditsch, and Gilmore 2005, 559–60).

The work of Jeremy Weinstein suggests that natural resources (and other forms of economic endowments) may shape the types of individuals attracted to rebellion in different contexts. Although the presence of natural resources or other sources of financial support allow insurgent leaders to provide short-term rewards to those who join their groups, such strategies imply major challenges. In particular, groups that provide short-term benefits tend to attract opportunistic members with little commitment to the organization's long-term goals. These "consumers" are unwilling to make investments of time, energy, and resources without receiving the promised material rewards. The absence of economic endowments can be a challenge for rebel groups, but is not an absolute constraint. In these contexts, rebel leaders build armies by making credible promises about the selective incentives they can provide to participants in the future. Individuals demonstrate their commitment to the

group by accepting promises rather than payoffs (Weinstein 2005, 621–22).

Statistically, secessionist rebellions are considerably more likely if the country has valuable natural resources, particularly oil. The role of natural resources is illustrated by Cabinda, Angola (World Bank 2003, 60). In Cabinda, a separatist conflict continues between the government and rebels. Angola is sub-Saharan Africa's second-largest oil producer after Nigeria. The majority of its crude oil is produced offshore in Block Zero, located in Cabinda. Although Cabinda accounts for nearly all Angola's foreign exchange earnings, the province receives only 10 percent of taxes paid by ChevronTexaco and its partners operating offshore. Many separatist groups have demanded that a greater share of oil revenue remain in the poverty-stricken province, often kidnapping foreign nationals to draw attention to their cause (EIA 2005). The pursuit of wealth can also be a major motive for warring factions, although they may claim they seek to address legitimate grievances. According to a UN committee that investigated the plunder of gems and minerals in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, "illegal exploitation remains one of the main sources of funding for groups involved in perpetuating conflict." It further noted that "[t]he flow of arms, exploitation and the continuation of the conflict are inextricably linked" (UN News Service 2003).

Internal Divisions

Divisions within a country can provide the basis for civil war. Divisions such as those based on ethnicity, region, and religion can be a source of tension and, ultimately, conflict if the different groups clash and cannot resolve differences peacefully. According to the World Bank, if the largest ethnic group in a multiethnic society forms an absolute majority, the risk of rebellion is increased by approximately 50 percent. In such societies, minorities may reasonably fear that even a democratic political process will lead to their permanent exclusion from influence, regardless of the electoral system. The World Bank

further asserts that, just as dominance can cause problems, so, too, can polarization. Dominance occurs when one group is larger than others; polarization occurs when the society is split into two fairly equal groups. A completely polarized society divided into two equal groups has an estimated risk of civil war around six times higher than a homogeneous society (World Bank 2003, 57–58). This risk can be heightened by the intense rivalry that can develop between two groups of similar size over issues such as political influence and power.

Discontent can be particularly strong when people are fighting for their right to live in their ancestral home (the "sons of the soil" dynamic). This is evident in the Ethiopian war (1976–1985). Here, the army undertook an active campaign against the insurgents, not only attacking the guerrillas themselves but also directing their attacks at the population's means of survival. Livestock, water wells, pasturelands, and trade routes were all subject to attacks. This helps to explain why the indigenous clans of the Ogaden region in Ethiopia were willing to fight so long. As a matter of survival, the nomads were not going to allow themselves to be pushed off their ancestral lands.

The potentially destructive nature of divisions is illustrated by the experiences of Nigeria. At independence in 1960, Nigeria had a federal constitution comprising three regions defined by the principal ethnic groups in the country: the Hausa and the Fulani in the north, the Yoruba in the southwest, and the Ibo in the southeast. Ethnic tensions increased during the 1960s with a military takeover and a worsening economy. In 1967, the head of the Eastern Region, Colonel Emeka Ojukwu, unilaterally declared the independent Republic of Biafra. The war that broke out lasted until 1970; this conflict, along with the Nigerian blockade of Biafra, caused a famine that killed hundreds of thousands of people. Overall, more than a million people died as a result of the conflict (Bercovitch and Fretter 2004, 75). Biafra was ultimately reabsorbed into Nigeria. Likewise, divisions have

been a source of conflict in Sri Lanka. Tensions between the Sinhalese majority and Tamil separatists erupted into war in 1983. Tens of thousands have died in an ethnic conflict that continues to fester (CIA 2005). After two decades of fighting, the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam formalized a cease-fire in February 2002. However, fighting continues with an upsurge of deadly violence in December 2005, which the government blamed on Tamil Tiger rebels.

There have been fears that conflict in Iraq might escalate into civil war. Fears have especially grown over the relationship between Shiites and Sunnis. Shiites constitute 60 percent of the population. Sunni Arabs make up some 15 to 20 percent of the population, but they dominated the government and economy throughout the twentieth century. Sunni Kurds, the other major population group, represent some 18 percent and were repressed under Saddam Hussein. Although there has been intermarriage between Shiites and Sunnis among the urban middle class, and some Iraqi tribes have both Sunni and Shiite branches, tensions are evident (Council on Foreign Affairs 2003). There has been disagreement over the existence of autonomous regions and over dealing with members of the ousted government and the Baath Party. Iraq's constitutional committee approved a final draft of the constitution in August 2005 and put it before the National Assembly, despite its rejection by Sunni Arab leaders. Sunni Arab negotiators questioned the document's legality and called on the UN and the Arab League to prevent its passage. Voters approved the new constitution in October 2005 and there were parliamentary elections in December 2005. However, these developments have not prevented widespread and brutal sectarian violence.

Personalities

State and insurgency leaders alike can inflame and exacerbate tensions that lead to war. Leaders in countries that have experienced insurgencies often have alienated much of the population by

abusing their power. This abuse often includes the use of brutality against any opposition, placing members of groups they identify with in key positions of power while excluding others, and corruptly exploiting the state's resources. Poor and incompetent leadership further erodes the legitimacy of a regime and encourages disillusionment, particularly if this leadership has resulted in major policy failures. Such an erosion of legitimacy can be exploited by insurgency leaders who can effectively organize opposition to the regime.

The influence of leadership during the initial years of a rebellion is illustrated by Jeffrey Herbst's study of African militaries. According to Herbst, "As an insurgency matures, a government may not be able to mobilize forces for their army, especially if they are facing a domestic threat and if they do not receive foreign aid. It is not only scholars who may have been misled by the declining utility of force over time. African leaders may also systematically underestimate the threats that they face because they do not understand that they will quickly fall behind the curve as an insurgency matures and their mobilization efforts fail" (Herbst 2004, 367). Studies of conflict indicate that the poor quality of leadership exhibited in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, along with the grievances that arose toward the ruling elite, contributed to the conflict (Olsson and Fors 2004, 333–34).

The key role of a leader in the outbreak and continuation of war is perhaps best illustrated by events in the former Yugoslavia. Milosevic embraced Serb nationalism in the late 1980s and warned that, if the Yugoslav nation dissolved, it would be necessary to redraw Serbia's boundaries to include Serbs living in other republics. When Croatia declared independence, the Serb minority in Croatia sought support from Milosevic, and fighting broke out. By December 1991, the Yugoslav People's Army and Serbian separatists had taken nearly a third of Croatia's territory. When Bosnia declared independence in April 1992, violence broke out throughout the republic. Milosevic vowed to defend Serbs from

what he termed “Croatian genocide” and “Islamic fundamentalism.” Milosevic deployed his forces, and more than three years of war followed—the bloodiest in Europe since World War II (BBC, n.d.). Milosevic was extradited to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia at The Hague in 2001. There, he faced three indictments, the most serious of which alleged genocide in Bosnia. However, Milosevic was found dead in his cell in March 2006.

Likewise, leaders of insurgencies often inflame the tensions that contribute to war. Rebel military organizations might have a hierarchical and dictatorial decision structure, with most of the power vested in a charismatic leader to maintain cohesion. Rebel leaders often preach intolerance and the need for direct action against their enemies, such as those who hold power. They are likely to exploit the grievances of various groups to rally support around the insurgency and are ruthless in their pursuit of power. A measure of the leader’s importance is that the rebel organization often collapses if the leader is removed. This is shown by the eclipse of the Shining Path, a Maoist group (World Bank 2003, 69). The Shining Path launched an insurgency in Peru during 1980. In the initial stages of the struggle, conflict-related deaths numbered fewer than 100 a year, but a decade into the conflict, 20,000 had been killed by political violence. This estimate reached approximately 28,000 by 1996, when the conflict finally petered out. However, the strength of the Shining Path declined significantly after the 1992 capture of Abimael Guzman, its leader. Following his capture, the organization split into two factions. This split is identified by many historians as the beginning of the group’s downfall. With regard to Guzman, the constitutional court struck down the antiterror laws enacted under former President Alberto Fujimori in 2003. This resulted in Guzman’s sentence being overturned, and a civilian trial was begun. Guzman was sentenced to life imprisonment in October 2006.

External Actors

Assistance to factions from external actors can exacerbate conflict. Of the 163 internal conflicts identified between 1946 and 2001, thirty-two involved external participation by other states (Gleditsch et al. 2002, 620). External actors might become involved in civil wars by deploying their own forces or indirectly by helping to finance and equip particular groups they support. Regardless of the nature of this involvement, the level and intensity of violence often increase as warring factions become stronger, particularly if there is direct intervention on their behalf. This involvement might be encouraged by external actors who benefit from the ongoing conflict and who support the goals of a particular faction in the belief that the faction’s victory will promote their own interests.

External involvement frequently occurred during the Cold War, when it was used as a tool by the superpowers and their allies to promote their rival strategic interests. This is shown by the experiences of Afghanistan in the late 1970s and 1980s. Mohammed Daud seized power in a 1973 coup and tried to play off the Soviet Union against Western powers but was overthrown in 1978. After a power struggle, the Soviet Union deployed forces the following year to support a pro-Communist regime and in 1980 installed Babrak Karmal as leader. However, Communist resistance intensified, with various mujahideen groups fighting pro-Communist and Soviet forces. These groups were supplied with money and arms by countries that opposed the Soviet Union, including the United States and Pakistan. The United States and the Soviet Union finally agreed to end military aid to both sides in 1991, two years after the withdrawal of Soviet forces.

Conclusion

This compendium uses the work of Nicolas Sambanis (2004) to define civil war. This definition takes into account the location of the conflict, the combatants, the fatalities, the level of violence, and the start and end of the conflict. There have been

numerous civil wars since World War II. Civil wars have occurred throughout the world but have been more common in some regions, such as developing Asia (South and East Asia and Oceania).

Various factors validate the study of civil war. Most important, a common feature of civil wars is the widespread loss of life; graphic violations of human rights are often witnessed too. Other serious consequences of war include the plight of refugees attempting to flee the fighting, and the recurrent nature of war. Furthermore, the impact of civil war on a country's economy is devastating. During a civil war, there is a double loss: the loss of resources that were available before the war began and the loss of material destroyed by war. Civil war has also been linked to terrorism and international crime.

Given the disastrous consequences of civil war, it is vital to better understand the factors that can cause civil war and prevent such wars from taking place—or at least enhance the ability to establish peace. Various factors can influence the likelihood of war. First, once a country has experienced civil war, the threat of more conflict is elevated. Second, the strength and success of fundamental features of the state, such as political institutions, influence the likelihood of war. Third, the issue of ownership of resources often arises when resources are spread unevenly, and this can cause conflict. Fourth, divisions within a country, such as those based on ethnicity, can cause conflict, especially when inflamed by leaders. Finally, assistance to factions from external actors can exacerbate conflict.

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(The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of his employer)

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REGIONAL ANALYSES

Asian Conflicts

Introduction

From 1950 to 2001, developing Asia (South and East Asia and Oceania) experienced a persistently high incidence of war. Civil wars have occurred in Afghanistan (1978–1992), Azerbaijan (1992–1994), Bangladesh (1972–1997), Cambodia (1970–1975 and 1979–1991), China (1946–1949), India (1946–1949), Indonesia (1975–1999), Korea (1950–1953), Myanmar/Burma (1968–1995), Pakistan (1971), the Philippines (1972–1996), Sri Lanka (1972–present), and Tajikistan (1992–1997). The war in Vietnam is not covered: The civil war there was ultimately submerged by an international conflict in which the United States adopted the strategy of containment as a viable approach to restricting Communist expansion.

Regional Background

Asia is the largest and most diverse continent on Earth, and it occupies 30 percent of the world's land area. The total area of Asia, including the Caucasian isthmus and excluding the island of New Guinea, is about 17,226,000 square miles (44,614,000 square kilometers). Asia is bounded by the Arctic Ocean on the north, the Pacific Ocean on the east, the Indian Ocean on the south, the inland seas of the Atlantic Ocean—the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea—on the southwest, and Europe on the west. Asia is

separated from North America to the northeast by the Bering Strait and from Australia to the southeast by the waters of the Indian and the Pacific oceans. The Isthmus of Suez joins Asia with Africa, and it is generally agreed that the Suez Canal forms the border between them.

The land boundary between Asia and Europe is a historical and cultural concept that has changed more than once. The most convenient geographic boundary—one that has been adopted by most geographers—is a line that runs south from the Arctic Ocean along the eastern slope of the Ural Mountains and then turns southwest along the Emba River to the northern shore of the Caspian Sea; west of the Caspian, the boundary follows the Kuma-Manych Depression to the Sea of Azov and the Kerch Strait.

Asia has a long history of human settlement. Fossil evidence indicates that Asia has been occupied by humans for at least 1 million years and possibly longer. Additionally, Buddhism came into being in northeastern India during the period from the late sixth century to the early fourth century BCE, a period of much social change and religious activity. There are now 350 million Buddhists worldwide (BBC n.d.).

Asia's rich history is clearly illustrated by the pasts of China and India. China's history can be traced back about 3,500 years. Beginning in 221 BCE, the country was united under a highly

centralized dynastic system. During the 2,000 years that followed, China experienced nine feudal dynasties. When the last dynasty, the Qing Dynasty, was established in 1644, China was one of the most powerful states in the world. China began to fall behind, however, when the Industrial Revolution spread across the West. In 1840, Great Britain defeated the Central Kingdom in a war over the opium trade. China agreed to cede Hong Kong to Britain, to pay large reparations, and to open its ports for trade. In the following years, other powers pressed China to grant similar privileges. As a result, by the beginning of the twentieth century China had become the de facto colony of those powers.

The twentieth century saw major changes in China. Civil conflict flared, and further bloodshed was caused by Japanese advances, by World War II, and by the civil war that followed. Under Communist rule, nationalization and collectivization took place, and social upheaval occurred during the Cultural Revolution, which was initiated in 1966. Many policies were reversed after the death of Chairman Mao Zedong in 1976, replaced by a rapid drive toward industrialization and wider trade with the West. Today, China is a major international actor with immense political, economic, and military power.

India is another key actor in the region and, indeed, internationally. India is the world's largest democracy and has been home to several political systems that eventually encompassed most of the South Asian subcontinent. The most important of these are the predominantly Buddhist Mauryan Empire, the reign of the Hindu Guptas, and the Muslim Mughal Empire. The colonial wars of the eighteenth century broke the Mughal Empire, and the 1857 Indian Mutiny led to the imposition of direct British rule. India became a republic in 1947 after a long struggle for independence. India is now the dominant economic player in South Asia, or the Indian subcontinent. Moreover, India's nuclear-capable military is one of the largest in the world.

Despite the end of the Cold War, major security issues remain. One such issue is the tense re-

lationship between China and Taiwan. Following the Communist victory on the mainland in 1949, the Nationalists fled to Taiwan and established a government, using the 1946 constitution drawn up for all of China. Since 1949, the relationship between China and Taiwan has been tense, with the question of eventual unification a dominant issue. There have been a series of crises (1954–1955, 1958–1959, and 1995–1996). Despite China's basic policy toward Taiwan of "one country, two systems, and peaceful unification," China has not abandoned the option to use force to secure unification. China's policy, along with Taiwan's increasingly aggressive stance, makes the issue a potential source of conflict in the region (DeRouen Jr and Heo 2005, 152).

Another significant issue is the tense relationship that has existed between North Korea and South Korea since the Korean War (1950–1953). Although North Korean President Kim Il Sung died in 1994, and his son Kim Jong Il assumed power, North Korea's relations with its neighbors remain tense. North Korea announced in 1996 that it would no longer abide by the armistice that ended the Korean War, and sent troops into the demilitarized zone. Six years later, in 2002, North and South Korean naval vessels fought in the Yellow Sea. In February 2005, North Korea said it had built nuclear weapons for self-defense. A fourth round of six-nation talks started in July 2005; in September, North Korea agreed to give up all its nuclear activities and rejoin the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, whereas the United States said it had no intention of attacking. However, North Korea later demanded a civilian nuclear reactor.

Some common characteristics can be identified from the study of civil wars in the region. First, although some wars have been dominated by one insurgent group, conflicts have tended to involve at least two and in some cases numerous warring groups. Second, external support has been an important factor influencing insurgent capabilities—especially as the Korean and Vietnam Wars placed Asia at the forefront of the Cold War. Third, mountains, jungles, and forests

have had a major impact on conflict. The terrain has generally helped the insurgents by providing them with cover and facilitating the use of guerilla tactics. Finally, many insurgent groups have cultivated illegal resources, such as drug crops, in areas under their control or influence.

The current economic development and prospects of countries vary:

Afghanistan: Afghanistan's economic outlook has improved significantly since 2001, but the country remains extremely poor and highly dependent on foreign aid. The estimated gross domestic product (GDP) real growth rate in 2005 was 8 percent.

Azerbaijan: Azerbaijan's key export is oil. Oil production declined through 1997 but has increased every year since. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 18.3 percent.

Bangladesh: Despite sustained domestic and international efforts, Bangladesh remains poor. Major impediments to growth include frequent cyclones and floods. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 5.2 percent.

Cambodia: From 2001 to 2004, the economy grew at an average rate of 6.4 percent, driven largely by an expansion in the garment sector and tourism. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 4 percent.

China: Measured on a purchasing power parity (PPP) basis, China in 2005 had the second-largest economy in the world after the United States, although in per capita terms the country is still in the lower-middle income range, and 150 million Chinese fall below international poverty lines. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 9.2 percent (official data).

India: The economy has posted an average growth rate of more than 6.8 percent in the decade since 1994, reducing poverty by about 10 percent. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 7.1 percent.

Indonesia: Indonesia has struggled to overcome the Asian financial crisis and faces serious problems, such as high unemployment.

The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 5.3 percent.

Korea (North and South Korea): North Korea, one of the world's most centrally planned and isolated economies, has serious economic problems. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 1 percent. Since the early 1960s, South Korea has achieved significant economic growth. Its economy is the eleventh-largest in the world. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 3.7 percent.

Myanmar/Burma: Although rich in resources, the country suffers from government controls, inefficient economic policies, and abject rural poverty. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 1.5 percent.

Pakistan: Pakistan, an impoverished and underdeveloped country, has experienced solid macroeconomic recovery over the last four years. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 8.4 percent.

Philippines: GDP growth accelerated to about 5 percent between 2002 and 2005. This reflected the continued resilience of the service sector as well as improved exports and agricultural output. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 4.7 percent.

Sri Lanka: GDP growth was 5 percent between 2002 and 2005. The struggle by the Tamil Tigers of the north and east for a largely independent homeland continues to have a major impact on the economy. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 4.7 percent.

Tajikistan: Tajikistan has one of the lowest per capita GDPs among the fifteen former Soviet republics. Although 60 percent of its people continue to live in abject poverty, there has been steady economic growth since 1997. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 8 percent (CIA 2005).

The Insurgents

Most scholars agree that seven major mujahideen groups emerged early in the Afghanistan war. All

seven were Sunni in composition and operated from the sanctuary of Pakistan. The main Sunni groups have been further classified into two broad categories: Islamist and traditionalist. The seven groups were eventually brought under a nominal common front, known as the Seven Party Alliance, by about 1985. Several minor Shi'a groups were also identifiable, although they were largely ineffective during much of the war and prone to internal strife.

In Azerbaijan, the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic (NKR) established independence during September 1991, but it was unrecognized as a sovereign state by the international community and remains so today. Despite its officially unrecognized international status, the NKR has established a highly organized government bureaucracy that includes a prime minister, a unicameral legislature, and executive ministries. The NKR has also established permanent missions in various countries.

In Bangladesh, in response to the growing resentment of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) people, the Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti (JSS) political party was formed under the guidance of Manabendra Narayan Larma in February 1972. The party's political platform channeled rising dissatisfaction and fear of the CHT tribes, who referred to themselves as Jumma and not Bengalis. However, only a year after JSS failed to resolve the conflict peacefully, Shanti Bahini was formed, with Manabendra Narayan Larma as its leader. Most members came from the three most populous tribes in the region—Chakmas, Tripura, and Marma—who were also the most disadvantaged by the government's policies toward CHT. In addition to the regular force, Shanti Bahini created a militia. The organization split into two factions after Larma's assassination in 1983.

Various groups have been active in Myanmar/Burma. The oldest of these groups was the Communist Party of Burma (CPB) formed in 1939. The CPB then fractured when Burma achieved independence in 1948, and began to disintegrate in 1989. Other groups sought to

protect and promote the interests of particular ethnic groups. The Karen National Union (KNU) was established in 1947 and became the most persistent insurgent group.

In Cambodia, after his overthrow by General Lon Nol in 1970, Norodom Sihanouk made an alliance with the extreme Communist Khmer Rouge. From this alliance, the National United Front of Kampuchea (Front Uni National de Kampuchea [FUNK]) was established in March 1970, and in May the Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea (Government Royal d'Union Nationale de Kampuchea [GRUNK]) was announced. However, the Khmer Rouge commanded the insurgency. Another alliance was made in 1982 to fight the Vietnamese, with the announcement of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK). This consisted of the Khmer Rouge, the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF), and the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC).

In China, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was established in 1921 and was fortunate to survive early Nationalist Party (KMT) offensives. The KMT and CCP both fought Japanese forces from 1937 to 1945. By the time of Japan's surrender, the number of CCP members had increased from 40,000 to 1,211,000 and the armed forces from 30,000 to 910,000. Moreover, Mao had successfully consolidated his authority and organized the CCP into a united and efficient political power.

In India, the conflict from 1946 to 1949 took two forms: internecine communal conflict and military conflict over borders in Kashmir. Both conflicts were intimately related in that both resulted from India's partition in 1947. The 1946–1948 war involved fighting between Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. In the 1947–1949 war, the main combatants were the Indian army and Pathan paramilitary units supported by covert Pakistani military units.

In Indonesia, the war against government forces within East Timor was dominated by the

Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Frente Revolucionaria de Timor-Leste Independente [Fretilin]). This was a leftist anti-colonial party that came to prominence in East Timor in 1975 when the government of Portugal, which governed East Timor, was toppled in a leftist coup d'état. Portuguese officials wished to rid themselves of their colonial holdings and pushed for a quick transfer of power to like-minded political groups. Fretilin's armed wing was the Armed Forces of National Liberation of East Timor (Forças Armadas De Libertação Nacional De Timor Leste [Falintil]).

In Korea, the civil war was initiated by the Korean People's Army of North Korea's invasion of South Korea in June 1950. The Korean invasion was undertaken by a force of 110,000 soldiers equipped with artillery and tanks. North Korea's Communist Party (Korean Workers Party [KWP]) had been inaugurated in 1946, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) proclaimed in 1948.

Three main groups resisted the Pakistani central government and fought for the establishment of Bangladesh: political leaders, disaffected soldiers, and guerrilla activists. Eventually, these were joined by Indian military personnel, but this was much later. The main rebel force was the Mukti Bahini. Originally a sort of paramilitary–security wing of the nationalist (and secular) Awami League, this force soon grew and acquired a guerrilla nature. It was led by a retired Pakistan army officer, Colonel Muhammad Ataul Gani Osmani.

The war in the Philippines centered on the fight between Bangsa Moro and the government. The two main insurgent groups were the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). The leader of the MNLF, Nur Misuari, framed the cause for a Bangsa Moro (Moro Nation) as a nationalist struggle against the “gobirno a sarwang tao” (foreign government) based in Manila. However, a basic ideological difference emerged between the two groups. Although the MNLF considered the fight for the Bangsa Moro a na-

tionalist project, the MILF, led by Salamat Hashim, came to consider the armed conflict essentially a religious struggle.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) came to dominate the war in Sri Lanka. In the early 1970s, a number of Tamil paramilitary organizations initiated an armed struggle against the Sri Lankan state. By the early 1980s, the LTTE had emerged as the most formidable Tamil paramilitary group and by 1987 was the dominant such group. The LTTE has carried on a dual struggle, fighting rival Tamil moderates and extremists as well as the Sri Lankan state. Its struggle against rival Tamils has been highly successful. This effort continues, as much to deny the Tamils an alternative representative as to deny the Sri Lankan government an alternative negotiating partner.

The main actors in Tajikistan were political groups capable of mobilizing armed militias. By 1990, a number of political movements and parties opposed to the Communist regime had formed. They included the Rastokhez Popular Movement (RPM), the Democratic Party of Tajikistan (DPT), and the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRP). These organizations and political parties, together with the La'li Badahshon and Nosiri Khusraw societies, formed what became known as the United Tajik Opposition (UTO), or “the opposition” for short.

Insurgent revenue sources have varied. Although not united, the mujahideen in Afghanistan had the advantage of receiving major external assistance, primarily from Pakistan, the United States, and Saudi Arabia. The NKR in Azerbaijan has established a well-equipped modern army through significant support from Armenia and Russia. Most of the arms used by the KNU in Myanmar/Burma were smuggled from Thailand. The stockpiles of nearby countries were another important source of weapons. The CPB was the best-equipped group, as it received major assistance from China. The Cambodian insurgents received foreign aid from Communist countries such as China and Vietnam during the

1970–1975 war; during the second war, they received assistance from countries ranging from China and Thailand to the United States.

In India, the Pathan paramilitary units fighting between 1947 and 1949 were covertly supported by Pakistan. Insurgents in Sri Lanka were helped by India. Falintil in East Timor acquired weapons from Portuguese arsenals but found it difficult to obtain external support. North Korea received significant equipment from other Communist countries, whereas China received some support from the Soviet Union and used equipment seized from the Japanese. In the Philippines, the MNLF and MILF were largely dependent on arms stolen or purchased from the Philippine military. In Tajikistan, rebels were funded by regional clans, Iran, and Pakistan.

Geography and Tactics

Mountains and plateaus constitute about 75 percent of the continent's total area, and low plains occupy the rest of the Asian mainland.

The size, terrain, and natural resources of the countries vary:

Afghanistan. Size: Total, 647,500 sq km; land, 647,500 sq km; water, 0 sq km; slightly smaller than Texas. Terrain: Mostly rugged mountains, with plains in the north and southwest. Natural resources include natural gas and petroleum.

Azerbaijan. Size: Total, 86,600 sq km; land, 86,100 sq km; water, 500 sq km; slightly smaller than Maine. This includes the exclave of the Naxcivan Autonomous Republic and the Nagorno-Karabakh region. The region's autonomy was abolished in November 1991. Terrain: Large, flat Kur-Araz Ovaligi (Kura-Araks Lowland) with the Great Caucasus Mountains to the north and Qarabag Yaylasi (Karabakh Upland) in the west. Natural resources include petroleum and natural gas.

Bangladesh. Size: Total, 144,000 sq km; land, 133,910 sq km; water, 10,090 sq km; slightly

smaller than Iowa. Terrain: Mostly flat alluvial plain and hilly in the southeast. Natural resources include natural gas and arable land.

Cambodia. Size: Total, 181,040 sq km; land, 176,520 sq km; water, 4,520 sq km; slightly smaller than Oklahoma. Terrain: Mostly low, flat plains with mountains in the southwest and north. Natural resources include timber and gemstones.

China. Size: Total: 9,596,960 sq km; land, 9,326,410 sq km; water, 270,550 sq km; slightly smaller than the United States. Terrain: Mostly mountains, high plateaus, deserts in the west; plains, deltas, and hills in the east. Natural resources include coal, iron ore, and petroleum.

India. Size: Total, 3,287,590 sq km; land, 2,973,190 sq km; water, 314,400 sq km; slightly more than one-third the size of the United States. Terrain: Upland plain (Deccan Plateau) in the south, flat to rolling plain along the Ganges, deserts in the west, and the Himalayas in the north.

Indonesia. Size: Total, 1,919,440 sq km; land, 1,826,440 sq km; water, 93,000 sq km; slightly less than three times the size of Texas. Terrain: Mostly coastal lowlands; larger islands have interior mountains. Natural resources include petroleum and tin.

North Korea. Size: Total, 120,540 sq km; land, 120,410 sq km; water, 130 sq km; slightly smaller than Mississippi. Terrain: Mostly hills and mountains separated by deep, narrow valleys; coastal plains wide in the west, discontinuous in the east. Natural resources include coal and lead.

South Korea. Size: Total, 98,480 sq km; land, 98,190 sq km; water, 290 sq km; slightly larger than Indiana. Terrain: Mostly hills and mountains, with wide coastal plains in the west and south. Natural resources include coal and tungsten.

Myanmar/Burma. Size: Total, 678,500 sq km; land, 657,740 sq km; water, 20,760 sq km; slightly smaller than Texas. Terrain: Central lowlands ringed by steep, rugged

highlands. Natural resources include petroleum and timber.

Pakistan. Size: Total, 803,940 sq km; land, 778,720 sq km; water, 25,220 sq km; slightly less than twice the size of California. Terrain: Flat Indus plain in the east, mountains in the north and northwest, and the Balochistan Plateau in the west. Natural resources include land and natural gas reserves.

Philippines. Size: Total, 300,000 sq km; land, 298,170 sq km; water, 1,830 sq km; slightly larger than Arizona. Terrain: Mostly mountains, with narrow to extensive coastal lowlands. Natural resources include timber and petroleum.

Sri Lanka. Size: Total: 65,610 sq km; land, 64,740 sq km; water: 870 sq km; slightly larger than West Virginia. Terrain: Mostly low, flat to rolling plain with mountains in the south-central interior. Natural resources include limestone, graphite, and mineral sands.

Tajikistan. Size: Total, 143,100 sq km; land, 142,700 sq km; water, 400 sq km; slightly smaller than Wisconsin. Terrain: Pamir and Alay Mountains dominate landscape, western Fergana Valley in the north, and Kofarnihon and Vakhsh Valleys in the southwest. Natural resources include some petroleum, uranium, and gold (CIA 2005).

Geography influences the nature and outcome of civil war. Given the size of China and its international impact, its war deserves particular mention. The CCP took advantage of China's vast and diverse terrain to hide from KMT forces and to launch surprise guerrilla attacks before ultimately launching major offensives. During the CCP's defensive phase (July 1946–March 1947), it initially abandoned the cities to avoid the KMT's greater firepower. A stalemate then prevailed (March 1947–August 1948). The Communist forces, now renamed the People's Liberation Army (PLA), not only repulsed attacks but also counterattacked the overextended KMT troops. When the Communist offensive started in September 1948, the

KMT forces were isolated in several major cities. The last stage of the war consisted of three all-out campaigns in Manchuria, North China, and Central China.

Insurgencies have generally been assisted by the region's terrain. The mountains in Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Cambodia, and Bangladesh helped insurgents there; in Myanmar/Burma, insurgents used steep hills and thick jungles to establish secure bases. East Timor's mountainous interior helped insurgents, but the relatively small size of the island and the massive size of the Indonesian military deployment hindered the insurgency. This meant limited hit-and-run tactics. Tajikistan's mountains reinforced regional rivalries. The insurgents in the Philippines built camps in forested and mountainous terrain to enhance their security, with the MNLF and the MILF adopting the rudiments of conventional warfare.

Similar terrain has been exploited elsewhere. The jungles of north and east Sri Lanka provide cover for insurgents. In 1999–2000, the LTTE was able to cut off and overrun an overextended enemy in operations reminiscent of the 1950s-era Việt Minh operations against the French in Vietnam. This allowed the LTTE to retake much of the Jaffna Peninsula. LTTE has also used terrorist attacks. Rebels in Vietnam were based in the mountains, in marshlands, and among the civilian population. Communist tactics evolved from a camouflaged war of liberation by guerrilla forces during the early years into an offensive using conventional warfare strategy and tactics during the last years (1972–1975). In India, much of the communal violence occurred in Punjab, where victims frequently had no forests or mountains in which to escape the killing squads. Kashmir's mountainous geography differs significantly from that of Punjab and hinders offensive operations.

Borders with other countries can influence a war's outcome. Borders with other countries, especially those friendly to insurgent groups, can provide an important advantage to insurgents. Borders can facilitate the provision of assistance,

insurgents can withdraw across borders to relative safety when pursued by their enemies, and insurgents can launch attacks from border areas. The rebels in Afghanistan were aided by their ability to obtain sanctuary in neighboring Pakistan. Furthermore, Pakistan offered the rebels not only protection from Soviet pursuit but also a secure base for recuperation, resupply, training, and the recruitment of fighters from among the refugees there. North Korea's geography did not have strategic importance in the Korean War; however, its shared border with China made possible the Chinese intervention in October 1950. Because East Pakistan bordered India, rebels fighting for the creation of Bangladesh had an area in which to regroup and train, and they enjoyed considerable Indian support. The NKR has been helped by Armenia, a major ally bordering Azerbaijan. Thai assistance for the insurgents in Cambodia was facilitated by their shared borders. Rebels fighting in Vietnam also used sanctuaries in Cambodia.

Natural resources can play an important role in financing the activities of warring groups. According to Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, natural resources can finance opportunistic rebellions, and resources can motivate conflict, especially successions (2005, 632). In Myanmar/Burma, the rebels, who mainly controlled the resource-rich border regions, quickly established links with China and Thailand and benefited from the black market trade. Furthermore, while resources such as drugs, gems, and timber were transported out of Myanmar/Burma, consumer goods in large quantities were imported through rebel-held areas. The Nagorno-Karabakh region in Azerbaijan has numerous mineral springs as well as deposits of zinc, coal, lead, gold, marble, and limestone. Rebels have used drugs to generate revenue. Oil has also influenced conflicts. Oil negatively affected Azerbaijan's peace negotiations, creating a mindset among officials in Baku, the capital, that due to the country's petroleum resources, time was on their side, and there was less need to compro-

mise, as the country's position was sure to improve in the future. Moreover, petroleum deposits in the seas lying between Timor and Australia were reputed to be a motive for Indonesia's initial occupation of East Timor in 1975 as well as its reluctance to relinquish control of the territory.

Causes of the Wars

An ideological struggle for control of the central government and the major intervention of an external actor were prominent causes of the war in Afghanistan. The seizure of power by the leftist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) in 1978 led to conflict as it sought to impose a strictly secular, Marxist system, to completely dismantle traditional tribal customs, and to expunge all influences of Islam from public life. This attempt to change society radically was accompanied by much brutality, and widespread opposition quickly arose. The government was supported by the Soviet Union, but the Soviets became increasingly concerned with its extremism and sought to remove its leader, Hafizullah Amin, ultimately invading in 1979. This invasion and the subsequent occupation provided a rallying point for the various factions against the Soviet-backed government and Soviet forces.

Various issues contributed to the Azerbaijan conflict. These included historical ethnic tensions (Nagorno-Karabakh is a predominantly Armenian area in Azerbaijan), NKR's discontent with Azerbaijan's perceived suppression of their cultural and linguistic heritage, and different living standards. The Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh were dissatisfied with their living standards, which they attributed to the policies of the Azerbaijani republican government.

The causes of the war in Bangladesh can be traced back to the British withdrawal from the region. Under imperial rule, the CHT enjoyed a privileged administrative status, but this was gradually lost when the British left, a source of

tension for the CHT. Another cause of tension was the World Bank–sponsored Kaptai Dam near Rangmati, which was built with little regard for the rights of the CHT population. Some believe that conflict has also been encouraged by the progressive Islamization of Bangladesh, which has reduced tolerance of other religions. Finally, the perception grew that Jumma minorities living in the CHT were disloyal because they remained largely indifferent to the cause of independence for Bangladesh.

The primary cause of the Cambodian civil war was the Lon Nol coup d'état in 1970 that toppled Sihanouk. Communist power had spread since the late 1960s, and demonstrations and rebellions were widespread. However, discontent intensified under Lon Nol's poor leadership, while attacks and bombings by the U.S. and South Vietnamese military caused further tensions, especially given Lon Nol's anticommunist stance. The primary motive for the second civil war was Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia. Phnom Penh, the capital, fell in 1979, and Vietnam controlled the major population centers and most of the countryside from 1979 to September 1989.

In China, common ideological ground existed between Maoism and General Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People. In this sense, the cause of the war was more prudential: the control of the government. As the only ruling party since 1928, the KMT did not want to share power with the Communists, whereas Mao believed that political power was to be achieved through force.

In India, the 1946–1948 war involved religious conflict between Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. The Great Calcutta Killing of August 1946 began the communal conflict. At the same time that Hindu–Muslim violence spread, many Sikhs began to fear that inclusion in the future Pakistan would leave them isolated and vulnerable; they reasoned that the only way to protect themselves was to take up arms against Muslims. The issue dominating the 1947–1949 war was

the dispute between Pakistan and India over the legality of Kashmir's accession to India. Technically, India and Pakistan were not the only states in the subcontinent to gain independence and undergo partitioning. Indeed, here lay a precipitate cause of war between India and Pakistan. The princely states, which had operated as semi-autonomous regions within the British Empire, were now to be divided between India and Pakistan. The more general cause of the war between India and Pakistan revolved around the religious composition of the people living in these princely states.

The chief cause of the war in East Timor was the bitterly opposed Indonesian occupation of a culturally distinct area. The question of whether the war constitutes a “sons of the soil” type of struggle is a difficult one. The typical “sons of the soil” war involves a peripheral minority and state-supported migrants of a dominant ethnic group. At one level, this describes Timor precisely. However, as East Timor is a detached island, the number of majority migrants from the ethnic core of the state is limited.

In Korea, an ideological struggle for control of the central government arose as Kim Il Sung sought to reunify Korea under communism. However, as with other wars, it is simplistic to attribute the war to one factor. Other factors included the power struggle between Kim Il Sung and Syngman Rhee, the leader of South Korea, who sought to reunify Korea but under his rule. Kim Il Sung also overestimated the prospects for internal disruption in South Korea. Moreover, the conflict was a result of failed deterrence. The war illustrates how perceptions of the likely response of external actors can be influential. Some scholars have argued that the actions of the United States prior to the war led both North Korea and the Soviet Union to believe that it would not defend South Korea.

Various groups with different goals have fought against the government and against each other in Myanmar/Burma. However, grievances

of one type or another can be identified as motives. For the ethnic rebel armies, the military government's unwillingness to compromise on issues of autonomy for the hill tribes was a major factor. With regard to the CPB, the breakdown of Burmese–Chinese relations in 1967, following the Cultural Revolution, and ethnic riots in Rangoon were influential. More generally, severe food shortages in the 1960s fueled growing discontent with the government.

When Pakistan became independent, it inherited a geographically divided state. West Pakistan, consisting of the Muslim-majority regions of the northwest of British India, and East Pakistan, consisting of the Muslim-majority portion of Bengal, were separated by almost 1,000 miles, with the newly independent India lying between them. Bengalis dominated East Pakistan and were the biggest ethnic group, in terms of population, in all of Pakistan. However, Punjabis and Muhajirs dominated politics and the military. Ethnic tensions between East and West Pakistan eventually led to war and, in 1971, the secession of East Pakistan to form Bangladesh.

In the Philippines, Muslim grievances against the state grew with the pejorative treatment they received from Christians, the loss of their homelands due to discriminatory colonial policies, and moves by the state seen as threatening their identity and way of life. More specifically, the 1968 Jabidah massacre of Muslims by government forces fueled resentment.

In Sri Lanka, ethnic division and settlement patterns, along with expectations and grievances, created the potential for conflict. This potential was ignited by the policies and weak capacities of Sinhalese-dominated governments. Sinhalese policies and Tamil resistance were stimulated by an unclear balance of power. Moreover, a limited conflict was transformed into a full-blown war when India provided support to the nascent Tamil insurgency.

Regional factionalism was a primary domestic cause of Tajikistan's war, as both government and opposition forces had strong regional bases. Tajikistan was a direct creation of the Soviet

Union, one undertaken with little regard for the cultural and ethnic basis of the Tajik people. A second aggravating factor in the slide to civil war was the undeveloped nature of Tajikistan's fledgling democracy following independence.

Outcomes

The outcomes of wars have varied. The war in Pakistan resulted in the creation of Bangladesh (although prospects for peace are not favorable), whereas a Communist regime took power in China. In the Philippines, conflict has de-escalated, with favorable prospects for peace; and in Tajikistan, there are reasonable prospects for peace if economic and political reforms are implemented. Prospects for peace are favorable in East Timor, though violence remains a threat.

However, tensions also remain in the region. This is clearly shown by the turbulent relations between North and South Korea. The prospects for peace in Afghanistan are unfavorable, for the central legacy of the war was the creation of a generation of embittered Afghans mired in the abject misery of having lost everything of any value to them. Fighting continues, with clashes between Afghan troops and suspected Taliban fighters. In Bangladesh, serious problems remain, and prospects for peace are not favorable. Similar prospects for peace exist in Sri Lanka, where a stalemate currently prevails, and with regard to the NKR–Azerbaijan conflict, whereas further conflict threatens Cambodia. Violence continues in India and Pakistan, and tension remains over Kashmir. The prospects for peace in Myanmar/Burma are unclear. Although armed conflict is limited, exiled political opposition is strong and has received international attention.

External actors have played key roles in supporting warring groups and thus have contributed to the duration of fighting. After the initial success of the North Korean offensive against South Korea, the United States and other members of the United Nations deployed forces. These forces drove the invasion back but then

had to retreat after the Chinese offensive. With the deployment of major forces by external actors, the conflict escalated. Moreover, the lengthy armistice negotiations contributed to the war's duration. Soviet forces in Afghanistan certainly bolstered the survivability of the Afghan Communist government. However, they eroded the government's legitimacy while also strengthening and legitimizing popular opposition.

In some instances, the actions of external actors have helped to end or reduce conflict. The UN played a key role in Tajikistan by bringing both sides to negotiations and facilitating communication. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) also helped in such areas as institution and democracy building and drafting a constitution.

Conclusion

Wars in Asia have involved groups that varied widely in terms of their tactics, goals, and size. This variation is clearly shown by the vast difference between the conventional war seen in Korea and the insurgency in the Philippines. However, as has been noted, some commonalities are apparent. Insurgencies have been affected by the region's geography, particularly its mountains and forests. Causes of war have varied, with ideological struggles sometimes inflaming tensions, as in Afghanistan, but a common feature is grievances against the government that groups ultimately believe can be addressed only through force. These grievances have been related especially to rights and land. Finally, the

length and cost of the wars in Afghanistan, and Korea highlight the consequences of such conflict. Although some wars have ended in Asia, serious tensions remain, which could result in future conflicts.

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(The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of his employer)

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European Conflicts

Introduction

Europe has experienced fewer civil wars than other regions. The former Yugoslavia, including Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia (1991–1995), Greece (1944–1949), Chechnya (1994–1996), and Turkey (1984–1999 and 2004–present) have all experienced war. The wars that have occurred have caused much destruction and suffering. This is particularly the case with the wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Chechnya, Russia. These wars generated international concern and—thanks to modern telecommunications—graphically illustrated to the world the costs of war and the importance of preventing their occurrence.

Regional Background

Among the continents, Europe is somewhat of an anomaly. Europe is a small appendage of the great landmass that it shares with Asia, which is more than four times its size. Europe occupies some 4 million square miles (10.4 million square kilometers). Only Australia is smaller.

Modern humans appeared some forty thousand years ago, and throughout the prehistoric period the region received continual waves of immigrants from Asia. Key features of Europe's early history include the emergence of the classical Greek civilization in the eighth century BC and the founding of the Roman republic (which later became the Roman Empire) in 509 BC.

Alexander the Great (356–323 BC) established a far-reaching empire, but it fragmented after his death. In Roman Judea, Jesus of Nazareth was said to be the Jewish messiah (savior). After his crucifixion, Jesus' followers believed that he was resurrected, and his life became the basis of Christianity. By the fourth century, Christianity had come to dominate the Roman Empire; it is presently the largest faith in the world, with more than 1 billion followers.

In the fifth century, the Middle Ages and the rise of feudalism followed the fall of the Roman Empire in Western Europe. The eighth and ninth centuries witnessed the Carolingian Renaissance, and from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries the Crusades fostered greater East–West contact. The era of the Renaissance (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) was followed by the Age of Reason (the Enlightenment) during the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, prior to the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in 1750. During the next century, liberal nationalist revolutions swept across Europe with a profound long-term impact.

The twentieth century was a period of major upheaval. World War I pitted the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and later Bulgaria) against the Triple Entente (Great Britain, France, Russia, and later the United States) and their associates. The war

resulted in an Entente victory but only after most of Europe was destroyed. Political instability followed, leading to World War II. World War II was fought between the expansionist Axis (Germany, Italy, and Japan) and its associates against the Allies (Great Britain, France, China, the United States, and the Soviet Union) and partners. The Allies were ultimately victorious but at great cost. As it did other regions, the Cold War dominated post-World War II Europe until the collapse of the Soviet Union. Although the Cold War did not result in major wars like those in Asia, flashpoints of high tension occurred. The Cold War and the East-West division of Europe ultimately ended with the reforms initiated in the Soviet Union during the late 1980s and the Soviet Union's collapse in 1991.

A key post-Cold War issue is the expansion and deployment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), formed by the 1949 North Atlantic Treaty. NATO's fundamental role is to safeguard the freedom and security of its member countries by political and military means. For instance, massive expulsions of ethnic Albanians living in Kosovo provoked an international response that included the NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999. NATO currently has twenty-six members in North America and Europe. Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia formally became members in March 2004 (DeRouen Jr and Heo 2005, xv). Russia has expressed concern over the eastward expansion of NATO to include former Communist countries.

Membership of the European Union (EU) is another issue. The EU is a family of democratic European countries committed to working together for peace and prosperity. Its member states have set up common institutions to which they have delegated some of their sovereignty so that decisions on specific matters of joint interest can be made democratically at the European level. The Treaty on the European Union took effect in November 1993. The EU comprises twenty-five independent states. Concerns have

been expressed by some in the region about the EU's power and its influence over domestic affairs in individual states. Indeed, in 2005 voters in France and the Netherlands rejected the proposed EU constitution. There has also been controversy over the implications of adopting a common currency—the united European currency (the Euro) replaced the national currency of twelve EU states in January 2002.

European civil wars have some common characteristics. Although Europe has had fewer wars than other regions, the fighting that has taken place has been particularly destructive. This is because much of the conflict has occurred in heavily populated urban areas, and modern weapons have been readily accessible. Multiple factors have contributed to the conflict in Europe. As with other regions, grievances have arisen through historical animosities and have been reinforced by domestic developments. Grievances generated by the treatment of different ethnicities have been a particularly strong motive. Finally, the roles of external actors have been mixed, with actors simultaneously actively supporting warring groups and attempting to resolve the conflicts. The region highlights the difficulty of external actors conducting conflict mediation successfully.

Europe was the first major world region to develop a modern economy based on commercial agriculture and industrial development. Between 1990 and 2000, the EU's total trade with the rest of the world doubled in value. The EU is the world's leading exporter of goods—more than €985 billion in 2001, almost a fifth of the world total—and the world's leading exporter of services—€307 billion in 2001, nearly a quarter of the world total (EU, "The EU: A Major Trading Power").

The current economic development and prospects of countries vary:

Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia: There have been improvements in the economy since the end of the wars. However, a sizable current account deficit and a high unemployment

rate are serious problems. The estimated gross domestic product (GDP) real growth rate in 2005 in Bosnia-Herzegovina was 5.2 percent.

Greece: Despite strong growth, Greece has not met the EU's Growth and Stability Pact budget deficit criteria of 3 percent of GDP since 2000. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 3.3 percent.

Russia: Russia ended 2005 with its seventh straight year of growth, averaging 6.4 percent annually since the financial crisis of 1998. High oil prices and a relatively cheap ruble have influenced this economic rebound, along with investment and consumer-driven demand since 2000. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 5.9 percent.

Turkey: The economy is turning around with the implementation of economic reforms. In 2004, GDP growth reached 9 percent, and inflation fell to 7.7 percent in 2005—a thirty-year low. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 5.1 percent (CIA 2005).

The Insurgents

The wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia were the most brutal wars in post-World War II Europe and involved various groups. Until its collapse, Yugoslavia was a federation of six republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia) and two autonomous regions (Kosovo and Vojvodina). The war started with Bosnia-Herzegovina's declaration of sovereignty in October 1991. This was followed by a declaration of independence from the former Yugoslavia on March 3, 1992, after a referendum boycotted by ethnic Serbs. The Bosnian Serbs, supported by neighboring Serbia and Montenegro, responded with armed resistance aimed at partitioning the republic along ethnic lines and joining Serb-held areas to form a greater Serbia. Key combatants were the Yugoslav National Army (JNA), the Army of the Serb Republic (VRS), the Croatian Defense

Council (HVO), and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina (ARBiH). Apart from their different ethnic compositions and goals, the VRS enjoyed a significant advantage over its opponents in terms of equipment through much of the war.

Chechens are the largest ethnic community of the North Caucasus. They account for about 2 million people, approximately 900,000 of whom live in the territory of present-day Chechnya. Russia had successfully colonized Chechnya by the end of the seventeenth century, but animosities between the Russians and Chechens arose in the eighteenth century and continued through the nineteenth century, although Chechnya remained under Soviet control in the twentieth century. The collapse of the Soviet Union seemed to provide an opportunity for Chechen nationalists, who declared independence in November 1991. Dzhokhar Musayevich Dudayev was the leader of the movement for Chechen independence and the first separatist president of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria. The chief goal of the insurgents was the establishment of the independent Muslim state of Ichkeria (Chechnya).

In Greece, the Communists established the National Liberation Front (EAM) in September 1941 as a political movement and the National People's Liberation Army (ELAS) as its military wing. As the main opposition to the government, the broad-based EAM was involved in an ideological and factional struggle for control of the central government. EAM's goal was the establishment of a Communist Greece.

In Turkey, the nationalist ambitions of the ancient Kurdish population are older than the Turkish state itself. Although the Kurds as a people have never organized as a modern nation-state, nationalist ambitions grew steadily in popularity and fervency throughout the twentieth century, and the national liberation of ethnic Kurdish peoples in southeastern Anatolia is a prominent issue. In 1974, Abdullah Öcalan, along with his brother Kesire Yildirim Öcalan and supporters Haki Karaer, Cemil Bayik, and Kemal Pir, founded the Kurdistan Workers Party

(PKK). This was a Marxist-Leninist political party committed to establishing a socialist Kurdish state made up of the Kurdish portions of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria. Öcalan considered Turkey's Kurdish lands in the southeast to be Kurdistan's largest province and decided to focus his group's initial efforts there. In November 1978, the Kurdistan Workers Party was officially formed. The PKK was organized around a president (Abdullah Öcalan) advised by a council of the presidency. However, since Öcalan's capture in 1999, there has been no office of the presidency; instead, the party has been led by the council of the presidency.

Geography and Tactics

The broad territory of Europe reveals no simple unity of geologic structure, landform, relief, or climate. The region possesses a wide range of minerals.

The size, borders, terrain, and natural resources of countries vary:

Bosnia-Herzegovina. Size: Total, 51,129 sq km; land, 51,129 sq km; water, 0 sq km; slightly smaller than West Virginia. Terrain: Mountains and valleys. Natural resources include coal and iron ore.

Croatia. Size: Total, 56,542 sq km; land, 56,414 sq km; water, 128 sq km; slightly smaller than West Virginia. Terrain: Plains along border with Hungary, low mountains on Adriatic coastline. Natural resources include oil, coal, and bauxite.

Greece. Size: Total, 131,940 sq km; land, 130,800 sq km; water, 1,140 sq km; slightly smaller than Alabama. Terrain: Mostly mountains, with ranges extending into the sea as peninsulas or chains of islands. Natural resources include lignite, petroleum, and iron ore.

Russia. Size: Total, 17,075,200 sq km; land, 16,995,800 sq km; water, 79,400 sq km; approximately 1.8 times the size of the United States. Terrain: Broad plain with low hills west

of the Urals, vast coniferous forest and tundra in Siberia, and uplands and mountains along the southern border regions. Natural resources include major deposits of oil, natural gas, and coal.

Turkey. Size: Total, 780,580 sq km; land, 770,760 sq km; water, 9,820 sq km; slightly larger than Texas. Terrain: High central plateau (Anatolia), narrow coastal plain, and several mountain ranges. Natural resources include coal, iron ore, copper, and chromium (CIA 2005).

Geography has influenced wars in Europe, with mountains and forests again affecting the nature of conflict. The mountainous areas of Greece provided a safe haven for the insurgents throughout most of the civil war. ELAS was entrenched in the mountains during the World War II Axis occupation and used these same bases to resist the government forces. However, the insurgents ultimately changed their tactics from guerrilla warfare to conventional warfare.

Chechnya encompasses topographically distinct regions. The southern part of the republic is comprised of densely forested mountains. By contrast, the northern part of Chechnya is comprised of plains and lowlands. The western part is comprised of the Terek and the Sunzha valleys. Grozny (the capital of Chechnya), lies in the central part of the republic. The forested mountains facilitated the guerrilla campaign of the insurgents, while the difficulty of controlling urban areas hindered Russian attempts to defeat the insurgency. Insurgents have effectively taken advantage of the republic's geography to counter the Russians' superior numbers and firepower. In mountain warfare, the insurgents' superior knowledge of the terrain facilitated their effective use of booby traps and road mines. The insurgents have also displayed expertise in urban warfare, as shown by the losses they inflicted during Russia's initial 1994 assault on Grozny. Here, the successful use of antiarmor ambushes allowed the Chechens to inflict heavy losses on the Russian troops and repeatedly forced them to retreat.

The conflict in Turkey illustrates the complicated role that geography can play. Most of the region called Northern Kurdistan is straddled by the craggy Taurus mountains, abutted by the Anatolian Plateau's semiarid steppes. The Tauruses dip into Northern Iraq and provide a natural border between the two countries. Vegetation is sparse and shrubby and provides little cover, although the PKK use what foliage exists to maximum effect when setting ambushes. The region experiences harsh winters, which, combined with the scarcity of cover, tend to reduce (but not arrest) the PKK's countryside guerrilla activity during the colder months. The Taurus mountains' high peaks and narrow passes help conceal PKK movements, and insurgents have constructed caves for hiding and caching supplies. Yet the mountains also tend to hinder the very idea of Kurdish nationalism. The mountains have isolated the Kurds, as the remoteness of communities limits their interaction. This has fostered cultural idiosyncrasies and linguistic dialects among individual Kurdish enclaves.

As has terrain, land borders, too, have shaped the nature of conflict. In Greece, government forces were unable to secure the Yugoslav and Albanian borders. Until Yugoslavia closed the border in 1949, the rebels were able to receive supplies across the borders and could cross the borders to evade government harassment. The conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina was influenced by the assistance the groups received from Serbia and Croatia. In Turkey, the close proximity of ambivalent states allowed the PKK to withdraw to safety when pursued. Bases were established in northern Iraq, and training camps, sometimes far abroad, allowed PKK militants to train in relative security. The disinterest of Turkey's southern neighbors and the remoteness of their Turkish borders meant that PKK rebels were rarely confronted there. The northern no-fly zone in Iraq also ensured that the Iraqis could not prosecute the PKK.

Chechnya illustrates the role that geopolitical considerations can play in conflict, along with the threat that war will spread beyond bound-

aries. In 1991, Chechen nationalists took power in Chechnya and announced its initial declaration of sovereignty. However, their proclamation was not supported by the Ingush part of the republic. As a result, the Chechen-Ingush Republic split into two parts: Chechnya and Ingushetia. Moscow's unwillingness to recognize the republic's declaration of full independence in 1993 was reinforced by its fear of a domino effect. Russia feared that if it recognized Chechnya's independence, other republics would seek to break away, too, and violence would spread. Indeed, conflict has spread as insurgents have undertaken terrorist attacks outside Chechnya. The strategic importance of the republic was another motive for Russia's reluctance to recognize the republic's independence and, ultimately, for the decision to invade. For instance, access routes to both the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea go from the center of Russia through Chechnya (the role of oil is noted later in this entry).

Insurgent funding can come from various sources. Groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina received assistance from neighboring states (in this case Serbia and Croatia) and were involved in illegal activities such as smuggling. The disadvantage the ARBiH experienced in terms of firepower was perpetuated by an international arms embargo. Chechen insurgents have funded their operations through various means, such as illegal drugs. Moreover, Russia suspects Turkey of providing direct financial and military aid to the Chechen separatists. Members of Turkish extremist groups have been open about their sympathies and have engaged in terrorist activities on the Chechen side.

The EAM in Greece received support from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, and the Soviet Union. However, the Communists did not secure significant external support, and this was a fundamental reason for their defeat. The small amount of aid from Yugoslavia and Albania was not commensurate with the massive amount of aid the government received from Britain and, later, the United States. The PKK in Turkey has funded its activities through crime, private

sponsorship, and occasional foreign aid. It has also been involved in the trafficking of illicit narcotics (particularly opiates and hashish). This is because Turkey, and the Kurdish territories in particular, form the major clandestine drug route between Iran, Afghanistan, and European markets. Syria, Iraq, and Iran have provided additional funds and arms to the PKK.

Conflict in Europe illustrates how a country's location relative to natural resources can play an important role in its descent into war. Chechnya's geographical location, primarily relating to the oil industry, reinforced Russia's determination not to recognize its independence, and the Chechens' determination to fight. Oil production in Chechnya had been declining prior to the 1994 Russian invasion. Indeed, by 1994 it represented only some 0.5 percent of Russia's total output. However, Edward W. Walker believes that the real issue was not oil in Chechnya itself but rather oil (and natural gas) passing through the republic. Three separate pipelines run through Grozny, and these had been occasionally sabotaged and frequently shut down as a result of instability. Moreover, the insurgents reportedly had learned how to steal oil and gas from the pipelines, thus causing a loss in earnings to Russia worth tens of millions of dollars (Walker 1995, 3).

The importance of oil was reinforced by Russian plans to exploit the resource from the republic's neighbors. This would necessitate transferring the resource through Chechnya. Walker elaborates on his analysis of the Russian decision to invade by referring to the negotiations of two major pipeline deals. These entailed shipping oil and gas through Grozny to the Black Sea ports of Novorossiisk (Russia) and Tuapse (Georgia). The first of these deals was with the so-called Caspian Consortium, which planned to develop oil and gas reserves off Azerbaijan in the Caspian Sea. The second deal involved another consortium developing the large Tenghiz oil field located in Kazakhstan. For both deals, the building of an alternative pipeline bypassing Chechnya would have

been very costly and would have made it more difficult to convince producers to use the Russian route (Walker 1995, 3).

The role of natural resources has differed elsewhere in Europe. Turkey's Kurdish territories possess significant freshwater resources that include hydrological developments built by the government. Bosnia has no natural resources of note, although looting was a way for irregular forces to sustain their activities. Nor did natural resources have a practical impact in Greece.

Causes of the Wars

Multiple factors have contributed to the conflict in Europe. As with other regions, grievances have arisen through historical animosities and have been reinforced by domestic developments. These developments have included the deterioration of the country's economy and its resultant impact on living standards, and the government's policies. Here, the government's discrimination against particular groups, and indeed its brutal policies toward groups, has been influential.

Historical animosities existed in Bosnia-Herzegovina between the various ethnic groups. Yugoslavia was formed after World War I, with the Croats and Slovenes agreeing to a union largely to protect themselves from Italy and Hungary. Serbia was principally interested in the fate of the borderland Serbs of Croatia and Bosnia (Serbs living on the borderlands between the old Habsburg and Ottoman Empires to the west of Serbia proper). The preexisting Serbian state and army were duly expanded to encompass all of Yugoslavia. Thus, it is not surprising that there were tensions between Serbs and Croats, with borderland Serbs, Slovenes, and Bosnian Muslims carving out mediating political niches. From 1929, a Serbian royal dictatorship exacerbated the grievances of non-Serbs. After occupation by Nazi Germany in 1941, Yugoslavia was carved up. The next four years combined a war of resistance against foreign occupiers with interethnic and ideological civil

war. In 1945, the Yugoslav socialist federation was established under an independent Communist regime led by President Josip Broz Tito (DeRouen Jr and Heo 2005, 921, 925).

Simmering interrepublic political tensions and demands for greater political autonomy began to increase after Tito's death in 1980. Ethnic Serbs made up the largest single group in the Yugoslav population and dominated the JNA officer corps. The federal government was also seated in the Serbian republic. This led to resentment over the perceived Serbian domination of the federal government. Partly in response to this sentiment, a new constitution in 1974 had devolved authority from the federal center to the republics and autonomous regions and provided for an eight-member presidency that would rotate annually among them. The plan worked for a time in the early 1980s, but without Tito at the center it quickly became clear that the forces pulling the republics apart were stronger than the forces keeping them together. It was against this background that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina included the graphic, widespread, and systematic violation of human rights based on ethnicity.

Economic problems contributed to tensions in Bosnia-Herzegovina. By the 1980s, unemployment had risen, foreign debt levels had become unsustainable, economic growth had slowed, and real income was dropping. These economic conditions exacerbated existing tensions over uneven development. Slovenia and Croatia enjoyed the most advanced economies of the republics; many there resented their disproportionately large contributions to the federal tax base and began to push for economic liberalization. Meanwhile, Bosnia remained less developed in comparison to other republics.

Historical animosities are evident in the Chechen war. These date back to the eighteenth century, when Russia followed a policy of military expansionism that in turn led to widespread armed resistance against Moscow's colonial rule. It took the czarist army more than a century of active conflict before it was able to suppress re-

sistance and bring Chechnya under Russian administrative rule. In the late nineteenth century, the Russian administration began deporting Chechens from their homeland, encouraging further resistance. More hostility developed during World War II when Chechen and Ingush units of the Soviet army defected to the Germans and collaborated against the Soviets. This resulted in the deportation of the republic's inhabitants when the Soviets regained control. The tensions that developed from these events continued into the 1990s. Moreover, further support for the insurgents arose because of economic hardships and Russian opposition to the republic's independence.

The war in Greece resulted from external and internal processes. The external process was the development of social conflicts in Western and Eastern Europe that set into motion both the Communist revolution in Russia and the subsequent consolidation of the Soviet Union, and the expansion of fascism throughout most of Europe. These competing ideological pulls had a major impact on the Greek civil war. Of equal effect was the internal process of the persistent division of Greek society, known as the National Schism (*Ethnikos Dikhasmos*). The National Schism dated from the questions not only of whether Greece should participate in World War II but also of whose side they should participate on. This division would later expand into many different realms of Greek social and political life. The constant was that the division of Europe into competing camps—before, during and after World War II—was mirrored by the division of Greece into competing camps, eventually leading to conflict between the restored government of Prime Minister Georgios Papandreou and Communist resistance. As both the left and the right envisioned a different future for Greece, neither could accommodate the other's solution. With each wave of violence, hatred contributed to a further round of civil war.

Turkey's Kurdish insurrection has no single cause, although historical circumstances play a key role. First was the ideological notion of

Kurdish nationalism: that Kurds, being a linguistically and culturally distinct people, ought to be afforded self-government. Nationalist sentiment was most pronounced among educated Kurds living in cities; rural Kurds (who represent the population's majority) found nationalism's claim of a monolithic Kurdish identity much less convincing. Nevertheless, advocates of Kurdish nationalism persisted throughout Turkey's history. To this nationalism were added the political force of a burgeoning socialist movement that arose in the 1950s and the actions of Turkey's military. The PKK might have been quite content to pursue redress through legitimate political institutions or to remain only a minor security threat had it not been for the actions of the military. Following the military's 1980 coup d'état and declaration of martial law, many dissidents were arrested. This eroded hopes of accommodation through the political process and encouraged an armed insurrection.

Turkey's economic problems during the 1970s made leftist economic theories and political ideologies more attractive to many Turks, particularly university students. Several student movements with Marxist, Leninist, or Maoist ideologies became involved in revolutionary activities to bring about a socialist Turkish state. Among these organizations, one in particular, the Turkish People's Liberation Army (TPLA), was intent on starting a revolution in Turkey's southeast—the least-developed part of the country. The TPLA was convinced that if it were successful, other socialist states would assist, particularly the Soviet Union.

Outcomes

Conflicts in Europe have resulted in a range of outcomes. In Greece, there was a clear outcome to the conflict that favored one warring group; the government achieved victory over the Communist insurgency. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the outcome has been more complicated. Although the war ended with the Dayton Agreement in 1995, serious issues remain. The nationalist par-

ties that led their respective ethnic communities into the war easily achieved postwar electoral success; their goals did not change, only their methods did. Although this is a major improvement for the Bosnian people, it does not bode well for the future of the Bosnian state. The end to fighting in Turkey during 1999 was temporary, as fighting started again in 2004; prospects for peace are unclear.

The war in Chechnya illustrates the difficulty of ensuring long-term peace. Officially, the first Chechen war ended in 1996 with the Khasavyurt Agreements; however, violence continued, with paramilitary forces operating freely. In addition, Chechen warlords carried out a number of incursions into Dagestan and Stavropol Krai. These were followed in August 1999 by the temporary capture of villages in Dagestan. In September 1999, a series of explosions took place in Moscow, Volgograd, and Buinaksk that the Russian government attributed to Chechen separatists. Later that month, Russia began to bomb Chechnya, and on October 1, Russian ground troops entered Chechnya (Bellamy 2002, 18). In response, the Chechen president declared a holy war against the Russian troops.

Russian forces seized key cities during their invasion and forced Chechen insurgents to retreat to the southern mountains. In June 2000, Russian president Vladimir Putin issued a decree imposing direct rule, and Russian forces remain. However, fighting continues, and indeed the insurgents have launched major attacks elsewhere in Russia that have attracted international attention. In October 2002, insurgents occupied a Moscow theater and took about 900 hostages. The storming of the theater by Russian forces cost 129 hostages their lives. Nearly two years later, in September 2004, insurgents seized Beslan's Middle School Number One and took 1,300 hostages, most of who were school children. In the ensuing siege by Russian forces, 331 civilians died. Prospects for peace in Chechnya are unfavorable.

The roles of external actors in Europe have been mixed. As has been noted, external actors

have provided resources to the warring groups. The tacit support the PKK has received from Turkey's neighbors has contributed to the conflict's duration. Although Turkey's military managed to secure the Turkish countryside, the guerrillas were always able to withdraw across borders into accommodating states. By the early 1990s, the PKK had no permanent or even semi-permanent bases in Turkey itself—nearly all guerrilla operations were organized and staged from abroad. In contrast, conflict management efforts on the part of other governments, non-government organizations (NGOs), or the United Nations have been minimal. External intervention has also taken place in support of governments fighting insurgents. The direct intervention of Britain and the United States in support of the Greek government contributed to its victory over the insurgents, who lacked such external support.

There have been major efforts by some external actors to end wars, too. As noted by Karl DeRouen Jr and David Sobek, the intervention of the UN plays a crucial role in outcomes. In particular, the UN significantly increases the likelihood of a truce or a treaty. In terms of duration, UN involvement increases the expected time needed for both government and rebel victories and decreases the time for a truce or treaty (2004, 317).

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, various actors attempted to end the fighting, with the UN playing a key role. UN involvement in Bosnia began in 1992, when the mandate of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), deployed to Croatia in 1991, was expanded to include ensuring the security and functioning of the Sarajevo airport and the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the Bosnian capital. In September 1992, the mandate was once again expanded to allow UNPROFOR to support humanitarian efforts throughout Bosnia. UNPROFOR would eventually also monitor the safe areas, the no-fly zone over Bosnia, and several of the cease-fires that were negotiated. The UN's performance has been widely criticized, especially the failure of peacekeepers to prevent the Srebrenica mas-

sacre. However, it should be noted that the UN faced a very challenging situation, and its actions were ultimately dictated by its member states.

NATO as an organization and individual NATO countries also played important roles in Bosnia-Herzegovina. As early as 1991, Germany led the push for European Commission (EC) recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, and NATO began to enforce the arms embargo on the region. The U.S. role in the conflict began somewhat later. The United States did not contribute troops to UNPROFOR, and it was only marginally supportive of the early EC peace proposals, most of which called for an extensive ground force to monitor the peace. Instead, for most of the war the United States endorsed the "lift and strike" policy, which meant supporting the lifting of the arms embargo and striking Serb positions from the air. In the end, the U.S. approach more or less won out. NATO was particularly active later in the war. Its bombings of Serb positions after the Serb attack on Gorazde in 1994 and the massive air strikes on Serb positions throughout Bosnia helped drive the Serbs to the negotiating table in 1995.

Conclusion

In conclusion, although Europe has experienced fewer wars than other regions since World War II, it has not been immune to conflict. Europe's wars have involved groups that varied widely in terms of their tactics, goals, and size. Regardless of these differences, the brutality of the conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as Chechnya have reinforced the importance of ending such wars and, ideally, of preventing such wars from starting. Wars have been influenced by regional geography, as shown by the conflict in Chechnya. Funding for insurgents has come from various avenues, with illegal sources being particularly important. Chechnya further illustrates the role that natural resources can play. Causes of war have varied and range from ethnic tensions through competition for resources, but they especially have involved secessionist desires. The

duration of the war in Turkey and the start of another war in Chechnya indicate that the likelihood of war increases when earlier conflict has occurred.

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(The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of his employer)

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Latin American Conflicts

Introduction

Central and South American countries that have experienced civil war are Colombia (1978–), El Salvador (1979–1992), Guatemala (1974–1994), Nicaragua (1978–1979 and 1980–1989), and Peru (1980–1996). Latin America experienced a severe bout of conflict in the 1980s; however, the region is now relatively stable, with conflict continuing only in Colombia. In general, Colombia's rebel groups formed in the mid-1960s, but the conflict can be divided into two phases, the second and more intensive period starting around 1978. This second phase is focused upon here. Regarding Guatemala, many sources group the 1974–1994 conflict with the 1966–1972 conflict, considering them one civil war that lasted from 1960 to 1996. However, in 1974 Guatemala's civil conflict took a new and deadlier turn, involving civilians in all walks of life and having a major impact on the country.

Regional Background

In the strictest sense, Central America is the region of North America that lies between Mexico and Panama (the latter was a part of Colombia until 1903 and thus is sometimes technically still included in South America). The region comprises Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. Through custom, Panama has come to be included in Central

America. The region's countries have a combined land area of 202,265 square miles (523,865 square kilometers).

South America is the fourth-largest continent, with an approximate area of 6,874,200 square miles (17,814,400 square kilometers). Politically, the continent and its adjacent islands are divided into twelve sovereign republics and two dependencies. The republics are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay, and Venezuela; the dependencies are the Falkland Islands and French Guiana.

Central America before the arrival of Europeans was home to various nomadic and sedentary cultures. After 500 BCE, an advanced Mayan civilization emerged in the highlands of Guatemala and El Salvador and reached its height between 600 and 900. In the sixteenth century, Spain's conquests allowed it to dominate Central America. However, political jurisdiction over Central America under Spanish rule evolved slowly because of the rivalries among conquistadores, which led to conflict. The accession to the Spanish throne of the Bourbon Philip V at the beginning of the eighteenth century plunged the empire into conflict, which had a major impact on the region. The French Revolution and subsequent Napoleonic Wars brought disintegration to Spain's empire, and in 1824 the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Central

America provided for the federation of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. However, the federation disintegrated as regional states declared themselves republics.

From the late nineteenth century to the end of World War II, military dictatorships were the characteristic political institution, for the planter elites depended on military strength to defend their interests. However, by the middle of the twentieth century powerful political and economic elites faced challenges from middle- and working-class representatives. The demands for significant socioeconomic reforms brought revolts to every state, and Central American politics in the late twentieth century became characterized by strong conflict between free market and Marxist development models.

South America's earliest inhabitants were nomadic hunters, fishers, and gatherers who pushed southward from North America. Peru was the center of the vast and powerful Inca empire, the most advanced native civilization in the Americas. The empire eventually covered a third of South America but was defeated by the Spanish conquistadores, who arrived in 1532 (Europeans had first visited the continent in 1498). Ultimately, the region's political geography was to a great extent the result of the administrative and judiciary divisions established by Spain and Portugal. Most of the countries eventually achieved independence following wars in the early nineteenth century.

The opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 benefited the western coast, and World War I gave added importance to South American metals. The Great Depression of the 1930s caused popular discontent as economies suffered, but World War II strengthened the continent's financial position. Economic expansion created by a growing demand for primary exports helped to transform society with the emergence of an urban middle class and the beginnings of a modern urban working class. Many countries experienced political upheaval during the twentieth century; for instance, the military at various

times held power in Argentina, Brazil, El Salvador, Peru, and Uruguay.

Moreover, Marxist and Maoist revolutions had a major effect on the Western Hemisphere. The 1959 seizure of power by Fidel Castro in Cuba had a significant impact, as Castro's regime sought to export revolution. In 1966, Cuba hosted an international congress, representatives to which declared their support for revolution in other Latin American nations. The revolution in Cuba (along with Mao Zedong's victory in China) inspired others, such as the Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua, who ultimately took power in 1979. Ernesto "Che" Guevara, the Cuban revolutionary, led a Marxist uprising in Bolivia but was killed in 1967. Cuba supported the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), which seized power in Grenada in 1979; Cubans on the island resisted the 1983 U.S. invasion that overthrew the PRG. Insurgents also received Cuban assistance, as they had in El Salvador.

A major issue in the region is the tense relationship between Cuba and the United States. Castro nationalized all U.S. businesses without compensation in 1960, and the United States broke off diplomatic relations and imposed a trade embargo. Tensions were further increased the following year, when the United States sponsored an abortive invasion by Cuban exiles at the Bay of Pigs, and Castro proclaimed Cuba a Communist state and allied it with the Soviet Union. In 1962, the Cuban missile crisis was ignited when Castro agreed to allow the Soviets to deploy nuclear missiles on the island. The crisis was resolved when the Soviets agreed to remove the missiles in return for the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear missiles from Turkey; however, relations have remained tense. In 1996, the trade embargo was made permanent, and in 2002 U.S. Undersecretary of State John Bolton accused Cuba of trying to develop biological weapons, adding Cuba to the list of "axis of evil" countries. In 2004, U.S. sanctions restricted family visits between the United States and Cuba as well as cash remittances from expatriates; later that year, Castro announced a ban on transactions in U.S. dollars.

Another key issue is the region's major role in the global illegal drug industry. According to the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol), "Cocaine production, trafficking and abuse, once seen as concerns primarily for the United States, are increasingly global in nature. Cocaine trafficking generates billions of dollars every year. Organized criminal groups use these profits to obtain power and to finance other criminal groups, terrorists and insurgencies" (Interpol 2005). Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia remain the primary sources of coca leaf and finished cocaine hydrochloride. Over the last fifteen years, the most notable changes have been the drop in cocaine production from Bolivia and Peru, and Colombia's increased production capability (Interpol 2005).

Although the nature of conflict has varied, common features are evident. Grievances against the government (particularly regarding land rights) and economic upheaval have been major motivations for conflict. These grievances have been reinforced by the brutal responses of governments. Marxist and Maoist ideological beliefs have also been influential in motivating conflict. Although various insurgent groups have been active, insurgents have been willing to cooperate, as in Guatemala and El Salvador. The illegal drug industry has been an important source of revenue for warring groups, much more so than in other regions. Indeed, the industry has played a key role in prolonging conflict, as shown by the war in Colombia. The geography of the Western Hemisphere has generally assisted insurgencies.

In 2004, Latin America and the Caribbean experienced the strongest growth performance in twenty-four years. Growth measured 6.3 percent, an increase from 1.9 percent in 2003. Among the larger countries in the region, Mexico, Chile, and Brazil all experienced output gains. Argentina, Uruguay, and Venezuela have continued to recover strongly after major crises. However, persistent poverty remains a significant challenge. Poverty is due both to entrenched high inequality, which is exacerbated

by the exclusion of marginal groups, and to modest and volatile growth in the last decades (World Bank 2005b). Infrastructure has improved in most of Latin America and the Caribbean over the last decade, but a drop in investment in the sector is hindering economic growth, poverty reduction, and the region's ability to compete with other economies (World Bank 2005a).

The current economic development and prospects of countries vary:

Colombia: Although the economy has been recovering, problems such as high unemployment persist. The estimated gross domestic product (GDP) real growth rate in 2005 was 4.3 percent.

El Salvador: The smallest country in Central America, El Salvador has the third-largest economy, but growth has been minimal in recent years. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 2 percent.

Guatemala: The distribution of income remains highly unequal, with perhaps 75 percent of the population below the poverty line. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 3.1 percent.

Nicaragua: Nicaragua faces low per capita income and huge external debt. Distribution of income is very unequal. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 3.5 percent.

Peru: The economy grew by more than 4 percent per year from 2002 to 2005, with a stable exchange rate and low inflation. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 5.6 percent (CIA 2005).

The Insurgents

Colombia's key insurgent groups are noted here. The Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army [ELN]) launched its first armed attack in January 1965. The organization continued to grow in strength for another decade but had become marginalized by the

time the second phase of the Colombian conflict began in 1978. Student activists in the Partido Comunista Marxista-Leninista (PC-ML) formed the Ejército Popular de Liberación (People's Liberation Army [EPL]), which became involved in fighting during 1967. The group had limited influence when the conflict escalated in 1978.

Communist and non-Communist guerrillas met in July 1964 to form a unified front as the Bloque Sur (Southern Block) and to call for power to be won through an armed revolutionary struggle. At the second conference of the Bloque Sur in 1966, the group established an army under the name Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia [FARC]). FARC started as the smallest of the three rural insurgencies but has been the most powerful for most of the time since 1978. These groups have common characteristics. They were formed in the 1960s, they share the same basic ideology, and they have fought mainly in rural areas to control territory.

The fourth major rebel group, Movimiento 19 de Abril (The 19th of April Movement [M-19]), was formed in 1972; this group had a different background and used different methods. The name referred to election day in 1970, when, after four recounts of the presidential election ballots, General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla was narrowly defeated by the Frente Nacional government candidate despite strong claims of election fraud. M-19's strategy was to launch high-publicity operations to destabilize the state and to instigate a public uprising against the government. Toward the end of the 1970s, M-19 managed to become arguably the most influential, if not the biggest or most active, insurgent group. It became a political party in 1990.

As in Colombia, the war in El Salvador involved various groups. However, the groups united to form one group that fought the government and the National Democratic Organization (ORDEN), a pro-regime paramilitary death squad organization. The guerrilla army in El Salvador, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), consisted of five separate

leftist movements and an associated political arm, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR). Three of the FMLN constituent groups were factions that emerged from the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCS): the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), and the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN). A fourth faction emerged in 1976 in opposition to the PCS and its descendants: the Central American Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTC). Finally, following the 1979 Sandinista Revolution, the PCS sponsored an armed faction of its own, the Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL).

In October 1980, leaders of the five factions met in Havana, Cuba, where they agreed to form the FMLN. Its unified governing structure consisted of a general command, which was made up of the top leaders of each faction, and the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU). This was a day-to-day decision-making body that included representatives of each faction. By 1981, FMLN-FDR operated as a coherent revolutionary movement.

Groups came together in Guatemala to fight the government. The war centered on a conflict between Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) and the government. URNG began as a consolidation of four groups in different parts of the country: the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres [EGP]), the Rebel Armed Forces (Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes [FAR]), the Organization of the People in Arms (Organización Revolucionaria del Pueblo en Armas [ORPA]), and the Guatemalan Workers Party (Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo [PGT]). By the time of the settlement that ended the conflict, PGT was no longer an active part of the group.

The two wars in Nicaragua involved different insurgents. In the first war, the Sandinista rebels sought a revolution to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship and control the government. The conflict had an ideological component, as the rebels supported Marxist-oriented policies that aimed to redistribute wealth, whereas Somoza

was staunchly anticommunist and promoted the status quo, an elite-dominated economy. The rebels overthrew the government in 1979. The second war involved a struggle between the anti-communist Contras and the Sandinista government. Initially, the Contras were composed of former members of Somoza's national guard who fled the country after the revolution. During the conflict, other groups who shared or developed their own grievances against the Sandinista government, such as Miskito Indians and economic elites, also decided to rebel.

Relative to other wars, it is easier to identify the insurgents involved in the Peruvian war because the key insurgency group was the Partido Comunista del Peru en el Sendero Luminoso de Mariategui (Communist Party of Peru in the Shining Path of Mariategui), known as Sendero Luminoso. The group was founded by Abimael Guzmán in the 1960s but began its war in 1980 with the goal of completely overthrowing the Peruvian state. The group's ideology developed from Guzmán's synthesis of Maoist thought and the work of Jose Carlos Mariategui (a Peruvian intellectual and founder of the Communist Party of Peru). From its early stages, the Sendero movement was designed to be a long-term program for social change, involving the destruction of the contemporary state through civil war and its eventual replacement with a peasant-based revolutionary regime.

Insurgent revenue sources have varied. In Peru, drugs and looting were important, whereas drugs are a major revenue source in Colombia. Similarly, in El Salvador revenue was gained through illegal activities such as kidnapping for ransom. The role of external assistance has varied. Venezuela has been accused of providing Colombian insurgents with support. In Guatemala, one or more groups were led by commanders trained in Cuba. However, no funding appears to have been provided by Cuba or any other Communist country. U.S. government funds, weapons, organization, and training played a major role in creating the Contras in Nicaragua. FMLN in El Salvador assembled

an international solidarity network that included more than 300 organizations spread across forty-two countries. FMLN front organizations also obtained limited funding from international development agencies and some Western governments.

Geography and Tactics

As the Andes border the Pacific in South America, the continent is divided into two parts that differ in size and character. The Andes mountain ranges are second only to the Himalayas in average height. To the east are the Guiana Highlands and Brazilian plateaus.

In Central America, highlands predominate over lowlands, and steep slopes over flatlands. Four-fifths of Central America is hilly or mountainous, and areas of flatland away from the coasts are restricted.

The size, terrain, and natural resources of countries vary:

Colombia. Size: Total, 1,138,910 sq km; land, 1,038,700 sq km; water, 100,210 sq km (this includes Isla de Malpelo, Roncador Cay, Serrana Bank, and Serranilla Bank); slightly less than three times the size of Montana. Terrain: Flat coastal lowlands, central highlands, high Andes Mountains, and eastern lowland plains. Natural resources include petroleum, natural gas, coal, iron ore, nickel, gold, copper, and emeralds.

El Salvador. Size: Total, 21,040 sq km; land, 20,720 sq km; water, 320 sq km; slightly smaller than Massachusetts. Terrain: Mostly mountains, with narrow coastal belt and central plateau. Natural resources include hydropower, geothermal power, and petroleum.

Guatemala. Size: Total, 108,890 sq km; land, 108,430 sq km; water, 460 sq km; slightly smaller than Tennessee. Terrain: Mostly mountains, with narrow coastal plains and rolling limestone plateau. Natural resources include petroleum, nickel, rare woods, fish, and hydropower.

Nicaragua. Size: Total, 129,494 sq km; land, 120,254 sq km; water, 9,240 sq km; slightly smaller than New York state. Terrain: Extensive Atlantic coastal plains rising to central interior mountains and a narrow Pacific coastal plain interrupted by volcanoes. Natural resources include gold, silver, copper, tungsten, zinc, timber, and fish.

Peru. Size: Total, 1,285,220 sq km; land, 1.28 million sq km; water, 5,220 sq km; slightly smaller than Alaska. Terrain: Western coastal plain, high and rugged Andes in the center, and the eastern lowland jungle of the Amazon basin. Natural resources include copper, silver, gold, petroleum, timber, fish, iron ore, coal, phosphate, hydropower, and natural gas (CIA 2005).

The geography of the region has generally assisted insurgencies. Nicaraguan rebels used mountainous and jungle terrain for cover; the northern border with Honduras is mountainous, thus making it easily permeable. The Sandinistas illustrate that diverse tactics might be used by insurgents. In their early days, the insurgents pursued the standard rural guerrilla tactics; however, as the rebels regrouped in the early 1970s, three factions formed, each with different tactics. The first, the prolonged peoples' war (*guerra popular prolongada*) faction, maintained rural guerrilla tactics, with less emphasis on political indoctrination and more on developing small groups of guerrillas. A second faction, the proletarios, pursued an urban strategy that sought to mobilize unions, poor city neighborhoods, and urban workers against the regime. The third, the Tercerista faction, sought to build broader-based coalitions that included moderate regime opponents and religious people who were not attracted to Marxism. In the later war, the Contras used both hit-and-run guerrilla tactics and terrorism.

In Colombia, forests and mountains provide cover for insurgents. Routes developed by refugees and drug traffickers have been used by guerrillas, who moved along the mountains

across the border to Ecuador in the south, and under the cover of the jungle to Peru, Brazil, and Venezuela to the south and east. Geography has influenced tactics in Colombia. The main imperative for guerrillas has been to avoid full-scale battles and engage in smaller, hit-and-run operations. There has been a distinct difference between the terrorist tactics of the mainly urban-based M-19 and the tactics of the rural organizations FARC, EPL, and ELN, even though the latter groups have modified their tactics.

Mountains and rural areas facilitated the insurgency in El Salvador. Rebels were most active in mountain villages and rural areas in the northern and eastern third of the country. The insurgents used hit-and-run attacks against targets in San Salvador, the capital. After the government gained the initiative in 1984, FMLN dispersed throughout the northeastern third of the country to rebuild and to conduct small-scale operations. However, the insurgents also operated in urban areas and launched their largest offensive of the war in November 1989. This involved attacks at fifty different points around the country, and heavy fighting occurred in San Salvador.

Mountains assisted the insurgents in Guatemala. Insurgents mostly relied on ambushes of military patrols and targeted assassinations. They occasionally occupied towns or stopped civilian buses to try to influence the people in their favor.

Sendero Luminoso began in remote and isolated Ayacucho in the southern Sierra region of Peru. The relative isolation of the region allowed Guzmán to develop the movement over time with little interference from the state. As land in Ayacucho and surrounding regions was not suitable for traditional agriculture, most peasants in the mountainous Sierra region relied on subsistence agricultural production. The region was a fertile and protected ground for Sendero activists to recruit members and to operate. Sendero relied almost exclusively on guerrilla tactics and seldom mounted large-scale operations. They attacked a variety of targets and lo-

cations, focusing on government and commerce. Although the insurgents expanded their campaign of violence to Lima, the capital, the group never successfully consolidated power in major cities.

Natural resources have been important to many insurgent groups. Domestic sources of revenue were very important for insurgents in Peru and Colombia. The lack of outside support in Colombia increased insurgents' dependence on acquiring resources through criminal activity and taxation of areas under their control. Lack of outside support thus provided a tactical imperative for the rebels to take control of economically important areas and can explain why the insurgents so willingly established alliances with drug cartels. Apart from providing economic resources through the taxation of drug trafficking, the cartels also provided connections and transportation for arms transfers.

The drug industry contributed to the growth of both FARC and M-19 in Colombia. By the late 1970s, cocaine had largely replaced marijuana as the main drug export, and the newly formed cartels were looking for rural areas with limited government control in which to set up refining laboratories. The cartels were allowed to settle on guerrilla-controlled territory against a protection tax. Although FARC quickly increased its fronts, local commanders became more independent, and the approach to the drug businesses has not been centrally regulated. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, an increasing amount of coca was grown in Colombia. FARC established a minimum price that the middlemen had to pay the farmers for the cocaine paste in their territories, but FARC also provided security for the laboratories. Income from the drug trade has become increasingly important for the rebels, and protection of drug-producing territories has influenced strategy.

Revenue from the drug industry was also important in Peru. In the mid-1980s, Sendero Luminoso expanded to the Huallaga River Valley, which had become a primary location for coca

growing. Coca was grown and processed into paste in Peru but transported out of the country for the final production of cocaine. Much of the Sendero profits came from fees charged drug runners for the use of Sendero-controlled airstrips in the region.

The exploitation of these resources, along with the prospect of external assistance, placed these insurgents at an advantage over the insurgents in Guatemala. Here, the resources of URNG were apparently sparse.

Causes of the Wars

Discontent with economic and social conditions, along with the government's policies (particularly regarding land) and performance, encouraged conflict. This supports research demonstrating that war can occur if the ruler's defensive strength is low and grievances high (Olsson and Fors 2004, 335). In Colombia, economic growth led to growing economic inequality. The government was reluctant to address issues that concerned the poorer majority, such as land ownership and labor rights. The lack of trust in the state, the government, and the police was further enhanced by the inability of these entities to provide basic services or security. Moreover, a large-scale military and police "dirty war" was launched in 1978 against guerrillas and drug producers, leading to widespread government repression. This further encouraged antigovernment sentiments.

Another factor motivating the increased fighting in the late 1970s was the cocaine industry. Thousands of peasants started to colonize new areas to grow coca. In the mid-1970s, some Colombians had begun smuggling small quantities of cocaine into the United States and had quickly made huge profits. Soon, connections were made with coca-growing peasants in Peru and Bolivia; Colombian-led distribution networks were established using contacts among Colombian emigrants in the United States. The drug cartels considered it beneficial to establish operations in guerrilla-held territory, thereby providing the insurgents with more resources to

fight the government. Colombian intelligence sources estimate that 40 percent of the country's total cocaine exports are controlled by paramilitaries and their allies in the narcotics "underworld" and that it is "impossible to distinguish between paramilitaries and drug traffickers" (Human Rights Watch 2003).

Social and economic conditions encouraged the war in El Salvador. Historically, a small group of Salvadoran elites held the best agricultural land and had become the dominant economic group. The oligarchy and its military allies were deeply opposed to the land reform demanded by the disenfranchised peasantry (though unlike "sons of the soil" conflicts, an ethnic dimension was generally lacking). As economic problems arose, discontent grew among peasants. Added to this discontent was frustration over the government's illegal and brutal actions to remain in power. Indeed, the use of violence against protestors reinforced the left's recruitment efforts, as it strengthened the belief that armed insurrection was the only way to achieve progressive reform.

The key issue in Guatemala was government repression and the denial of peasants' land rights. Historically, social divisions and inequalities had caused tension and undermined stability, particularly as the military and the wealthy agrarian and commercial elites actively sought to protect their political power. A central factor distinguishing the 1974–1994 conflict from the one immediately preceding it was the extensive involvement of indigenous Maya Indian communities—both as victims of mass violence and as mobilized militants. Government brutality against any perceived opponents further encouraged support for the insurgents. Adding to this already flammable situation was the deteriorating economic situation caused by the 1973 energy crisis, which affected living conditions.

In the first Nicaraguan war, the central cause was a corrupt, economically ineffective, repressive, and illegitimate dictatorship that created vast grievances among the poor people and

eventually among the elites as well. In contrast, the desire of the United States to create an armed resistance to the Sandinista government was the most important factor in the creation of the Contra war. The Contras were also able to attract additional groups who had become disenchanted with the Sandinista government.

In Peru, the civil war was a long-term strategy designed to change society by toppling the government and replacing it with a Communist state. Social, economic, and political conditions created a fertile ground for the insurgency. The government's vacillation between military rule and democracy could easily be interpreted as a failure of both types of governance. Sendero could have neither developed nor succeeded without its base of support in Ayacucho. Peasants here provided a fertile ground for Sendero. The relatively impoverished population suffered from a history of neglect and experienced a subsistence crisis during Sendero's organizing stage. During this crisis, Sendero assisted the rural peasants, whereas the government offered little assistance. Moreover, living conditions in Ayacucho were worse than those elsewhere.

Outcomes

The region is now relatively stable. Of the wars examined here, only Colombia's continues, and much of this conflict is related to the drug industry and drug profits. The prospects for peace in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Peru have all been identified as favourable. However, the ending of wars has not necessarily prevented further violence. Indeed, literature on civil war indicates that past wars increase the likelihood of future wars. The threat of more fighting is particularly evident in Guatemala. Prospects for peace have been deemed shaky, with peace unlikely to last if land reform is not accomplished or if the military regains power.

The war in Colombia has been lengthened by the drug industry (along with kidnappings) and fighting over drug profits. Recent estimates sug-

gest that FARC makes about US\$300 million annually from its drug trafficking activity. Colombia's experiences support the hypothesis that easily exploited resources can prolong war and, more specifically, supports research that coca seems to lengthen preexisting wars (Ross 2004, 352). Currently, much of the fighting in Colombia is encouraged more by the desire to control the drug industry and its profits than by grievances.

External actors have played a key role in supporting warring groups and thus the duration of wars. Nicaragua is particularly relevant here, as external support was vital for the insurgents. After the initial Contra forces were established and trained, the United States increased aid, providing higher-quality weapons and more pay for the fighters. Indeed, U.S. help encouraged others in Nicaragua to rebel. Similarly, U.S. support of the El Salvador regime was vital to El Salvador's fight against insurgents.

External actors have helped to end war, too. This role is evident in El Salvador. Here, the United Nations secretary general played a crucial mediating role during peace negotiations. The UN Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) also provided important monitoring to ease implementation of the peace accord.

Conclusion

Although war continues to affect the lives of many people, the region is now relatively stable. The wars have involved groups that varied widely in terms of their goals and sizes; however, common to all are guerrilla tactics that take advantage of the region's geography. Insurgents here, like those in other regions, have exploited natural resources, but the nature of the resources have differed, with cocaine being a major source of revenue. Grievances against the government (particularly regarding land rights)

and economic upheaval have been major factors encouraging conflict; however, much of the continued fighting in Colombia is related to the illegal drugs industry. Compared to other regions, the Western Hemisphere is now relatively stable, and prospects for peace are generally positive.

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Middle Eastern and North African Conflicts

Introduction

The Middle East and North Africa have had a stable and high incidence of civil war since the late 1960s. Some of the most intense civil wars have been in Algeria (1992–), Iraq (1961–1975 and 1988–1994), Lebanon (1975–1978), and Yemen (1962–1970). An analysis of war in this region is particularly important given the presence of the key oil-producing nations.

Regional Background

The Middle East and North Africa region includes Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malta, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, the West Bank and Gaza, and Yemen. The surface area of the region is 11.1 million square kilometers.

The region encompassing southwestern Asia and northeastern Africa and spanning the area from Morocco to Pakistan, including the Caucasus, is the birthplace of civilization and all three monotheistic religions. The first civilization emerged in 3200 BC in Sumer, in Mesopotamia (the region between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers). The establishment of civilization brought with it government, religion, urbanization, and economic specialization. The region's history has been influenced by the Persian, Greek, and Roman Empires, the Crusaders, the

Mongols, the Mamluks, the Ottomans, the Europeans, and many others.

Many countries in the region gained independence only in the last century or so. After more than a century of rule by France, Algerians fought through much of the 1950s, and they achieved independence in 1962. Formerly part of the Ottoman Empire, Iraq was occupied by Britain during the course of World War I, and in 1920 it was declared a League of Nations mandate under the administration of the United Kingdom. In stages over the next dozen years, Iraq attained its independence as a kingdom, completing the process in 1932. North Yemen became independent of the Ottoman Empire in 1918. The British, who had set up a protectorate area around the southern port of Aden in the nineteenth century, withdrew in 1967 from what became South Yemen. North and South Yemen were formally unified as the Republic of Yemen in 1990. Lebanon gained independence in 1943 (from the League of Nations mandate under French administration).

The Middle East is the world's largest supplier of oil. The founding of the oil industry in the Middle East dates from 1908, when oil was discovered in southwest Iran. Iranian oil production rapidly expanded during and after World War I but fell sharply in the early years of World War II. A recovery began in 1943 with the reopening of supply routes to the United

Kingdom. Little oil development was possible in the Persian Gulf region during World War II, although large fields had been located in Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. By the end of the war, it had become evident that the Gulf would become a major oil-exporting region when adequate outlets became available. In the postwar years, a rapid rise in world oil demand was coupled with a rapid expansion of production in the Gulf (Riva Jr, 1995).

The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was established in 1960 and has a strong influence on the oil market. OPEC is a permanent intergovernmental organization created in 1960 by Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela. The five founding members were later joined by eight others: Qatar (1961), Indonesia (1962), Socialist Peoples Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (1962), the United Arab Emirates (1967), Algeria (1969), Nigeria (1971), Ecuador (1973–1992), and Gabon (1975–1994). OPEC's objective is to coordinate and unify petroleum policies among member countries. OPEC rose to international prominence during the 1970s. During this period, member countries took control of their domestic petroleum industries and became influential in the pricing of crude oil on world markets. The 1970s also witnessed two oil-pricing crises, the first triggered by the Arab oil embargo in 1973 and the second by the Iranian Revolution in 1979. OPEC member countries produce about 40 percent of the world's crude oil and 16 percent of its natural gas; however, OPEC's oil exports represent about 55 percent of the oil traded internationally (OPEC 2006).

Oil remains a key global resource. The world's largest proven crude oil reserves, in millions of barrels, are currently in Saudi Arabia (264,310), Iran (132,460), Iraq (115,000), Kuwait (101,500), and the United Arab Emirates (97,800). At the rate of production in 2003, OPEC's oil reserves are sufficient to last more than ninety years, whereas non-OPEC oil producers' reserves might last less than twenty years. The worldwide demand for oil is rising, and OPEC is expected

to be an increasingly important source. The issues discussed here have contributed to concerns regarding the security of oil supplies.

Various security issues face the region. The ongoing conflict in Iraq is a key issue that threatens regional stability. According to the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), "The removal of Saddam Hussein has proved to be the beginning and not the culmination of a long and very uncertain process of state building" (2005, 180). The presence of U.S. and Coalition forces is a major international issue, and at the end of 2006 it seemed unlikely that the conflict would end in the near future.

In addition to the ongoing conflict in Iraq, terrorism is a threat. For instance, fifty-six people were killed in explosions at three international hotels in Amman, the capital of Jordan, during November 2005. Al-Qaeda claimed responsibility for the explosions. The threat of terrorism is particularly illuminated by developments in Saudi Arabia, for the threat there has international consequences given that country's crude oil reserves. From May 2003 to August 2005, militants loyal to al-Qaeda leader Usama bin Laden killed more than ninety foreign nationals and Saudi citizens and caused considerable damage (BBC 2005). Saudi Arabia has come under pressure to curb extremism in the wake of the violence, and there have been regular gun battles between Saudi security forces and militants. Indeed, the United States closed its embassy and two consulates briefly in August 2005 in response to a terror threat.

Another issue is the long history of tension between Arab countries and Israel. The creation of Israel was the culmination of the Zionist movement, the goal of which was establishment of a homeland for Jews all over the world following the Diaspora. After the Nazi holocaust, pressure grew for the international recognition of a Jewish state, and in 1948 Israel was established. The region's history since 1948 has been dominated by conflict between Israel on the one side and Palestinians (represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization) and Israel's Arab

neighbors on the other. Many Palestinians were displaced, and several wars were fought involving Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. Israel evacuated its settlers from the Gaza Strip in late 2005 and withdrew its forces, ending almost four decades of military occupation. However, the status of Jerusalem and the fate of Palestinian refugees and Jewish settlements are contentious issues. Tensions also remain between Israel and such countries as Syria and Iran. In January 2006, Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon suffered a stroke, and his position was assumed by Ehud Olmert. In July 2006, Israel launched attacks on targets in Lebanon after Hezbollah (Party of God) captured two Israeli soldiers, and the following month Israeli ground troops advanced into southern Lebanon. A truce came into effect on August 14, 2006, after thirty-four days of fighting.

Although the natures of the civil wars have varied, common features are identifiable. These wars have been particularly complicated; the groups involved are diverse, and some have changed sides during the conflicts. Ideology has played a key role in the conflicts, with insurgents driven by their beliefs. Insurgents have especially exploited the region's mountainous terrain to conduct operations. The role of external actors, particularly their direct intervention, has influenced the duration of the wars. The important role of external actors is to be expected, given the presence of different ideologies and the region's geopolitical significance.

The Middle East and North Africa constitute an economically diverse region that includes both the oil-rich economies in the Gulf and countries with scarce resources relative to population, such as Egypt, Morocco, and Yemen. During 2003 and 2004, economic growth averaged more than 5.6 percent a year, the strongest growth in a decade, up strongly from the 3.6 percent average yearly growth throughout the 1990s. Comparing growth over the 1990s with recent growth, however, 97 percent of the regional growth upturn was driven by just four countries: Saudi Arabia, Iran, Algeria, and the

United Arab Emirates. Moreover, on a per capita basis, the region's recent economic growth is lower than that of other regions (World Bank 2005b).

The current economic development and prospects of countries vary:

Algeria: Real gross domestic product (GDP) has risen due to higher oil output and increased government spending. However, the country faces problems such as large-scale unemployment. The estimated GDP real growth in 2005 was 7.1 percent.

Iraq: The military victory of the U.S.-led coalition in March and April 2003 resulted in the shutdown of much of the central economic administrative structure. Since the war, looting, insurgent attacks, and sabotage have undermined efforts to rebuild the economy. The estimated GDP real growth in 2005 was 2.4 percent.

Lebanon: In the years since the war, Lebanon has rebuilt much of its war-torn physical and financial infrastructure by borrowing heavily. The estimated GDP real growth in 2005 was 0.5 percent.

Yemen: Yemen has reported meager growth since 2000. Yemen's economic fortunes depend mostly on oil. The estimated GDP real growth in 2005 was 2.5 percent (CIA 2005).

The Insurgents

The war in Algeria involved various groups. Key groups fought for the reestablishment of a political system that would allow the Islamic Salvation Front (Front Islamique du Salut [FIS]), an umbrella organization of Islamist groups that opposed the government, to take power. The first of these was the Armed Islamic Movement (Mouvement Islamique Armé [MIA]). The MIA was selective in its recruitment process. Given the large numbers of people eager to participate in the insurgency, the establishment of additional armed groups was possible. In 1994, the Islamic Army of Salvation (Armée Islamique du

Salut [AIS]) was established. The AIS continued the MIA's focus on insurgency to reinstitute the political process, concentrating on attacking the government and security forces. However, it sought to work on a much broader scale than the MIA and to plan for a long conflict.

Radical groups emerged in 1993 that challenged the notion of returning to the political process and the focus on government targets to that end. Established in 1991, the Movement for the Islamic State (Mouvement pour l'Etat Islamique [MEI]) focused on taking the battle to the Algerian people. The Islamic Armed Groups (Groupes Islamiques Armées [GIA]) took a similar approach to the MEI, which had begun to target civilians to force them to choose between supporting the government or the Islamists. From 1998 on, the GIA and a splinter group, the Salafiya Group for Call and Combat (Groupe Salafi pour la Predication et le Combat [GSPC]), have been active along with other groups.

The first and most prominent of the groups that made up the Kurdish resistance against the Iraqi state were the affiliates of the Barzani tribe, led by Mullah Mustafa (known also by his surname, Barzani). Barzani formed the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) in 1946, which spearheaded the resistance movement in Iraqi Kurdistan until his eventual defeat in the mid-1970s. From the beginnings of the modern Kurdish uprising in the mid-twentieth century, the basic military force that carried out armed resistance against the Iraqi state were the guerrilla fighters known by the term *pershmerga*, "those who face death." Under the KDP, they became known officially as the Kurdish Revolutionary Army (KRA). However, the consolidation of these troops into professional battle formations was a difficult process. The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) was established in June 1975 as an alternative wing of the Kurdish opposition, which adopted a more identifiable, leftist, Marxist orientation.

The war in Lebanon essentially involved Christian and Muslim militias. Muslim groups generally sought a fundamental change in the

political system, whereas the Christian groups fought to preserve the status quo, in which they were dominant. There were also clashes among Christians and Muslims. In the status quo coalition, two groups were most effective. The Phalangist Party was the most important group. The party was founded in the 1930s and became quite influential in Lebanese politics. The second influential group was the National Liberal Party (NLP), led by Camille Chamoun. In the south, the South Lebanon Army (SLA), led by Major Saad Haddad and supported by Israel, was the only effective non-Muslim organization. Despite differences among the Christian groups, they managed to form alliances against the Muslim militias between 1975 and 1978.

The revisionist coalition was larger and more heterogeneous than the status quo coalition. The most influential actors were the Palestinian organizations and the leftist militias. Of the leftist groups, the Progressive Socialist Party, led by Kamal Junblat, was the most influential. Fath, led by Yasser Arafat, was the most powerful group among the Palestinian organizations. Syrian intervention produced several pro-Syrian groups during the civil war. The most influential was Amal, a Shi'ite organization. Of the Muslim groups, the Progressive Socialist Party and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) were the most effective.

For most of Yemen's war, two administrations—a republican one centered in the capital of Sanaa, and a royalist one centered around the imam and the royal family in the mountains of the north—claimed to represent the "true" government of Yemen. However, it became evident that the republicans constituted the government, and the royalists were the insurgents. The Yemeni rebels, or royalists, consisted of the supporters of the imam. Important support for the imam came from the constituent tribes of the two great tribal confederations in the north, Hashid and Bakil. Most of the tribesmen were Zaydis, and many believed the imamate was the legitimate form of authority beyond the tribe. Although this may have been a sufficient incen-

tive for some of the tribesmen, and although many were opposed to what they saw as an invasion by a foreign army (the Egyptian forces), the large majority fought for material incentives and offered their services to the highest bidder. The dynamic position of the tribesmen supports Jeremy Weinstein's work showing that economic endowments may be problematic for insurgent leaders (2005, 621–22).

Geography and Tactics

Deserts are a major feature of the Middle East and North Africa. Renewable freshwater is scarce, and the world's largest desert, the Sahara, is located in North Africa. The region's geography also includes rugged mountains, plains, coastal cliffs, plateaus, and depressions.

The size, terrain, and natural resources of the countries vary:

Algeria. Size: Total, 2,381,740 sq km; land, 2,381,740 sq km; water, 0 sq km; slightly less than 3.5 times the size of Texas. Terrain: Mostly high plateau and desert, some mountains, and a narrow, discontinuous coastal plain. Natural resources include petroleum and natural gas.

Iraq. Size: Total, 437,072 sq km; land, 432,162 sq km; water, 4,910 sq km; slightly more than twice the size of Idaho. Terrain: Mostly broad plains, reedy marshes along the Iranian border in the south with large flooded areas, and mountains along the borders with Iran and Turkey. Natural resources include petroleum and natural gas.

Lebanon. Size: Total, 10,400 sq km; land, 10,230 sq km; water, 170 sq km; about 0.7 times the size of Connecticut. Terrain: Narrow coastal plain with El Beqaa (Bekaa Valley) separating Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains. Natural resources include water and arable land.

Yemen. Size: Total, 527,970 sq km; land, 527,970 sq km; water, 0 sq km; includes Perim, Socotra, the former Yemen Arab Re-

public (YAR or North Yemen) and the former People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY or South Yemen); slightly larger than twice the size of Wyoming. Terrain: Narrow coastal plain backed by flat-topped hills and rugged mountains; upland desert plains in the center slope into the desert interior of the Arabian Peninsula. Natural resources include petroleum and gold (CIA 2005).

Geography has shaped wars in the region. Algeria's mountains have provided a base of operations for groups. Whereas the GIA was most active in urban areas, the MIA and the AIS were firmly established in mountainous areas, from which they conducted operations. The small number of important highway routes for commerce also allowed groups to demarcate territory as well as to draw revenues. However, the terrain used by insurgents was by no means secure. The government was able to defeat insurgents in the mountains by using air power and local militias. The MIA and the AIS focused almost exclusively on attacking security forces and government officials, whereas the GIA and the MEI put civilians squarely in the middle of the conflict.

The Kurdish region of Iraq, or Southern Kurdistan, features highly mountainous terrain with some wooded areas, and fertile plains fed by rivers at lower elevations. The peshmerga fighters often made use of the mountain areas to employ hit-and-run tactics that put Iraqi ground troops at a disadvantage in the early years of the war. However, Iraqi forces enjoyed tactical superiority in the low-lying regions. Initially, the Kurdish insurgency manifested itself largely in traditional forms of tribal warfare, carrying out attacks with loosely organized bands of fighters. However, the increasing number of Kurdish deserters from the Iraqi national army eventually swelled the rebel ranks, through which they gradually became more disciplined regular forces.

The mountainous terrain in Lebanon enabled groups to carve out small pockets of land, which

they dominated. For instance, the Christians were able to isolate themselves from the rest of the population because of their geographic location in Mount Lebanon. Beirut, the capital, was the most violent place, as almost all sects and groups lived here. Car bombs, assassinations, and abduction became widely used.

Yemen's rugged topography was a key factor contributing to the persistence of war. Given the mountainous terrain to the north, the population was scattered and isolated, roads and telecommunications were practically nonexistent, and the maneuverability of conventional armies was limited. During the first few weeks of the war, republican forces consolidated their hold over the coastal areas and the triangle between the major cities of Sanaa, Taizz, and Hodayda. Meanwhile, royalist forces, most often based in caves, organized themselves in the mountains of the north. From these starting points, the war swung back and forth according to whichever side happened to be waging an offensive campaign.

As has the terrain, land borders have shaped the nature of conflict. This is clearly shown by the experiences of Yemen and Lebanon. The external interventions of Saudi Arabia in Yemen and those of Syria and Israel in Lebanon were facilitated by shared borders.

Although crude oil is a major natural resource in the region, it has not been an important source of revenue for many insurgents. In Algeria, groups collected taxes in the areas they controlled; in contested areas, they collected bribes. Further revenue was generated through the often informal import-export sector of the economy. This supports James Fearon's contention that contraband financing of groups is associated with longer-lasting conflicts (2004, 297).

In Iraq, the Kurdish insurgents were supported briefly by Iran and the United States and obtained arms and supplies from black market and expatriate Kurdish groups. The Lebanese warring factions benefited from the economic boom in the early and mid-1970s. Most of the groups established a *de facto* rule over some

parts of the country and conducted economic activities accordingly. In Yemen, much of the funding for the royalist war effort came from external sources, namely Saudi Arabian subsidies paid to the Imam and the tribes.

Causes of the Wars

The Algerian war is commonly attributed to the country's economic and social crisis during the 1980s, the failure of the regime to address the crisis, and the military's refusal to allow the electoral process bringing the Islamists into power to continue. The decision of groups to fight the government after the cancellation of elections in January 1992 may be seen as a careful evaluation. This was an evaluation of their prospects for survival and success in a war against the government, and an evaluation of the opportunities available to them under the government at the time or under an alternative regime of their choosing. Potential financial resources, combined with the refuge of the mountains and the dire financial situation of the government may well have convinced insurgent groups of the possibility of their survival, if not their success. The opportunity to profit from conflict, as well as the ability to redistribute economic wealth to their supporters, may also have motivated both insurgents and the government to take steps that led to conflict, particularly in the context of a declining economy.

The immediate background to the revolt in Iraq that began in September 1961 was the burgeoning nationalist sentiment that had developed in the Kurdish territories during the period between the end of World War II and the consolidation of Karim Abdel-Qassem's revolutionary regime in Iraq. The periodic agitations and minor uprisings that had taken place since the nineteenth century and that persisted under the British-installed Faisal monarchy gradually developed into a recognizable movement. At the same time, the Kurds had been allowed to retain an arsenal and relatively independent status. The 14 July Revolution of 1958, which overthrew the

monarchy of King Faisal and established an Iraqi republic, showed great initial promise for the prospect of Kurdish self-rule. The new government both declared the unity of Arabs and Kurds and enshrined the recognition of Kurdish rights in the national constitution. However, when the government reneged on the promise of greater autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan, it set the stage for conflict.

The 1975–1978 Lebanese civil war was a resumption of the 1958 conflict between the same parties. The political turmoil in Lebanon during these years was closely related to regional developments. The primary factor that led to the outbreak of conflict between the two major groups, the Christians and the Muslims, was systemic. The Arab-Israeli conflict and Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser's nationalistic policies fueled the Muslims' resentment in Lebanon. The Muslims believed that the political system needed to be altered so that Christians no longer dominated. The status quo was preserved, yet the 1958 war showed the shortcomings inherent in the political system, along with the close relationship of Lebanese politics to regional developments.

With regard to the 1975–1978 war, domestic factors were closely related to the ethnic and religious composition of society, with cleavages manipulated and exploited by community leaders. The shift in the numerical strength of the sects (by 1968 it was widely acknowledged that Muslims outnumbered Christians) increased demands for a revision of the decision-making process. The war also was influenced by external developments. The Arab-Israeli conflict fueled the conflict among the various groups, primarily revisionist Muslims and status quo Christians.

The revolution of 1962 and the subsequent war in Yemen were encouraged by domestic conflicts and enabled by external intervention. Internally, Yemen suffered from a number of growing conflicts: between liberal reformers and defenders of the status quo, between the urban population and the rural tribesmen, and between Zaydi and Shafai Muslims. Although

Yemeni in origin, these conflicts were magnified by regional geopolitics. Laying aside the relatively small Israeli and Jewish communities, the population was divided almost evenly between Sunni Muslims, who followed the Shafai school of law, and Shi'a Muslims, who followed the Zaydi branch. Zaydis received preferred status over Shafais, who suffered from discrimination and harassment by Zaydi officials. The tribal system tended to reinforce Zaydi dominance. This encouraged frustration and political dissent. There were also demands for reform among the young and educated, which the old administrative apparatus could not absorb.

It was in this domestic context that revolutionary movements in the Arab world began to exert influence. Cadets sent from Yemen to Egypt for training and Egyptian instructors brought to Yemen were exposed to revolutionary ideas. A coup d'état was ultimately staged in September 1962. The revolutionaries were a loose coalition of the urban population: army officers, Shafai merchants, young intellectuals, Free Yemenis, and dissident expatriates.

Outcomes

In Yemen and Lebanon, wars have ended, but the threat of further conflict remains. Events in Lebanon during 2005 especially illustrate the volatile nature of politics. In February 2005, former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri was killed in a car bomb attack in Beirut, and the cabinet of Prime Minister Omar Karami resigned following anti-Syrian rallies sparked by Hariri's assassination. In April 2005, Syria said it had withdrawn all of its military forces as demanded by the United Nations, but political violence has continued. Although the conflict in Algeria continues, violence has decreased, and prospects for peace are favorable. Prospects are uncertain in Iraq and are dependent on the outcome of regime change after the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003.

The role of external actors in the region has been mixed. Although there has been no clear

external military intervention in Algeria in terms of the use of force by a third party, this has not been the case elsewhere. The primary reason for the long duration of the Lebanese civil war was foreign intervention. The war between the domestic groups came to an end in October 1976; however, the presence of the foreign powers, especially Syria and Israel, not only internationalized the war but also provided support for the warring factions to continue fighting. Although the war in Yemen pitted revolutionary republics against conservative monarchies in broad terms, in practice it meant a war fought by Egyptian troops on one side and Saudi money on the other. In addition, the Soviet Union and the eastern bloc countries supported the republic.

External actors have also contributed to humanitarian and conflict management efforts. The primary effort at humanitarian intervention in the Kurdish-Iraqi conflict came during the crisis following the American cease-fire in the 1991 Gulf War. Following the impetus of UN Security Council Resolution 688, which condemned Iraqi repression in the Kurdish areas, a multinational force was deployed to establish “safe havens” for the refugees who had fled Iraqi forces. During the Lebanese war, Saudi Arabia primarily conducted conflict management efforts. UN involvement and mediation efforts came after Israel became directly involved in Lebanon in 1978. However, conflict continued, and in January 1989 the Arab League delegated the task of finding a solution to the Lebanese crisis to the King of Saudi Arabia, the King of Morocco, and the President of Algeria. These efforts resulted in the Taif Accord in October 1989, which ended the fighting.

Conclusion

The region highlights the complicated nature of civil wars. Both the Algerian and Lebanese wars involved numerous warring groups, while the

tribes in Yemen often switched sides. The struggle for power against a background of conflicting ideologies and the intervention of external actors were key factors behind the wars and intensified the fighting. Although natural resources such as precious stones and oil were not important sources of revenue, insurgents financed their activities through other means, and external sources were particularly important in some cases. Insurgents have exploited geographical features, but the conflicts in this region demonstrate that terrain can both help and hinder insurgencies. Finally, external actors have influenced the duration of wars.

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(The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of his employer)

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Sub-Saharan African Conflicts

Introduction

Until the 1980s, Africa had a below-average incidence of civil war, although the region's level of conflict is now comparable to that of Asia and the Middle East and is much higher than that of Latin America. Africa is the only region that did not see a decrease in incidence over the 1990s (World Bank 2003, 112–15). The brutality of war there has been extreme, as shown by the genocide committed in Rwanda and by the general duration of conflicts in the region. Conflict, which affects about one-third of African countries, is also estimated to cost affected African countries 2.2 percent in economic growth each year (World Bank 2005). Some of the most intense wars in the region have been in Angola (1992–2002), Burundi (1972), Chad (1966–1979), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (the DRC and formerly Zaire) (1996–1997 and 1998–), Ethiopia (1976–1985), Liberia (1989–1997), Mozambique (1979–1992), Nigeria (1967–1970), Rwanda (1990–1994), Somalia (1988–1991 and 1992–), South Africa (1976–1994), Sudan (1983–2005), Uganda (1986–), and Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) (1972–1979).

Regional Background

Africa is the second-largest continent and covers about one-fifth of the world's total land surface. The continent is bounded on the west by the At-

lantic Ocean, on the north by the Mediterranean Sea, on the east by the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, and on the south by the Atlantic and Indian oceans. Africa's total land area is approximately 30,217,000 square kilometers.

The Kingdom of Kush emerged in present-day Sudan in 1000 BC and was the first sub-Saharan African civilization. Various kingdoms emerged in the region, such as the Kanem Empire, which was founded in present-day Chad in 800 and the expansion of which peaked in the thirteenth century. The Portuguese initiated the African slave trade in the late fifteenth century; over the next four centuries, millions of black Africans were forcibly uprooted. Europeans had traded with Africa for several centuries through coastal settlements, but during the nineteenth century, missionary endeavors, efforts to abolish the slave trade, and optimistic views of African riches encouraged colonial ambitions. The countries involved in the partition of Africa included Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and Portugal. When the French and the Italians completed the partition of North Africa before World War I, only Liberia and Ethiopia remained independent. Fighting occurred during both world wars and led to repartitioning. Many countries achieved independence in or after the 1960s.

Various security issues face the region. A serious threat to regional security is the presence of

failed nation-states. The term *failed nation-state* indicates a dangerous development in the aftermath of the Cold War: the breakdown of law, order, and basic services in a number of multi-ethnic states. This breakdown is accompanied by bitter communal conflict, violent ethnic nationalism, militarism, and possibly endemic regional conflict. Failed states include Sierra Leone, Liberia, the DRC, and Angola. The failure of states has occurred regardless of the presence of natural resources, through the corruption–natural resources nexus. For instance, diamonds are a significant resource in Angola, but corruption and the exploitation of diamonds by warring groups have fueled conflict (as is discussed later). Similarly, the Congo’s resources include nickel, bauxite, gold, and silver, but much of this wealth is lost through widespread corruption.

Another major issue is the large number of refugees. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the total number of refugees in Africa (excluding North Africa) at the end of 2004 was 2,748,400. Of these refugees, 1,267,700 were in Central Africa and the Great Lakes, 770,500 in East Africa and the Horn of Africa, 245,100 in Southern Africa, and 465,100 in West Africa (UNHCR 2005, 2). During war, many people become refugees; they have few possessions and are forced to survive with limited resources, at least until they find new homes or are assisted at refugee camps. Moreover, refugees and other displaced populations are at increased risk of contracting HIV/AIDS during and after displacement, because of the disruption of families, social structures, and health services; poverty; increased sexual violence; and increased socioeconomic vulnerability, particularly among women and youth (World Bank 2003, 39).

Although the nature of conflict has varied, common features are evident. Humanitarian crises have often accompanied wars. Many countries in the region already have serious problems, such as widespread poverty, that are exacerbated by conflict. Devastation has been

further magnified by the actions of external actors, particularly during the Cold War. The presence of natural resources (such as diamonds) contributed both to the initiation of conflict and to its duration. Ethnic tensions have also played a major role in conflicts, a role that reflects the artificial nature of the borders that resulted from the colonial period. Hostilities between groups have grown strong enough to contribute to acts of genocide. The gross violation of human rights has been evident in many wars.

The economy of Africa was projected to grow by 4.1 percent in 2005, slightly slower than the 4.4 percent growth rate it experienced in 2004, with virtually all countries recording positive growth rates. However, the number of Africans living on \$1 a day has almost doubled since 1981, to 314 million people. Africa contains thirty-four of the world’s forty-eight poorest countries and twenty-four of the thirty-two countries ranked lowest in the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) *Human Development Report*. Moreover, malaria and HIV/AIDS kill more than 2 million people a year (World Bank 2005).

The current economic development and prospects of countries vary:

Angola: The high growth rate has been driven by the oil sector, but record oil prices and rising petroleum production have occurred without improved performance in other parts of the economy. The estimated gross domestic product (GDP) real growth rate in 2005 was 14.1 percent.

Burundi: Burundi is landlocked and resource poor with a predominantly agricultural economy. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 5.5 percent.

Chad: More than 80 percent of Chad’s population relies on subsistence farming and raising livestock for its livelihood. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 14 percent.

Congo (officially known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo): Economic stability improved in 2003–2005, but growth is hampered by problems such as corruption. The

estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 6.5 percent.

Ethiopia: Ethiopia's poverty-stricken economy is based on agriculture. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 6.5 percent.

Liberia: War and government mismanagement have destroyed much of the economy. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 8 percent.

Mozambique: Mozambique is dependent upon foreign assistance for much of its annual budget, and the majority of the population is below the poverty line. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 7 percent.

Nigeria: Oil-rich Nigeria has long faced such problems as corruption, but some reforms are occurring. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 5.2 percent.

Rwanda: Rwanda is a poor rural country with about 90 percent of the population engaged in (mainly subsistence) agriculture. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 4.8 percent.

Somalia: Agriculture is the most important sector. The ongoing conflict has interfered with any broad-based economic development and international aid arrangements. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 2.4 percent.

South Africa: South Africa is a middle-income, emerging market; however, there are serious problems such as poverty and high unemployment. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 4.5 percent.

Sudan: There are formidable economic problems, beginning with the low level of per capita output. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 8.6 percent.

Uganda: Agriculture is the most important sector of the economy. Growth in 2003–2005 reflected an upturn in Uganda's export markets. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was 9 percent.

Zimbabwe: The government faces a wide variety of difficult economic problems, includ-

ing high inflation. The estimated GDP real growth rate in 2005 was –4 percent (CIA 2005).

The Insurgents

A wide range of insurgent groups have been active in sub-Saharan Africa. In Angola, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) became the main armed force opposing the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) government. UNITA was founded in 1966 and drew its support almost entirely from the Ovimbundu, roughly a third of Angola's population.

The rebel Hutus, after years of repression and denial of opportunity by the government of President Michel Micombero, decided to stage a coup d'état and establish Hutu control of the government in Burundi. Aside from some planning of the date and timing of attacks, there was little known coordination.

In Chad, many groups emerged from the main insurgent organization, the National Liberation Front (FROLINAT). FROLINAT was formed in exile in 1966. At the start, it was led by Ibrahim Abacha, although he was killed in 1968. Throughout much of the organization's operation, the political wing of FROLINAT was led by Dr. Abba Siddick, a former minister in the government led by President Ngarta Tombalbaye, who served as the international voice of the organization. The various factions fought under different names and experienced leadership struggles.

In the DRC, a number of groups were involved in the conflict. In the 1996–1997 uprising, the Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaïre (the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaïre [AFDL]) included various organizations. In the 1998–2001 uprising against President Laurent-Desire Kabila, rebel groups included the Parti pour la Réconciliation et le Développement (PPRD).

In Ethiopia, the rebellion was launched in 1963 by a group that later became known as the

Western Somalia Liberation Front (WSLF). President Siyaad Barre of Ethiopia officially dissolved the WSLF in 1969; however, in March 1976 the WSLF war against the Ethiopian government began in earnest.

The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPLF) was the main group in Liberia. The NPLF was led by Charles Taylor, a former official of President Samuel Doe's government. It was composed of the ethnic group Gios and people of the Manos ethnic group, which were the principal tribes in Nimba County. The group also contained mercenaries and internationalist revolutionaries. During the conflict, as factions splintered and proliferated, various groups emerged.

In Mozambique, Resistencia Nacional Mozambicana (Renamo) was founded around 1976 by members of the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organization (CIO). The group was founded as a counterinsurgency force against Zimbabwean insurgents and the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) government in Mozambique, and to close Mozambique's border with Rhodesia.

In the case of Nigeria, it is more accurate to think of the insurgents as regionally based military and political elites rather than groups of rebels. Lieutenant Colonel (later General) Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, who led the Biafran secession, was a regional governor. In addition to Ojukwu, several other key figures played roles in the Biafran secession. Many of these individuals were among Nigeria's intellectual elite.

The rebel force in Rwanda was known as the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) and its military wing as the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA). The RPF was created in 1987 in Kampala, Uganda, mainly by Tutsi exiles. The RPF was actually an extension of the Rwandan Alliance for National Unity (RANU), which had been created in 1979 by Tutsi radicals.

In Somalia, the three core rebel groups are the United Somali Congress (USC), the Somali National Movement (SNM), and the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF). The USC was

composed of members of the Hawiye clan and initially was formed from two conferences in the late 1980s. The SNM was formed in 1981 and consisted of businesspeople, religious leaders, intellectuals, and former army officers from the Isaaq clan. The SSDF was composed mainly of members of the Majerteyn subclan of the Darod clan and was formed in 1979.

The best-known group in South Africa was the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC was founded in 1912 with the primary goal of advancing the interests of nonwhite elites. It was not until the early 1960s that the ANC sought to use violence to bring down the government. Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) carried out its first attacks against government installations in 1961. It suspended operations in 1990.

In Sudan, Lieutenant Colonel John Garang formed the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) after a 1983 mutiny of government soldiers, which later led to the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). The SPLM was the major force working to overthrow the Sudanese government during the 1983–2005 war.

There have been numerous rebel groups in Uganda. The Holy Spirit Movement Force (HSMF) was a prominent group active from 1986 to 1987 as it fought Yoweri Museveni's regime. The HSMF was allegedly created on August 6, 1986, when the spirit Lakwena ordered a mystical young prophetess, Alice Auma, to stop healing the sick and to start raising an army for an antigovernment crusade. The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) was later created by Alice's cousin (or nephew) Joseph Kony, who claimed to have similar spiritual visions as he began to lead a small guerrilla war.

In Zimbabwe, the two primary rebel organizations were the military wings of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)—the Zimbabwean People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA); and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)—the Zimbabwean African National Liberation Army (ZANLA). The ZANU had split from the ZAPU in 1963.

Along with the benefits gained from exploitation of natural resources (see the following section), assistance from external actors has been important to insurgents. Somali rebels received support from Ethiopia, whereas the Ogaden insurgents in Ethiopia were supported by Somalia. In Mozambique, Renamo was established by the CIO and then was funded and controlled primarily by South African military intelligence forces. The rebels also engaged in international fund-raising. In Rwanda, the RPF received most of its funding from Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni. Additional support was provided by the Tutsi diaspora living abroad and by larger communities of Tutsi in Africa. The LRA in Uganda has allegedly received significant help from Sudan, and countries such as Israel aided Sudanese rebels. Most of the South African ANC's military budget came from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Additional sources of money included wealthy South African expatriates.

Geography and Tactics

Africa can be considered a vast plateau rising steeply from narrow coastal strips. The plateau's surface is higher in the southeast and tilts downward toward the northeast. Africa's known mineral wealth places it among the world's richest continents.

The size, terrain, and natural resources of the countries vary:

Angola. Size: Total, 1,246,700 sq km; land, 1,246,700 sq km; water, 0 sq km; slightly less than twice the size of Texas. Terrain: Narrow coastal plain rising abruptly to vast interior plateau. Natural resources include petroleum, diamonds, gold, and uranium.

Burundi. Size: Total, 27,830 sq km; land, 25,650 sq km; water, 2,180 sq km; slightly smaller than Maryland. Terrain: Hilly and mountainous, dropping to a plateau in the east, and some plains. Natural resources include nickel, uranium, tantalum, gold, and tin.

Chad. Size: Total, 1,284,000 sq km; land, 1,259,200 sq km; water, 24,800 sq km; slightly more than three times the size of California. Terrain: Broad, arid plains in the center, desert in the north, mountains in the northwest, and lowlands in the south. Natural resources include petroleum, uranium, gold, limestone, and salt.

Congo. Size: Total, 2,345,410 sq km; land, 2,267,600 sq km; water, 77,810 sq km; slightly less than one-fourth the size of the United States. Terrain: The vast central basin is a low-lying plateau; mountains in the east. Natural resources include gold, silver, and diamonds.

Ethiopia. Size: Total, 1,127,127 sq km; land, 1,119,683 sq km; water, 7,444 sq km; slightly less than twice the size of Texas. Terrain: High plateau with central mountain range divided by the Great Rift Valley. Natural resources include small reserves of gold, platinum, and copper.

Liberia. Size: Total, 111,370 sq km; land, 96,320 sq km; water, 15,050 sq km; slightly larger than Tennessee. Terrain: Mostly flat to rolling coastal plains rising to rolling plateau and low mountains in the northeast. Natural resources include timber, diamonds, and gold.

Mozambique. Size: Total, 801,590 sq km; land, 784,090 sq km; water, 17,500 sq km; slightly less than twice the size of California. Terrain: Mostly coastal lowlands, uplands in the center, high plateaus in the northwest, and mountains in the west. Natural resources include coal and titanium.

Nigeria. Size: Total, 923,768 sq km; land, 910,768 sq km; water, 13,000 sq km; slightly more than twice the size of California. Terrain: Southern lowlands merge into central hills and plateaus; mountains in southeast and plains in the north. Natural resources include petroleum, tin, iron ore, and coal.

Rwanda. Size: Total, 26,338 sq km; land, 24,948 sq km; water, 1,390 sq km; slightly smaller than Maryland. Terrain: Mostly grassy uplands and hills; the relief is mountainous, with the altitude declining from the

west to the east. Natural resources include gold, methane, and arable land.

Somalia. Size: Total, 637,657 sq km; land, 627,337 sq km; water, 10,320 sq km; slightly smaller than Texas. Terrain: Mostly a flat to undulating plateau rising to hills in the north. Natural resources include uranium, largely unexploited reserves of iron ore, and likely oil reserves.

South Africa. Size: Total, 1,219,912 sq km; land, 1,219,912 sq km; water, 0 sq km; slightly less than twice the size of Texas. Terrain: A vast interior plateau rimmed by rugged hills and narrow coastal plain. Natural resources include gold, coal, iron ore, tin, uranium, and gem diamonds.

Sudan. Size: Total, 2,505,810 sq km; land, 2,376,000 sq km; water, 129,810 sq km; slightly more than one-fourth the size of the United States. Terrain: Generally flat, featureless plain; mountains in the far south, northeast, and west; desert dominates the north. Natural resources include petroleum and gold.

Uganda. Size: Total, 236,040 sq km; land, 199,710 sq km; water, 36,330 sq km; slightly smaller than Oregon. Terrain: Mostly plateau with a rim of mountains. Natural resources include copper and arable land.

Zimbabwe. Size: Total, 390,580 sq km; land, 386,670 sq km; water, 3,910 sq km; slightly larger than Montana. Terrain: Mostly high plateau with higher central plateau and mountains in the east. Natural resources include coal and gold (CIA 2005).

Geography has shaped the nature of conflict in sub-Saharan Africa. In the Congo, rebels have undertaken operations from eastern Congo, where the government's control is weakest, a position influenced by the jungles that provide rebels with places to hide. In Zimbabwe, the dense forests helped the insurgents. Rebels in Liberia hid in the rain forests and mountains; in Uganda, in the bush and rough terrain. Rebels in

Chad were assisted by large areas of unpopulated northern desert and Sahelian regions, where they could organize and operate. UNITA in Angola established its headquarters in the farthest reaches of the sparsely populated Cuando Cubango province. The mountainous volcanic region along Rwanda's northwest border with Uganda provided the RPF with easy access to Rwanda and refuge. Rebels returning to South Africa exploited the rough, bushy terrain on the frontier between South Africa and many of its neighbors. The large size of Sudan and the limited number of paved roads retarded government efforts to control the rebels.

Geography can also hinder insurgencies. Ethiopia's desert and sparse pasturelands left insurgents vulnerable to attacks by conventional Ethiopian forces. In Mozambique, insurgents blamed the absence of dense forests and the drier, flatter terrain for the difficulty of penetrating the southern part of the country. Furthermore, the size of Sudan hindered coordination and cooperation among the insurgents and facilitated infighting. The Eastern Region of Nigeria, which was proclaimed the Republic of Biafra in 1967, was vulnerable to government operations. The rebel coastline was vulnerable, and there was little shelter from air attack.

The proximity and number of borders have been important. Mozambique's land borders contributed to the interventionist tactics of several states and offered temporary safe havens for rebels. In Zimbabwe, the ZANU and ZAPU rebels benefited from access to safe havens across the Zambezi River in Zambia (for ZIPRA) and across the Mozambican border (for ZANLA). Uganda and Burundi allowed Rwandan rebels to use their territory as a sanctuary, whereas Ugandan insurgents have been helped by the proximity of Sudan. The close proximity of the UNITA headquarters to the Namibian border facilitated South African assistance. Ibo-dominated Biafra was able to take advantage of its border with Cameroon and the government's limited naval capability to smug-

gle goods onto the international market and to import arms.

Given South Africa's military capabilities, insurgents had to select base sites carefully. Namibia was under direct South African control for portions of the war, while Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique provided tempting targets for South African raids. Lesotho was surrounded by South African territory, and Swaziland was almost completely engulfed. Thus, most of the key ANC military and nonmilitary bases were located in Angola, Tanzania, and Zambia.

Insurgencies have been funded through various means. Insurgents in Burundi were not funded by any particular source other than their day-to-day agricultural income. Overall, though, natural resources have been an important source of revenue. In the DRC, the exploitation of resources by the AFDL and the government contributed to the conflict's duration. With abundant supplies of gold, diamonds, timber, and other natural resources, the warring groups could finance operations. By signing mining contracts, the AFDL was able to finance its operations. These resources also influenced strategy, as control over their locations became intensely contested.

Oil has been influential in some countries. The recent cultivation of the oil industry in Sudan placed higher stakes on the war. In the last quarter of 1999, Sudan began exporting large amounts of oil from the southern areas through a pipeline extending from the south-central region to Port Sudan along the Red Sea. The extraction of oil from the south fueled the war, as southerners complained that revenues benefited only the northern areas. Ethiopia has large, undeveloped petroleum deposits, which increased the strategic and economic value of the region and thus the determination of groups to control it. In Nigeria, the area controlled by the secessionists included the bulk of the country's oil reserves as well as the only oil refinery. However, the government established a naval blockade that denied the insurgency a significant source of revenue.

Diamonds are a significant resource in Angola. The government has had trouble controlling diamond exports, and diamonds have been exploited by UNITA to purchase weapons. According to the United Nations, UNITA has cooperated with a foreign consortium to run industrial diamond mines in the Cuango Valley, which is close to the Congolese border. Diamonds were sold directly to diamond cutters and their intermediaries, through tenders issued in third countries, and on South Africa's open market. UNITA has also found arms dealers willing to barter for diamonds. Although the government has reasserted its control over the past three years, it continues to lose several hundred million dollars a year in revenue through diamond smuggling. Most of Angola's diamonds are in alluvial deposits, which are much easier to exploit than kimberlite deposits. The richest deposits are located in areas accessible to the Congo, which helps UNITA to move diamonds out of Angola and to import material from the Congo.

In Liberia, the control and exploitation of diamonds, timber, and other raw materials were some of the principal objectives of the NPFL. Millions of dollars worth of diamonds were shipped to Belgium, Lebanon, and the Netherlands. The illegal trading of weapons for diamonds has occurred despite sanctions. Revenue from the production and trafficking of timber from major timber-producing areas has also been important. Millions of tons of timber were produced and transported to China, France, and Italy.

The theft of resources is common during war. In Mozambique, opportunities to access resources encouraged young and impoverished boys to join Renamo, the benefits of which included enjoying the spoils of war, such as looted and stolen goods. Renamo reportedly took anything and everything of value in a raid before destroying an area. They then sold the loot in the markets of neighboring states. As has been hypothesized, the presence of natural resources or other sources of financial support allows insurgent leaders to provide short-term rewards to

those who join their groups. However, these strategies can be problematic in the long-term, as they attract people with little commitment to the group's long-term goals (Weinstein 2005, 621).

International actors have been a source of further revenue and equipment, as is shown by Somalia. The Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union encouraged the superpowers to provide Somalia with foreign aid and weapons. Initially, Somalia received foreign aid and military aid from the Soviet Union. During its war with Ethiopia, Somalia severed its ties with the Soviet Union because the latter would not provide the assistance Somalia requested to enable it to defeat Ethiopia and unite the Ogaden Somalis. The United States filled the vacuum created by the Soviet Union's departure, although the level of aid was lower.

Causes of the Wars

The wars in sub-Saharan Africa have been caused by a multitude of factors. Although earlier phases of the war in Angola were fueled by anticolonialism or Cold War ideological battles, the 1992–2002 fighting was largely fueled by the ambitions of Jonas Savimbi, the UNITA leader. His refusal to accept the election results of 1992 was the direct trigger for a return to war, and his recalcitrance with respect to the Lusaka peace process was largely responsible for its failure. UNITA served as his personal vehicle, as evidenced by the war's rapid end after his death. This further supports the hypothesis that leaders can play a key role in insurgencies.

Angola also highlights the contribution of natural resources to the duration of wars. In Angola, the government relied on oil and UNITA on diamonds to fund their war efforts. As long as states and companies were willing to deal with them, both sides could access tremendous sums of money. Events in Angola support the work of scholars who have concluded that easily exploited resources such as secondary diamond deposits can be used to finance prolonged conflicts (Lujala, Gleditsch, and Gilmore 2005, 559).

Burundi and its ethnic tensions are similar to but fundamentally different from those in neighboring Rwanda. Prior to independence, Rwanda observed a strict ethnic split between the Hutu and the Tutsi. By contrast, Burundi had a much more fluid system. There was considerable mixing between the groups, and although the Tutsi tended to be well off socioeconomically, there was no strict division that prevented either of the two groups from advancing socially. This began to change around 1961, just before independence. Hutus were systematically denied advancement opportunities through the civil service and military purges and were discovering that the educational limits enforced on Hutus would limit the advancement of future generations. Their position in society became confined largely to agricultural peasantry. By the early 1970s, the Hutu had concluded that a violent insurgency was their only option.

The roots of rebellion were sown very early in Chad's independent history. The main factors leading to the insurgency were the southern dominance of the government and repressive policies against the northern population. The government's tax policy turned this dissatisfaction into violence. In 1965, a new tax on cattle (the main source of wealth for the pastoral and semipastoral populations of northern Chad) was issued and other taxes increased. This led to discontent, government reprisals, and ultimately the establishment of FROLINAT. Thus, the government's response to the outbreak of conflict heightened northern resentment and encouraged further conflict.

The interaction of Joseph Desire Mobutu's despotism and ethnic tensions between Hutus and Tutsis in eastern Congo caused war in the Congo. Studies of conflict indicate that poor leadership in the Congo, along with the grievances that arose against the ruling elite, contributed to the conflict (Olsson and Fors 2004, 333–34). The colonial boundaries inherited did not reflect the reality on the ground. The Tutsi ethnic group overlapped the borders of the

Congo, Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, and Tanzania. This caused the various pockets of Tutsi groups to commit their allegiance to a Tutsi identity rather than a Congolese identity. Moreover, Belgium had not prepared the Congo for independence. Other factors that contributed to war include the destabilizing force created by refugees in eastern Zaire, the collapse of the Zairian state, and the security concerns of states (Uganda and Rwanda). The exploitation of abundant natural resources has allowed groups to finance their fighting.

In the case of the Ogaden insurgency in Ethiopia, the most important factor was Ogadeni frustration with oppressive taxes and the redistribution of land that created a “sons of the soil” dynamic. The involvement of Somalia in the conflict was influenced by the idea of pan-Somalism. The weakness of the Ethiopian government following the 1974 coup d’état, as well as subsequent insurrections, contributed to the perception that Ethiopia was open to further attacks from abroad.

The civil war in Liberia was caused by ethnic hatred, the violation of human rights, and the corruption of Doe’s government. Historically, Liberia has been divided by two opposing ethnic groups: Americo-Liberians, who immigrated to West Africa in the nineteenth century, and the tribal Africans indigenous to the area. Americo-Liberians have dominated and repressed the indigenous people, thereby causing ethnic tensions. Another cause of the war was the violation and abuse of human rights during Doe’s regime. Torture, disappearances, extrajudicial executions, and the imprisonment of opposition leaders were all commonplace. Furthermore, corruption was widespread. The social inequality and lack of security of personal property rights caused by high-level and systemic corruption encouraged tension.

In Mozambique, although the rise of Renamo and the group’s early funding can be attributed to the interventionist tactics of Rhodesia and South Africa, this external support began to decline in the early 1980s. By and large, Renamo’s

expanding level of support throughout the 1980s was the result of several largely domestic sources: the destructive policies and mistakes of the Frelimo regime, particularly toward traditional agriculture and religion; regional and ethnic divisions within Frelimo and Mozambique; and the attraction of the lifestyle of Renamo warriors to young and impoverished males.

Although ethnic conflict between Ibos and non-Ibos contributed to the conflict in Nigeria, other factors were also involved. There were three key proximate causes of the conflict. The first was the politicization of ethnic identity, first by the British and then by independent Nigeria. The second cause was the militarization of Nigerian politics. The third was the unequal distribution of resources, especially oil.

In Rwanda, a key factor that contributed to the conflict was the tense relationship between Hutus and Tutsis. During colonialism, Tutsis occupied the elite positions, but when Rwanda became independent in 1962, a Hutu-led republic was established. During this period, there was ethnic scapegoating and stereotyping; both groups used violence against the other. Conflict was also encouraged by the economic slump of the late 1980s and intense competition over land. By the end of the 1980s, the political system was on the verge of collapse both economically and politically. The invasion of Rwanda by the Tutsi Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) was encouraged by the perceived vulnerability of the regime, along with the plight of Tutsi refugees living outside Rwanda.

As with Rwanda and Burundi, ethnic and clan cleavages contributed to the war in Somalia. Although Somalia is the most homogeneous state in Africa, the Somali people subdivide into several clans, subclans, and clan-groups. Another factor is the country’s artificial borders. At independence, Somalis lived in Somalia, Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Kenya. The Somali leaders did not forget their Somali brethren in neighboring countries, and Somalia’s irredentist claims threatened the region’s stability. Furthermore, decolonization occurred rapidly and prevented

an effective transfer of sovereignty. The brutal leadership of Siad Barre also facilitated the country's descent into anarchy. External assistance for insurgents and the intervention of both the United States and the Soviet Union were additional factors.

In general terms, the principle cause of the war in South Africa was the National Party's apartheid ("separateness") policy. Under apartheid, only those classified as white were entitled to full civil and political rights. Despite the repressive and degrading nature of apartheid, the ANC's initial policy focused on working within the white system. The ANC strategy changed to guerrilla warfare, however, after the 1960 massacre of blacks in Sharpeville. The riots that followed resulted in government crackdowns against opposition groups and the banning of groups such as the ANC. The decision by the government to ban the groups destroyed any remaining opposition links to the government.

The conflict in Sudan has been described as a fight between Sudan's Arab north and black African south, or between northern Islam and southern Christian and animist faiths. However, recent research indicates that this is simplistic. Some scholars have argued that the root cause of the Sudanese conflict had to do with traditions of governance rather than Arabs and Africans. Beginning with Turkish conquerors in 1821, governments exploited the impoverished Muslim subjects in the north, who then exploited non-Muslims on the periphery. This tradition of exploitative governance resulted in a state in which all civilians were exploited, with the south receiving the brunt of this exploitation. In 1983, Sudan plunged deep into a war that pitted non-Islamic southerners against the religious and cultural intolerance of Islamic fundamentalist leaders in Khartoum, the capital.

Recurring themes can be identified from the ongoing wars in Uganda. Uganda's wars are best characterized as the result of ethnic differences and their connected political and economic tensions. A succession of repressive regimes since the

British pulled out in 1962 has only added to the country's inability to build a cohesive national bond that unites the competing ethnic groups. To the extent that the current armed conflict involves mainly the Acholi people (the people of the districts of Kitgum Pader—known as Acholiland—in northern Uganda), it should be noted that the economies of the two Acholi districts of Kitgum and Gulu are severely underdeveloped, even by Ugandan standards. Alleged discrimination in terms of the benefits of economic development has aggravated the Acholi sense of exclusion. Moreover, Museveni appears to be uneasy in addressing political dissent in a manner consistent with international human rights standards. This problem arguably reflects one of the key causes of Uganda's current civil war.

In Zimbabwe, three principal factors underlay the conflict. First, the white African settler minority dominated, both economically and politically, a sizeable black African majority. Second, the war can be viewed as an anticolonial conflict between perceived agents of European domination and wrongfully subjugated peoples. Third, the war was a conflict between the market-oriented Rhodesian government and Marxist nationalist groups.

Outcomes

The prospects for peace in sub-Saharan Africa vary. Prospects for peace in some countries have been identified as favorable. Wars have ended and prospects are favorable in Angola, Ethiopia (although future intermittent conflict is a threat), Liberia, Mozambique, and South Africa. Prospects are favorable in Sudan, although the war ended as recently as 2005, and peace has been tenuous. War in Uganda continues, but prospects for peace are favorable.

Elsewhere, prospects are not positive. The war in Burundi lasted only from April to May 1972, and in recent years there have been improvements; however, ethnic conflict persists. The war in Chad ended in 1979, but prospects for peace are very low, and prospects are uncer-

tain in both Nigeria and Rwanda. The war in Zimbabwe officially ended in 1979, but there has been renewed conflict, and prospects for peace are unfavorable. Moreover, other wars continue. Peace, at least in the near future, appears to be unlikely in the Congo and in Somalia. Of particular concern is the cycle of war that both have experienced.

External actors have played key roles in supporting warring groups and thus have contributed to the duration of fighting. External involvement was a key factor that led to the lengthy war in Chad. External actors such as France and Libya provided direct military assistance to the government and rebels respectively. The second role of external actors was to provide sanctuaries for the FROLINAT factions. Indeed, some insurgency groups have been established by external actors, as in Mozambique. Ugandan troops were also directly involved in fighting the government in Sudan.

In some instances, the actions of external actors have helped to end or reduce conflict. Pressure from the frontline states and from South Africa was critical in pushing the warring parties to the negotiating table in Zimbabwe. Zambia and Mozambique were hit especially hard by the fighting. Cross-border strikes threatened local citizens in these countries, and the war was an economic disaster for them. This was particularly the case for landlocked Zambia, which had lost access to ports on the Indian Ocean. South Africa put pressure on Ian Smith, the Rhodesian Front prime minister, to negotiate as well. South Africa feared that Soviet, Cuban, and Chinese influence in the region would increase the longer the war continued. For similar reasons, the United States also sought a quick resolution to the conflict.

Conclusion

Many sub-Saharan African countries have been ravaged by civil war. Regardless of the differences between groups, brutality and the widespread abuse of human rights are common fea-

tures of the conflicts. The genocide in Rwanda is graphic evidence of this brutality. The activities of groups have been shaped by the geography of the region, which has provided advantages and disadvantages to insurgents. Key advantages include the presence of natural resources that can be exploited to finance activities, and terrain that suits guerrilla tactics. However, disadvantages are also evident, such as that afforded government forces by the terrain in Ethiopia. Causes of war have varied, but ethnic tensions have been a major factor in many countries. The ongoing nature of the wars in the Congo, Uganda, and Somalia illustrates the difficulty of ending war and its horrors. Prospects for peace vary, but at least in some countries, such as South Africa, they are favorable.

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(The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of his employer)

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CIVIL WARS OF THE WORLD

Afghanistan (1978–1992)

Introduction

Afghanistan is a country of incredible ethnic diversity as well as geographic and climatic extremes. Largely agricultural and principally Muslim, the population has been subjected to repressive and authoritarian regimes and foreign control. Afghanistan became a sovereign state in the early twentieth century. The country has undergone two civil wars in the last half-century—the first from 1978 to 1992, which eventually resulted in the collapse of the Communist government, and the second beginning very soon thereafter, resulting in control of the country by the Taliban in 1996 and their subsequent removal by an international Coalition in 2001.

Country Background

Afghanistan is a landlocked country in Asia that shares a common border with several states (CIA 2005). These neighboring states include Iran to the west, with a 936-kilometer border; the former Soviet republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan to the north, with borders of 744 kilometers, 137 kilometers, and 1,206 kilometers, respectively; and China to the east, with a 76-kilometer border. The longest stretch of border is shared with Pakistan to the south and southeast and extends some 2,430 kilometers. The tiny border with China is the result of Afghanistan's control of the Wakhan Corridor, a

very narrow strip of territory that extends out to the east from the bulk of Afghanistan's territory and separates Tajikistan (to the north of the corridor) from Pakistan-controlled Kashmir to the south. The territory of Afghanistan comprises 647,500 square kilometers of land, an area slightly smaller than Texas (CIA 2005). The country possesses very limited sources of fresh-water, with many minor rivers but no significant lakes, and only about 12 percent of the land is arable. Extensive mountain ranges—including, in particular, the spectacular though very rugged and earthquake-prone Hindu Kush range—span the eastern and central parts of the country, with arid to semiarid plains in the north and the southwest. Thus, the people of Afghanistan are faced with a climatic pattern of extremely cold winters and very hot summers.

Afghanistan's economy is largely based on subsistence agriculture; wheat and, to a lesser extent, barley are the major crops (Marsden 2002; Rubin 2002). The many nomadic tribes of Afghanistan also engage extensively in sheep and goat herding. During the last three decades or so, many Afghan peasants have turned away from the farming of legitimate crops to the farming of poppies because of the significantly greater economic return from that particular crop. There is hardly any industry to speak of in Afghanistan; what industry exists is heavily concentrated in Afghanistan's few real cities—namely Kabul,

Kandahar, Herat, Jalalabad, and Mazar-e-Sharif (Maley 2002). The country's one major road circumvents the central mountains and links the major cities; there are virtually no railroads (Goodson 2001).

It is very difficult to ascertain reliable numbers for Afghanistan's economy across the period just before, during, and immediately after the civil war (1978–1992), although Doyle and Sambanis (2000) claim a figure of US \$198 for the annual per capita gross domestic product across those years. It is likely that even this very low figure includes a considerable amount of economic product generated largely by foreign economic assistance. It is estimated, for instance, that Afghanistan received approximately US\$1.27 billion in economic aid and approximately US\$1.25 billion in military aid from the former Soviet Union between 1955 and 1978 (Goodson 2001; Rubin 2002).

Although there are numerous written references to "Afghans" living in present-day Afghanistan that date as far back as 530 BC (Ewans 2002; Marsden 2002), most scholars agree that only in recent years has Afghanistan emerged as a true "state" in the modern (that is, Westphalian) use of the word. Nevertheless, considerable debate remains over precisely when Afghanistan became a truly sovereign state (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002; Marsden 2002). Some date the founding of the modern Afghan state to 1880, when Abdul Rahman Khan became emir of all Afghanistan. He was the first ruler to exercise political and bureaucratic authority across the territories of the country's many autonomous tribes.

Most scholars, however, consider 1919 to be the correct date for the founding of a sovereign Afghan state. This year marked the beginning of the reign of Amanullah, grandson of Abdul Rahman, and it was at this point that Afghanistan established its ability to conduct its affairs—particularly its foreign affairs—without other nations' control. Afghanistan's increasing ability to govern itself was the result of the third Anglo–Afghan War (1919), which ended with

the signing of the Treaty of Rawalpindi and the complete withdrawal of Britain from the affairs of Afghanistan. For this reason, Afghanistan itself celebrates August 19, 1919, as its independence day.

Afghanistan's population was estimated at about 15 million in 1978 when the (first) civil war began, about 22 million in 1992 when this civil war ended, and about 30 million in 2005. On the bases of religion, language, ethnicity, and tribe, Afghanistan is an incredibly diverse and pluralistic state. It is an overwhelmingly Muslim country; less than 1 percent of the population practices other religions. The Muslims of Afghanistan are, however, divided along sectarian lines, with some 80 percent of the population being of the Hanafi Sunni branch of Islam and the remainder adhering to the Shi'a branch. The Shi'a of Afghanistan are further subdivided into the Jafari (Twelver) and Ismaili (Sevener) sects (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Rubin 2002). Furthermore, scholars have identified more than fifty national groups that make up Afghan society when ethnic, tribal, and linguistic affiliations are taken into account. Afghan society, then, may be more appropriately thought of as a patchwork of minisocieties; the country consists of many minorities and no true majority. Although particular regions of the country may be identifiable as the primary locale of this or that Afghan group, no region is truly homogeneous in its ethnic, tribal, or linguistic makeup (Rubin 2002).

The Pashtuns (or Pushtuns) make up the largest national group in Afghanistan, although they account for only some 42 percent of the overall population (CIA 2005). They are concentrated in the eastern, southern, and southwestern parts of the country and spill over into the North-West Frontier Province and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of neighboring Pakistan. The Pashtuns speak their own language, Pashto, which is distinct from both the Persian dialect of Dari, which is spoken by most other Afghans, and from the Persian dialect of Hazaragi, which is spoken by the Hazaras. Nevertheless, as with cross-cutting religious and ethnic

Historical Crossroads of Asia

By any scholarly definition, Afghanistan is the quintessential multinational state, with a society widely fragmented along linguistic, ethnic, tribal, and sectarian lines (see Table 1). None of the country's many nationalities constitutes a majority of the population, and on the basis of the combination of ethnicity, tribe, and language, scholars have identified as many as fifty-five different national groups in Afghanistan. The fragmented nature of Afghan society is made more acute by the fact that the various ethnic, linguistic, and sectarian divisions are not necessarily complementary. For example, although Pashto is spoken largely by the Pashtuns, many Pashtuns speak Dari or other languages as their primary tongue. Similarly, while most Tajiks are Sunni, some are Ismaili Shi'a. Furthermore, hardly any Afghan national groups, and none of the larger groups, constitute a majority of the population even within the provinces or local regions of the country; these groups are geographically intermixed to a significant extent. Lastly, very few Afghan national groups are entirely indigenous to Afghanistan; most groups share common national identities with the peoples of five neighboring states. Even the ancestral roots of the various Afghan peoples are represented by the intermingling of indigenous tribes, Mongols, Cossacks, Persians, Turks, and others across many centuries. It is this vibrant patchwork demography that leads many to characterize Afghanistan as the historical crossroads of the vast Asian continent.

affiliations, some Pashtuns speak Dari, and some non-Pashtuns—mainly Tajiks and Uzbeks—speak Pashto (Rubin 2002). Although they make up only a plurality of the Afghan population, the Pashtuns have dominated Afghan society for well over two centuries. The Pashtuns are subdivided into several important tribes, which constitute the core of sociopolitical order and power within Afghan society (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001). The two major Pashtun tribal confederations are the Durranis and the Ghilzais; the for-

mer was the ruling tribe of Afghanistan from 1747 to 1978 (Rubin 2002).

The southwest corner of Afghanistan is home to a small concentration of the Baloch people, a much larger number of whom live further south in the Balochistan Province of Pakistan (though there are also small numbers in neighboring Iran). In the north of Afghanistan are three other major national groups, each of which is associated with the peoples of the three neighboring former Soviet republics. The small Turkoman population lives in the northwest, the Uzbeks in the north central region, and the Tajiks in the northeast of the country. The Turkoman and Uzbek peoples are of Turkic origin, while the Tajiks are of Persian origin. Two more national groups of note are the Hazara and Aimak (or Chahar Aimaq) peoples of central Afghanistan. The Hazaras (also said to be of Turkic descent) make up the bulk of the Shi'a population of the country, being mostly Jafari Shi'a, with small numbers of Hazaras and Tajiks accounting for the Ismaili Shi'a.

None of these major national groups is entirely indigenous to Afghanistan; all of them except the Hazaras and the Aimaks overlap neighboring states (Goodson 2001; Rubin 2002). Furthermore, even the Hazaras and the Aimaks, although they are localized within Afghanistan, are thought to be ethnically and linguistically related to the people of eastern Iran. Culturally speaking, the Pashtuns are the most conservative of the various Afghan national groups. They are also highly tribally inclined in their identities and loyalties, along the lines of the peoples of the Arabian Peninsula. The Hazaras are also quite conservative but not as tribal as the Pashtuns, whereas the peoples of the north of Afghanistan tend to be relatively more progressive and modern in their thinking and lifestyles and for the most part do not adhere to tribal identities and loyalties (Goodson 2001). This amalgam of cross-cutting cleavages that constitutes Afghan society makes it very difficult to unequivocally classify Afghanistan as belonging to the broader Central Asia, South Asia, or Middle East regions, and for this reason many scholars

Table 1: Afghanistan's Multinational Demography

Ethnicity	Population % in 1979	Population % in 2005	Primary Religion	Primary Language	Primary Location
Pashtun	46	42	Hanafi Sunni	Pashto	South and southwest
Tajik	23	27	Hanafi Sunni	Dari	Northeast
Hazara	10	9	Jafari Shi'a	Hazaragi	Central
Uzbek	8	9	Hanafi Sunni	Turkic	North
Aimak	5	4	Hanafi Sunni	Dari	West central
Farsiwan	4	2	Jafari Shi'a	Dari	West
Turkoman	2	3	Hanafi Sunni	Turkic	Northwest
Baloch	<1	2	Hanafi Sunni	Balochi	Southwest
Qizilbash	<1	<1	Jafari Shi'a	Dari	Kabul
Brahui	<1	<1	Hanafi Sunni	various	Southwest
Moghol	<1	<1	Hanafi Sunni	various	Herat
Nuristani	<1	<1	Hanafi Sunni	various	East

Sources: CIA 2005, Goodson 2001, Rubin 2002.

Afghanistan as the “crossroads” where the three regions of Asia come together.

The political system in Afghanistan throughout the period before, during, and after the 1978–1992 civil war was decidedly authoritarian (Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Freedom House 2004; Gleditsch 2003). The Polity 4 Project (see Gleditsch 2003) generally rates Afghanistan as having warranted a score of –7 (–8 during the last three years of the civil war following the Soviet withdrawal) on its 21-point scale of autocracy (extreme of –10) versus democracy (extreme of 10) across the years before, during, and after the civil war. Similarly, for the post–civil war period from 1994 to 2001, Freedom House (2004) accords Afghanistan scores of 7—on a scale of 1 (best) to 7 (worst)—for both political rights and civil liberties and an overall “not free” rating.

The political system that existed in Afghanistan through 1963 was strictly monarchic, although the regime was a constitutional monarchy during its later years. With the resignation of the widely feared and highly unpopular constitutional prime minister, Mohammad Daoud,

who was a cousin of the king, Mohammad Zahir Shah, the way was opened for Zahir Shah to experiment with a limited opening of the political system. The post-1963 period, the so-called New Democracy period, was based on a new, relatively progressive constitution that allowed multiple political parties to stand for parliamentary elections. Relatively free elections were held in 1965 and 1969, and commoners were elected to the position of prime minister. Nevertheless, the state's bureaucracy remained incapable of providing basic services for the people, and economic development remained stagnant at best. Corruption and nepotism were endemic in all areas of the polity; as a result, social welfare declined, and political unrest increased across Afghanistan throughout the ten-year period of the New Democracy.

The state's lackluster, perhaps even indifferent, response to a major famine that swept across the country in 1972 starkly framed the inadequacies and failings of the regime, and in July 1973 the former prime minister Mohammad Daoud overthrew Zahir Shah's regime in a palace coup and proclaimed a new republican

regime with himself as president and prime minister. Daoud's republican regime proved to be no less corrupt and ineffective than the monarchy it replaced. It also proved itself to be quite brutal in the treatment of its political opponents, real and imagined, which very quickly soured enthusiasm for the new regime among the many Afghans—including the Communists—who had initially reacted very favorably to the coup. As a result, less than five years into his "revolution," Daoud himself was overthrown in a military coup.

Conflict Background

The civil war that broke out following the military coup of April 27, 1978, was the first true intrastate war in Afghanistan's modern history as a sovereign state. This civil war was an ideological struggle for control of the central government of the country and, by extension, for determination of the future political system of the country. The coup brought to power in Kabul a radical Communist government that immediately launched a campaign of repression and terror against perceived regime opponents. Initially, therefore, the cause of the antigovernment forces was merely resistance to the new government's repressive policies. Communism became the point of contention in the civil war, with Islamism proffered as the ideological alternative to communism only in the aftermath of subsequent events.

On December 24, 1979, the Soviet Union launched a surprise invasion of Afghanistan with tens of thousands of troops in an effort to replace the ineffective and collapsing Communist regime with a new, stronger Communist government that would be backed up by the power of the Soviet Army. This transformed the rebellion from a struggle against repression into an ideological jihad, or holy war, against a government that was deemed the puppet of an occupying foreign infidel. This war lasted until April 28, 1992, when the Afghan resistance, the mujahideen, finally fully occupied Kabul and formally accepted the surrender of the capital by

the last remnants of the Communist regime. The Soviets, for their part, had already withdrawn all their military forces from Afghanistan by February 15, 1989, as the consequence of the United Nations-brokered peace plan for Afghanistan known as the Geneva Accords. A subsequent UN-sponsored agreement, intended to provide a peaceful and stable political transition in a post-Communist Afghanistan, was rejected by many of the victorious mujahideen groups. Within months of the defeat of the Communists, the country was plunged into a new civil war that pitted the various factions of the mujahideen against one another in a ruthless struggle for political power.

The human costs of the civil war in Afghanistan from 1978 to 1992 were staggering. Although estimates vary, Doyle and Sambanis (2000) put the total number of military and civilian deaths during the civil war at about 1,200,000. Millions more Afghans were maimed in the war, many suffering devastating injuries, including the loss of limbs from exploding land mines. Estimates of the number of Afghans who were turned into refugees by the war also vary. Numbers provided by Marsden (2002) appear to reflect a broad consensus: some 3.2 million refugees had fled to Pakistan and an additional 2.9 million were living in Iran. Of these refugees, some 2.8 million are estimated to have returned to Afghanistan by early 1994. It is also estimated that perhaps 2 million more Afghans were internally displaced in the country, most fled from rural areas to cities and towns for protection and sustenance (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001). Official casualty counts for the Soviet Army, released after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, claimed 13,833 killed and nearly 50,000 wounded (Maley 2002), although many others argue that the true casualty figures were likely three times higher.

The Afghan army boasted 100,000 soldiers in 1978, reasonably well trained and equipped by the Soviet Union. A further 10,000 troops served with the air force, and some 30,000 additional personnel were members of the paramilitary

The Soviet Conquest of Afghanistan

Throughout 1979, the Soviet Union became increasingly unhappy with the situation in Afghanistan, a country whose control by the Soviet Union was deemed essential to Soviet security and strategic interests. Things were going very badly for the pro-Moscow Communist revolutionary PDPA government in Kabul, which had come to power in a military coup in April 1978; major antigovernment insurrections were spreading to every part of the country. Things went from bad to worse for the Soviet Union when, in September 1979, President Taraki of Afghanistan was overthrown by Hafizullah Amin, an even more radical but also much more independent-minded PDPA leader. Amin saw Moscow's hand behind Taraki's assassination attempt against him, which had precipitated his takeover of the government in Kabul, and he was therefore understandably hostile toward Moscow.

By early October 1979, the Soviets began preparing for a military assault on Afghanistan, with several battalions of the crack 105th Airborne Division bolstered by a battalion of armor deployed to the civilian airport in Kabul and the major Soviet-built airbase in Bagram just north of the capital. The Soviet Politburo formally agreed upon military action in early December, although one more unsuccessful attempt was made to get rid of Amin by assassination on December 17. On the night of December 24, the remainder of the 105th Division landed in Kabul and quickly moved to control key positions within the city. Soviet advisors attached to the various Afghan military units in and around Kabul helped ensure in one way or another that those units would not pose an obstacle to the Soviet army's war plans. Additional Soviet airborne forces landed in and around Herat and Kandahar to secure those cities. Two Soviet motorized infantry divisions, followed soon thereafter by two more, crossed the Amu Darya River separating Afghanistan from the Soviet Union and headed south before splitting east and west. One of these units, the 360th Motorized Infantry Division, drove through the Salang Pass, which had been secured by the Soviet forces operating from the Bagram airbase, and eventually occupied Kabul.

On December 27, a Soviet Army Spetsnaz special forces unit under the operational control of the KGB stormed the Tajbeg Palace in the Darulaman sector of southern Kabul. Troops loyal to Amin managed to put up a fierce defense, killing the commander of the Soviet assault force, but eventually the Spetsnaz unit cornered and killed Amin and several of his family members inside the palace. The following day, December 28, the Soviets announced on a radio broadcast that President Amin had been overthrown by Babrak Karmal, an exiled former leader within the PDPA, and that Soviet military forces were in Afghanistan because their presence had been requested by the legitimate government of Afghanistan under the terms of the 1978 Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet Union. Three additional Soviet motorized infantry divisions were committed to the fight in Afghanistan immediately thereafter, bringing the size of the Soviet occupation force to about 85,000 by January 1, 1980.

central police force (Goodson 2001). Most analysts agree that by the end of 1980, however, desertions had decimated the ranks of the Afghan army and reduced its true strength to about 30,000 troops. This remained the case through 1985 before troop numbers finally began rising slightly. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan initially began with some 85,000 troops by early 1980, with troop strength averaging about 105,000 in the years thereafter (Ewans 2002; Rubin 2002). Several thousand Soviet troops were deployed as "advisors" with the Afghan

army all the way down to the battalion and company levels. During the early part of the occupation, the Soviet Army deliberately chose to send ethnic Tajik, Uzbek, Kirghiz, and Turkoman soldiers to Afghanistan in the expectation that they would be better positioned to counter the Afghan resistance. It soon became shockingly clear, however, that these soldiers sympathized with the plight of the Afghans, and so the Soviet Army was subsequently forced to send only ethnic Russian troops to Afghanistan (Ewans 2002). For their part, the various groups that made up

Table 2: Civil War in Afghanistan

War:	Government vs. the mujahideen
Dates:	April 1978 to April 1992
Casualties:	Approximately 1,200,000
Regime type prior to war:	-7 (ranging from -10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	Complete collapse of central political authority; not free
GDP/capita year war began:	US \$198
GDP/capita 5 years after war:	US \$800
Insurgents:	Seven major and several minor groups
Issue:	Ideological struggle for control of central government
Rebel funding:	The United States, Saudi Arabia, and others
Role of geography:	Rebels hid in mountains and across international borders
Role of resources:	Not applicable
Immediate outcome:	Government collapse and rebel victory
Outcome after 5 years:	Authoritarian (Islamic fundamentalist) government in a new civil war
Role of UN:	Failed attempt to mediate among rebel groups and create a post-civil war transitional government; no peacekeepers
Role of regional organization:	Not applicable
Refugees:	Approximately 6,100,000; some 2,800,000 repatriated by 1994
Prospects for peace:	Unfavorable

Sources: CIA 1998; Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Freedom House 2004; Gleditsch 2003; Marsden 2002.

the mujahideen collectively accounted for some 150,000 fighters at the height of their strength, although these fighters would not all be available for combat at the same time.

The Insurgents

Most scholars agree that seven major mujahideen groups emerged early in the civil war, all of them made up of Sunnis and operating from the sanctuary of Pakistan. This was largely due to Pakistan's insistence that it would recognize and aid only these seven groups, an effort by Pakistan to maintain some semblance of cohesion within the resistance. These seven groups were eventually brought under a nominal common front known as the Seven Party Alliance by about 1985. Several minor Shi'a groups are also identifiable, although they were largely ineffective during much of the civil war and prone to internal strife. In 1989, the Iranians—who were the primary backers of these groups—were finally able to pressure most of these groups to merge under an umbrella organization to enhance their relative power and influence within

Afghanistan. This organization was known as Hezb-i-Wahdat (Unity Party) and led by Abdul Ali Mazari, and it largely controlled the Hazara area of central Afghanistan (the Hazarajat).

The seven Sunni groups are further classified by scholars into two broad categories: Islamist and traditionalist. The Islamist groups were devoted to the cause of destroying the existing Communist regime in Afghanistan so that it could be replaced with an Islamic republic. In addition to their opposition to the Communists, these groups also firmly rejected any political system for Afghanistan that included the restoration of the monarchy. By contrast, the so-called traditionalist groups were also essentially Islamist in orientation but were open to the idea of the return of the monarchy, this being a part of their general unwillingness to use their Islamist ideology to dismantle or destroy longstanding and widely accepted Afghan customs and traditions.

There were four Islamist resistance groups:

Hezb-i-Islami (Islamic Party): Led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a Pashtun from the north

of Afghanistan, this was the favored group of the Pakistanis because of Hekmatyar's ruthless zeal for jihad, but it was viewed with trepidation by many Afghans for the same reason. The group was also renowned for its strong organizational structure and robust operational capabilities.

Hezb-i-Islami (Islamic Party): Led by Mohammad Yunus Khalis, also a Pashtun, this was a splinter group from Hekmatyar's group and confusingly continued to carry the same name. It was best known as the group of Abdul Haq, the well-respected commander of the resistance in Kabul.

Ittehad-i-Islami Bara-yi Azadi Afghanistan (Islamic Union for the Freedom of Afghanistan): Led by Abdur Rasoul Sayyaf, another Pashtun, this was a rather small group that was notable for its financial support from Saudi Arabia.

Jamiat-i-Islami (Islamic Society): Led by Burhanuddin Rabbani, a Tajik, this was a relatively moderate Islamist group that included some of the best battlefield commanders of the mujahideen. One of them was the famed commander Ahmed Shah Massoud, also a Tajik, who proved himself to be a major thorn in the side of the Soviets in the Panjshir Valley area just north of Kabul. Another well-respected commander was Ismail Khan, who operated very successfully in the area of Herat in the northwest.

There were three traditionalist resistance groups:

Mahaz-i-Milli Islami-yi Afghanistan (National Islamic Front of Afghanistan): Led by Pir Sayed Ahmed Gailani, a Pashtun and a member of the Sufi sect within Sunni Islam, this group represented the most liberal strains of the Afghan resistance and also held close ties to the historically dominant Durrani tribe and to the Afghan royal family.

Jebha-i-Milli-i-Nejat-i-Afghanistan (National Liberation Front of Afghanistan): Led by

Sibghatullah Mojaddidi, also a Pashtun and a Sufi.

Harakat-i-Inqilab-i-Islami (Movement of the Islamic Revolution): Led by Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi, a Pashtun as well, this group became a very radical Islamist group in the later years of the war and was the group most closely associated with the rise of the Taliban in 1994.

Although the Afghan mujahideen received its funding from several sources, the provision of financial and material support from two countries, the United States and Saudi Arabia, is especially noteworthy. The United States began offering military aid to the mujahideen (and humanitarian aid to the Afghan refugees in camps in northern Pakistan) very soon after the Soviet invasion of December 1979, once it became clear that the Soviet Union was planning on a lengthy occupation of the country. Though this aid amounted to just tens of millions of dollars during the early years of the war, aid began to rise sharply by the mid-1980s, especially because Saudi Arabia agreed to match U.S. aid almost dollar for dollar at this time. United States aid allotments for the mujahideen were as follows (Rubin 2002): US \$30 million in 1980, US \$50 million in 1981, US \$120 million in 1984, US \$250 million in 1985, US \$470 million in 1986, US \$630 million in 1987, and US \$700 million in 1989.

By 1990, the mujahideen appeared incapable of defeating the Afghan government in spite of the complete Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan (which was completed by February 1989), and with the end of the Cold War, the United States began to sharply cut back its military aid to the mujahideen. However, since Saudi Arabia had been matching U.S. aid from 1985 on, the Saudi government replaced the United States as the resistance's principal financial backer. This began in mid-1989, when the Saudi government allocated US\$435 million for 1990, which was one-and-a-half times the U.S. allocation of US \$280 million for that year (Rubin 2002). When

the mujahideen failed to bring down the Afghan government by February 1990 (as expected by the CIA), exactly one year after the withdrawal of the Soviet Union, U.S. funds began to dry up and had to be supplanted by additional Saudi and also Kuwaiti funds. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait used government funds as well as private monies from various princes, and together they provided as much as US \$1 billion in aid between February and July 1990 (Rubin 2002). Most of this aid, however, was channeled specifically to the Wahhabi groups within the mujahideen, especially Hekmatyar's group.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, however, and these Wahhabi groups expressed vehement opposition to the Kuwaiti–Saudi alliance with the United States, much of the financial support for these groups from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait was terminated, although a portion of this lost aid was made up by millions of dollars in aid from Iraq, Libya, and private Arab

sources (estimated at about US \$400 million annually thereafter). U.S. aid to the mujahideen fell sharply in 1991, and all aid was terminated in 1992 (Rubin 2002).

Geography

During the Afghan civil war, unlike many guerrilla wars, the issue for the rebels was never one of smaller numbers of fighters relative to the forces of the government. Numerically, the mujahideen groups were actually superior in numbers to the Afghan army because of mass desertions and defections from the army, and even the introduction of a large contingent of Soviet troops did not fully offset the imbalance. The issue for the rebels in this civil war was their huge disadvantage in military firepower; they were fighting the armed forces of the Soviet Union, a superpower, not the Afghan government and its army (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002; Marsden 2002). Therefore, the



main geographic factor that aided the rebels was their ability to obtain sanctuary in neighboring Pakistan, where Soviet forces dared not pursue them for fear of sparking a full-fledged war with the United States. Furthermore, Pakistan offered the rebels not only protection from Soviet pursuit but also a secure base for recuperation, resupply, training, and the recruitment of fresh fighters from among the millions of refugees living there.

Geography also played a part in helping the rebels within Afghanistan (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001). As described earlier, the central and eastern parts of Afghanistan are covered with extensive, rugged, and very inhospitable mountain ranges; the capital city of Kabul is actually located in a valley within the eastern mountains. The other major urban centers of Kandahar (in the southwest), Herat (in the northwest), and Mazar-e-Sharif (in the north) are therefore separated from Kabul by the mountains, with the mountains effectively dividing the country along an east-west axis. No direct overland routes exist north to south or east to west; Soviet and Afghan military garrisons in the various cities were isolated from one another and were unable to quickly support each other when they came under attack from the rebels. All supplies, including food, freshwater, and fuel, had to be moved around the country by aircraft—generally helicopters, because even well-developed airfields did not exist in most parts of the country. The overland route south to Kabul from the Soviet border was especially perilous for Soviet military convoys, because the only road that could accommodate motorized traffic passed through numerous narrow mountain passes and valleys, in particular the Salang Pass, whose long tunnel cuts through the mountains.

Tactics

The battlefield tactics employed by the mujahideen largely centered on small-scale hit-and-run attacks against isolated Soviet and Afghan government military outposts and convoys (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002; Rubin

2002). The mujahideen never proved capable of major set-piece battles against the Soviet and government forces, and guerrilla warfare was the norm. On those rare occasions when the mujahideen did engage in set-piece operations, those battles usually were disastrous for the rebels. The mujahideen operated as small groups of fighters who were localized to particular areas of the country. Each group was led by a single commander, typically a tribal leader or other charismatic local leader with whom the men under his command had a patron–client relationship. A good example was the group commanded by Ahmed Shah Massoud, which operated in the Shomali and Panjshir valleys in the northeast corner of Afghanistan. Dozens of these groups functioned throughout the country and were essentially independent from one another, though each claimed affiliation with one or another of the seven major mujahideen parties listed previously. The affiliation with one of the seven major Pakistan-based parties was necessary because it was only through these seven parties that Pakistan was willing to provide money, weapons, and training for the mujahideen. However, the sincerity and closeness of these declared affiliations were always open to question, and the local commanders inside Afghanistan rarely took direct operational orders from the leaders of the seven parties. The vast majority of these small mujahideen groups were located in the Afghan countryside, although resistance cells also successfully operated in Kabul and other urban centers.

The mujahideen received their weapons and weapons-handling training from a covert supply network that was established in Pakistan (Rubin 2002; Sathasivam 2005). The intelligence agency of the Pakistani military, the ubiquitous Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), formed the heart of this network, and the Pakistani government absolutely insisted that the ISI would be the only conduit for military aid being sent to the rebels through Pakistani territory. By insisting that the ISI would be the only point of contact with the mujahideen, Pakistan

sought to maintain complete control over not only the activities of the external providers of the aid, the United States and Saudi Arabia, but also the activities and the power of the various mujahideen groups. Pakistan did this by favoring those groups that adhered to its wider political and military ambitions (Maley 2002; Sathasivam 2005). The CIA and the al-Istakhbarah al-'Amah, the Saudi intelligence agency, managed and coordinated procurement of weapons for the mujahideen using the funds provided by the U.S. and Saudi governments (Ewans 2002; Rubin 2002). The weapons procured typically consisted of small arms (rifles, grenades, rockets, etc.) and were obtained from China, Egypt, Israel, and other places. The Chinese even set up a special factory to manufacture weapons specifically for the mujahideen, to be sold to the CIA. The United States was very careful not to provide any American weapons to the mujahideen, with the notable and hugely consequential exception of the advanced, man-portable Stinger antiaircraft missiles in 1986. The CIA transported the weapons by sea or air to Pakistan, where it handed them off to the ISI. Pakistan then transported the weapons to depots along the Afghan border for distribution to the various mujahideen groups and also provided food, clothing, and medical supplies for the rebels. The nonmilitary supplies and transport services provided by Pakistan were also paid for by U.S. and Saudi funds transferred directly to Pakistan.

Soviet and Afghan government tactics to counter the mujahideen evolved through two major phases (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002). During the first few years of the war, through 1983, the Soviet and Soviet-led Afghan forces essentially waged a high-intensity conventional campaign that took full advantage of their massively superior firepower. Large-scale mechanized units fully supported by armor, artillery, and airpower were sent into every one of Afghanistan's provinces. Urban areas were directly occupied and the populace subjected to severe repression. Rural areas, on the other hand, were simply subjected to utter

devastation. Where significant ground forces were available, these would sweep through villages and valleys, wiping out everything in their path. All the civilians were driven from their homes or killed; buildings, livestock, crops, and irrigation systems were destroyed and the areas sown with mines and booby traps. A particularly reprehensible Soviet tactic, one that directly affected children, was the sowing of roads and trails with antipersonnel mines that could be mistaken for toys (Goodson 2001; Maley 2002). The countryside was almost entirely depopulated, and its inhabitants congregated in refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran. Where ground forces were unavailable to carry out these scorched-earth tactics, massive aerial carpet bombing was the preferred alternative.

After 1983, once the countryside had been largely emptied of people, Soviet and Afghan government forces transitioned to a different style of military operations (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002). They established permanent garrisons in the cities and only sent out forces on sweeps to keep open the main road that ringed the periphery of the country and connected its cities to one another. The Afghan government did not care at all about controlling the countryside, and so it was generally satisfied with exercising its authority over only the 15 to 20 percent of the territory that contained most of the country's population. A combination of repression and the distribution of goods and services using Soviet aid money within the cities kept the urban population relatively passive, and some rebel commanders, tired of a war that appeared beyond their capacity to win, even allowed themselves to be bought off by the government. Whenever a particular mujahideen commander and his unit became too bothersome, the Soviet Army orchestrated a major counterinsurgency campaign in that area that was targeted at that particular mujahideen unit. These operations eschewed armor, artillery, and mechanized infantry, and instead relied heavily on the use of special operations (Spetsnaz) and airmobile



Resistance soldiers (known as mujahideen) rest high in the mountains in Afghanistan's Kunar province in May 1980. (AP/Wide World Photos)

forces supported by airpower—especially helicopter gunships. The relative effectiveness of these Soviet tactics eventually prompted the Reagan administration to send Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to the mujahideen.

Causes of the War

More than two-and-a-half decades of the worst kind of civil war began with the mysterious assassination of a single individual on April 17, 1978 (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002; Rubin 2002). The individual, Mir Akbar Khyber, was a rather prominent political activist of the Parchami faction of the Afghan communist movement. The fractious Afghan Communist movement had been unified under the auspices of the Hezb-i-Demokratik-i-Khalq-i-Afghanistan (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA]) in 1965 during the New Democracy pe-

riod as a means of furthering political power and standing. The leaders and the rank-and-file members of the PDPA were largely intellectual and urban, middle-class people and very pro-Soviet. The three key individuals who brought about the formation of the PDPA were Nur Mohammad Taraki, Babrak Karmal, and Hafizullah Amin; Taraki was its leader. By 1967, however, Karmal had fallen out with Taraki and formed a splinter faction called Parcham (Banner). Those of the PDPA still loyal to Taraki then became known as the Khalq (People) faction. Ten years later, in 1977, with socioeconomic conditions in Afghanistan deteriorating badly under the Daoud government, which had initially come to power with the tacit support of the Communists, and with the Khalq and Parcham factions reunified within the PDPA, word began to spread of PDPA plans to stage a coup against the government. So, when Khyber was assassinated in April

1978, many blamed the Daoud regime, others blamed the Khalqis, and some even suspected the CIA and the U.S. Embassy in Kabul. As large, pro-PDPA and antigovernment crowds gathered for Khyber's funeral, the government panicked and launched a major crackdown against the PDPA, imprisoning all of its leaders. On April 27, 1978, a small number of military officers in the Kabul area with Communist sympathies, apparently acting on their own without guidance from the PDPA, launched a coup against the government (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002; Rubin 2002). Army and air force units under the command of these officers quickly took control of the city and eventually stormed the presidential palace. Daoud and most of his family, including women and children, were slaughtered.

The PDPA quickly established itself in government and proclaimed a people's "revolution." This revolution was such in name only, for it was a revolution imposed from the top down rather than a grassroots mass movement. In its early months in office, the government moved very slowly with its policies, seeking to calm the nervous public while it used that time to settle internal differences within the PDPA (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002; Rubin 2002). Taraki became both president and prime minister, but Amin and Karmal were given prominent posts within the cabinet, as were other major Parchami figures. Within just a few weeks, however, the Khalqis, acting under the leadership of Amin as the regime's new security chief, began a purge of the Parchamis from the government. Karmal was sent off to Czechoslovakia as ambassador, as were a few other individuals, but others fared much worse, being imprisoned or dying under suspicious circumstances. By the end of 1978, Amin had also set his terror machine upon other segments of the political and social establishment, in particular the military, the clergy, the bureaucracy, intellectuals, professionals, and former politicians; many thousands of innocent Afghans were labeled enemies of the regime and executed. Afghanistan's middle class was especially devastated by Amin's actions.

A key reason for the split between the Khalq and Parcham factions of the PDPA was Parcham's opposition to Khalqi plans for an immediate and radical transformation of Afghan social and political life. The Khalqis, especially Amin, wanted to use their revolutionary zeal to impose upon the country a strictly secular Marxist system with the complete dismantling of traditional tribal customs and all influences of Islam from public life (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002; Rubin 2002). For example, women would now be educated by male teachers and treated by male doctors; older uneducated people would be forcibly educated (by younger teachers); tribal customs regarding leadership succession, marriage, inheritance, and so forth would be abolished; no mention of Islam would be allowed in public, and even the Afghan flag with its green stripe representing Islam would be replaced with an all-red flag very similar to those of other Communist states. Furthermore, a Treaty of Friendship was signed with the Soviet Union under which thousands of Soviet civilian and military "advisors" were allowed into the country to oversee the implementation of Amin's various policies. (Amin had assumed the prime minister's office by early 1979, a move that essentially sidelined President Taraki.)

Beginning in the summer of 1978 and continuing into 1979, thousands of Afghans—ordinary citizens and elite alike—were brutally murdered. Entire families were wiped out, and in at least one instance an entire village of more than a thousand people was completely destroyed (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002; Rubin 2002). Widespread public opposition to the PDPA's policies had begun to emerge by September 1978, especially among the various non-Pashtun segments of Afghan society. Surprisingly, it was the Pashtuns who were initially the most tolerant of the PDPA's policies, mainly because most of the PDPA leadership was Pashtun, but by 1979 even the Pashtun tribes were beginning to rise up against the government. Large numbers of the Afghan army were also beginning to desert their units, and

many others refused to take action against their civilian brethren. A particularly important turning point was the Afghan government's destruction of the city of Herat in March 1979. A major revolt in that city resulted in hundreds of government officials and Soviet citizens, including women and children, being hunted down and butchered in public. In retaliation, the government used a massive artillery and air bombardment and an armored assault to subdue the city, killing perhaps 20,000 people in the process. By the summer of 1979, large-scale revolts were occurring in every part of the country, and entire brigades of the army were defecting to the side of the rebels. These events made the Afghan government even more reliant on Soviet military aid.

By this time, the Soviet Union was increasingly nervous about Amin's extremism and began plotting his removal with Taraki and the exiled Karmal (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002; Rubin 2002). On September 14, 1979, when Amin arrived at the presidential palace to meet with Taraki, he was ambushed and wounded. He escaped, however, and used military units loyal to him to counterattack the palace, where he murdered Taraki. Amin declared himself president on September 17 and immediately unleashed assassins throughout Kabul to kill all those he suspected of being his enemies, including many leading members of his own Khalqi faction. The Soviet government now found itself in the worst possible position: still stuck with Amin, who now had complete power in Kabul and fully suspected Soviet complicity in Taraki's attempt on his life. Aware that the Soviets were out to get him, Amin now began a lame attempt to try and reconcile with various Afghan groups, the Pakistanis, and even the United States. Amin released some political prisoners, called off some government offensives against rebel groups, and even released the names of some 12,000 people he claimed had been murdered by Taraki—even though it had been well established that Amin had been their true executioner.

Not surprisingly, Amin's efforts were for naught; he found himself completely isolated and friendless when the Soviet invasion began on the night of December 24, 1979. On December 27, Soviet Spetsnaz forces stormed Amin's hideout, and he was killed. By early January 1980, the country was firmly under the control of some 85,000 Soviet troops, and the Soviets installed Babrak Karmal as the president of Afghanistan (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002; Rubin 2002). Had the Soviet Union chosen to withdraw all, or even most, of their forces at this stage, twenty years of bloody war in Afghanistan might have been averted. The Soviet decision to embark upon a full-fledged occupation of the country became a rallying point for the various Afghan factions despite their disparate interests and ambitions, especially for the Pashtuns, who fully joined in the war only after the Soviet invasion. Thus, although the Afghan civil war began in the summer of 1978 as a popular rebellion against the country's Communist government, it was transformed into an ideological jihad only in early 1980. The Soviet occupation forces became the war's primary target; the Afghan government was merely an associated, secondary target.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

The Afghan civil war discussed here formally ended on April 28, 1992, when the Afghan Communist regime represented by Mohammad Najibullah (who had replaced Babrak Karmal as president in 1986) collapsed in the face of the occupation of Kabul by several mujahideen factions. It is crucially important to note, however, that war in the country ceased only temporarily and that the fourteen-year-long struggle against communism was supplanted by a new, nine-year-long civil war that pitted the various mujahideen groups against one another (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002; Marsden 2002; Rubin 2002). The second Afghan civil war began within months of the April 1992 con-

quest of Kabul by the mujahideen, but there was no precise date to its beginning, for internecine conflict among the mujahideen groups began during that same period. Several attempts were made to form governments of national unity during the years after the ouster of Najibullah, but invariably one or another group felt dissatisfied with that particular arrangement and took up arms against the government. The emergence of a new, very radical Islamist group in October 1994, the Taliban, complicated matters considerably, and it was this group that ultimately prevailed in capturing and successfully holding on to Kabul in September 1996 (Marsden 2002). Although several opposing groups continued to wage war against them, especially in the form of the so-called Northern Alliance, the Taliban remained the formal government of the country from late 1996 until their removal from power in December 2001 by an international coalition of forces led by the United States.

A large number of the estimated 6.1 million displaced Afghans who had been living in refugee camps in neighboring Pakistan and Iran or who had been internally displaced, perhaps 2.8 million in all, returned to their homes during the 1992–1994 period after the end of the first Afghan civil war (Marsden 2002). This process of refugee repatriation slowed down sharply, and tens of thousands of new refugees began to flee the country in 1994 as the second Afghan civil war began to expand significantly, especially with the advent of the Taliban. In the aftermath of the defeat of the Taliban regime in the 2001 U.S.-led war in Afghanistan, some 3.1 million refugees returned to their homes during the 2003–2004 period, including some 600,000 internally displaced persons (Library of Congress 2005). It is estimated that since the most recent wave of refugee repatriation, there are perhaps 2.5 million Afghans still living in Pakistan and Iran. It is useful to note here, however, that unlike the refugees who fled the Soviet occupation to Pakistan, those who fled to Iran were allowed by that country's Islamic govern-

ment to permanently settle in Iran if they wished to do so.

Duration Tactics

The first Afghan civil war lasted fourteen years, which is a relatively long time. The long duration of the civil war is attributable to two major factors. The first is, of course, the direct military intervention of the Soviet Union, which without question bolstered the survivability of the Afghan Communist government but which also served to delegitimize that government even as it strengthened and legitimized popular opposition to that government (Maley 2002). This factor is discussed further in the following section.

The second factor that contributed to the war's long duration was the absence of meaningful political unity and military coordination among the various mujahideen groups. This resulted from two core problems on the antigovernment side. First, as discussed previously, Afghan society was and historically had been a deeply divided society with multiple cross-cutting cleavages along religious, linguistic, ethnic, tribal, and ideological lines. These societal divisions were mirrored among the various rebel groups and were further exacerbated by the personal ambitions and egos of the various mujahideen leaders and commanders (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Marsden 2002). Second, the problem of Afghanistan's existent societal divisions was greatly amplified and even deliberately reinforced by the military dictatorship in neighboring Pakistan, led by General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq. Pakistan held two particular geopolitical ambitions with regard to Afghanistan. One was the permanent neutralization of the historical Pashtun demand for the creation of an independent Pashtun homeland (Pashtunistan) encompassing the Pashtun lands in both Afghanistan and Pakistan (Marsden 2002). The second Pakistani ambition was the establishment of a very pro-Pakistan government in Kabul that would be formally allied with and perhaps even subservient to Pakistan, thereby providing

Pakistan with its long-coveted “strategic depth” vis-à-vis India, its geographically much larger historical rival (Sathasivam 2005). Thus, Pakistan openly manipulated the various Afghan rebel groups and fostered competition and rivalry among them to ensure a pliant, non-nationalist, post-civil war regime in Kabul.

External Military Intervention

Although several countries—Pakistan, the United States, and Saudi Arabia in particular—were extensively involved in providing political, financial, and material (including military) support for the antigovernment forces in the Afghan civil war, the only country that became directly involved in the fighting was the former Soviet Union. The details of the Soviet invasion and subsequent occupation, the nature of the operations of the Soviet Army and the devastating impact these operations had on millions of Afghan civilians, and the political impact of the Soviet intervention in terms of rallying Afghanistan’s divided peoples toward a common cause have been extensively discussed previously. Thus, it is more useful to discuss here somewhat briefly the geopolitical considerations that compelled the United States government to take up the cause of the antigovernment and anti-Soviet resistance in Afghanistan with such intensity and vigor.

To begin with, it is arguable that in the initial aftermath of the Soviet invasion, having been taken by surprise by that event, the United States was genuinely concerned that the Soviet Union held wider ambitions to also bring Pakistan and Iran under its direct or indirect control. The Pakistanis were certainly fearful that the Soviets (perhaps acting jointly with the Indians) were going to invade them next, and they transmitted their fears unequivocally to Washington (Sathasivam 2005). Furthermore, the United States had just recently lost a crucial regional ally in Iran following the Islamic revolution in that country. President Carter’s decision to set up in 1980 what was then called the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force, a combined force of land, sea, and air units tailored for direct U.S. military interven-

tion in the Middle East, attests to the seriousness of U.S. strategic concerns.

In the subsequent years of the early to mid-1980s, however, with the Soviet Union showing no signs of further military expansionism in the region and indeed finding itself seriously challenged by the anti-Soviet insurgency in Afghanistan, United States policy vis-à-vis the Afghan insurgency clearly evolved from a merely defensive policy meant to block the further erosion of U.S. strategic interests in that region to one of taking the offensive against the Soviets and making them pay—and pay dearly—for their strategic misstep in Afghanistan. In other words, for the United States, helping the mujahideen represented more than driving the Soviets out of Afghanistan; rather, it became a potent policy instrument with which to drain Soviet power in the broader context of the Cold War.

Conflict Management Efforts

Immediately following the Soviet invasion, in early 1980, the United States and other interested parties brought a resolution before the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) that rejected Soviet arguments justifying the invasion, condemned Soviet actions in the strongest possible terms, and demanded an immediate Soviet withdrawal. The resolution acquired widespread support in the UNGA, including most third-world governments, leaving only the Soviet Union and its closest Communist allies voting against it. Nevertheless, because the Soviet veto made a UN Security Council (UNSC) resolution infeasible, and UNGA resolutions were essentially nonbinding, the UN was unable to play any meaningful role in resolving the Afghan conflict for much of its duration. Resolutions condemning the occupation and demanding a Soviet withdrawal were introduced and passed in the UNGA annually thereafter, purely for symbolic effect.

Although the UN was not able to play a formal and direct role in the Afghan civil war, the “good offices” of the secretary-general of the UN could be utilized to facilitate negotiations among

the parties concerned, and indeed such a process of discussions between the Afghan and Pakistani governments began as early as April 1981 (Maley 2002). Although these two governments were the only formal parties to these negotiations, the Soviet and U.S. governments were clearly also principal parties to the negotiations, albeit behind-the-scenes parties. A series of exchanges of communications between the Afghan and Pakistani governments—with UN officials acting as intermediaries—occurred between early 1982 and early 1988 and eventually resulted in the Geneva Accords, which were signed on April 14, 1988. In addition to Afghanistan and Pakistan, the Soviet Union and the United States were also party to the accords in their capacity as guarantors of the agreement (Maley 2002).

The key provision of the accords was the complete withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, scheduled to be completed by February 15, 1989. In exchange for the Soviet withdrawal, the United States was expected to cease all aid to the mujahideen once all Soviet forces had left Afghanistan. The agreement created a furor in the United States on the eve of its signing, when it was revealed that, although the United States would stop aiding the rebels, the Soviet Union could continue to send aid to the Najibullah government in Kabul. A last-minute crisis was averted with a tacit understanding between the Reagan administration and the Kremlin that the United States would fully honor its commitment to stop aiding the mujahideen only in parallel with a similar Soviet commitment to terminate aid to the Afghan Communist government (Maley 2002). Subsequently, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to terminate their respective military aid programs by January 1, 1992, which, ironically, coincided with the final collapse of Communism in the Soviet Union itself and that country's own disintegration.

Conclusion

Although the Geneva Accords proved successful in bringing to an end the Soviet occupation

phase of the Afghan civil war, it possessed two major interrelated shortcomings, both of which would return to haunt the search for peace in Afghanistan (Maley 2002). First, the accords provided no mechanism for establishing a new, broadly legitimate, central government that would include the various mujahideen groups. Pakistan was especially unhappy with this deficiency, envisioning the death of its long-standing dream of a Pakistan-friendly regime in Kabul, and almost refused to sign the accords. Under significant pressure from Washington, the Pakistani government eventually signed the Geneva Accords, but many within the Pakistani political, military, and intelligence establishments became embittered and resentful and, in particular, distrustful of U.S. motives and aims (Sathasivam 2005). Second, because the Geneva Accords completely excluded the participation of the various mujahideen groups in the negotiation of the accords as well as their implementation, much antipathy and disillusionment was engendered within these groups, especially toward the United Nations and the United States.

Serious consequences for the future stability of Afghanistan followed from each of these two shortcomings of the 1988 Geneva Accords (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002; Marsden 2002; Rubin 2002). First, the Pakistani government, and especially the ISI, moved further and further toward backing the most radical of Islamist groups in Afghanistan, particularly after the cutoff of U.S. aid for the Afghan resistance and also U.S. aid for Pakistan itself during the early 1990s (Sathasivam 2005). The ISI, which for its part had also increasingly come to be dominated by radical Islamists during the latter years of the war in Afghanistan, held to the view that an Islamist government in Kabul, so long as it was a Sunni regime and not Shi'a, would be the most pro-Pakistan government possible in Afghanistan. It was to this end that the Pakistani government aided and abetted the Taliban's subsequent rise to power in Afghanistan during the mid-1990s.

Second, on account of having been treated in a rather condescending and exclusionary manner by the UN during the negotiations for the Geneva Accords, all the various Afghan mujahideen groups to one extent or another resisted attempts by the UN to mediate and broker transitional political arrangements in Afghanistan during the period leading up to and following the collapse of the Najibullah government in Kabul in April 1992 (Goodson 2001; Rubin 2002). The only party to the civil war that was enthusiastic in its support of and praise for the UN secretary-general's peace plan of May 21, 1991, was the Najibullah government, because the UN plan envisioned a continuing political role for Najibullah himself in any transitional central government in Afghanistan (Maley 2002). But this provision in the UN plan was precisely the element of the plan that all the major mujahideen groups unanimously rejected.

By the time the UN secretary-general reached the obvious conclusion that any interim political arrangement for Afghanistan must exclude any role for Najibullah, in early 1992, it was too late. The Najibullah government was collapsing, with many of his allies beginning to act against him and in their own personal interests (Maley 2002). Furthermore, the main mujahideen groups, in particular the groups led by Rabbani and Hekmatyar, could now clearly see that they held all the cards and could dictate the form of any transitional government. As a result, the mujahideen groups rejected the UN's final effort to establish an interim council to take over the governing of the country and instead proclaimed their own Islamic Jihad Council as the future governing body. It was this body, led by the veteran mujahideen leader Sibghatullah Mojaddidi, that eventually flew into Kabul to accept the government's formal surrender on April 28, 1992. Thus it was that the UN's peacemaking efforts died with the Najibullah government in April 1992, and the stage was set for a tragic new civil war in a land already ravaged beyond belief (Ewans 2002; Goodson 2001; Maley 2002; Marsden 2002; Rubin 2002).

The central legacy of the 1978–1992 civil war in Afghanistan, born of the scorched-earth tactics of the Soviet Army and the Afghan communist government, was the creation of an entire generation of embittered Afghans mired in the abject misery of losing everything they valued: their families, their lands, their homes and their possessions. For thousands upon thousands of such Afghans, there was nothing left to live for other than to fight and die for some radical cause, for of all the things these people had lost, their greatest loss was the loss of all hope.

Kanishkan Sathasivam

Chronology

- July 17, 1973 The monarchy under King Zahir Shah is overthrown by Mohammad Daoud in a palace coup; Daoud proclaims Afghanistan a republic.
- April 17, 1978 A prominent member of the PDPA, Mir Akbar Khyber, is murdered in Kabul by unidentified assassins, sparking huge antigovernment demonstrations.
- April 25, 1978 President Daoud orders the mass arrest of PDPA leaders and activists.
- April 27, 1978 Pro-PDPA military officers launch a coup against the government in which Daoud is killed, and a revolutionary PDPA government under President Nur Mohammad Taraki is established.
- March 15, 1979 A mass revolt against the government breaks out in the city of Herat. The government uses overwhelming military force to suppress it, resulting in thousands of civilian casualties.
- September 14, 1979 President Taraki, with alleged Soviet complicity, unsuccessfully tries to arrange the assassination of his very ambitious PDPA rival, Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin.
- September 17, 1979 In response to the attempt on his life, Amin overthrows Taraki's government and has Taraki and many other PDPA elites killed.
- December 12, 1979 In a meeting of the Politburo, the Soviet government, in bitter conflict with the independent-minded Amin, agrees to a plan to invade Afghanistan and depose Amin.

- December 24, 1979 The Soviet Union begins its invasion of Afghanistan.
- December 28, 1979 After eliminating Amin, the Soviet Union proclaims Babrak Karmal as the president of a new Communist government in Kabul. Within days, all of Afghanistan is occupied by the Soviet Army.
- January 10, 1980 The Afghan resistance, the mujahideen, receives its first shipment of weapons paid for by the United States.
- January 14, 1980 By a vote of 104 to 18 with 18 abstentions, the UNGA adopts a resolution condemning the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, a largely symbolic act that would be replicated annually thereafter.
- April 14, 1988 The signing of the UN-brokered Geneva Accords by the governments of Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, and the United States heralds the end of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.
- May 15, 1988 The first contingent of Soviet troops begins its withdrawal from Afghanistan.
- February 15, 1989 The last of the Soviet Union's troops are withdrawn from Afghanistan.
- January 1, 1992 By mutual agreement, the United States and the Soviet Union end all military aid to the mujahideen and the Afghan government.
- April 15, 1992 President Najibullah's government in Kabul collapses.
- April 27, 1992 Ahmed Shah Massoud's mujahideen forces take control of Kabul.
- April 28, 1992 The umbrella mujahideen governing group, the Islamic Jihad Council, accepts the formal surrender of the Afghan communist government in Kabul.

List of Acronyms

- CIA: Central Intelligence Agency (United States)
 ISI: Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence (Pakistan)
 KGB: Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security, former Soviet Union)
 PDPA: People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (the Afghan Communist Party)
 UN: United Nations
 UNGA: United Nations General Assembly
 UNSC: United Nations Security Council

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Algeria (1992–Present)

Introduction

The Algerian civil war that began in 1992 has gained notoriety for several reasons. It originated in a democratic process that came to an abrupt halt and had massacres of civilians that were shocking in their scale and atrocity. The government received significant amounts of external support despite accusations of widespread abuses relating to its prosecution of the conflict, and many recognized the possibility that Algeria represented another foothold for “radical Islam.”

In part because analysts often choose to investigate puzzles pertaining to one or another of these attention-catching aspects, research on the conflict has generated a number of seemingly competing perspectives, each with its own conclusions about the causes of the war and the logic of its conduct. Approaching Algeria from a comparative perspective on civil wars allows a synthesis of the insights of previous research and a comprehensive understanding of the war. Attention to the details of the Algerian civil war also offers a promising opportunity to refine theories of civil war. War duration as a consequence of the interaction between governments and insurgents rather than of determining structural factors, the role of diasporal communities defined on the basis of factors other than national identity, and the nature of opportunity costs to war emerge as important areas of future inquiry.

Country Background

Algeria’s war for independence from France, fought between 1954 and 1962, brought to a close more than one hundred years of colonial rule. Power struggles within the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), which—along with its military organization, the Armée de Libération Nationale (ALN)—was the force behind the struggle for independence, continued during the conflict.

By the time Algeria gained its independence on July 2, 1962, the confrontation between the general staff of the armed forces and the provisional government had grown particularly intense as forces loyal to each group fought for control. This period is coded as a civil war (Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Fearon and Laitin 2003). In August, the provisional government offered to surrender, but the military faction continued to press the fight, successfully taking Algiers by September 8. Ahmed Ben Bella was chosen as president of the republic and Ferhat Abbas as president of the National Assembly in the elections that followed on September 20, 1962 (Laremont 2000). Ben Bella thus took control of what was, through a referendum on proposals for the constitution, a one-party state in which the executive and the FLN had exclusive power, the National Assembly standing without any functions of consequence. In the years following independence, Ben Bella worked to consolidate his power, and

by September 13, 1963, he held the offices of commander-in-chief of the military and prime minister in addition to his original presidential portfolio.

Ben Bella was opposed by other personalities from the war of decolonization, who founded the Front des Forces Socialistes (FFS) later in the month. The FFS carried out attacks in early 1964, even attempting to assassinate Ben Bella. Although the FFS did not successfully mount its challenge to Ben Bella's government, late in 1964 Houari Boumedienne, formerly head of the ALN and the minister of war under Ben Bella, carried out a military coup against Ben Bella on June 19, 1965. Boumedienne's rule lasted for thirteen years until his death in 1978. He was succeeded by Colonel Chadli Bendjedid, who was nominated by an FLN party congress and won 94 percent of votes in a referendum on February 7, 1979. Bendjedid's rule was similarly long-lived, and he remained in office until 1992. Although economic and political liberalization occurred at various points in the period following independence, Algeria remained firmly a dictatorship throughout the period.

Algeria's economy at independence faced a grave problem: The departure of Algerians of French descent left the country without qualified administrators or professionals in many fields. Unemployment at independence stood at approximately 45 percent. Ben Bella began a process similar to nationalization, under which workers attained self-management but were for all intents and purposes employed by the state because of the institutional arrangements used. Ben Bella did not, however, address modernization of the agricultural sector. Industrialization became a key priority during Boumedienne's presidency, along with redistribution of land and continued nationalization. The 1973 oil price increases by OPEC facilitated the plans for "state-led development" (Entelis 2000).

Although progress was made in carrying out Boumedienne's economic plans, agriculture continued to get little governmental attention. And, although some of the progress carried over

to the early years of Bendjedid's presidency, that period saw a general worsening of the economic situation. Increasing unemployment, particularly problematic for young, well-educated Algerians, encouraged participation in the informal economy (known as *trabendo*). As the global prices of oil and gas fell through the mid-1980s, dramatically reducing the revenue available to it from these sectors, the government under Bendjedid realized the importance of moving away from a centrally planned, socialist economy toward a market economy. The government was no longer able to sustain its provision of social welfare to the public—which up to that point had been part of an implicit deal between the government and the public, the public contributing its support or at least lack of demands on the government. In the face of these changes, the government drew up plans to encourage private sector growth and participation in development and foreign investment. Interestingly, the gradual opening of Algeria's economy that began during this period ended up playing an important role in generating additional revenues for the government and in increasing funds available to the insurgents once conflict broke out (as elaborated later in this article). Directly prior to the war, Algeria's real gross domestic product (GDP) per capita was US\$4,902.

Conflict Background

Algeria's war of independence from France is often taken as a reference point for those analyzing the conflict that began in the 1990s. The form of the opposition insurgent organizations in both wars is seen as similar: The FLN in the war of independence, like the Front Islamique du Salut (FIS), served to unify the diverse interests against the incumbent government; the Armée Islamique du Salut (AIS), viewed as a military force serving the goals of the FIS, could thus perform a function akin to that of the ALN, the military wing of the FLN. The two wars have also both served as examples of the violent nature of insurgency, owing to the behavior of the



Algerians protest the disappearance of family members during the civil war in Algeria in a demonstration in Algiers on September 28, 2005. The government is blamed for various human rights abuses. (Louafi Larbi/Reuters/Corbis)

insurgent groups and the repressive apparatus brought to bear against them by the government. And, although the current conflict is not a war for independence, similarities persist, too, in the type of conflict. Although some researchers code the war that began in 1992 as an “ethnic/religious/identity conflict” (Doyle and Sambanis 2000), it is not clear that the conflict can be understood within this framework. The insurgent groups in Algeria clearly professed a religious agenda at a superficial level—they discussed the role of religion in governance, used religious terminology to discuss the situation in Algeria, and incorporated the word *Islam* into the names of their organizations. However, the extent to which the conflict itself concerned the role of religion is more ambiguous. Even supporters of the insurgents who emphasized the importance of the groups’ religious stance characterized their reasons for supporting the insurgents in terms of the changes they wanted to see in the form of governance provided by the regime and the dis-

tributional arrangements extant in the economy. If the vocabulary used to describe this position happened to be religious, or even if these supporters understood their stance as a religious one, it does not follow that the conflict itself was of a religious nature. Similarly, although supporters of the government and the government itself couched their opposition to the Islamists in terms of their perception of the Islamist platform as an extreme one, this perspective was often used to discredit the Islamists and gain support for the government from outside powers (mainly France and the United States). Thus it is not entirely a true characterization of the nature of the conflict itself.

Outside these analytical understandings of the conflict are harsh facts about what it actually meant for Algeria and Algerians. The conflict itself is ongoing and has so far taken the lives of as many as 150,000 people, mostly civilians (Martinez 2004; Stone 1997). If this figure is correct, it represents the death of more than 4 percent of

the prewar population. Approximately 40,000 people either have left the country or have been internally displaced. A large percentage of Algerians also participated in the conflict: The Algerian armed forces numbered approximately 130,000 in the mid-1990s, and at their height armed insurgent groups may have had as many as 40,000 members (Martinez 2000; Stone 1997). These figures, of course, say nothing of the effects that death, migration, or participation in the conflict have had on the social networks of the victims, immigrants, or participants. Finally, although one of the main insurgent groups, the Armée Islamique du Salut (AIS), signed a truce in 1997 and ultimately surrendered in January 2000, political violence has by no means vanished from Algeria. The Groupes Islamiques Armées (GIA)

and perhaps other small insurgent groups remain active, though on a smaller scale compared to the mid-1990s. Even as of 2005, violence persists.

The Insurgents

Armed insurgency against the Algerian government began in earnest following the military coup that deposed President Chadli Bendjedid on January 11, 1992. The previous three years had seen demonstrations and riots leading to the first multiparty elections in Algerian history; a significant victory by the FIS, an umbrella organization of Islamist groups that opposed the government; further demonstrations against government interference with the elections results and, following these, the institution of

Table 1: Civil War in Algeria

War:	MIA, AIS, MEI, GIA, GSPC, and other groups vs. the Government of Algeria
Dates:	1992–present
Casualties:	150,000
Regime type prior to war:	–2 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	Not applicable; from 1/1992–11/1995: –7; 11/1995–: –3
GDP/capita year war began:	US \$4,902 (constant 1996)
GDP/capita 5 years after war:	Not applicable
Insurgents:	Armed Islamic Movement (MIA), Islamic Army of Salvation (AIS), Movement for the Islamic State (MEI), Islamic Armed Groups (GIA), Salafi Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC), Islamic Front of Jihad in Algeria (FIDA), Salafi Combatant Group (GSC), Salafi Group for the Jihad (GSPD), Guardians of the Salafi Call (HDS), and Islamic League for Preaching and Jihad (LIDD).
Issue:	Failed liberalization of governance
Rebel funding:	Import–export companies, extortion of individuals and businesses, illegal automobile imports, diaspora, and sympathizers
Role of geography:	Insurgents established bases in mountainous interior; government used prisons in southern desert and was able to isolate and protect the hydrocarbon sector, a main source of revenue in that area.
Role of resources:	Hydrocarbon sector and investment in it was a large source of revenue for the government.
Immediate outcome:	Ongoing
Outcome after 5 years:	Not applicable
Role of UN:	None
Role of regional organization:	None
Refugees:	40,000 (including internally displaced persons)
Prospects for peace:	Favorable

Sources: Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Economist Intelligence Unit, various years; Hafez 2000; Heston, Summers, and Aten 2002; International Crisis Group 2004; Lowi 2005; Marshall, Jagers, and Gurr 2004; Martinez 2000, 2004; Stone 1997.

martial law; and a final round of elections, which the FIS seemed poised to win. In short, prior to the coup, Algeria was on a rapid course toward fundamental changes in the distribution of power in society through the increasing power of the FIS in government. When the army stepped in to end this process by seizing control of the government from President Bendjedid and canceling the election results, armed Islamist groups that existed even prior to these developments saw an opportunity to mount a direct challenge to the government. As the army consolidated its power and attempted to repress the Islamists, declaring a state of emergency in February 1992 and banning the FIS in March 1992, these groups began to attack the government and security forces and to assert control over areas sympathetic to the FIS. As the conflict continued, new groups formed, bringing new goals and new tactics to the conflict.

The insurgents can be grouped according to their political orientation, following Martinez (2000): groups that sought to force the government to reinstate the political process through which the FIS had been gaining power prior to the military coup, and revolutionary groups emphasizing jihad, which sought the complete overthrow of the state. To these may be added a third category: local groups acting in the context of civil war whose principal purpose was to take advantage of the economic opportunities created by the war.

The groups that sought to force the return of the political process that would have brought the FIS to power were active principally at the beginning of the conflict. The first of these, the *Mouvement Islamique Armé* (MIA) had originally been active between 1982 and 1987. In 1990, the MIA began preparations for insurgency, establishing infrastructure and training camps in the Blida Atlas mountains. Although it agreed with the FIS not to interfere with the elections, the MIA's preparations for war intensified as the government's repression of the FIS increased, with MIA members withdrawing from the cities to the mountains after the arrests of

FIS leaders in June 1991. With the repression of the FIS in 1992, the MIA and other armed groups took the opportunity to bring a military confrontation with the government to the fore, the electoral approach of the FIS having been discredited in light of the government's response. MIA was selective in its recruitment process and explicitly did not allow perhaps thousands of eager volunteers to join it, particularly out of fear that the *Securite Militaire* would infiltrate it. In 1992, the MIA had approximately 2,000 members but by 1993 was thought to have grown to 22,000. Initially, it competed with smaller groups such as *Takfir wa-l Hijra*, also established before the military coup, but of these groups the MIA alone was able to survive the counteroffensives of the government's security forces, making it the center of the insurgency. By 1994, however, the MIA was considerably weaker and was seen as unsuccessful in challenging the government.

Given the large numbers of people eager to participate in the insurgency, the creation of additional armed groups was possible, and in 1994 the AIS was established. The AIS did not have the first-mover advantage that the MIA had in attracting recruits, but it benefited substantially from the release of prisoners from prison camps in the south in 1993 and 1994, and estimates put its membership in 1994 at 40,000. The AIS continued the MIA's focus on insurgency to reinstitute the political process, concentrating on attacking the government and security forces. However, its assessment was that the war could not be won in the quick and limited fashion that many thought possible. Thus, the AIS sought to work on a much broader scale than the MIA, and it planned for a long conflict with the Algerian government.

Radical groups emerged in 1993 that challenged the idea, taken up by the MIA and the AIS, of returning to the political process and, to that end, of focusing on targeting the government. Established in 1991, the *Mouvement pour l'Etat Islamique* (MEI) focused on taking the battle to the people of Algeria. Rather than viewing

the conflict as one between the elite of the MIA against the government, the MEI hoped to win over the people of Algeria and, in so doing, deprive the government of any support. With this outlook, the MEI accepted all those who wished to fight for it. The GIA took a similar approach to the MEI, which divided civilians into “enemies of Islam” and “supporters of the jihad,” the former being legitimate targets. Targeting civilians forced them to choose between supporting the government or the Islamists. The GIA’s strategy in the war is understood as one of “total war,” the destruction of the ruling regime by eliminating all bases of social support for it. In contrast to the MIA and AIS, the GIA was active for the most part in urban settings, whereas the MIA and the AIS were firmly established in and conducted operations from mountainous areas. From 1998 on, the GIA and a splinter group from it, the Salafi Combat Group (GSPC), as well as other groups related to the GSPC have been active.

Despite the clear ideologies of the different insurgent groups, it is not possible to extend the understanding of these ideologies to their actual behavior. It is here that the role of local organizations and leaders, often mentioned in detailed accounts of the conflict, emerges. First, given the secret nature of the groups, it is not possible to judge the degree of organization with which they operated and the degree to which decisions were made centrally. The MIA and the AIS exhibited a higher degree of control in this regard than the GIA, which allowed the leaders of local groups to act in its name without hesitation. Second, local armed groups, extremely active in the suburbs of Algiers, played a significant role in the conflict in its day-to-day conduct. Although these may have operated in the name of one of the larger players, often the considerations that drove their conduct were purely local.

A final caveat concerns the role of the government in the development of the armed groups. It is clear that the government repression in response to the challenge of the insurgents played a key role in the development of

the conflict—a process noted by many observers of political violence outside the Algerian context (della Porta 1995; White 1989). However, an often-mentioned and more controversial possibility is that the government played an active role in the development of the armed groups—for example, by carrying out atrocities and then blaming the GIA, or by infiltrating the GIA and encouraging massacres and killings of public figures in an effort to turn public opinion against the Islamists. These allegations are difficult to assess; although there seems to have been an incentive for the government to act this way, firsthand accounts report that those carrying out the attacks were indeed members of the groups that the government blamed. Still, it is important to understand the role of the government in a more complex way that goes beyond its own official statements on the conflict. Martinez (2004) provides an example of such an analysis, noting that the government’s war-fighting strategy may have been indirectly responsible for the massacres of civilians during mid-1990s. Unable to occupy the territory needed to wrest control from the insurgents with its own forces, the government created local militias as a surrogate force. Although the militias were a successful tool in combating the insurgency, it is possible that through militarizing the population they generated a retaliatory dynamic in which insurgents attacked civilians to punish them for participating in the conflict through the militias.

Financing

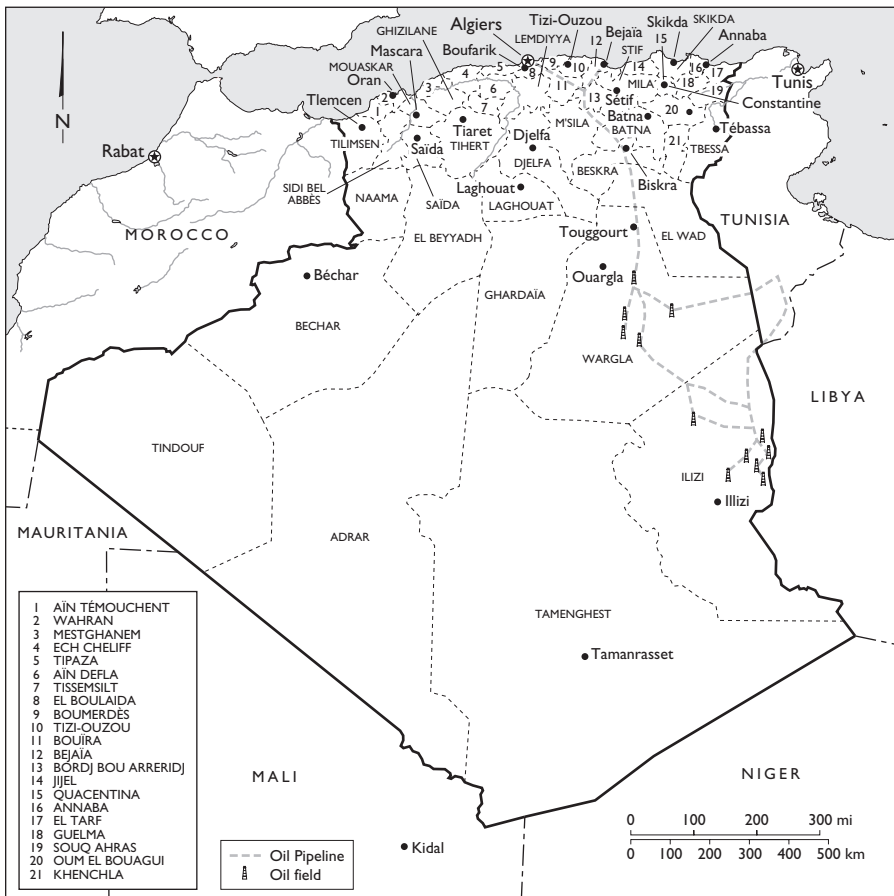
As mentioned earlier, the local dynamics of the conflict were extremely important, nowhere more so than in its financing. In areas directly under their control, the armed groups acted as a parallel government, essentially collecting taxes from the populace and carrying out administrative functions. In contested areas, the armed groups put together finances through extortion of business owners and collection of bribes from operators in the transit sector in return for allowing them to continue to operate. Through

supporters and their own members, the groups also drew in large amounts of revenue from the often-informal import–export sector of the economy. At times, this revenue stream was linked to illegal activity, as when leaders of the armed groups were able to obtain revenue through illicit imports of cars from France using the networks established for the drug trade from Morocco. Finally, the groups received funding from the Algerian diaspora in Europe. The effects of financing can be seen in the patterns of activity of the armed groups throughout the conflict. Most active in the southern suburbs of Algiers, home to relatively wealthy businesspeople, the groups did not operate in the more central, poorer areas of Algiers, even though these were areas that had

strongly supported the FIS and continued to remain a base of support for the Islamists.

Geography

As in the war for independence, the mountains of Algeria played a key role in the current civil war. They provided a base of operations for groups such as the MIA and AIS, which established themselves securely there and then carried out operations elsewhere in the country. The relationship between terrain and the conflict extends beyond the basic idea of safe havens. The mountains of Algeria proved to be an important element in the development of the conflict particularly because some, like the Blida Atlas, were located close to important areas of operations for the insurgents. Thus, the MIA and the AIS



could operate in the southern suburbs of Algiers, important for their revenues and symbolically in that they were part of the capital, and then retreat to the mountains. Forest cover may also have served a similar function, though in a less extensive manner.

Related to the control armed groups could exert, the existence of a small number of important highway routes for commerce allowed the groups to use a system of checkpoints to demarcate territory as well as to draw revenues. As for the GIA and local armed groups, the city's terrain facilitated their operations in urban areas. The absence of an urban plan privileged local knowledge of the layout of the neighborhood in battles with the security forces, and this worked to the insurgents' advantage.

Nevertheless, it would be too simplistic to view terrain in Algeria as solely benefiting the insurgents or proving a direct asset to them. The government made extensive use of desert prison camps in the south, allowing it to effectively remove large numbers of suspected combatants and sympathizers to a location remote from the theater of operations. Even the terrain of use to the insurgents was by no means a secure tool for them. The government was able to defeat insurgents in the mountains by using air power and local militias, and it also developed security forces specializing in counterinsurgent operations in the urban areas. The conclusion drawn by Fearon and Laitin (2003)—that rough terrain is a risk factor for civil war—seems to hold in Algeria on its surface: The insurgents did indeed make use of the mountains in developing their organizations at the beginning of the conflict. Had it not been for the mountains, the MIA and the AIS might have faced severe challenges in mounting an armed assault on the government and may not have attempted it. However, Algeria demonstrates that the role of terrain may be more appropriately considered in its interaction with the strength of the government. In this analysis, terrain was beneficial to the insurgents when the government's repressive apparatus was insufficiently developed to deal with their chal-

lenge. The government's subsequent defeat of insurgent forces in the mountains, coming as it did after an extensive overhaul and reconstruction of the security forces, is not surprising in this view.

Tactics

The brutality of the Algerian civil war, as evidenced by the massacres of civilians in the mid- to late 1990s, was one of the most notorious features of the conflict. The vast majority of observers understood this violence as "irrational," but in fact patterns of violence have been related to the dynamics of control used by the combatants (Kalyvas 1999). Although ultimately an explanation of the intertemporal and spatial variation in the violence is desirable, it is instructive to understand the ideology of the armed groups as it relates to the tactics they pursued in the war and the resulting patterns of violence, and key aspects of the interaction between the government and the insurgents that also shaped the violence. Finally, related to these questions is the puzzle of why the insurgents appeared not to attempt to strike at the Algerian government directly in order to depose it.

As discussed earlier, the MIA and the AIS focused almost exclusively on attacking security forces and government officials, while the GIA and the MEI put civilians squarely in the middle of the conflict. The decision to target civilians came largely out of the GIA and MEI radical perspective on the conflict as a "total war," one in which civilians would need to choose sides and one that would be won by winning the populace, not by eliminating the security forces in a war of attrition, a strategy more akin to that of the MIA and AIS. Even more specific targeting decisions may be attributed to the radical perspective, which held that the entire order supporting the current regime would need to be destroyed. Thus, the competition between Francophones and Arabic speakers in the economic arena carried over to the armed conflict itself, and armed groups threatened and killed journalists from French-language media outlets.

The widespread involvement of civilians and their deaths can also be attributed to the exigencies of fighting that the insurgents and the government faced. Both tried to force civilians to choose a side by employing violent tactics, such that violence became a recruiting tool. Both sides also involved the civilian populace in providing financial and logistical support. This resulted in civilian deaths either as part of the establishment of the authority of a group or due to competition between groups, including the government, a dynamic explored in depth by Kalyvas (1999). As noted earlier, the government's tactic of establishing civilian militias may also have accentuated these dynamics by making civilians more direct participants in the conflict and thereby subject to retaliatory actions by the insurgents (Martinez 2004). Overall, these characteristics of the war in Algeria fit within the theoretical perspective proposed by Azam and Hoeffler (2002)—that civilians become targets either because of the extortive activities of the parties to the conflict or because targeting civilians serves a direct military purpose.

At another level is the question of why the insurgent groups, when attacking the government and the security forces, focused throughout the conflict on sabotage, assassination, and more peripheral attacks than any all-out attempt to wrest control directly from the entire government. The guerrilla war fought by the insurgent groups can be attributed largely to the resources available to them. Numerically far fewer than the government's security forces and without the heavy weaponry and air support available to the government, the insurgents likely focused on actions in which they could succeed. Nevertheless, this led to frustration among civilians, who questioned why the violence seemed always to be that of a war of attrition played out at the local level rather than a direct confrontation with the power center of the government (Martinez 2000). Still, although resource constraints may have been behind the tactical choices of insurgents, these choices have not been explored in detail by analysts of the conflict. They merit

further attention, given that an explanation would illuminate the motivations of the insurgent groups and would therefore validate broader claims about the nature of the conflict, some of which are discussed below.

Causes of the War

Analysts of the Algerian civil war commonly attribute it to a combination of the economic and social crises the country experienced in the 1980s, the failure of the regime to address these crises, and the military's refusal to allow the electoral process bringing the Islamists into power to continue (see Testas [2001] for a development of the economic perspective and a summary of other arguments; see also Martinez [2000] for a summary of the standard arguments). A related analysis that probes the mechanisms of this process suggests that the Algerian government, as a rentier state, was unable to address persistent conflicts in Algerian society (see for example Joffé [2002] and Lowi [2004]). Martinez disputes such perspectives as flawed in that economic and social inequality cannot on their own account for the war, as their persistence during the entire postindependence period (if not at a constant level) demonstrates, nor can problems of governance. Rather, the opportunities available through war, combined with these factors, provided the basis for the war. This analysis places understanding the Algerian civil war squarely in the middle of an ongoing debate in the literature on civil war onset: Do grievances or opportunities explain conflict? The causes of the Algerian civil war can be further illuminated by taking an overview of this debate and highlighting where these accounts validate extant understandings of the war in Algeria or suggest new avenues of analysis. Finally, the nature of the war in Algeria suggests areas in which these theories can be refined, specified with greater detail, or perhaps rejected.

Current work on civil wars and civil war onset follows a rational choice approach, examining the decision calculus of would-be insurgents and

weighing the factors that might prompt them to launch an insurgency against the deterrent that the current government can mount. In itself, this framework allows the possibility of the effect of both grievances and opportunities. However, cross-national studies of civil war have found that opportunities (rather than grievances) appear to be the significant factor in predicting civil war onset (Collier and Hoeffler 2002; Fearon and Laitin 2003). Chief among the predictors of civil war onset are thought to be per capita income (negatively related), whether a state was new (positively related), mountainous terrain (positively related), population (positively related), and fossil fuel exports (positively related) (Collier and Hoeffler 2002; Fearon and Laitin 2003; see also Hegre and Sambanis 2006 for an evaluation of robustness of results in the empirical literature). Miguel, Satyanath, and Sergenti (2004) call into question the specific variables posited as significant in previous studies, using a more appropriate estimation strategy in their work on civil wars in sub-Saharan Africa. Their principal findings were that GDP growth is negatively related to the incidence of civil war and that the effect of income shocks on the incidence of civil war appears not to vary with other factors previously thought important (for example, GDP and oil exports). These findings are consistent with views that draw connections between civil war and opportunities.

The perspective just outlined is instructive in the case of the Algerian civil war. It incorporates the focus of Martinez (2000) on the opportunities available in Algeria through war but also articulates how the opportunity structure that potential combatants face can determine whether or not they act to address any extant political, social, or economic problems through conflict. The calculation of the armed groups to begin an insurgency against the government after the cancellation of elections in January 1992 may be seen as a careful evaluation of their prospects for survival and success in a war against the government, and as an evaluation of the opportunities available to them under the government at the

time or under an alternative regime of their choosing. This view stands in contrast to other evaluations of the conflict as stemming from mounting grievances against and frustration with the government, touched off by the repressive actions of the army. Potential financial resources through informal trade, extortion, and external sources, combined with the refuge of the mountains close to areas in which they might wish to operate and the dire financial situation of the government, may well have convinced the armed groups of the possibility of their survival—and perhaps even success—against the government. The opportunity to profit from conflict, as well as the ability to redistribute economic wealth to their supporters, may also have motivated both the insurgents and the government to take steps that led to conflict, particularly in the context of an economy that was on the decline.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

The Algerian civil war has lasted approximately fourteen years and is ongoing. Recent cross-national data sets of civil wars code the war as ongoing through 1999 (Sambanis 2004; Fearon 2004; Fearon and Laitin 2003). Since that point, although it is clear that the level of conflict has been decreasing steadily, violence continues. President Boutleflika, who took office in 1999, quickly extended an amnesty offer to insurgents, provided that they surrendered. The AIS received a full amnesty for its members on January 13, 2000, leading to what amounted to its surrender. In addition to an estimated 3,000 AIS fighters thereby removed from the conflict, perhaps 2,000 to 3,000 other insurgents surrendered under the amnesty.

The GIA and the GSPC rejected the amnesty and continued their activities, the GIA in the west (Tipaazza, Chlef, and Ain Delfa provinces) and in areas to the south of Algiers, and the GSPC in portions of the east and Kabylia. In 2000, an estimated 1,500 to 3,000 insurgents

Kabylia: A Second Conflict

Most histories of Algeria mention the “Berber Question” close to the outset. This chapter is an anomaly in that respect. The current conflict in Algeria, however, is unrelated, at least in a direct way, to problems surrounding the role of Berber identity in Algeria. Rather, conflict over Berber identity is more related to efforts to reform the government and reconceptualize the Algerian nation. Violent conflict in Kabylia related to these issues, both in the early 1980s and after 2000, represents a focal point for opposition to the government, if limited in the movement’s support outside the region.

Berbers represent about 20 percent of the Algerian population. Most Algerians are of Berber origin, as the Berbers were indigenous to Algeria prior to the Arab invasion in the seventh century. In contemporary Algeria, however, linguistic affiliation defines Berber identity, and advancing Tamazight, the Berber language, has been a key part of demands made by Berber political movements. Two Algerian political parties, the Front of Socialist Forces (Front des Forces Socialistes [FFS]), founded in 1962, and the Rally for Culture and Democracy (Rassemblement pour la Culture et la Démocratie [RCD]) are Berber parties.

Unrest in Kabylia in 1980 began after a lecture on Berber poetry was banned. Protesters from a wide range of backgrounds demanded recognition of Tamazight and Berber culture by the government, and organized against the government in March and April. Although the unrest that started in 2001 generated some similar demands—the inclusion of Tamazight as an official language in Algeria, for example—it began when a young man died in police custody in April. A series of protests and government repression of protests followed. In the early days of the unrest, approximately eighty protesters died. The protest movement focused on abuse of authority and exclusion by the government of portions of the population, principally the young. A government concession gave Tamazight “national” status but did little to appease protesters, as it did not make Tamazight an official language (which would mandate its use in government documents and education).

The emphasis of the Kabylia protests on issues of governance gives them a national character. This is in spite of the particularism of Kabylia, as even Berbers in other parts of the country have not joined in the cultural and linguistic demands of the Kabylia protests. Demands for a more accountable government and more inclusive policies resonate with Algerians outside Kabylia. The dissatisfaction in this region indicates issues facing the country as a whole. Most recently, this was seen in the low turnout for the referendum on the Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation in Kabylia. This low turnout mimicked earlier low participation rates: the high observance of the FFS and RCD boycott of the May 2002 parliamentary election and low turnout for the April 2004 presidential election (International Crisis Group 2003; Quandt 2002; Roberts 2003; Stone 1997).

continued to operate, with civilian deaths and deaths on both sides of the conflict occurring on a weekly basis, totaling perhaps 200 deaths per month in 2000. As the GSPC “avoid[s] targeting civilians,” civilian deaths are attributed to the GIA (Economist Intelligence Unit 1996–2004). From January through July 2001, approximately 1,300 people lost their lives in the conflict, whereas the GIA appeared to bring the conflict back into urban areas after an explosion in the Casbah of Algiers in August, an attack on a resort near Algiers, and a bomb that was planted in a market but later defused. The government struck the GIA by killing its leader, Antar

Zoubri, in February 2002, although with little perceptible effect on the group. During 2002, GIA violence continued against towns and smaller villages in its areas of operation, and GSPC violence continued against government personnel. Algiers saw a series of explosions, but these did not cause much damage.

By 2004, infighting had broken out in the GSPC; its leader, Hassan Hattab, who apparently opposed creating better ties with al-Qaeda, was killed. The government pressed its campaign against insurgents and in June “claimed to have killed [the GSPC’s] new leader,” Nabil Sahraoui. Still, this appeared not to affect the GSPC, which

attacked a power station in Algiers, although without success, and was seen by the government as a potential threat to oil installations in the south. As of 2005, the insurgents were thought to be able to draw on external supporters, particularly in Europe, for resources, leading analysts to note that the insurgency “is not over and attacks on security personnel and civilians are likely to continue for some time.” However, the situation appears to have turned entirely in favor of the government. Despite the external support insurgents enjoy, they are thought to be without significant support within Algeria, and the government has successfully regained control over many parts of its territory formerly controlled by the insurgents (Economist Intelligence Unit 1996–2004, 2005).

Duration Tactics

Although the duration of the Algerian civil war by 1999 (eight years) was below the mean duration for ongoing wars coded in a data set of 128 civil wars for the period 1945 to 1999 (almost sixteen years), even then its duration was above the mean duration for all civil wars in North Africa and the Middle East (Fearon 2004). Work

on civil war emphasizing the possibility of benefits accruing to participants during conflict reinforces analyses of Algeria suggesting that the dynamics of Algeria’s war economy are important in explaining why the war has continued.

One perspective on civil war duration, which takes into account the possibility that the rebels benefit from the conflict during its conduct, not solely upon its conclusion, seems to fit well with accounts of the conflict in Algeria. Here, profitability during conflict is crucial in explaining conflict duration. Variables that influence the ability of the insurgents to operate at a profit and to hold out against the government are significant in determining its duration but not significantly related to the initiation of conflict, and variables significantly related to its initiation tend not to influence its duration.

This stands in contrast with predominant explanations that have examined the relative military capabilities of the warring parties, and particularly their expected postconflict benefits, as crucial in determining the duration of the war (Grossman 1991, 1995; Collier and Hoeffler 1998). It also contrasts with the opportunities account of civil war initiation in that, although op-

The September 2005 Referendum

Algerian voters approved the Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation on September 29, 2005, by more than 97 percent. The charter absolves government forces of their role in the violence, contains an amnesty for Islamist fighters except those responsible for “massacres, rapes or bomb attacks in public places,” and provides for reparations to families of victims, including those who disappeared during the civil war. Turnout, taken by some as an indication of the unanimity of the referendum result, varied significantly across Algiers, even as the turnout rate nationally was almost 80 percent. Tizi-Ouzou and Bejaia in Kabylia, for example, had turnout of about 11 percent.

President Bouteflika has billed the charter, which was drafted by his office without outside participation, as facilitating a process of national reconciliation that will prevent the recurrence of conflict. The charter certainly stands in contrast to reconciliation in South Africa, El Salvador, and other postconflict countries, where the process is based on a public debate on the conflict and examination of responsibility for crimes and atrocities committed during it. Critics object that the Algerian referendum and charter are merely an exercise in forgetting the atrocities of the war and a way for Bouteflika to “consolidate his power.” Still, opinion is divided. Some see the referendum as providing a way to begin debate about the conflict, even despite the criticism of it. Others call into question even the relevance of reconciliation, pointing out the economic problems still prominent in the lives of many Algerians (Associated Press 2005; Slackman, September 26 and 30, 2005).

The text of the charter is available in French at www.el-mouradia.dz/francais/reconciliation/Charte/PROJETCHARTe.pdf.

portunity-related variables influence the initial outbreak of conflict, they are thought to be unrelated to the duration because once the insurgents establish themselves, initially making use of opportunity variables, it is their ability to protect their initial setup or to adapt it and hold out against the government that determines duration (Collier, Hoeffler, and Söderbom, 2004).

Turning to the Algerian civil war, then, we should expect variation in financial support for the government and the insurgents to have a large effect on the duration of the conflict. Indeed, financial support for the government, as explained in the “External Military Intervention” section, may have caused the war to last for a long time. Had the government been unable to finance its repressive activities against the insurgents, it may have been forced to come to some accommodation with them in the mid-1990s, rather than pursuing, as it did, an “eradicationist” approach throughout the period. Financial support for the government is also likely to have enlarged the financial stake of the security services in the ongoing conflict such that there may be a disincentive for the government to decisively defeat the insurgents or pursue a settlement. The persistence of the “eradicationist” perspective in the government through the 1990s, and the government’s continued refusal to negotiate with the insurgents (see “Conflict-Management Efforts”), reflect the possibility that the war was proceeding in this way. Looking to the insurgents, financial support from sympathizers and the Algerian diaspora abroad, and increased revenues from the import–export trade stimulated by the International Monetary Fund’s Structural Adjustment Package (SAP) in 1994, likely increased the ability of the insurgents to resist the security services during the period. Finally, much as they did for the government, rents available to the insurgents as a result of the conflict may have provided an incentive to pursue the conflict for financial gain rather than conclude any sort of agreement.

Changes in structural conditions in the economy and the society might also increase the du-

ration of the war by making the opportunities of conflict relatively more attractive. Although economic reforms from 1994 on resulted in macroeconomic improvements for Algeria, they have been linked to large levels of unemployment, particularly among those under thirty years of age, and to higher levels of poverty (International Crisis Group 2001; Joffé 2002). These changes may have provided more potential recruits to insurgent groups. Additionally, they exacerbated the conditions of social conflict that characterized Algeria prior to 1992 and that were not resolved by the military coup in 1992, thus strengthening the basis of opposition to the Algerian government.

External Military Intervention

There has been no clear external military intervention in the Algerian civil war in the conventional sense of use of force by a third party. However, both sides have received assistance from third parties that highlights the need for deeper analysis of external interventions in civil wars: either the assistance was covert, and thus our ability to recognize and measure it is severely hampered, or the assistance may not have been perceived at the time as being related to the conflict but in fact had a concrete influence on its course. It appears that external economic support for the insurgents and the government may have allowed the war to continue for a longer period than would otherwise have been possible. This fits well with the empirical results of Regan (2002), who notes that external interventions, whether military or economic, tend to increase the duration of civil wars.

The insurgents, coming out of the FIS’s Islamist movement in Algeria, derived support from third parties with an Islamist agenda. The exact nature of this support remains unclear, pointing to the need to deal properly with it in cross-national analyses. Some support for the insurgents appears to have come from states. Stone (1997, 190) notes that Iran appears to have officially supported the insurgents “as part of its policy of exporting the Islamic revolution

throughout the Muslim world.” Stone also states that Iran was likely involved in the bombing of the airport in Algiers in 1992, according to the Algerian press, other activities supporting the insurgents, including training of insurgents in Hezbollah (or Hizb Allah, as it is translated from the Arabic, meaning the Party of God) camps in Lebanon. The Algerian government, in addition to denouncing Iranian involvement, also pointed to Sudan, although Stone (1997) judges that there was likely no Sudanese support for the insurgents. The Algerian government’s position was motivated by the general role the Sudanese played in support of Islamist movements in the region. Finally, it officially acknowledged Saudi support for the FIS prior to 1991 (Martinez 2000, 23) yet the fact that no link between the Kingdom and Algerian armed groups after the beginning of the civil war has been established raises the possibility of (as yet undetected) covert support for the insurgents.

External support for the insurgents has also come from private citizens outside Algeria. The Algerian government has demanded more cooperation from European governments in cracking down on militant networks, likely composed mostly of Algerian migrants, in their countries (Economist Intelligence Unit 1996–1998, 2005). The alleged support of the FIS by Saudi businessmen based in Jeddah (Economist Intelligence Unit, 1997) shows that private support for the armed insurgent groups in Algeria from sympathizers would have been all too easy, yet decidedly hard to verify.

The external support that the Algerian government received likely dwarfs all possible support garnered by the insurgents from their supporters in the government or private sector. Through debt rescheduling and economic liberalization, additional foreign aid, and investment, the Algerian government in essence was able to obtain funds for its security operations against the insurgents and was able to tie in supporters economically to its success against the insurgents. Between 1993 and 1994, the Algerian government negotiated a debt program with the

IMF, as by 1993 Algeria, with its debt service of \$8 billion per year and annual revenue of only \$9 billion in 1993, was on the verge of bankruptcy. Debt rescheduling and an SAP that included privatization initiatives and trade liberalization allowed the government to reverse its financial situation. The government was able to obtain some 40 billion francs (roughly at least US \$8.3 billion, taking the lowest exchange rate for the period) “in the form of loans, credits, gifts and other financial arrangements” from the international community under the IMF’s SAP. By 1995, its debt service amounted to 37 percent of its earnings from exports, whereas in 1993 that figure had been 93 percent.

The government, through the revenue these programs freed up in its own budget and what they brought in, was able to finance an overhauling of its repressive apparatus. Thus, by 1995 the Islamists, who at one point had “the electoral capital of three million voters and an enemy in a state of bankruptcy . . . lost their relative advantage after three years of fighting” (Martinez 2000, 92–3, 238). Economic liberalization under the SAP was also likely of benefit to the government in a quite specific way: As army officers were among the main beneficiaries of privatization, it had effect of aligning their own personal financial interests with the survival of the government (Martinez 2000, 125). It would be difficult to determine how much this affected the government’s position, but it is likely that it played a role in helping the government consolidate its advantage against the insurgents and perhaps even in ensuring that a particularly hard-line stance was adopted against them. Still, it is important to note that liberalization, particularly in opening trade, also benefited the insurgents, who made use of import–export companies as additional revenue sources (Martinez 2000). Thus, although on the whole economic assistance and policy changes by the government likely worked in its favor, some doubt remains. A conservative analysis, and indeed a skeptical one, would suggest that external support, rather than being linked to the ability of either side to

prevail, has been more related to the duration of the conflict and has prolonged it due to the financial benefits both sides have gained as a result of it. As Martinez (2000, 168) suggests:

This consolidation of the armed forces, due partly to the unconditional backing of Algeria's international political and economic partners, nonetheless raises questions: does the continuation of the "eradicating" policy not conceal interests involved in a war economy that ensures a hegemonic role for the army and market openings in the private sector for the army's patronage networks? In short, are the Islamist groups and the military not in the process of becoming "complementary enemies" finding in the violence of war the way to achieve their aspirations?

France also has played a large role in supporting the Algerian government during the conflict, providing extensive financial backing (Martinez 2000). Its aid to Algeria nearly doubled between 1990 and 1994, and because of the leading role it took in shaping European Union (EU) Algerian policy, Algeria received US \$40 million in EU development aid in 1994, a fourfold increase from 1990. Particularly during the initial stages of the conflict, EU members stayed behind French support of the Algerian government, at least tacitly, despite the fact that this conflicted with the EU's emphasis on democratization during the period (Olsen 1998). Finally, private companies investing in the hydrocarbon sector have provided additional revenues to the Algerian government. These companies have even taken part in the defense of their own assets by employing mercenaries. Having the industry protecting its own interests alleviates some of the government's security burden (Martinez 2000, 229–31).

Conflict Management Efforts

The Algerian civil war saw no conflict management efforts from either the international community or specific third parties. The Rome talks of 1994, probably the last attempt to achieve a political solution to the conflict, were not attended by the Algerian military and therefore

failed to involve the principal player in the conflict. Particularly after the horrific massacres of the late 1990s, the international community, including the United Nations and the EU, expressed a desire to become involved in settling the conflict. However, the Algerian government firmly rejected any mediation efforts, including an offer extended by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan in September 1997 (Olsen 1998) perhaps due to the prevalence of the "exterminator" viewpoint within it or because of interest groups that continued to benefit from the conflict.

The utter failure of mediation in the conflict suggests a point of note for research on peace settlements. Although in the Algerian case this appears to have entirely prevented the institution of negotiations, it may well be that interests in continued conflict, whether on the part of the insurgents or the government, end up undermining efforts at a negotiated settlement. This contrasts with a typical view taken in the literature on peace settlements that holds that failure to achieve a settlement is typically a commitment problem, and that means of overcoming this problem, such as third-party security guarantees, can be effective in obtaining and securing a peace settlement (for this view, see Walter 2002).

Conclusion

The Algerian civil war indicates several avenues of research worth pursuing to elaborate the dynamics of civil wars that are not adequately captured in the literature on civil wars, even though this literature informs a balanced understanding of the war itself. Analysts have neglected to address the interaction between the government's forces and the insurgents as having a critical effect on the duration of the conflict. Although contraband financing, as in Fearon (2004), is likely to allow an insurgent organization to function for a longer period of time, the economic dynamics of the conflict in Algeria demonstrate that financial benefits accruing to the government may lead to strategies

that prolong the conflict if parties within the government have financial interests in the conflict itself.

Second, the researchers must cast a wider empirical net in examining the financing of insurgent groups. Fearon (2004) notes that contraband financing of insurgent groups is associated with longer-lasting conflicts. Yet a binary coding of whether the insurgents made use of income from illicit sources (in Fearon, production or trafficking in narcotics or gems) is surely a blunt instrument. Such a coding misses the sources of income for insurgents not involved in contraband financing that may prove just as potent, or at least potent enough, in sustaining the insurgency. As Algeria illustrates, insurgents derived income by playing off of the structure of the economy using both licit and illicit trade and extorting rents from civilians. These tactics are not unique to the Algerian case. The complex role of the government in the Algerian war economy also underscores the obscure nature of the causal relationship of contraband financing to war duration. Rather than simply providing a source of income to insurgents, contraband may very well involve the government in profitable activities possible only under the conditions of conflict.

The role of diaspora support, cited as a potential factor in Collier et al. (2004), can also be drawn out in future empirical work. Fearon (2004) does not even address the issue of diaspora support for insurgent organizations. And, although Collier et al. attempt to estimate the role of diaspora support on conflict duration, albeit unsuccessfully due to lack of data, their operationalization of it is confined to nationals living abroad. Not only was the Algerian diaspora in Europe a source of funding for insurgent groups, but it appears that parties sympathetic to the insurgent groups, whether individuals or states, also played an important role in providing finances and perhaps even other support. The Islamist networks that may very well have been utilized by the Algerian insurgents suggest that external support and fi-

nancing for insurgents should be investigated more broadly, and not confined in a strict sense to national diasporas. Instead, it is likely that communities of sympathizers abroad play an important role. Private, external support of the insurgents could then be operationalized as the presence of persons who sympathize with the insurgents and share their preferences for political change (Schulhofer-Wohl 2004). Attention to such detail would be instructive not only in uncovering the role of external support for insurgent organizations but also in casting light on the tactics of insurgents. Pursuing the idea of sympathetic communities financing the insurgents in Algeria, it may be that Algerian insurgents continued to use Islamist rhetoric and even modified the type and targets of violence they used in order to gain external supporters or to maintain current relationships.

Finally, the analysts' emphasis of the Algerian civil war on the role of lucrative opportunities in a war economy in explaining the occurrence and duration of war underscore the need for a fully thought-out concept of opportunity costs in the context of war. Henderson (2005), in his study of mobilization of individuals in Connecticut during the American Revolution, develops the idea that individuals may have opportunities available to them through warfare that are unavailable in peacetime. Even though it may appear that the opportunity costs of war are high for these individuals because of relatively high levels of income or perhaps educational attainment, in fact the opportunities available through war that have no corollary in peacetime make war a desirable activity. In the Algerian civil war, unresolved puzzles relating to the opportunity costs of the participants remain. A theory like Henderson's might help sort out why violence developed precisely when it did following the 1992 coup, and why and how the conflict has persisted, particularly after the disintegration of the large insurgent groups in the late 1990s.

Refining the characterization of opportunity costs, diasporal communities, and the dynamics of the interaction between governments and in-

surgents as it relates to duration may at times seem to be a rather arcane activity compared to the immediacy of an ongoing violence that has killed, scarred, and displaced a large segment of the population of Algeria. Yet it is instructive to remember that making such refinements would bring the means of preventing and quickly resolving civil wars one step closer to the hands of policy-makers. Each gradual improvement in the comparative understanding of civil wars advances the understanding of the Algerian civil war itself. Not only do analysts of Algeria owe this to Algerians, but it can empower Algerians by allowing them to make sense of and thereby build a future that leads away from an immeasurably damaging portion of their past.

Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl

Chronology

- July 3, 1962 Algeria gains its independence from France.
- 1963 Election of Ahmed Ben Bella as first president of Algeria.
- June 19, 1965 Ben Bella deposed by Colonel Houari Boumedienne
- June 27, 1976 Referendum on National Charter, new constitution reaffirming Algeria's commitment to socialism and the FLN's role as the only political party and recognizing Islam as the state religion is introduced by Boumedienne. Election of Boumedienne as president.
- December 27, 1978 Boumedienne dies.
- February 7, 1979 Colonel Chadli Bendjedid replaces Boumedienne as president.
- April 20, 1980 Riots in Tizi Ouzou.
- November 20, 1982 Violence between Islamist and progressive students in dormitories of Ben Aknoun University.
- November 16, 1984 Islamist demonstration at Kouba during funeral.
- January 16, 1986 New National Charter adopted through referendum.
- November 8–12, 1986 Riots at Constantine and Sétif occur in wake of increasing unemployment, inflation, and the collapse of oil and gas prices.
- October 4–10, 1988 Riots in Algiers.
- November 3, 1988 Establishment of multiparty system of governance.
- December 22, 1988 Bendjedid reelected to the presidency.
- September 14, 1989 FIS legalized.
- June 12, 1990 FIS wins municipal elections.
- June 15, 1991 Abassi Madani, FIS leader, calls for general strike.
- June 30, 1991 Madani and Ali Benhadj, FIS leaders, arrested.
- November 27, 1991 Border post at Guenmar attacked by two Islamists.
- December 26, 1991 FIS wins first round of parliamentary elections, taking 188 of 232 seats decided in the round. FFS takes twenty-five seats, followed by the ruling FLN with fifteen.
- January 11, 1992 Military coup d'état. Cancellation of second round of general elections. President Chadli Bendjedid forced to resign.
- January 14, 1992 The High Council of Security (Haut Conseil de Sécurité) establishes the High Council of State (Haut Conseil d'Etat [HCE]).
- January 16, 1992 Mohammed Boudiaf returns to Algeria after exile of twenty-eight years and assumes chairmanship of the HCE.
- January 22, 1992 Arrest of Abdelkader Hachani, FIS leader.
- February 9, 1992 Twelve-month state of emergency declared
- March 4, 1992 Algiers Administrative Court dissolves the FIS.
- April 11, 1992 People's Assemblies with FIS majorities at the Commune and Wilaya levels are dissolved; they are replaced with appointed bodies.
- April 22, 1992 National Consultative Council (Conseil Consultatif National, CCN) created.
- June 29, 1992 Mohammed Boudiaf assassinated. Ali Kafi takes his position as chair of the HCE.
- July 12, 1992 Abbasid Madani and Ali Belhadji, FIS leaders, receive twelve-year prison sentences.
- August 26, 1992 Bomb explodes at the Algiers airport, killing eleven and injuring 128.
- November 30, 1992 Curfews put in place in Algiers, Blida, Boumerdès, Tipasa, Bouira, Médéa, and Ain Defla.
- February 7, 1993 State of emergency extended.
- March 27, 1993 Algeria cuts off diplomatic relations with Iran and Sudan.
- May 26, 1993 Assassination attempt on Tahar Djaout, an anti-Islamist writer who dies from wounds on June 2.

- May 29, 1993 Curfew in place from December 5, 1992 extended to Chlef, M'Sila, and Djelfa regions.
- June 10, 1993 Morocco arrests GIA leader Abdelhak Layada.
- July 1993 Liamin Zéroual appointed minister of defense.
- August 21, 1993 Redha Malek appointed prime minister.
- August 22, 1993 Assassination of former prime minister Kasdi Merbah.
- September 17, 1993 FIS establishes an overseas leadership led by Rabah Kébir.
- December 1, 1993 GIA deadline. After this date, the GIA considered foreigners in Algeria to be targets.
- January 31, 1994 HCE appoints Zéroual to presidency. Zéroual replaces Ali Kafi as leader of Algerian government.
- February 24, 1994 Former FIS senior officials Ali Djeddi and Abdelkader Boukhamkham released from prison.
- February 26, 1994 GIA leader Djafaar el Afghani dies.
- March 10, 1994 Tazoult prison attacked by insurgents, freeing approximately one thousand prisoners. Assassination of playwright Abdelkader Alloula.
- June 1, 1994 Foreign debt of US \$26 billion is rescheduled.
- August 27, 1994 Border with Morocco closed.
- September 29, 1994 Assassination of Cheb Hasni, Rai singer.
- October 31, 1994 Presidential election announced by Zéroual. Election is to take place before the end of 1995.
- November 14, 1994 Killings at Berrouaghia prison after prisoners attempt to escape.
- November 21, 1994 Beginning of Rome talks, hosted by the Community of Sant' Egidio.
- December 24, 1994 Air France Flight 8969 hijacked at Algiers airport by Islamists.
- December 26, 1994 French authorities storm the airplane at the Marseilles airport and kill the hijackers.
- December 27, 1994 Major foreign airlines halt flight to Algeria; four priests killed at Tizi Ouzou.
- January 13, 1995 Opposition groups attending the Rome talks, including the FIS, FFS, FLN, and others publish the National Contract.
- January 14, 1995 Opposition groups at the Rome talks sign a plan to end the civil war called the Sant' Egidio platform. The government of Algeria does not sign.
- January 26, 1995 Zéroual's office announces upcoming presidential elections.
- February 14, 1995 Talks with political parties concerning the presidential elections begin.
- February 21, 1995 Prisoners escape from Serkadji prison; the prison housed those charged with or convicted of terrorism. Ninety-six prisoners and four guards die over the course of a day and a half.
- April 4, 1995 Exclusion zones established by the government around the oil fields.
- July 11, 1995 Killing of Imam Sahraoui, one of the FIS founders, in Paris.
- August 28, 1995 Opposition groups that signed the National Contract call for boycott of the presidential election.
- November 16, 1995 Zéroual elected president of the republic.
- January 26, 1996 MSI-Hamas becomes part of the new government.
- February 18, 1996 Curfews in place from December 1992 lifted.
- March 13, 1996 Antiterrorist summit in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt attended by the Algerian government.
- March 27, 1996 GIA claims responsibility for kidnapping of seven monks.
- March 30, 1996 Kidnapped monks found dead.
- May 5, 1996 Parliamentary and municipal elections announced by Zéroual to be before end of 1996.
- July 16, 1996 LIDD kills Djamel Zitouni, GIA leader. Antar Zouabri assumes GIA leadership.
- April 3, 1997 Massacre at Thalit. Only one out of fifty-three inhabitants survives.
- April 22, 1997 Massacre at Haoouch Khemisti.
- April 23, 1997 Massacre at Omaria.
- May 28, 1997 FIS leadership abroad publishes "strategy for resolving the crisis in Algeria."
- June 5, 1997 RND wins parliamentary elections with 155 seats. MSP takes sixty-nine seats, followed by the FLN with sixty-four, En Nahda with thirty-four, the FFS with nineteen, and the RCD with nineteen.
- June 16, 1997 Massacre at Dairat Labguer.
- July 27, 1997 Massacre at Si Zerrouk.
- August 3, 1997 Massacre at Oued el-Had and Mezouara.
- August 20, 1997 Massacre at Souhane.
- August 26, 1997 Massacre at Beni-Ali.
- August 28–29 Massacre at Raïs.
- September 5, 1997 Massacre in the hills of Algiers at Béni Messous.
- September 19, 1997 Massacre at Guelb el-Kebir

September 21, 1997 Unilateral cease-fire declared by the AIS.

September 22, 1997 Massacre at Bentalha.

October 12, 1997 Massacre at fake roadblock at Sidi Daoud.

October 23, 1997 RND wins municipal elections, taking 55 percent of the seats.

October 27, 1997 Demonstrations against election fraud by opposition in Algiers.

December 24, 1997 Massacre at Sid el-Antri.

December 30, 1997 Massacres in Relizane Wilaya.

January 4, 1998 Massacres in Relizane Wilaya.

January 11, 1998 Massacre at Sidi-Hamed.

March 26, 1998 Massacre at Oued Bouaicha.

June 25, 1998 Assassination of Matoub Lounes, anti-Islamist Kabyle singer. Lounes had been on the GIA's list of artists and intellectuals and was kidnapped by the GIA for two weeks on September 25, 1994.

September 14, 1998 GSPC splits from the GIA because of massacres.

December 8, 1998 Massacre at Tadjena.

April 15, 1999 Election of Abdelaziz Bouteflika as president. Other candidates had already withdrawn and had made allegations of election fraud.

June 5, 1999 AIS begins to negotiate amnesty for its members after agreeing to dissolve.

November 22, 1999 Assassination of Abdelkader Hachani, senior FIS member.

January 11, 2000 Dissolution of AIS after amnesty agreement with the government.

September 23, 2001 U.S. President George W. Bush's Executive Order 13224 freezes the assets of the GIA and GSPC, which the United States considers terrorist groups.

February 8, 2002 GIA leader Anta Zouabri killed.

July 2, 2003 FIS leaders Abassi Madani and Ali Beljadji are released from prison. They had served 12-year sentences.

October 23, 2003 Nabil Sahraoui, leader of GSPC, announces support for Usama bin Laden's jihad and the United States and support for Muslims fighting in Afghanistan, Chechnya, and the Philippines.

June 20, 2004 Government sources report that GSPC leader Nabil Sahraoui has been killed.

July, 2004 GIA leader Rachid Abou Tourab is killed, according to a government statement released in January of 2005.

September 29, 2005 Charter on Peace and National Reconciliation is approved in a national referendum, garnering 97 percent of the vote.

List of Acronyms

AIS: Islamic Army of Salvation (Armée Islamique du Salut)

ALN: National Liberation Army (Armée de Libération Nationale)

ANP: Popular National Army (Armée National Populaire)

FFS: Front of Socialist Forces (Front des Forces Socialistes)

FIDA: Islamic Front of Jihad in Algeria (Front Islamique du Jihad Armé)

FIS: Islamic Salvation Front (Front Islamique du Salut)

FLN: National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale)

GDP: gross domestic product

GIA: Islamic Armed Groups (Groupes Islamique Armées)

GSC: Salafi Combatant Group (Groupe Salafiste Combattant)

GSPC: Salafi Group for Preaching and Combat (Groupe Salafiste pour la Predication et le Combat)

GSPD: Salafi Group for the Jihad (Groupe Salafist pour le Jihad)

HDS: Guardians of the Salafi Call (Houmat Al-Da'wa Al-Salafiyya)

IMF: International Monetary Fund

LIDD: Islamic League for Preaching and Jihad

MEI: Movement for the Islamic State (Mouvement pour l'Etat Islamique)

MIA: Armed Islamic Movement (Mouvement Islamique Armé)

RCD: Rally for Culture and Democracy (Rassemblement pour la Culture et la Démocratie)

RND: National Democratic Rally (Rassemblement National Démocratique)

SAP: Structural Adjustment Program

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Angola

(1992–2002)

Country Background

For most of its independent existence, Angola was a Marxist-Leninist state ruled by a single party, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Freedom House gives it a rating of 6.0 (5.5–7 is “not free”). The MPLA government renounced Marxism-Leninism in 1990 and officially legalized other parties in May 1991 as part of the Bicesse Accords. There are currently more than one hundred twenty legal parties, with twelve controlling seats in the National Assembly. Nonetheless, the MPLA remains the dominant force in Angolan politics: It controls nearly 60 percent of the seats in the Assembly, and its long-time leader, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, has served as president since 1979. The last elections were held in 1992, and new elections have been promised for September 2006.

Despite a rich natural resource base and strong economic growth rates, Angola remains one of the world’s poorest countries. It is the second-largest oil producer in sub-Saharan Africa after Nigeria, and the world’s fourth-largest producer of rough diamonds (IMF 2005a). A net exporter of food at independence in 1975, decades of civil war have left most Angolans reliant on subsistence agriculture and humanitarian assistance for their food needs.

Angola’s economy is heavily reliant on the oil sector: Oil accounts for 90 percent of exports, 75 percent of revenues, and half of the GDP, and it is a significant source of collateral for commercial loans. Oil revenues brought in \$4.5 billion in 2004 (IMF 2005a). There is virtually no integration between the oil sector and the rest of the economy, and most fields are located offshore, which protected oil production from disruption during the civil war. Angola possesses 5 billion barrels of proven reserves, and production has been steadily climbing over the last decade. In 1995, Angola produced about 650,000 barrels per day; by 2004, production had reached 1 million barrels per day and was expected to double by mid-2007 (IMF 2005a). This helped fuel an 11.4 percent real GDP growth rate in 2004. According to the U.S. State Department, Angola’s GDP/purchasing power parity is \$35.1 billion, and per capita GDP/ppp is US \$2,525 (United States Department of State 2005).

Transparency International ranks Angola as one of the world’s most corrupt countries. Based on International Monetary Fund (IMF) studies, some \$1 billion in oil revenues in 2002 went unaccounted for. Between 1997 and 2002, a total of \$4.22 billion in oil revenue appears to have been siphoned off, an amount roughly equivalent to all social spending (both public and private) in the same period (Human Rights Watch 2003a).

Lack of transparency and mismanagement continue to plague the economy.

Diamonds are another significant economic resource, accounting for more than 8 percent of exports and 95 percent of non-oil exports (IMF 2005a). But the Angolan government has had trouble controlling diamond exports, and especially in the 1990s diamonds were overwhelmingly exploited by the rebel movement, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) in a lucrative illegal trade. The government has steadily reasserted its control since 2002, and Angola will produce an estimated \$900 million in diamonds in 2005 (United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network, 5 July 2005). Nonetheless, Angola continues to lose several hundred million dollars a year in revenue because of diamond smuggling (United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network, 2005a).

Conflict Background

With few exceptions, Angola was in a constant state of war from 1961 to 2002. From 1961 to 1975, several factions fought an anticolonial war against the Portuguese occupiers, which then continued as internecine civil war after independence in November 1975. The civil war has three distinct phases. Phase I (1975–1991) was a classic Cold War regional conflict, pitting the MPLA government, backed by 50,000 Cuban troops and massive levels of Soviet bloc military assistance, against its bitter rival, UNITA, backed by South Africa, Zaire, and the United States. Phase II (1992–1994) is bookended by the collapse of one peace accord, the Bicesse Accords, and the implementation of another, the Lusaka Protocol, which kept a relative peace for four years. Phase III (1998–2002) began with the total collapse of the Lusaka Protocol and ended with the death of rebel leader Jonas Savimbi. This entry focuses on the 1992–2002 period.

The first armed uprisings broke out in 1961, spearheaded by peasants resisting the forced cultivation of cotton and, in a separate action, the

beginning of the MPLA's campaign. The brutal Portuguese counterattack killed tens of thousands of Africans and sent hundreds of thousands into Zaire as refugees; by the time the peasant uprising had been put down, Portugal had 140,000 troops stationed in Angola. Sustained anticolonial guerrilla operations commenced in 1966. Three factions emerged: the MPLA, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), and UNITA. In 1974, following an army coup triggered by the draining anticolonial wars in Africa, Portugal announced its intentions to grant Angola independence on November 11, 1975. A brief period of relative calm was destroyed by early summer 1975 as the three anticolonial movements fought for control of the soon-to-be independent state.

The heavy involvement of the United States and the Soviet Union as the sponsors of opposing movements helped turn Angola into a major Cold War battleground. Cuban troops began arriving in late summer in support of the MPLA, and South African and Zairean troops intervened on behalf of the FNLA and UNITA. The Cuban intervention proved decisive, and the MPLA routed the FNLA, which all but disintegrated as it retreated into Zaire. The MPLA declared itself the Government of Angola (GOA) at independence on November 11, 1975. UNITA, the smallest of the three movements, refused to accept the legitimacy of the MPLA government. It continued a guerrilla campaign in the southern areas, backed by Zaire and South Africa. American assistance to UNITA was legally cut off by the 1976 Clark Amendment and would not be restored until 1985. In the early 1980s, the Reagan administration tied the independence of Namibia, illegally occupied by South Africa, to the withdrawal of the 50,000 Cuban troops in Angola. Fighting between the Angolan government and UNITA dragged on for thirteen years after independence.

As the United States and the Soviet Union began to end their Cold War, and as apartheid South Africa moved toward democracy, diplomatic efforts mounted to solve the international

element of the Angolan war. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev wanted to extricate the Soviet Union from its costly third-world involvements, Cuba could not afford to maintain its forces in Angola without Soviet financial assistance, and South Africa was staggering under the combined weight of sanctions, the war in Angola, and colonial control of Namibia. Heavy fighting in 1987–1988 produced a mutually hurting stalemate as all parties recognized that military victory was not possible and that further fighting was economically prohibitive.

On December 22, 1988, the Brazzaville Protocol was signed at the UN by Angola, Cuba, and South Africa. It featured a phased withdrawal of Cuban troops, to be completed by July 1991, and the implementation of UN Resolution 435, which governed Namibia's transition to independence. A seventy-person UN military observer force (United Nations Angola Verification Mission [UNAVEM I]), verified the Cuban withdrawal. The diplomatic momentum carried over into an effort to solve the internal dimension of Angola's civil war as the Americans and the Soviets both pressured their clients to settle politically. The GOA announced its commitment to a political solution in January 1989, and over the next two years a variety of mediators brokered negotiations.

Joint American, Soviet, and Portuguese mediation over six rounds of talks in 1990 produced the 1991 Bicesse Accords. The agreement's provisions included a cease-fire, effective May 15, to be followed by cantonment and disarmament; a multiparty system, which allowed for UNITA's participation in politics; a commitment to hold free and fair elections under international supervision; the recognition of the MPLA government by UNITA until the elections; the extension of central administration to all parts of the country; the termination of outside military assistance by the United States and the Soviet Union; the creation of a unified national military force; and a UN peacekeeping mission (UNAVEM II) to support the parties. UNAVEM II had a very weak mandate—its role was simply

to verify that the two parties were following the cease-fire, and thus it deployed only 350 military observers. The Joint Political and Military Commission, the body charged with the actual implementation of the accord, comprised the two parties plus the United States and the Soviet Union; the UN's special representative to the secretary-general was an observer.

The elections were held in September 1992 despite clear evidence that both parties had failed to demobilize or disarm. Three weeks before the elections, less than half of the government's forces had demobilized, and not even 25 percent of UNITA's forces had done so (Jett 1999, 104). Nonetheless, the elections went forward, and 92 percent of registered voters participated. The MPLA won nearly 54 percent of the vote for the national assembly (129 seats) and UNITA 34 percent (seventy seats). President dos Santos received 49.57 percent of the vote for president and Savimbi 40.6 percent. The failure of any candidate to achieve a majority should have triggered a second round of voting, but Savimbi rejected the results of the elections.

Savimbi's decision plunged the country into the worst violence yet seen in the long civil war. An estimated 300,000 people died in the 1992–1994 period (Human Rights Watch 1999, 15). UNITA was well positioned for a return to war. Its forces were now three times larger than those of the Forças Armadas Angolanas (FAA), thanks to the government's crash effort to demobilize its forces in the weeks surrounding the election (Jett 1999, 104). Unsurprisingly, UNITA rapidly seized over three-quarters of the country, including several provincial capitals, before the FAA began to reverse those gains. Several factors contributed to the FAA's gradual resurgence. In 1993, the GOA hired Executive Outcomes, a private security firm whose personnel were former members of the South African Defense Forces (SADF), to train and assist the FAA. UNITA lost its outside supporters, with the exception of Zaire, because it had rejected the election results. It was forced to turn to diamond smuggling to buy the weapons previously provided by the

United States and South Africa. The UN imposed sanctions on UNITA in September 1993, forbidding sales of fuel and arms to the rebels. By late 1994, the FAA had retaken most of the cities captured by UNITA, and the rebels were under heavy military pressure.

Diplomatic efforts produced the Lusaka Protocol in November 1994. Lusaka built on the Bicesse framework but directly addressed the previous agreement's weaknesses, adding power sharing, direct UN oversight of the peace process backed by a 7,000-person peacekeeping force, and a new round of elections to take place *after* the DDR (disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration) process was completed. The protocol's effectiveness was cast into doubt almost immediately when Savimbi refused to attend the signing ceremony. Consequently, dos Santos did not sign for the GOA. For the first time in three years, dos Santos and Savimbi met face to face in May 1995, the first of four such meetings in 1995 and 1996. Savimbi's role in the government had yet to be determined and was a major point of contention. In June 1995, the GOA offered Savimbi the largely ceremonial post of vice president. When it did not receive any reply, it made the offer again in March 1996. Savimbi finally rejected the post in August, claiming that UNITA did not want him to accept it. Savimbi also never went to Luanda, although the UNITA deputies elected in 1992 took their assembly seats, and UNITA members were appointed to the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation (GURN).

UNITA largely failed to live up to its side of Lusaka, pursuing "a policy of procrastination with concessions only when unavoidable" (MacQueen 1998, 409). It dragged its feet on the quartering of its troops and never handed in its heavy weaponry. It refused to allow state administration into many of the areas under its control. In early 1998, nearly one year into the process, UNITA had turned over only 239 of the 344 localities specified in Lusaka (Human Rights Watch 1999, 23). With the billions it gained from illegal diamond sales between 1993 and

1998, UNITA continued to purchase large amounts of weaponry, in contravention of the UN sanctions. It stockpiled weapons and materiel in neighboring countries. UNITA's foot-dragging constantly pushed back the timetable for completing the various components of the Lusaka process.

The government also utilized the post-Lusaka period to rearm. Military expenditures as a share of GDP had been between 6 and 12 percent from 1990 to 1993; that figure averaged nearly 20 percent between 1994 and 1999 (Omitoogun, 2001, 4). In 1996, for example, the GOA purchased \$350 million dollars worth of Russian attack helicopters and fighter jets (Reno 1999, 65).

Localized fighting broke out in 1995 and 1996, and cease-fire violations multiplied throughout 1997. The UN imposed additional sanctions against UNITA because of its failure to meet its commitments under Lusaka in August 1997 and June 1998, including a ban on sales of diamonds from Angola not accompanied by a certificate of origin. Simultaneously, the UN was downsizing its peacekeeping mission; by June 1997, only an observer force of roughly 1,500 troops with 345 civilian police officers was left. UNAVEM III transitioned to the UN Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA), which had an authorized strength of 2,000 personnel.

With a return to war looking increasingly likely, the GOA moved to cut UNITA off from its outside support network. Zaire's leader, Mobutu Sese Seko, was UNITA's longest running, and by this point its most essential, patron. Savimbi had stashed a large quantity of weapons and supplies in Zaire and had also maintained a "secret army of perhaps 15,000 soldiers," both deliberately hidden from the Lusaka process (Turner 2002, 81). When the rebellion against Mobutu flared in 1996, the GOA recognized an opportunity both to sever UNITA's Zairean network and to punish Mobutu for years of meddling in Angola. Initially, it accepted Zairean promises to cut off UNITA in return for Angola staying out of the burgeoning rebellion. But when such promises were not fulfilled—several Zairean generals sold

UNITA tons of arms even as their own army was crumbling in the face of the rebel advance—the GOA sent some 5,000–7,000 troops to support rebel leader Laurent Kabila (Turner 2002, 82). Kabila’s capture of Kinshasa in 1997 severely curtailed UNITA’s ability to use Zairean territory and forced Savimbi to establish alternative supply networks and sanctuaries.

Savimbi turned to Pascal Lissouba, the embattled president of Congo-Brazzaville, itself on the brink of civil war. Thousands of UNITA fighters who fled Zaire went to Congo-Brazzaville, where Lissouba incorporated them into his militia. When war broke out in June 1997, the GOA sent 3,500 troops to help Lissouba’s rival, Denis Sassou-Nguesso (Hewitt 1999). With Angola’s help, Sassou-Nguesso seized power in Congo-Brazzaville in October, once more cutting UNITA off from an important external base. The Angolan troops stayed in Congo-Brazzaville until 2001.

To preserve its success in denying UNITA access to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC, the former Zaire), the GOA sent additional troops to support Kabila when his Rwandan and Ugandan allies turned against him in August 1998. The UNITA fighters remaining in the DRC now supported their former enemies, Rwanda and Uganda. By this time, though, UNITA officials had visited both states and were transshipping guns and diamonds through their airports with official sanction. This earned Rwanda and Uganda the GOA’s enmity, and further strengthened Angola’s reasons to back Kabila.

The government’s patience with UNITA finally ran out in December 1998. President dos Santos asked the remaining UN observers to withdraw, suspended the Lusaka Protocol, and ordered a massive military offensive. This round of fighting was markedly more brutal than before, as both sides committed egregious violations against civilians. Between 1998 and 2002, the number of refugees nearly doubled, and the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) quadrupled (Human Rights Watch 2003b, 6). The government began to forcibly resettle peo-

ple in government-controlled areas, which included camps with insufficient assistance and security, and pursued scorched-earth tactics. UNITA, hard hit by the offensive and reeling from the loss of its outside networks, could no longer mount sustained conventional opposition, resorting to hit-and-run guerrilla attacks that took a heavy toll on civilians. In one instance in August 2001, a UNITA-laid land mine caused a train derailment that killed more than 250 people.

The government inflicted heavy losses on UNITA throughout 1999. UNITA was unable to import the fuel, spare parts, and munitions it needed to counter the FAA offensive, and its morale plunged. The FAA seized Andula and Bailundo, the military and political headquarters of UNITA, in September, and in late December captured Jamba, UNITA’s headquarters until 1994. The GOA persuaded Namibia to allow its forces to attack UNITA positions from Namibian territory in late 1999, and fighting that also involved Namibian forces flared along the border. In 2000, “UNITA was defeated as a conventional military force” (Turner 2002, 86).

Despite the government’s string of victories, the fighting dragged on through 2000 and 2001. On February 22, 2002, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi was killed by government commandos in a raid. A cease-fire was in place by April 4, and peace was officially declared on August 2. All UN sanctions were lifted in December.

The Insurgents

UNITA was founded in 1966, when Jonas Savimbi left the FNLA to form his own group. Initially based in Zambia, UNITA was expelled in 1967 after an attack on a strategic rail link between Zambia and Angola. Inside Angola, the group grew stronger, but it remained the smallest of the nationalist groups until independence. It counted only some 3,000 fighters in January 1975.

Following the collapse of the FNLA, UNITA became the main armed opposition force to the

Table 1: Civil War in Angola

War:	UNITA vs. the government
Dates:	September 1992–April 2002
Casualties:	500,000–700,000
Regime type prior to war:	–7 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	–3
GDP/per capita year war began:	US \$586 in 1992 (1995 dollars)
GDP/per capita 5 years after war:	US \$632 in 2003 (1995 dollars)
Insurgents:	UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)
Issue:	Control of central government and mineral resources
Rebel funding:	Diamonds
Role of geography:	Limited
Role of resources:	Revenue from oil and diamonds funded the fighting
Immediate outcome:	Government victory due to death of rebel leader
Outcome after 5 years:	Peace, elections scheduled for 2006
Role of UN:	Facilitated peace talks; five peacekeeping missions; humanitarian assistance
Role of regional organization:	None
Refugees:	435,000; all should be repatriated by mid-2005
Prospects for peace:	Favorable

Sources: Doyle and Sambanis 2000.

MPLA government. UNITA drew its support almost entirely from the Ovimbundu, who constitute roughly a third of Angola's population. Yet the war, especially after 1992, was not about ethnicity; it was about Savimbi's personal ambition to be the leader of Angola. Savimbi's control over UNITA cadres was a "product partly of his personal charisma and genuine leadership qualities, but it [was] reinforced by a fearsome security apparatus, a culture of zero tolerance for dissent and a personality cult that has parallels with those of Mao Tse-Tung and Kim Il-Sung" (Hodges 2001, 18).

Throughout the war, UNITA captured "substantial quantities" of weapons from the government, but in the 1990s especially it actively purchased weapons on the black market (UN 2000a, para. 39). Thanks to several UN investigative reports, a great deal is known about UNITA's funding and arms acquisitions.

UNITA became a major participant in the blood diamond trade following its seizure of the Cuango Valley in November 1992. According to the UN, UNITA cooperated with a foreign consortium to run industrial diamond mines in Cuango Valley, close to the DRC border. Dia-

monds were sold directly to diamond cutters and their intermediaries, through tenders issued in third countries, and through South Africa's open market (UN 2000b, para. 176). The governments of Burkino Faso, Zaire, Uganda, and Rwanda facilitated UNITA's illegal diamond selling. Significant quantities of diamonds also moved through Namibia, South Africa, and Zambia, although not with official sanction. Diamond sales between 1993 and 1998 brought in an estimated \$3 billion to UNITA and its partners (UN 2000b, para. 153). The peak year was 1996, when UNITA produced roughly \$800 million in diamonds (UN 2000b, para. 152).

Diamonds allowed UNITA to fund the purchase of large quantities of equipment, including "mechanized vehicles such as tanks and APCs, mines and explosives, a variety of small arms and light anti-aircraft weapons, and a variety of artillery pieces" (UN 2000a, para. 48). Until the overthrow of Mobutu in 1997, Zaire was UNITA's main backer. From as early as 1997, Bulgaria was the source for the majority of UNITA's weapons purchases, although the Bulgarians believed the end-user certificates presented from Togo were authentic (UN 2000b, para. 50).



Jonas Savimbi (center) led the UNITA rebel army in Angola for decades. This photo of Savimbi was taken in 1975, around the time of Angolan independence. (Patrick Chauvel/Sygma/Corbis)

Despite multiple rounds of UN sanctions, UNITA continued to find suppliers, seeking out arms dealers willing to barter for diamonds. The Fowler Report identified four reasons for UNITA's success in circumventing the sanctions: the willingness of certain African countries to provide UNITA with end-user certificates and to facilitate the movement of arms through their territory; the willingness of some countries officially or unofficially to sell arms with little or no regard for their final destination; the eagerness of international arms brokers and air transport companies to act as intermediaries between UNITA and its suppliers; and UNITA's ability to pay for what it wanted, thanks to its diamond operations (UN 2000a, para. 51).

Zaire, Togo, and Burkina Faso all helped UNITA procure weapons. In the early 1990s, Mobutu arranged for weapons to reach UNITA by providing false end-user certificates and facilitating transport (often by air) into UNITA-held

areas (UN 2000a, para. 21). In return, Mobutu received cash and diamonds as well as the assistance of several thousand UNITA troops against the Kabila rebellion. Savimbi forged a close relationship with Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo in the early 1990s, when Togo agreed to help UNITA purchase weapons and other military equipment in return for a 20-percent cash or in-kind cut of the shipment's value (UN 2000a, para. 33). With Mobutu's position increasingly threatened by the rebellion in Zaire, Savimbi in early 1997 turned again to Togo, which gave UNITA a genuine end-user certificate that UNITA then forged and used repeatedly. Burkina Faso also supplied end-user certificates; Blaise Campaore and Savimbi enjoyed a close personal relationship in addition to their financial ties (UN 2000a, para. 103). Eyadema and Campaore received diamonds in payment for the false documents and the assistance in storing and transporting the weapons.

The FAA offensive in 1999 made UNITA's illegal diamond trading and arms acquisitions extremely difficult. The UN embargo on air travel into UNITA-held areas and the GOA's interventions in the DRC and Congo-Brazzaville also cut off UNITA from its outside supply network. As its resources were choked off, UNITA found it increasingly difficult to prosecute the war.

Geography

Savimbi established his headquarters in Jamba, in the farthest reaches of the sparsely populated Cuando Cubango province, an area the Portuguese had called the "end of the world." This isolation allowed the group to survive once the MPLA took power in 1975, and Jamba's close proximity to the Namibian border meant South African assistance, including SADF troops, could flow in easily in Phase I of the war. In the early 1980s, UNITA expanded the areas under its control from some southern and central provinces toward the Zairean border. By the mid-1980s, UNITA's reach extended to areas bordering Zaire, allowing it to use Zaire as a transshipment point, supply depot, and sanctuary. Zaire gave UNITA strategic depth, which helped the movement to pose a serious challenge to the government's ability to rule for more than two decades.

Most of Angola's diamonds are in alluvial deposits, which are much easier to exploit than kimberlite deposits. Thus, UNITA's mining operations were labor intensive and did not require a great deal of mining equipment. The location of the richest deposits in areas easily accessible to Zaire/DRC also eased UNITA's ability to move diamonds out of Angola and to bring weapons, fuel, food, and equipment in from Zaire. The location of the major oil fields offshore ensured government control of this resource and protected it from disruption during the fighting.

Tactics

For most of its existence, UNITA was a classic rural guerrilla insurgency. In the 1992–1994 period, it evolved into a semiconventional force

that was capable of laying siege to and capturing major provincial capitals. These tactics took a heavy humanitarian toll. UNITA's twenty-one-month bombardment of Kuito, which it failed to capture, killed an estimated 20,000–30,000 people and all but leveled the town; its shelling of Huambo killed 10,000 people (Human Rights Watch 1994). UNITA rained 1,000 shells per day on these cities. Such sieges also produced severe food shortages. UNITA captured and held six provincial capitals: Caxito, Huambo, M'banza Kongo, Ndalatando, and Uige (Hodges 2001, 15). It also moved its capital from Jamba to Bailundo in the central plateau province of Huambo during this period. Under the Lusaka Protocol, UNITA was to turn the areas under its control over to the central administration, but when fighting resumed in 1998 it still held sixty localities (Human Rights Watch 1999, 23).

Government successes in 1999 forced UNITA into hit-and-run ambushes and terrorist tactics for the remainder of the war. UNITA began to target expatriate workers, government and traditional leaders, and humanitarian workers, and its abuses against civilians (such as forced recruitment and mutilation) increased dramatically. Freedom of movement was denied in UNITA areas, and no humanitarian assistance reached those populations for several years. Southern Bie province, for example, was inaccessible from 1998 until the end of the war. The FAA also engaged in widespread forced displacement, moving people from rural areas into major population centers or pushing them into refugee camps. The humanitarian emergency that emerged when the war ended was a direct consequence of the warring parties' tactics.

UNITA's ability to wage anything more than a guerrilla campaign was dictated by the number of men it had under arms, the resources it controlled, and the size of the FAA. UNITA's major gains came at a time when the FAA had disproportionately demobilized, giving UNITA a large numerical advantage. Accurate estimates of UNITA's size are difficult to make, but it was to



have quartered 62,500 combatants as part of the Lusaka process and 105,000 combatants went through DDR at the war's end (Hewitt, 1999; UN 2003, 3). The FAA was the largest army in sub-Saharan Africa by the late 1990s, with roughly 120,000 men. Over the final two years of fighting, it grew to 146,000 (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 2001).

Most UNITA forces were light infantry units, although UNITA was able to field several armored and mechanized units. It captured some T-54/55 tanks from government forces and purchased four or five others (UN 2000a, para. 49). It was not until December 1998 that UNITA first used tank divisions. UNITA also had artillery and antitank and air defense units, but the

mainstay of its weapons inventory was small arms and light weapons (UN 2000a, para. 47). Like the government, UNITA made heavy use of land mines.

Causes of the War

Although earlier phases of the war were fueled by anticolonialism or Cold War ideological battles, the 1992–2002 fighting was largely fueled by the ambitions of one man, Jonas Savimbi. His refusal to accept the election results of 1992 was the direct trigger for a return to war, and his recalcitrance with respect to Lusaka was largely responsible for its failure. UNITA served as his personal vehicle, as evidenced by the rapid end of the war after his death.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

The war ended in 2002 as a result of the death of the rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi. The two sides signed an addendum to the Lusaka Protocol, the Luena Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). The MOU dealt with military issues still outstanding from the implementation of Lusaka, such as DDR and the integration of UNITA personnel into the FAA and the national police.

Despite an end to the fighting, Angola continues to face severe resettlement problems. Demobilization created a new humanitarian crisis, as the UNITA excombatants waited in camps for the government to deliver on its promises of aid. A number of factors hindered the DDR process, including a “lack of adequate facilities, inaccessible roads, mine infestation and inadequately prepared resettlement areas” (UN 2003, 3). Excombatants were promised farming tools, household goods, zinc roofs, clothes, and \$100 stipends, but the GOA did not universally provide such benefits, claiming it faced financial difficulties in paying for the DDR process. In September 2002, the World Food Program began supplying food to the excombatants because the GOA had not (Cauvin 2002). Six

months after the cease-fire, most fighters were still in the camps, and a year later 15,000 fighters were still waiting to enter the reception areas (UN 2003, 3). Potentially problematic is that UNITA turned over the equivalent of one weapon for every three soldiers in the disarmament process (Human Rights Watch 2003a). Given the staggering unemployment rate and the government’s inability to provide even basic services, there are continuing concerns that ex-UNITA fighters will resort to banditry to sustain themselves and their families (ICG 2003a, 6). The UN reported in 2003 that 90,000 UNITA excombatants went through the resettlement process out of 105,000 total (each with average of six dependents) (UN 2003, 3).

When the fighting stopped, half a million people living in UNITA-held areas previously inaccessible to humanitarian assistance proved to be in dire need of aid; the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) said that malnutrition among those living in combat zones was among the worst seen in Africa in a decade; some 3 million Angolans required food assistance to survive by mid-2002 (ICG 2003a, 4). Relief efforts were hampered by bad (or nonexistent) roads, land mines, and seasonal rains, which combined to place 445,000 people beyond the reach of assistance by early 2003, with an additional 200,000 people yet to be reached for the first time; a year after the war ended, mortality rates were still at emergency levels, especially in rural areas (UN 2003, 4).

By the war’s end, roughly 435,000 refugees had fled, mainly to the DRC, Zambia, and Namibia; another 4 million persons—one-third of the population—were internally displaced (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 2002, 2004). Large numbers of persons returned to their homes in 2002 and 2003, often outside of the formal resettlement process. OCHA reported that 3.8 million Angolans returned or resettled in 2003; some 70 percent did so without any assistance from local authorities or humanitarian organizations (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs 2004,

1). Land mines made this especially hazardous. Only 30 percent of designated return sites had basic services in place for the returnees, and 900,000 people returned to areas without any basic services (UN 2003, 5). The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) reported that by mid-2005, some 320,000 refugees had voluntarily repatriated (185,000 with UNHCR assistance), and it expected to repatriate another 55,000 refugees in the later half of the year before its program ended (United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network, 2005c). Nearly all of the ex-combatants and IDPs had returned home or had decided to re-settle in new communities by 2005.

Duration Tactics

The Angolan conflict dragged on for four decades largely because the parties to the conflict were not committed to a peaceful solution. The parties' deep distrust of one another (a distrust amply deserved in both cases) repeatedly meant that, rather than fulfill their commitments as specified in Bicesse and later Lusaka, they constantly hedged their bets. Both sides held back forces in the various DDR processes, stockpiled weapons, and purchased huge amounts of equipment during periods of cease-fire. Savimbi in particular deserves blame for undermining the various peace plans. His intentions were never clear, as he routinely failed to show up for meetings or signings, refused to move to Luanda, and was unwilling to accept a lesser role in a unity government.

UNITA dragged its feet at every possible juncture, and even when it was cooperating its efforts, fell well short of full compliance. For example, during the DDR process associated with Lusaka, many of the "soldiers" UNITA sent to quartering areas were conscripted solely for that purpose, were war wounded, or were under eighteen. It handed in few weapons, many of them old or broken, and never surrendered its heavy weaponry.

Outside actors also share some responsibility for Angola's prolonged war. In Phase I, third-

Land Mines

Angola is one of the world's most heavily mined countries. At least one in every 415 Angolans is disabled as a result of a mine injury. The Angolan government estimates that some 80,000 people have been mutilated by mine injuries. Seventy-six different types of mines manufactured in twenty-two countries have been laid in Angola (Hartley 2002), and roughly 4,000 minefields have been identified. All sides have laid mines since the 1960s, generally without mapping or marking where the mines were laid. The UN has identified mines along roads as the main hindrance to economic development in Angola; mines were also frequently laid along railroads or near other major infrastructure such as dams or electricity pylons. Pathways to farming fields, streams, and the ways in and out of towns and villages were also routinely and heavily mined. The mining of transportation routes made the delivery of humanitarian assistance especially difficult once the war stopped in 2002—and the most heavily mined areas (which were the central highlands) also happened to be those most in need of emergency assistance. When IDPs and refugees began returning to their homes in large numbers in 2002 and 2003, the number of mine incidents skyrocketed.

The process of demining is painfully slow, expensive, and dangerous. Eight NGOs operate in Angola, three of which have been there for a decade: Halo Trust, the Mine Action Group, and Norwegian People's Aid. According to the 2004 Landmine Monitor Report (International Campaign to Ban Landmines 2004), an estimated 20 million square miles were demined between 1999 and 2003. Tragically, mines continued to be laid even as the demining effort got underway in the mid-1990s. The Angolan government began its Mine Impact Survey in December 2002 and is undertaking a mine action plan.

In a society where subsistence farming is the main economic occupation, land mines and their aftermath are especially debilitating. People are prevented from farming for fear of triggering a land mine or are forced by necessity to till areas of uncertain safety. Victims generally lose a limb or their eyesight or both, which renders them unable to farm. The 2004 Landmine Monitor Report observes that the "availability of services to assist in [land mine survivors'] social and economic reintegration is either non-existent or inadequate to meet the need" (International Campaign to Ban Landmines 2004).

party intervention by the superpowers and regional actors provided both sides with the military, financial, and political resources necessary to continue the fighting for thirteen years. In Phases II and III, key states such as Russia and Portugal continued to sell weapons to the government, and a variety of states actively connived at sanctions-busting to aid and trade with UNITA.

The UN record in Angola in Phases II and III is a poor one. UNAVEM II was undersized and underresourced and could not prevent the collapse of the Bicesse Accords. It must be recognized, though, that the limited scope of the UN role under Bicesse was a reflection of the wishes of the GOA and UNITA. Allowing the parties themselves to police implementation of the peace accord was identified as a key weakness of Bicesse, and thus Lusaka provided for a much more robust UN role. But UNAVEM III actually downsized as cease-fire violations increased in the mid-1990s, and failed to halt the steady slide toward renewed war. Although the UN passed successive sets of sanctions against UNITA, it often turned a blind eye toward their violation. To its credit, once the UN commissioned the Panel of Experts in 1999, its reports on sanctions-busting were tough and detailed, even naming names of complicit heads of state.

Finally, the political economy of war helped keep the conflict going after 1991. The government and UNITA relied on oil and diamonds, respectively, to fund their war efforts, and as long as states and companies were willing to deal with them, the parties had access to tremendous sums of money.

External Military Intervention

UNITA's support in the 1974–1975 period came from South Africa, Zaire, and the United States. U.S. assistance was forbidden by Congress under the 1976 Clark Amendment, but South Africa and Zaire remained major patrons. The United States restored military assistance to UNITA in 1985 as well as supporting it diplomatically. The GOA had the backing of Cuba and the Soviet bloc.

During Phase I of the Angolan civil war, Cuban, South African, and Zairean troops were all involved to varying degrees. The 1988 Namibia Protocol brought about the withdrawal of Cuban troops as well as the end of SADF involvement. The 1991 Bicesse Accords provided that the United States and the Soviet Union would cease supplying their respective allies in the civil war. South African support ended as well with the implementation of Bicesse and the end of apartheid.

However, once fighting resumed in 1992, Russia once more supplied Angola with weapons on favorable terms, becoming the GOA's largest supplier from 1992 to 2002. Portugal, Belarus, Brazil, Bulgaria, China, and others also supplied the government with weapons. UNITA captured its weaponry from the FAA or bought it on the black market.

Under heavy pressure from UNITA forces after the fighting resumed in 1992, the GOA hired Executive Outcomes (EO). The private security firm committed about 550 personnel to the Angola mission. "Defense strategists generally credit Executive Outcomes (EO) with greatly assisting the MPLA to turn back the resurgent UNITA" (Howe 1998, 312). Initially, EO protected oil installations, trained FAA troops and pilots, and helped plan military operations. From mid-1994, EO also deployed its own forces to retake and then hold onto several important diamond mining areas. The Lusaka Protocol called for the repatriation of all mercenaries, but the GOA did not completely sever its ties with EO until January 1996 at the insistence of the United States and UN. EO received \$40 million annually for its services (Howe 1998, 318).

Conflict Management Efforts

The UN played a prominent role in efforts to bring peace to Angola, authorizing five peace-keeping missions:

- UNAVEM I (UN Angola Verification Mission):
January 1989–June 1991
- UNAVEM II: June 1991–February 1995

UNAVEM III: February 1995–June 1997
 MONUA (UN Observer Mission in Angola):
 July 1997–February 1999
 UNMA (UN Mission in Angola): August
 2002–February 2003

UNAVEM I, established as part of the 1988 Brazzaville Protocol, was a traditional peace-keeping operation: a small observer force mandated to verify the withdrawal of Cuban troops, created with the consent of the parties. UNAVEM I “achieved its limited goals with very limited resources precisely because the parties cooperated and wanted the UN to succeed in its mission (Jett 1999, 117).

UNAVEM II confronted a much more difficult task. The Bicesse Accords, which the UN had played little role in negotiating, called for the establishment of a 350-person UN observer force to supervise the cease-fire between the FAA and UNITA. Expectations for what this small mission could accomplish were immense, and in fairness UNAVEM II did succeed in organizing the 1992 elections on a very compressed schedule. But the mission’s mandate was poorly defined, and its resources were “hopelessly inadequate for the magnitude of the task” (Hodges 2001, 14). Flaws in Bicesse, including the lack of a power-sharing requirement and the failure to make the elections conditional on the fulfillment of the military goals, were magnified by the lack of cooperation on the part of the parties themselves. “UNAVEM II had neither adequate resources nor the authority to help the parties find peace, even if they had been sincere about wanting it” (Jett 1999, 162).

Following the collapse of Bicesse and the return to war, the UN continued to search for a negotiated settlement. It sponsored several rounds of talks in 1993, and in September adopted UN Resolution (UNR) 864, which prohibited all sales or supply to UNITA of arms and related materiel and military assistance as well as all petroleum and petroleum products. The threat of further sanctions helped push Savimbi to accept the validity of the 1992 elections.

The Lusaka Protocol attempted to correct the flaws of UNAVEM II by providing the new UN mission with a much more robust mandate. It was charged with overall supervision, control, and verification of the cease-fire; chairing the Joint Commission that oversaw implementation of the Lusaka provisions; and directing the DDR process for UNITA forces. UNAVEM III’s authorized strength was 7,000 troops, 350 military observers, and 260 police observers, and its budget was roughly \$1 million a day (MacQueen 1998, 416).

Although progress was made in implementing Lusaka, UNITA’s procrastination repeatedly meant that target dates in the Lusaka timetable were not met. UN pressure often brought at least some measure of compliance from UNITA, but by the fall of 1996 the UN’s patience was all but exhausted. It threatened new sanctions if UNITA failed to deliver its fighters to the quartering areas. By early 1997, 70,660 UNITA troops had registered, and UNITA declared it had completed the quartering of its troops. The UN remained concerned, however; of that number, 22,686 troops had deserted or temporarily absented themselves from the camps (UN 1997, para. 10). UN threats also helped push UNITA to agree to the formation of the Government of Unity and National reconciliation in April 1997, although Savimbi refused to attend the swearing-in ceremony.

With nearly all UNITA troops supposedly in the quartering areas and the GURN in place, the UN extended UNAVEM III’s mandate in April for a final six months, planning to replace it with a smaller observer mission. Yet, as the UN transitioned into MONUA, there were already abundant signs that peace was precarious. UNITA still had not met several key obligations under Lusaka, Zaire was being consumed by a civil war that would pull in both UNITA and the FAA, and serious cease-fire violations were multiplying. The intense fighting that broke out in northern Angola in the summer of 1997 “demonstrated not only that UNITA still controlled major portions of the country but that it

had hidden a major military capacity from the UN” (Jett 1999, 163).

Like its predecessor UNAVEM II, MONUA found that its small size and limited resources were dwarfed by the tremendous challenges that faced it. With Lusaka disintegrating and MONUA outmatched, the UN finally imposed the oft-threatened sanctions against UNITA in October 1997. UN Resolution 1127 placed an international travel ban on UNITA officials, closed UNITA offices abroad, and prohibited flights into Angolan territory without approval by the government. Further sanctions were passed in June 1998, targeting UNITA’s diamond-trading network. UNR 1173 prevented the direct or indirect import from Angola of diamonds not controlled by a certificate of origin and banned the export of equipment for mining and mining services to UNITA-controlled territory. But it was too little, too late. The GOA asked the UN to withdraw MONUA preparatory to a return to full-scale war in December 1998.

From UNAVEM I through MONUA, the UN spent \$1.5 billion and lost nearly sixty peacekeepers.

Following Savimbi’s death, the UN authorized its final mission to Angola (UNMA). UNMA was tasked with assisting the parties in consolidating the peace; its mandate included support for the reintegration of excombatants, facilitation and coordination of humanitarian assistance, technical support for mine action, and the protection and promotion of human rights (UN 2003, para. 11). The mission operated from August 2002 to February 2003.

Conclusion

Decades of civil war combined with corruption and poor economic management have left Angola desperately poor. According to the 2004 Human Development Index, Angola ranks 166 out of 177 and has among the world’s worst infant, child, and maternal mortality rates (United Nations Development Program 2004, 142). Life expectancy at birth is 40.1 years. More than half

the population is malnourished, and the vast majority lack access to basic health care or clean water. Angola is one of the world’s most heavily mined countries, and one in every 415 Angolans is an amputee (International Campaign to Ban Landmines 2002, 74). Infrastructure has been shattered, and the endemic land mine problem has vastly complicated transport, agriculture, the movement of people, and the delivery of humanitarian relief assistance. Unemployment is estimated at over 50 percent (Timberg 2004).

The plight of children, who constitute 60 percent of the population, is dire. One quarter of Angolan children die before their fifth birthday; 45 percent are chronically malnourished; and nearly half of school age children are not in school. Eleven percent of children lost one or both parents in the war (United Nations Children’s Fund 2003).

Decades of war drove many people from rural areas into the cities, and many do not wish to return given the miserable and dangerous conditions in the hinterlands. Luanda’s population “has swelled from several hundred thousand to more than 3 million, overwhelming the city’s infrastructure. Other cities have grown as well” (Timberg 2004). Despite several years of robust economic growth, Angola is plagued by “a sizeable debt, a swollen public sector payroll, and largely unaccountable state institutions that dominate critical areas of the economy” (IMF 2005b). There is a yawning chasm between rich and poor, which often equates to those who work for the government, including former UNITA officials, and everyone else.

A return to war is unlikely given the total defeat of UNITA and the exhaustion of the population. Angola nonetheless faces enormous challenges. State building has been distorted by the war that consumed nearly every year of Angola’s independent existence. Its coercive and extractive capacities are outsized, while it is virtually unable to meet even the most basic needs of its population. It has been plagued by dismal political leaders, men committed to their own power and enrichment regardless of the cost to An-

Cabinda: The Other Civil War

Cabinda is a tiny enclave of 10,000 square kilometers, home to several hundred thousand people. It is separated from the rest of Angola by a 60-kilometer-wide strip of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. About 60 percent of the Angolan government's oil revenues come from offshore fields in Cabinda. For nearly four decades, an armed independence movement has fought against the central government, first the Portuguese and then the MPLA. Independence appears to have widespread support in Cabinda. The Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave (FLEC) is the main movement, with several smaller groups splintering off over the years. FLEC's persistent factionalism hurt its ability to confront the much larger and much better equipped FAA. The combined forces of the rebels in the 1990s were estimated to be 2,000 troops.

In January 1993 the FAA moved 15,000 troops into Cabinda, reigniting the fighting after an eight-year cease-fire. Widespread displacement and indiscriminate abuse by the soldiers made life very difficult for civilians, although conditions were not as severe as in the rest of Angola. The war created some 25,000 IDPs and 3,100 refugees in Congo-Brazzaville and the DRC. In an effort to win hearts and minds, the GOA agreed in 1996 to give Cabinda 10 percent of the taxes paid by the oil companies that operate in the enclave. Cabinda's underdevelopment and high cost of living—supplies are brought in from Luanda—are a persistent complaint of the population.

Following the defeat of UNITA, the GOA sent 30,000 troops to Cabinda, determined to defeat the rebel factions once and for all. In October 2002, the FAA destroyed FLEC's main base of operation since 1979. By mid-2003, "the FAA had virtually destroyed the rebel group," reducing it to "small bands of roving guerrillas with light arms, and no permanent logistical bases." However, the FAA committed serious and widespread human rights abuses against the civilian population, acting "with almost complete impunity" (Human Rights Watch 2004).

The FLEC factions and the GOA met in early 2003, but no progress toward a peaceful resolution was made. The rebels continue to insist on independence, and the GOA continues to insist that it will only discuss autonomy. With FLEC's military capacity all but gone, its army chief and a half dozen other high-ranking officials surrendered to the GOA in June 2003. The government then extended a reintegration program to FLEC soldiers who laid down their arms, "in return for" food, agricultural tools, and other benefits. By April 2004, roughly 2,000 FLEC excombatants and their families had registered, totaling 27,000 people. Although the military situation seems to be firmly in hand, the GOA still faces a population that has steadfastly fought for independence. Devoting a higher percentage of Cabinda's oil revenues to improve the enclave's infrastructure and its population's socioeconomic status would be one way to maintain peace over the long term (Porto 2003).

golans. And it has been betrayed by an international community that contributed, through sins of omission and commission, to the ability of the MPLA government and the UNITA rebels to sustain nearly thirty years of war.

If Angola is to become anything more than a failed state, its leaders must commit themselves to genuine political and economic reform—to ending cronyism, to professional and transparent management of the country's natural resources, to accountable government, to respect for democratic freedoms and rule of law, to significant investment in the country's broken infrastructure, to massive social sector spending. For Angola, state building and post-

conflict peace building are mutually reinforcing processes.

Beth K. Dougherty

Chronology

- November 11, 1975 Angola gains its independence from Portugal; MPLA proclaims itself as government.
- February 1976 Clark amendment forbids the United States from aiding any party to the Angolan conflict.
- December 22, 1988 Brazzaville Protocol signed.
- April 1, 1990 Namibian independence is declared.
- May 25, 1991 Cuban troop withdrawal completed.

- May 31, 1991 Bicesse Accords signed.
- September 1992 Multiparty elections held, Savimbi rejects results; subsequent fighting is heaviest to date.
- September 1993 UNR 864 imposes sanctions on UNITA, forbidding sales of arms and fuel to it.
- November 20, 1994 Lusaka Protocol signed.
- August 1997 UNR 1127 imposes a travel ban on UNITA, closes its foreign offices, prohibits aircraft from flying in and out of UNITA-held territory.
- June 1998 UNR 1173 bans diamond sales from Angola not accompanied by certificate of origin (COO), freezes UNITA's assets abroad.
- December 1998 Dos Santos declares war is the only path to peace, orders massive offensive against UNITA.
- February 2, 2002 Savimbi is killed in raid by government commandos.
- April 4, 2002 Cease-fire goes into effect.
- August 2, 2002 Peace is declared.

List of Acronyms

- COO: certificate of origin
- DDR: disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration
- DRC: Democratic Republic of the Congo
- EO: Executive Outcomes
- FAA: Angolan Armed Forces (Forças Armadas Angolanas)
- FLEC: Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave
- FNLA: National Front for the Liberation of Angola
- GDP: Gross domestic product
- GOA: Government of Angola
- GURN: Government of Unity and National Reconciliation
- IDP: internally displaced person
- IMF: International Monetary Fund
- MONUA: UN Observer Mission in Angola
- MOU: Memorandum of Understanding
- MPLA: Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
- NGO: non-governmental organization
- OCHA: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
- SADF: South African Defense Forces
- UNAVEM: United Nations Angola Verification Mission
- UNHCR: United Nations High Commission for Refugees

- UNITA: National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
- UNMA: UN Mission in Angola
- UNR: UN Resolution

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Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh Republic (1992–1994)

Introduction

Azerbaijan has long been one of the poorest countries in the former Soviet Union. The civil war there and in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic is rooted in the tension between Christian Armenia and the Muslim territories that surround it, and more than 1 million people were displaced during the 1992–1994 civil war. Unfortunately, a timely resolution of this conflict is unlikely, since neither the Azeris nor the Armenians seem willing to prioritize peace over their own territorial interests in the Nagorno-Karabakh region.

Country Background

In 1918, Azerbaijan emerged from World War I and the Russian Revolution as an independent state. Azerbaijan's independence, however, was short-lived: The Red Army's invasion in 1920 led to Azerbaijan's annexation by Soviet Russia in the same year. As a constituent republic, Azerbaijan came under the total political and economic control of the state that became the Soviet Union in 1922. Under Soviet rule, Azerbaijan was subjected to Moscow's authoritarian regime, and the same political patterns instituted under the Soviets continued in Azerbaijan when it established itself as an independent state. In terms of institutionalized authoritarian patterns, Polity IV data (Marshall and Jaggers 2002),

which measures a state's political regime characteristics through democracy by ranking a state with a full-fledged democracy with a score of 10 and a state with a copiously authoritarian regime with a score of -10 , scores the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) from 1953 to 1987 as a -7 . As Gorbachev ushered in glasnost and perestroika, the USSR's Polity IV score improved to -6 in 1988, -4 in 1989, and 0 in 1990. In the year of the USSR's collapse and in the three years following it, Azerbaijan's polity score was primarily -3 , and in 1995 Azerbaijan became more autocratic when its polity score dropped to -6 for three years and to -7 in 1998, remaining there until 2003.

What accounts for the drastic fluctuations in Azerbaijan's polity scores during the 1990s? They can be attributed to the failure of the Azerbaijani government to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict throughout the 1990s. "Growing masses of disaffected refugees pressed vociferously for military victory and quickly shifted their support from one leader to another when losses occurred, negating efforts to establish solid political institutions at home or to make concessions that might provide a diplomatic solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict" (Curtis 1994). For instance, in the late 1980s, the advent of Mikhail S. Gorbachev's policy of glasnost in Moscow encouraged vocal opposition to the ruling Azerbaijani Communist

Party (ACP). In 1989, the central opposition role went to the Azerbaijani Popular Front (APF), which was able to capture the presidency from the ACP in the 1992 election, but in 1993 the APF leadership was overthrown, and former Communist official Heydar Aliyev was installed as president.

Azerbaijan ranks just as poorly in terms of political freedom and civil liberties as it does in institutionalized authoritarian patterns, as measured by Freedom House (2003). In the Freedom House data, a score of 1 indicates the highest amount of either freedom or liberties, and a score of 7 equals the lowest amount of freedom or liberties. From 1973 to 1991, the USSR hovered around a score of 7 or 6 in both the political freedoms and civil liberties categories. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Azerbaijan's political freedom and civil liberties rankings improved to 5 in 1992 and to 4 in 1993 and 1994. Immediately after the cease-fire that ended the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, however, Azerbaijan's political freedom rankings deteriorated to Soviet Union levels.

Economically, the prosperity of Azerbaijan, like much of the Soviet Union, had been slowly declining since the 1970s. Azerbaijan possessed rich agricultural lands and a relatively developed industrial sector, but utilization of those resources during the Soviet period were subject to the customary deformations of centralized state planning. The Soviet-era collective farm system discouraged private initiative; agricultural equipment and the irrigation systems were outdated; modern technology had failed to be introduced on a wide and large scale; and agricultural program administration was ineffective. In the early 1990s, Azerbaijan saw significant further economic degeneration with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of armed conflict with the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic (NKR). After the collapse of the Soviet Union, "production in both sectors [fell] in both absolute and relative terms. In 1991, agriculture made up 39 percent of GDP. By 1996, this had dropped to 30 percent. In the same period, the share of industry

in GDP shrank from 30 percent to 23 percent" (European Forum 1999). According to the European Forum, Azerbaijan's GDP was approximately US \$1,000 in 1990; but GDP in Azerbaijan fell by 22.6 percent in 1992, by 23.1 percent in 1993, and by an additional 18.1 percent in 1994. Between 1992 and 1994, hyperinflation levels reached over 1,000 percent (European Forum 1999). Inflation took off in early 1992, when many prices were decontrolled, and accelerated throughout the year, reaching an annual rate of 735 percent by October 1992. Inflation for 1993 was estimated at 1,200 percent, a figure exceeded in the international community only by Russia and a few other former Soviet republics.

Shrinking productivity in Azerbaijan's traditional economic activities of agriculture and industry contributed greatly to the drop in GDP after 1991. In the industrial sector, gross industrial production plunged at least 26 percent in 1992 and 10 percent in 1993. This reflected the lack of infrastructure maintenance and other inputs left over from the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the agricultural sector, declines in production were attributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union and to the fighting in the Nagorno-Karabakh region. The major agricultural cash crops of Azerbaijan were vegetables, cotton, fruit, and tobacco. Together, these crops accounted for more than 80 percent of all production. In 1990, work stoppages and anti-Soviet demonstrations contributed to the beginning of declines in agricultural production. Azerbaijan's economy was further reduced because of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, as Nagorno-Karabakh was the site of approximately one-fourth of Azerbaijan's croplands. The breakout of fighting substantially reduced agricultural production. Additionally, the decline in agriculture's contribution to GDP was also owing to changes in weather patterns that reduced cotton and grape harvests in the early 1990s.

Although the agricultural and industrial sectors shrank after the fall of the Soviet Union, Azerbaijan's gas and electrical production con-

False Statistics

Understanding the impact of a conflict on a population or territory is often hampered by the distribution of false statistics, which can be caused by propaganda campaigns, human error, or both. In propaganda campaigns, one side attempts to disseminate false information to influence public perception and thought. The reasons for doing this vary widely from conflict to conflict and from actor to actor, but typically propaganda campaigns using statistics involve one side minimizing or exaggerating reported casualty numbers, overstating or understating territorial losses, or suppressing or exaggerating military strength or importance.

One such example of a state skewing statistics is the Azeri government's distortion of its unemployment figures. "In 1992 unemployment was still officially characterized as a minor problem [in Azerbaijan], affecting some 200,000 people, but in fact the Azerbaijani government vastly underreported this statistic. Underreporting was facilitated by the practice of keeping workers listed as employees in idled industries. Funds set aside by the government to deal with unemployment proved woefully inadequate" (Curtis 1994). In the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, one of the primary sources of misrepresentation of data concerns the amount of Azeri land the Armenians control. In a speech by Azeri president Aliyev on October 27, 1993, the amount of Azeri land controlled by Armenians was given as 20 percent. "Perhaps because Azerbaijanis did not want to contradict their president or because it was a powerful round number, this figure has been repeated by Azerbaijanis ever since. Less forgivably, it has also been used extensively in Western media, including Reuters, the *New York Times*, and the BBC" (De Waal 2003, 285). In actuality, the combined area of territory under Armenian control is approximately 11,797 square kilometers, which accounts for only 13.62 percent of Azerbaijan's total area of 86,600 square kilometers. Although Armenians still occupy 13.62 percent of Azerbaijani land, this is still dramatically less than the claim that Armenians occupy 20 percent of Azerbaijani land (De Waal 2003).

tracted insignificantly compared to the other sectors. "A substantial part of the Azerbaijani economy relies on extensive oil fields in the Caspian Sea, gas and electricity production. In contrast to the rest of the economy, these sectors have contracted only slightly in absolute terms since 1991" (European Forum 1999). Azerbaijan has four major oil fields in the Caspian Sea: the Gunesli, Cirak, Azeri, and Kepez oil fields. The largest oil field was Gunesli field, which in 1992 accounted for approximately 60 percent of Azerbaijani oil production. Crude oil production has decreased in recent years, mainly because of a weak global market, well maturity, inadequate investment, and outdated equipment, but during the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, oil production decreased relatively little compared to the other sectors. "According to Azerbaijani estimates, for the first seven months of 1993 compared with the same period in 1992, crude oil production declined 7.1 percent, gasoline refining 2.8 percent, and diesel fuel production 19.9 percent" (Curtis 1994).

Historically, Azerbaijan was one of the poorest Soviet republics, and poverty further increased in 1992 because of the collapse of the economy after the fall of the Soviet Union and the escalating conflict with the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. "In spite of the standard communist proclamation that employment was a right and employment was virtually full, large-scale, chronic unemployment had already emerged in the late 1980s, especially among youth and the growing ranks of refugees and displaced people" (Curtis 1994). According to official statistics compiled by the Azerbaijani government, the Azerbaijani workforce numbered approximately 2.5 million individuals in 1992, with agriculture accounting for approximately 35 percent of employment, and industry accounting for an additional 16 percent. Yet, these figures were skewed by underreporting by the Azeri government because workers in idle industries were listed as "employed" in official statistics. Additionally, by the end of the conflict with the NKR, it is estimated that 62 percent of

the population lived at or below the poverty level. Poverty was worst among displaced persons, refugees, and the elderly. Officials tried unsuccessfully to protect the standard of living from inflation by periodically increasing wage payments and taking other measures. In his New Year's message in January 1994, Aliyev acknowledged that during 1993 Azerbaijan had faced a serious economic crisis that led to further declines in the standard of living, but he promised that 1994 would witness positive changes. But unemployment had increased to 20 percent by 1996, despite the promised improvement of the economy.

In keeping with Aliyev's economic promises to stabilize and stimulate the economy, Azerbaijan enacted economic reforms in 1995, cutting the budget deficit by slashing subsidies and utilizing international monetary support. With the assistance of the IMF (International Monetary Fund), Azerbaijan's economic prospects began to improve, with a comprehensive economic stabilization program through the IMF and through increased foreign direct investment (FDI). The United States alone invested US \$1.8 billion by the end of 1997. By 1998, Azerbaijan's gross domestic product had grown by approximately 8 to 10 percent, and inflation remained close to zero (Laurila 1999). Yet, despite this economic growth, Azerbaijan still remains economically distant from the rest of the world. Through the assistance of the IMF, the Azerbaijani government had some success in stabilizing the economy. Although unemployment figures were still high in 1995, inflation dropped drastically to 84.5 percent, and experts believe overall economic recovery started in Azerbaijan in 1996 when GDP grew by 1.3 percent. However, despite several economic improvements, economic growth and recovery in Azerbaijan have been limited in comparison with the international community.

Conflict Background

“The conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh has its roots in the animosities between the peoples of

predominantly Christian Armenia and those of the surrounding Muslim region that today comprises Azerbaijan, Turkey, and Iran—animosity seriously aggravated by Soviet policy in the region from the early 1920s, when the Soviet republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan were arbitrarily created by Stalin” (United States Institute of Peace 1992). Stalin had a “divide-and-rule” policy by which he intentionally placed territories containing large ethnic majorities inside regions containing a different ethnicity, thereby making the former ethnic majority an ethnic minority. One such example is the Nagorno-Karabakh region, a predominantly Armenian area that Stalin placed inside the borders of Azerbaijan. “By placing the [Nagorno-Karabakh] region within the borders of Azerbaijan, the Armenia inhabitants could be used as potential ‘hostages’ to ensure the Armenian SSR's cooperation with the wishes of the Soviet leadership. By the same token, an ‘autonomous’ Armenian enclave within Azerbaijan could serve as a potential pro-Soviet fifth column in the event of disloyalty by the Azerbaijanis” (Cox and Eibner 1993, 31; Croissant 1998, 19–20). “In order to convert these potentialities into reality, Stalin created the Autonomous Oblast of Nagorno-Karabakh (AONK) on July 7, 1923 and drew its borders so as to leave a narrow strip of land separating it physically from Armenia” (Croissant 1998, 20; Walker 1991, 109). The AONK, however, was given the authorization to govern its own cultural and educational affairs (Altstadt 1992; Croissant 1998). During the Soviet period, any animosity that was stirred between the two ethnic groups was quickly and quietly suppressed by strong central rule from Moscow. “However, in the hearts and minds of the Armenians and Azerbaijanis, the question of Nagorno-Karabakh never receded in importance: The Armenians retained a strong desire for unification with their brethren in the mountainous area and vice versa, while the Azerbaijanis retained an equally strong desire to retain sovereignty over the land” (Croissant 1998, 25). As is typically the case when there is ethnic hos-

tility fueled by attachment to a piece of land, tensions cannot be indefinitely suppressed. “Therefore, when the ‘thaw’ of the Gorbachev period arrived, tensions and irredenta that had been just below the surface of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations were released, resulting in a spiraling cycle of violence and bloodshed between the two republics that outlasted the Soviet Union itself” (Croissant 1998, 25).

Whether the conflict between the NKR and Azerbaijan is classified as a true civil war depends upon whether the Armenian government is considered to be actively assisting the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh (Gleditsch 2001). Leading scholars (Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Eriksson and Wallensteen 2004; Fearon 2004; Strand, Håvard, Wilhelmsen, Gleditsch, and Eriksson 2004) ascertain that the conflict was a civil war, but Eriksson and Wallensteen (2004) attach a caveat to this categorization by classifying the conflict as a civil war during 1992 and as an internationalized civil war during 1993 and 1994, owing to Armenia’s assistance of the NKR. Just as the classification of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is dependent upon the defini-

tion of civil war, the beginning and ending dates of the conflict are dependent upon one’s perception and definition of armed conflict and civil war. Most scholars (Fearon 2004; Eriksson and Wallensteen 2004; Strand et al. 2004; Wallensteen and Sollenberg 1998) assert that the duration of the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh lasted from 1992 to 1994 because the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 allowed Azerbaijan to become an internationally recognized state.

Before 1991, the conflict in Azerbaijan was not a civil war, because the Armenian inhabitants of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) were not fighting against the Soviet government. Still, other notable scholars, primarily Doyle and Sambanis (2000), assert that the conflict lasted from 1988 to 1996. The start dates vary because of differences in definitions of the beginning of the conflict. The year 1988 saw the beginning of protests about the status of Nagorno-Karabakh in Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, and the ethnic cleansing of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in Azerbaijan and Armenia, but it was the Khojaly massacre in 1992 that initiated full-scale war over the territory. Similarly, the end

Table 1: Major Features of the Azerbaijani Civil War

Major Conflicts

Baku, Nakhichevan, and Ganja (Kirovabad)—anti-Armenian pogroms; Gedashen and Martunashen; Khojali; Maragha; Shusha; Lachin; Shaumian region; Martakert (Agdere); Srkhavend; Kelbajar region; Martakent; Aghdam; Jebrail; Kubatly; Horadiz; Zangelan; Fizuli; Kelbajar region

Important Geographical Locations

Karabakhian mountain ridge; Mrav mountain ridge; Artsakh region—rich in forests; Tartar River; Khachen River

Mineral Resources

Coal—in Maghavuz, Nareshtar, and Kolatak in the Martakert region; zinc, lead, copper, gold—found in Mehmana, Drmbon, Gyulatagh, Kousapat, Van, Khazanichi, Lisagor, Zardanashen, Mets Tager, Tsor, and Maghavouz, between the Tartar and Khachen Rivers, and also on the slopes of the mountain Mrav

Large Diaspora Communities

United States, Iran, France, Lebanon, Russia, and Argentina

NKR Permanent Missions

Paris, Washington, D.C., Sydney, Moscow, Beirut, and Yerevan

dates of the conflict are dependent upon one's definition of conclusion. A permanent cease-fire was instituted in 1994, but peace negotiations continue to the present year. Although the conflict is technically considered a civil war only after the collapse of the Soviet Union, it is important to consider the events that began in 1988 in order to understand the importance of the onset of events after the collapse of the Soviet Union. It is also important to understand that, theoretically, fighting stopped with the implementation of a cease-fire in 1994, but animosity and deliberations continue today among the three primary actors (the NKR, Armenia, and Azerbaijan).

Although the Armenians are predominantly Christian and the Azerbaijanis are predominantly Muslim, the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh is truly an ethnic territorial conflict (Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Eriksson and Wallensteen 2004; Fearon 2004; Strand et al. 2004). Originally, the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh wished to reunite with Armenia, but now the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic wishes to establish sovereignty. The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is

one that saw an Azerbaijani army consisting of approximately 74,000 troops (Doyle and Sambanis 2000) fighting against the NKR's army, which numbered approximately 20,000 (Pushkin 2002). Lacina and Gleditsch (2005) estimate that over the course of the armed conflict more 20,000 battle deaths were inflicted on each side. Lacina and Gleditsch (2005) also estimate that Azerbaijan suffered 16,000 total population deaths, whereas Armenians suffered only 4,000. Doyle and Sambanis (2000), however, give more conservative estimates of the total number of civilian and battle casualties by estimating only 55,000 lives lost in total during the period 1988–1996. In addition to the number of dead, over 1 million people were displaced during the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Insurgents

The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic (NKR) established its independence on September 2, 1991, but it was (and still is) unrecognized as a sovereign state by the international community; Armenia

Table 2: Civil War in Azerbaijan

War:	NKR vs. Azerbaijan
Dates:	1992–1994
Casualties:	55,000–60,000
Regime type prior to war:	–3 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	–3 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP/capita year war began:	US \$1,000 (constant 1995 dollars)
GDP/capita 5 years after war:	US \$1,200 (constant 1995 dollars)
Insurgents:	Nagorno–Karabakh Republic (NKR)
Issue:	Historical ethnic tensions resulting in the disagreement over the ownership of territory
Rebel funding:	Armenian and Russian assistance, NKR tax base, Armenian diaspora
Role of geography:	Mountains used as defense barrier; also allowed rebels to use guerrilla tactics against government troops.
Role of resources:	Oil, which impacted peace settlements
Immediate outcome:	Cease-fire facilitated by CSCE
Outcome after 5 years:	Stable cease-fire but peace-building failure
Role of UN:	Passed four resolutions in 1993; no peacekeepers
Role of regional organization:	CSCE
Refugees/displaced persons:	More than 1 million
Prospects for peace:	Unfavorable

Sources: World Resources Institute 2004; Pushkin 2002.

does not even recognize the NKR as a sovereign state in order to prevent international diplomatic situations. Still, Armenia has allowed the NKR to establish the Permanent Representation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic in the Republic of Armenia in Armenia's capital city of Yerevan, which is guarded by soldiers of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. However, despite its officially unrecognized international status, the NKR has established a highly organized government bureaucracy that includes a prime minister, a unicameral legislature consisting of thirty-three democratically elected representatives, and executive ministries. There are strict passport and visa requirements to enter the republic, and the NKR has established permanent missions in Paris, Washington, D.C., Sydney, Moscow, Beirut, and Yerevan. "There is even a Miss Artsakh beauty competition—bathing costumes and all—every April in the Palace of Youth. It seems the only thing in the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh does not have is a national airline" (Harris 1999). The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic has also established a taxation system to fund these government activities, and it does not appear that the looting of resources is a source of funding for the NKR.

The NKR has also established a modern, well-equipped army—with effective command and control, border guard, air defense, heavy and light artillery, mechanized infantry, engineering, intelligence, and special operations units—that is considered to be the most capable military force among all post-Soviet militaries on the unit-for-unit basis. The NKR established its Defense Army on May 9, 1992, to defend Nagorno-Karabakh's population against Azerbaijani military aggression. The formation of the Defense Army was a uniting of various self-defense units within the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic that were formed in the early 1990s to protect Nagorno-Karabakh from military attacks. To resist Azerbaijani aggression, life in the NKR primarily focused on the military effort. Every male over the age of eighteen must serve two years in the army as a conscript, and only full-time students can defer the service obligation:

Conscripts go to the Defense Ministry Training Division at Ivanovka . . . [where] . . . there is much emphasis on discipline and adherence to a strictly enforced daily routine . . . Much of the time in the first three months is spent on establishing the regime and on basic training . . . Basic training includes care and use of uniform, drill, training in the use of the standard infantry weapon AK-74, first aid, close quarters combat and, unusually, learning to throw a knife to kill . . . After six months, those who are particularly keen and able can elect to go to military training college with a view to becoming professional soldiers . . . A lieutenant of the Karabakh Armed Forces on the front line earns \$150–170 a month. Soldiers serving under contract earn \$60–70 a month (average monthly wages in NKR amount to \$25–30) . . . Women are admitted to the NKP [the standing army of the NKR] but are restricted to work in areas like administration and medical services. (Harris, 1999)

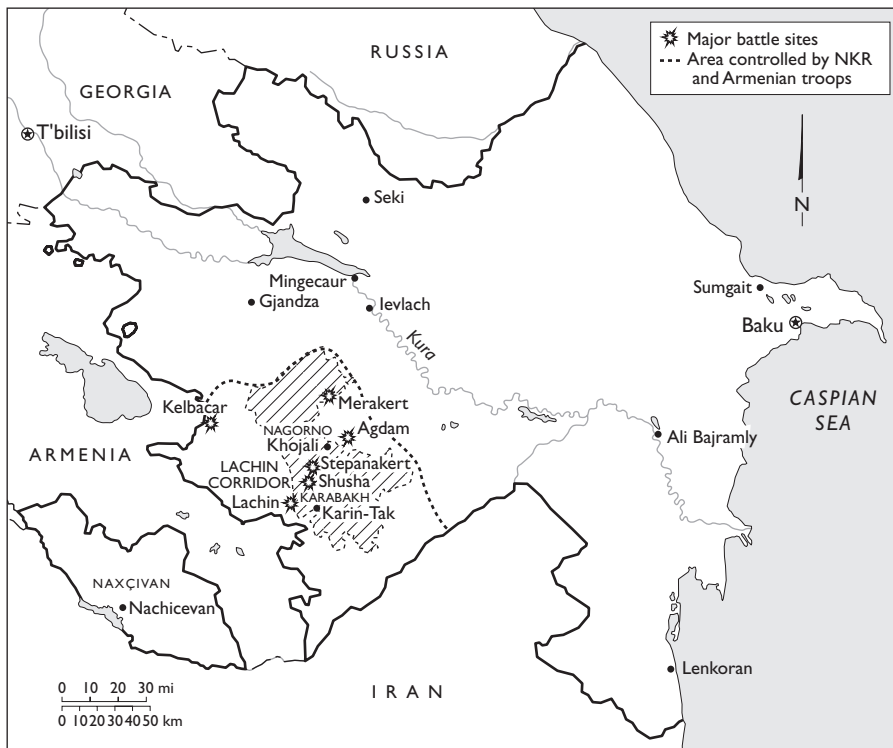
With regard to military funding, the NKR receives a great deal of outside assistance, especially from Armenia and Russia. The NKR also receives considerable economic, political, and humanitarian support from the ethnic Armenian diaspora. Large Armenian diasporas exist in the United States, Iran, France, Lebanon, Russia, and Argentina. These diasporas have provided financial assistance to Armenia in the form of humanitarian aid and in other charitable projects. "However, a field where politically active Armenians were able to provide a significant amount of support beyond the pocket books of the community was in the formation of lobbying organizations in the West" (Masih and Krikorian 1999, 112). In the United States, for instance, the Armenian diaspora numbers almost 1 million individuals. This population's involvement in American politics has had a considerable impact on U.S. policy toward Armenia. In 1992, Congress passed the Freedom Support Act, which provided for American assistance for the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union, and Section 907 of the Act was lobbied for by the Armenian diaspora. Section 907 assisted the Armenian and Nagorno-Karabakh governments by preventing the U.S. government from assisting

the Azerbaijani government. Additionally, the Armenian diaspora was able to convince the United States to provide large amounts of humanitarian assistance to Armenia, which led to “Armenia eventually [becoming] the largest per capita recipient of US aid in the former Soviet Union and the fourth largest dollar recipient following Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan” (Masih and Krikorian 1999, 112). Due to Armenian and ethnic Armenian assistance, most of the literature discussing the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict tends to describe the conflict as one between the government of Azerbaijan and “Armenian forces.” The term “Armenian forces” is a calculatedly ambiguous term, which refers to Nagorno-Karabakh’s army as well as to citizens of Armenia, the Armenian diaspora, mercenaries, and members of the armed forces of Armenia.

Geography

Nagorno-Karabakh is located in the southeastern portion of the Caucasus Minor. Its very

name (Nagorno means “mountainous”) indicates that the region is exceptionally mountainous and covered with forests. The Mrav mountain ridge, which runs through the Martakert region, is the country’s highest mountain chain; and the other notable mountain chain, the Great Kirs, is situated in the junction of the Shushi and Hadrout regions. The Nagorno-Karabakh region is, on average, 1,100 meters above sea level, and it covers approximately 1,700 square miles in western Azerbaijan. The region has numerous mineral springs as well as deposits of zinc, coal, lead, gold, marble, and limestone. Farming and grazing are important agricultural activities, and there are various light industries in the region. The mountainous topography of the region has aided the NKR in the defense of its land by creating an environment conducive to guerrilla tactics and inconducive to offensive operations (Pushkin 2002). “The topography of the region does much to prevent either side from launching another military offensive” (Carley 1998, vi).



“The region’s mountainous landscape would make it difficult for Azerbaijan to launch an offensive against either Armenia or Karabakh” (Carley 1998, 12). Moreover, the mountainous terrain in the areas of conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh and along the Azeri-Armenian border precluded the effective use of large-scale military assaults by armored forces.

Tactics

According to the online journal *Russian Military Analysis* (Pushkin 2002), the NKR’s military is one of the best-equipped, best-trained forces in any of the former Soviet republics. Although the NKR does not release official numbers pertaining to its force strength, the *Russian Military Analysis* (Pushkin 2002) estimates that the NKR currently has 20,000–25,000 servicemen, 316 tanks, 324 armored combat vehicles, 322 artillery pieces of 122-mm and larger caliber, and 44 multiple rocket launcher systems:

The Karabakh Armed Forces are the most combat ready and efficient armed forces in any of the former Soviet republics. The experience of the former Soviet army was taken as the basis for combat training. The Armed Forces of NKR have practically the same regulations, firing and driving practices. Military exercises are organized regularly, and not only active troops, but also mobilization reserves take part in these exercises . . . NKR spends one-fourth of its budget on defense. There are combat units deployed along all 250 kilometers of the Karabakh-Azerbaijani border. These units are prepared to parry the opponent’s attacks at any time. (Pushkin 2002)

In comparison, according to Doyle and Sambanis (2000), during the conflict the Azerbaijani military numbered 74,000 troops. By *Russian Military Analysis* estimates (Pushkin 2002), Azerbaijan has 69,900 servicemen, 259 tanks, 328 armored combat vehicles, 303 artillery pieces of 122-mm and larger caliber, 49 combat airplanes, and 15 strike helicopters. Although Azerbaijan may have an advantage over the NKR in terms of ground forces, the Azerbaijani Armed Forces are inefficient and poorly trained

relative to the NKR’s Defense Army, and “Baku is unable to successfully conduct offensive operations against the NKR and Armenia. Meanwhile, the military and economic potential of Azerbaijan is much higher than that of the opposing forces. Baku has substantial resources for replenishment of fuel and lubricants which [the NKR] does not” (Pushkin 2000). Officially, Azerbaijan and the NKR fought each other without outside intervention:

However, the non-governmental organization Human Rights Watch found evidence that Armenia mobilized its regular forces. The Russians participated by providing training and material assistance. According to Russian sources mountain troops from the 128 Regiment of the 7th Russian Army based in Armenia participated in the seizure of Kelbajar Province of Azerbaijan in a *blitzkrieg* operation starting 27 March and ending 5 April 1993. A number of mercenaries participated in the war operations on the both sides. Also other sources and eyewitness evidence confirm the direct military and political involvement of the Soviet Union. (Laurila 1999, 8–9)

The NKR’s primary tactic in fighting against Azerbaijan has been to occupy the land between itself and Armenia, thereby creating a security zone around the NKR by removing Azerbaijanis from the land. After its formation in 1992, the NKP succeeded in liberating previously captured territories from Azerbaijan and, during military engagements, occupied a few Azerbaijani regions bordering the NKR that had been used as firing lines against the Armenians. The creation of the security zone precluded the immediate threat facing the population of the NKR. This security zone now amounts to approximately 15 percent of Azerbaijani land. The only physical connection that the inhabitants of or visitors to Nagorno-Karabakh have with the outside world is through a seven-hour road journey through the Lachin Corridor. This is a 10-kilometer-wide corridor driven through Azerbaijan that was created by the NKR (with Armenian assistance) to connect Armenia and the NKR. All supplies from the outside world

come through the corridor on trucks bearing the plates and camouflage of either the Armenian or Nagorno-Karabakh armies.

Causes of the War

In addition to the previously discussed historical ethnic tensions, Yamskov (1991) identifies three immediate factors that contributed to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict: economic factors, cultural and linguistic factors, and ethno-demographic factors. The most basic underlying economic cause of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict was the difference in the standard of living between the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians:

The population of Nagorno-Karabakh enjoys a level of social and economic development that is somewhat higher than that of the general population of Azerbaijan. However, the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh are well aware that life is even better in neighboring Armenia, and are dissatisfied, believing that their lower standard of living is the result of the deliberate policies of the Azerbaijani republican government, which controls the development and economy of their oblast. The government of Azerbaijan, comparing the living conditions in Nagorno-Karabakh with the surrounding region, concluded that the situation in the autonomous oblast was significantly better than elsewhere, and that funds from businesses in Karabakh should be directed toward the development of other, poorer territories. (Yamskov 1991)

In addition to economic grievances, the people of the NKR were discontented with Azerbaijan's perceived suppression of their cultural and linguistic heritage. Despite Nagorno-Karabakh's autonomous status as an oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR, the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh were hindered in developing and using their own language and culture (Yamskov 1991; Laruila 1999). "The Azerbaijanis can be accused of depriving the 130,000 Armenians living in the Nagorno-Karabakh of their possibilities to watch TV broadcasts from Yerevan, of their right to study Armenian history and their access to

Armenian literature" (Laruila 1999, 8). The near severance of their education and cultural ties with Armenia and the inadequate development of the Armenian language and culture in the oblast itself aroused the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh as they saw these policies brought about by the Azerbaijani government (Yamskov 1991).

Not only did the Armenians of the NKR reason that the Azerbaijani government was intentionally suppressing their culture, they also believed that the government was attempting to "Azerbaijanize" the NKR. When the Soviet government created the boundaries of Nagorno-Karabakh, it had a population of 131,500—5.6 percent of which were Azerbaijani (Yamskov 1991). By the late 1980s, the oblast had grown to 177,100 inhabitants—24.4 percent of which were Azerbaijani (Yamskov 1991; Starovoitova, Yamskov, and Krupnik 1988). The population changes in terms of ethnicity were evident to the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh as well as to the Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Yamskov (1991) estimates that, had these population trends continued for another twenty years, the Azerbaijanis would have gained majority status in the oblast. To the Armenians living in the oblast, the increased Azerbaijani population was seen as an "Azerbaijanation" of the oblast, and the chance that the Azerbaijanis might gain predominance in the oblast meant the displacement of Armenians from Armenia's "native land" by "foreigners" (Yamskov 1991).

Outcome *Conflict Status*

After numerous failed attempts, a permanent cease-fire was instituted on May 12, 1994, to end two years of armed conflict. "After a series of offensives, retreats, and counteroffensives, Nagorno-Karabakh now controls a sizable portion of Azerbaijan proper . . . including the Lachin corridor." (Starovoitova 1997, 25–26). Although relative peace has been maintained since the cease-fire, Doyle and Sambanis (2000) have coded the con-

flict as a peace-building failure owing to the continued occupation of Azeri territory by the Armenians and the inability of either side to reach a permanent, peaceful settlement.

The conflict created approximately 1 million refugees and displaced persons. According to Human Rights Watch: Helsinki, “A displaced person is one who flees his home because of fear or persecution but does not cross an international border. A refugee is one who is forced out of his home under the same circumstances but crosses an international border” (HRW 1994, 58). Much of the forced displacement of ethnic Armenians took place before the collapse of the Soviet Union and the recognition of Azerbaijan as an independent state by the international community. Human Rights Watch: Helsinki estimates that 350,000 ethnic Armenians left Azerbaijan between 1988 and 1990 and the majority relocated to Armenia or Russia. “In 1991, in Operation Ring, the government of the former Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic with the aid of central authorities in Moscow was responsible for the forced displacement of Armenian civilians from Geranboi

(Shaumyan) province and from Chaikent (Getashen), a village in Khanlar province, Azerbaijan” (HRW 1994, 59). Most of these individuals were able to return to their villages within the next two years. In 1992, another Azerbaijani counteroffensive against the provinces of Geranboi and Mardakent displaced roughly 40,000 Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh, but most of these Armenians were able to return to their villages as a result of later successful Karabakh Armenian offensives.

In comparison to the number of Armenian refugees, Azerbaijan acquired numerous displaced persons, and there were almost as many Azerbaijani refugees as Armenian refugees. Between 1988 and 1989, approximately 200,000 Azerbaijanis fled Armenia, but between 1988 and 1994, an estimated 750,000 to 800,000 Azeris were forced out of Nagorno-Karabakh and the seven other Azeri provinces now completely occupied by Karabakh-Armenians. De Waal estimates that half a million Azerbaijanis were forced out in the years 1992 to 1994. (2003, 218). In comparison to other civil wars, “Azerbaijan has the largest proportion of displaced people

Providing for Refugees

It is estimated that more than 1 million people were displaced during the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The responsibility of caring for these displaced persons fell upon the international community. The following is an excerpt from a Human Rights Watch report in which Irshad Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijani State Committee for Work with Refugees and Forcibly Displaced, details the burden of caring for the overwhelming displaced Azeri population:

At first families took their relatives in, then schools, hotels, pioneer summer camps, resorts, everything started to fill up with refugees. After the offensives of 1993, the Iranians, Turks, and Saudis had to help us build tent cities in Imishli, Saatli, Barda, and Agjabedi. Even then there are people living along the side of the road in little dugouts and shanties. (Aliyev 1994)

According to UNHCR representatives in Baku, according to Azerbaijan government figures there were an estimated 658,000 Azeri displaced persons and 235,000 Azeri refugees in Azerbaijan in March 1994. Aliyev complained that since January 1994, the state simply had not had the money to pay each refugee family registered with the government its monthly payment of 900 manat. Refugees and the displaced received no food parcels from the government, but the ICRC would often disburse supplemental food parcels to those living in displaced persons camps. Haji Rajabov, Head of the Azerbaijani Council of Ministers' Department for Displaced Persons and Refugees, told Human Rights Watch: Helsinki, “We try our best. Last year we disbursed twenty billion manat. But there simply isn't any money any more.” (Human Rights Watch 1994, 61)

per capita as every tenth person is a refugee from the conflict with Armenia . . . Six years after the cease-fire agreement was signed, in the year 2000, around eighty or ninety thousand of them were still in refugee camps. Hundreds of thousands more were living in a vast archipelago of sanatoria, student hostels, and makeshift accommodations.” (De Waal 2003, 218). As of 1999, there were 900,000 Azerbaijani refugees and internally displaced persons who cannot return to their homes in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic due to a heavily militarized ruling structure in the region, coordinated by the Armenians, that prevents ethnic Azerbaijanis from returning to their homes.

The conflict between the NKR and the Azerbaijani government also produced numerous violations of the rules of war. From 1992 to 1994, both sides violated a vast majority of the rules of

war by actions that included indiscriminate fire, the destruction of civilian objects, the taking of hostages, and looting. Additionally, each side took or held hostages, which is prohibited in armed conflicts. There were also reports that the Republic of Armenia took and held hostages to assist the NKR. “The Armenian government has participated in the holding of hostages; several Azeri hostages told HRW/H that they were held in jails or other locations inside Armenia. In addition, several former Azeri hostages alleged that soldiers from the Republic of Armenia army took them hostage” (HRW 1994, 53). Moreover, combatants that were captured were not cared for in the appropriate manner.

Human Rights Watch/Helsinki spoke with captured combatants on both sides who were slashed with bayonets or knives at the time of their capture. Most were beaten thereafter,



Azeri children in a refugee camp near Baku, Azerbaijan, on November 8, 2005. The refugee situation was caused by civil war. (David Mdzinarishvili/Reuters/Corbis)

sometimes to the point of unconsciousness. One released Karabakh Armenian captive reported that hot water had been poured on him while in detention. A release Azeri captive . . . [reported] that he and two of his comrades were beaten terribly, then tied to the outside of an armored personnel carrier and a tank and driven off. Prisoners were sometimes subject to ridicule and scorn from civilian crowds. (HRW 1994, 52)

Duration Tactics

Using the dates provided by PRIO/Uppsala (Strand et al. 2004) research, the duration of the actual conflict between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh was fairly short—from 1992 to 1994. Yet, the duration of the acrimony harbored by the two sides dates back centuries and continues to the present day. The post–Cold War conflict was limited in length not because of efforts made by the Azerbaijani, Armenian, or Nagorno-Karabakh governments but rather because of intervention by outside entities and the international community’s interest in the former republics of the Soviet Union. Additionally, Armenia’s and Azerbaijan’s admittance to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in 1992 promoted the short duration of the conflict, as the CSCE agreed to act as a mediator for the conflict. The countries of the CSCE had underlying reasons, discussed following, for desiring the quick end of the Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijani conflict.

External Military Intervention

Officially, no state will publicly admit to intervening in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict from 1992 to 1994, but numerous states had economic and strategic interests in the region that caused them to covertly interfere in the conflict. These states typically provided either Armenia, which in turn assisted the NKR, or Azerbaijan with economic or military aid. Russia, for instance, shipped over \$1 billion in arms to Armenia from 1993 to 1995:

[I]t appears that Russian military commanders in the field sold or “loaned” arms and

ammunition first to Armenian forces fighting in Karabakh and later to Azerbaijani forces when Armenian forces seemed likely to prevail. The military equipment ranged from Kalashnikovs to tanks, armored combat vehicles (ACVs), heavy artillery and Grad multiple rocket launchers. Huge quantities of military equipment were also looted by militia forces from poorly protected Russian military depots. Detailed accounts provided by Aman Tuleyev, former Minister for CIS Affairs, General Igor Rodionov, former Defense Minister, and retired General Lev Rokhlin, Chairman of the Duma Defense Committee . . . [note that the] Trans-Caucasian Group of Forces (TCGF) covertly transferred to Armenia without payment around US \$1 billion worth of military equipment. The equipment was said to include 84 T–72 tanks, 50 ACVs, howitzers, heavy artillery, antitank guided missiles and up to 32 *Scud* tactical missiles, as well as light weapons and ammunition including 26 mortars, 306 sub-machine guns, 7,910 assault rifles and 1,847 pistols.” (Anthony 1998; Berryman 2000; Herzig 1999; Menon 1998)

Turkey intervened in the conflict by allowing Armenia to utilize its airspace, railroads, and ports to facilitate the movement of goods when Azerbaijan blockaded Armenia in 1992 and practically brought the economy to a standstill. Turkey had hoped to establish itself as a power in the region, yet when Armenia began to look to Russia for assistance as well as to Turkey, Turkey became disgruntled at this sensed struggle for influence with Russia, and in 1993, Turkey shifted its support from Armenia to Azerbaijan when it closed its borders with Armenia under the premise that Armenia must withdraw from seized Azeri land. Turkey began diplomatically supporting Azerbaijan in international forums, and it hampered shipments of humanitarian assistance to Armenia. Iranian intervention in the conflict was prompted by concerns that, if the conflict were not quickly and peacefully settled, its own Azeri minority might want independence. American involvement in the conflict was motivated by the need for containment of Iranian influence, the Armenian diaspora’s influence in the United States, and oil in

the Caspian. Yet, none of these countries openly contributed troops to the conflict.

Conflict Management Efforts

Numerous mediation attempts were made by Russia, Kazakhstan, Iran, Turkey, and France prior to 1994. The longest-lasting mediation attempt, led by Iran, lasted a week but collapsed because of the unwillingness of either side to commit to peace and because of Western resistance to Iranian involvement. “[T]he Armenians of Nagorno-Karabagh saw their situation as desperate and did not feel that they could successfully negotiate while their very existence was precarious at best. They were concerned with their security first and foremost During critical phases of the Iranian negotiating efforts, NKR forces seized strategic objectives, which essentially torpedoed Iranian mediation” (Masih and Krikorian 1999, 116–17). Additionally, the conflict between NKR and Azerbaijan quickly appeared on the international radar owing to the world’s interest in the former Soviet Union. “Iran’s competitors in the region, most notably Turkey, viewed Iranian sponsored negotiations with growing apprehension” (Masih and Krikorian 1999, 117), but to the relief of Iran’s competitors and to the dismay of Iran, with Azerbaijan’s and Armenia’s admittance to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the mediation torch was passed to this organization in 1992. The CSCE created the Minsk Group to lead mediation efforts, and a cease-fire was signed on May 12, 1994. Beyond the permanent cease-fire established in 1994, little progress has been made regarding a permanent peace. “[E]ach side has insisted on . . . conditions that the other will not accept. The Armenians will not discuss the withdrawal of their troops from Azeri territories until the [NKR] is recognized as independent; Azerbaijan insists on its complete territorial integrity and demands the withdrawal of Armenian troops before it will discuss . . . Nagorno-Karabakh” (Carley 1998, v). And Nagorno-Karabakh flatly

rejects any plan that does not include a provision for sovereignty.

In general, the mediation process has been flawed by the lack of peacekeeping experience of the CSCE (which later became the Organization for Security and Cooperation [OSCE] in Europe in 1995) and by the ulterior motives of the Minsk Group members. First, at the insistence of Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh is not a member of the OSCE, because it is lawfully part of Azerbaijan. Therefore, as Nagorno-Karabakh is not a *formal* member of the peace negotiations, any permanent conflict resolution is irrevocably hampered (Hughes and Sasse 2002). Second, the deeply rooted historical and cultural causes of the conflict and the issue of repatriating at least some of the approximately 1 million refugees have still not been resolved by the OSCE. Third, the OSCE’s lack of a substantial peacekeeping force would hinder the enforcement of any settlement if one were reached. Additionally, numerous Minsk Group members have “wider strategic aims” (Carley 1998, 7) than simple peace between Azerbaijan and the NKR.

Russia, a supporter of Armenia, is pursuing a solution that would allow it to maintain its influence in the South Caucasus region, which is evident by its “occasional attempts to bypass the OSCE process entirely and continue to pursue separate resolution efforts” (Carley 1998, 7). Turkey, Russia’s traditional rival in the region, has committed itself to the defense of Azerbaijan should Armenia resume hostilities. As for the United States, it is attempting to assuage its own influential Armenian population while securing alternative oil pipeline routes for Azerbaijan’s substantial oil reserves from the Caspian Sea. Although there is little evidence that natural resources (other than land) contributed to the conflict, oil has emerged as a concern in the mediation efforts. It was in 1994 that “Washington and other centers of power seemed to wake up to the realities of Caspian oil” (Carley 1998, 13). Not only has oil contributed to Western interest in the region, but oil has negatively impacted the peace negotiations by creating a mindset among

officials in Baku that Azerbaijan's petroleum resources means "time is on its side and . . . there is less need to compromise now because the country's position will improve [economically and politically] in the future. More importantly, this situation may increase the risk that Baku will resort to force if no progress is made at the negotiating table, because once oil revenues start to fill the national coffers, it will be harder for the Azeri government to explain to its people why Azeri lands are still occupied by Armenians" (Carley 1998).

Conclusion

The conflict over the Nagorno-Karabakh region has been described as a "war without hope" (United States Institute of Peace 1992), and any prospects for a peaceful settlement are bleak because there are territorial factors linked to the nationalistic pride of each state. Azeri writer Houseline has declared,

"There cannot be a victor. The Azeris will never agree to the forcible annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia. And Armenia can never rest in peace after seizing the territory of others." Independent journalist Thomas Goetz . . . concluded that the only evident solution would be for Azerbaijan to give Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia in exchange for territory . . . two moves that he labeled as politically impossible for both governments. Kenneth M. Jensen . . . agreed that the only apparent way to peace in Nagorno-Karabakh would be a swap of territory or population between Armenia and Azerbaijan, but warned that would constitute "an outrageous violation of a number of important norms of international relations." (United States Institute of Peace 1992, 5)

It is very difficult to negotiate a permanent solution to the conflict which would be satisfactory to the main parties. At the heart of the Karabakh conflict lies the classic contradiction inherent in the international system: territorial integrity versus the right of self-determination. The difficulty facing any peace agreement . . . is how to combine these two principles in a manner

that is acceptable to the main parties to the conflict." (Hughes and Sasse 2002, 159).

Jessica Atwood

Chronology

- February 11, 1988 Armenian activists organize public demonstrations in Stepanakert calling for reunification with Armenia.
- February 20, 1988 By a 110-to-17 vote, the Regional Soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (AONK) calls for the reunification of Karabakh with Armenia.
- February 23, 1988 The Central Committee of the Communist Party rejects the demands of AONK.
- March 1988 The USSR Supreme Soviet presidium rejects Nagorno-Karabakh's request for reunification.
- June 1988 The Armenian Supreme Soviet votes to accept Nagorno-Karabakh into Armenia.
- July 18, 1988 The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR resolves that Nagorno-Karabakh remain part of Azerbaijan.
The USSR Supreme Soviet rejects AONK's call for reunification.
- September 18–20, 1988 Armenians are driven out of Shusha, Azerbaijanis out of Stepanakert.
- November 20–24, 1988 Anti-Armenian pogroms take place in several Azerbaijani cities, including Baku, Nakhichevan, and Ganja. Soviet troops are assigned to guard the homes of Armenians in Baku. A state of emergency and curfew are established in Ganja and Baku.
- January 12, 1989 The USSR Supreme Soviet decides to keep AONK under Azerbaijani jurisdiction. The Supreme Soviet also forms a Special Commission to directly govern the region.
- August 16, 1989 The Armenians of AONK form their own National Council.
- January 13–15, 1990 Anti-Armenian pogroms occur in Baku.
- April 30, 1991 In a massive attack, Soviet forces take over the Armenian-inhabited villages of Gedashen and Martunashen. Operation Ring begins.
- May 7, 1991 Joint attacks by Soviet and Azerbaijani OMON (Interior Ministry police special forces) succeed in overrunning the villages of Getashen and Martunashen.

- September 2, 1991 Nagorno-Karabakh announces its secession from Azerbaijan.
- December 10, 1991 Ninety-nine percent of Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians vote in referendum in favor of independence
- December 31, 1991 The USSR disintegrates.
- January 30, 1992 CSCE admits Armenia and Azerbaijan, takes up mediating role.
- February 25–26, 1992 Hundreds of Azerbaijanis are killed after Armenians storm Khojali.
- March 24, 1992 CSCE Minsk Conference for Nagorno-Karabakh is proposed; Minsk Group is formed.
- May 18, 1992 Armenians capture Lachin.
- August 15, 1992 Karabakh Armenian State Defense Committee is created.
- September 1, 1992 Azerbaijanis take village of Srkhavend, control almost half of Nagorno-Karabakh.
- April 3, 1993 UN Resolution 822 calls on Armenians to withdraw from Kelbajar.
- July 29, 1993 UN Resolution 853 condemns occupation of Azeri territory.
- October 14, 1993 UN Resolution 874 supports the mediation efforts of the CSCE.
- November 12, 1993 UN Resolution 884 expresses grave concern for displacement of Azeris in Zangelan district and demands the withdrawal of occupying troops.
- May 12, 1994 Cease-fire agreement mediated by CSCE is implemented.
- December 5–6, 1994 CSCE becomes OSCE at summit in Budapest. Peacekeeping mandate for Karabakh is approved.

List of Abbreviations

- ACP: Azerbaijani Community Party
- ACV: armored combat vehicles
- AONK: Autonomous Oblast of Nagorno-Karabakh
- APF: Azerbaijani Popular Front
- CSCE: Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
- FDI: foreign direct investment
- GDP: gross domestic product
- HRW/H: Human Rights Watch: Helsinki
- ICRC: International Committee of the Red Cross
- IMF: International Monetary Fund
- NKP: the standing army of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic
- NKR: Nagorno-Karabakh Republic
- OMON: special police forces of the Interior Ministry during the Soviet Union period.

- OSCE: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
- PRIO: Peace Research Institute, Oslo (Norway)
- SSR: Soviet Socialist Republic
- TCGF: Trans-Caucasian Group of Forces
- UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
- USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Glossary

Conference on Security and Cooperation in

Europe: Established in the 1970s to create a forum for dialogue between states. At the end of the cold war, the CSCE was called upon to play a part in managing the historic changes taking place, such as arms control agreements and military security treaties. To manage this new role, a secretariat was established, meetings became more regular, missions were established, and the conference's work became more structured. Recognizing that the CSCE was no longer simply a conference, the CSCE changed its name in 1994 to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

internally displaced person (IDP): An individual who has been forced to leave his or her local residence but who has not crossed an international boundary.

Freedom Support Act: Enacted by the U.S. Congress on October 24, 1992, to facilitate American national security by providing for the safeguarding of the weapons of mass destruction of the newly independent states of the Soviet Union. The act also provided for efforts to reduce the military threat from the former Soviet Union and to expand military-to-military contacts between the United States and the independent states.

glasnost: Soviet policy introduced by Gorbachev in 1985 to bring about openness in the state. The main goal of the policy was to make the state's bureaucracy and methods of operation transparent and open to debate.

Minsk Group: Established by the OSCE in 1994 at the Budapest Summit. Negotiations to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict have been entrusted to this group, which has representation from Russia, France, the United States, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkey, and several European nations; at the insistence of Azerbaijan, the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic is unrepresented in the negotiations. Thus far, the Minsk Group has been unsuccessful in

proposing a peaceful settlement agreeable to both Armenia and Azerbaijan.

perestroika: A Soviet policy of economic reforms introduced in June 1987 by Gorbachev. The goal of the policy was to restructure and reform the Soviet economy under the market economy model.

refugee: An individual who seeks refuge in another country to escape persecution.

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Bangladesh (1972–1997)

Introduction

Writings on Alexander's invasion of India in 326 BCE contain the earliest historical references to organized political life in the Bangladesh area. Some historians suggested that Alexander the Great halted his conquest of lands to the east in anticipation of fierce resistance from the Gangaridai and Prasioi empires, located in the Bengal region (Ministry of Information n.d.). Since that time, the area has seen the rise and fall of many great kingdoms and principalities, including Pundra Vardhana (northern Bangladesh), Gauda (parts of West Bengal and Bangladesh), Dandabhukti (southern West Bengal), Karna Subarna (part of West Bengal), Varendra (northern Bangladesh), Rarh (southern areas of West Bengal), Summha Desa (southwestern West Bengal), Vanga (central Bangladesh), Vangala (southern Bangladesh), Harikela (Northeast Bangladesh), Chandradwipa (southern Bangladesh), Subarnabithi (central Bangladesh), Navyabakashika (central and southern Bangladesh), Lukhnauti (North Bengal and Bihar), and Samatata (eastern Bangladesh). Bangladesh continued to play an integral role throughout its history as a cultural, economic, and natural bridge between south Asia and Southeast Asia. The year 1757 marked the beginning of a 200-year period of British colonial rule, with the arrival of the East India Company (Cain and Hopkins, 1995). Imperialistic policies and exploitation of the country that

directly fueled England's Industrial Revolution left a devastating legacy for the people and the land, best summarized by historian R. C. Dutt:

The people of Bengal had been used to tyranny but had never lived under an oppression so far-reaching in its effects, extending to every village market and every manufacturer's loom. They had been used to arbitrary acts from men in power but had never suffered from a system that touched their trades, their occupations, their lives so closely. The springs of their industry were stopped, the sources of their wealth dried up. (Bangladesh Sangbad Sanghsta, 2006)

Under the British, the Hindu middle class emerged as the greatest beneficiary of the colonial rule, much to the dismay of Muslim aristocracy, who were forced to seek support among the lower echelons of the society. This reinforced the rivalry between two religions, marking the onset of Bangladeshi Islamization, which persists even today. Muslims' unrelenting demands for higher administrative status for Bengal and a guarantee of representation in politics for the Bengali population were continuously denied, culminating in the 1940 Pakistan Resolution at Lahore. The agreement called for geographically contiguous units to be "demarcated into regions which should be constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary so that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority

should be grouped to constitute ‘Independent States’ in which the constitutional units [shall] be autonomous and sovereign” (Pakistan Resolution of the Lahore Session of the All India Muslim League 1940).

Implying that South Asia consists of many nations, not merely two, the agreement explicitly signaled balkanization of the subcontinent. Like Woodrow Wilson’s promise of the right to self-determination to many of world’s minorities at the Paris Peace Conference of 1918, the Lahore Declaration promised everything to everyone.

Through the partition, areas in which Muslims had a numerical majority would constitute Pakistan, and those with non-Muslim majority would remain in India. A small, hilly region of East Bengal, the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), which the British annexed in 1860 and awarded a special administrative status in 1900 restricting the settlement of nontribals, was of little relevance in the partition process of the 1940s, because its population was neither Muslim nor Hindu (Arens and Chakma 2002).

In 1947, the British divided the subcontinent into India and Pakistan. East Bengal constitutionally became a province of Pakistan, separated from it by a 1,000-mile physical boundary. Territorial solutions did little to mitigate rising tensions in the region, which flowed from religious and linguistic differences of the majority populations within and among the two countries. As a result, the British Boundary Commission was set up in order to demarcate the boundaries in the high-risk areas of Bengal and Punjab. The commission awarded the CHT to Pakistan despite the region’s religious and demographic similarities to India (Zeigler 2001).

In the two decades that followed, East Pakistan Bengalis conducted a united campaign to reassert their unique cultural and linguistic identity, among their fellow religionists who spoke a different language. In 1966, the first political party, the Awami League, was created to defend and enforce these demands. The league adopted a six-point platform calling for a parliamentary government elected by universal adult

The Birth of Bangladesh

Beginnings of the modern Bangladesh state are traced to February 21, 1952, when the Bengali language movement, largely consisting of students, fueled the drive for the country’s independence. The protesters, initially resisting the imposition of a new state language, Urdu, which only a bare minority in East Pakistan could speak, were eventually transformed into a fervent push for the elevation of the language of Bengal to official status. The Muslims of Bengal in India and the Bengalis in East Pakistan put forth the united campaign for reassertion of their unique cultural and linguistic identity against their fellow religionists who spoke a different language. In commemoration of the Bengali struggle for linguistic recognition, today February 21 is observed worldwide as International Mother Tongue Day.

suffrage, legislative representation on the basis of population, federal government in charge of foreign affairs and national defense, and provincial autonomy in domestic issues (Arens and Chakma 2002). The Bengalis’ effort culminated in a bloody war of independence in 1971, which they won; and the independent country of Bangladesh was born.

Economic stagnation during the decade following independence reflects the tumultuous political environment and the inability of successive nondemocratic leaders to develop and sustain any type of economic growth. The long-sought independence of Bangladesh, although providing a solution to one set of problems, essentially brought a new set of issues to the country along with the beginning of an endemic internal war. Natural disasters occurring during the 1970s combined with other factors—the breakdown of a democratic regime and the beginnings of military control of the state, undefined rights of minorities within the new country, repopulation of a large number of refugees from the 1971 war, and most important, the government’s failure to recognize previous agreements granting special status to more than thirty

ethnic minorities living in Chittagong Hills Tract (CHT)—set Bangladesh on a path to civil war.

As a result, the hillsides of southeast Bangladesh gave rise to the military organization Shanti Bahini (Peace Force), which abandoned peaceful solutions to the conflict and took up arms in order to protect the indigenous Jumma people in a war that in some respects is still going on. The irony is that, after decades of repression and denial of their cultural and political rights, Bengalis finally won independence for their country, and immediately turned to suppressing and denying those same rights to the minorities in the CHT. This situation provided the springboard for twenty-four years of civil war that persist to the present day. The war is said to have lasted twenty-four years as the Peace Agreement was signed in 1997. That fact notwithstanding, low-key violence and hostilities continue in Bangladesh today. As the literature on civil conflicts has not yet conclusively answered the question of what point constitutes the end of the war, we will take the year the peace agreement was signed as the endpoint, although this interpretation may not be factually correct.

Country Background

When he took over the independent Bangladesh in 1970, Awami League leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (Mujib) planned to establish a parliamentary democracy, rebuild the war-ravaged country, reestablish law and order, and reintegrate returning refugees. He quickly abandoned those plans, instead focusing on consolidating his power in a presidential democracy. Ensuing political disorder led to his assassination and a coup d'état, which resulted in a the new president-general, Ziaur Rahman (Zia), leader of the Islamic Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). His troubling contribution to the country's development was redefinition of Bangladeshi nationalism as one race (Bengali), one religion (Islam), and one language (Bengali)—signify-

ing assertion of the Muslim identity among Bengalis and intolerance of non-Islamic groupings within the country, much to the dismay of the largely Buddhist and Hindu CHT tribal people. This legacy is felt today, for Bangladesh remains an "Islamic democracy." A succession of coups and military rule ensued up until the end of the Cold War, but any hopes that democracy may take hold in a new international system were shattered by a faltering economy, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, political polarization, and endemic corruption. Since 1990, the political power has shifted away from the BNP to the Awami League without any significant changes in economic development or political reforms toward democracy.

Bangladesh remains at or near the bottom of all international lists measuring economic and social growth, with 38 million people living below the poverty line. More than 50 percent of children are malnourished. During the period 2000–2004, Transparency International found Bangladesh to be the most corrupt state in the world. Nationwide political protests remain one of the strongest tools used by opposition parties to induce change. Coupled with excessive use of violence by law enforcement officers to keep protesters in check, riots have caused hundreds of deaths and many more injuries across the country. There is an almost total breakdown of the rule of law, complete disregard for the minority rights, and an increase in terrorist groups and activities that threaten any future attempts at democratic transition and economic development.

Conflict Background

The CHT, located between the Arakan hills of Burma and northeast India, are home to thirty ethnic communities. Collectively known as Jumma for their cultivation of jumma, a grain that is the country's chief export, the tribes constitute 0.5 percent of the 141 million people in Bangladesh. In addition to religious differences, the indigenous people differ physically from the majority of Bengalis in that they are

of Sino-Tibetan descent, with distinctively Mongoloid features. There are also linguistic disparities, as well as dissimilarities in social organization, marriage customs, and birth and death rites (Schendel 1995). Largest of the thirteen main Jumma nationalities are the Chakmas, who number an estimated 350,000 and occupy the central and northern parts of the CHT, including the capital, Rangamati (Anti-Slavery International 1989). The second-largest ethnic group are the Marmas, who number about 140,000 and live in the southern and northeastern parts of the CHT. Both ethnic minorities are Buddhist. The third-largest group are the Tripuras, who practice Hinduism, are related to similar peoples in the Tripura state of India, and inhabit mostly the northern part of the CHT. These three ethnic groups constitute an estimated 87 percent of the total Jumma population, which, according to the 1991 census, totaled 590,000.

Genesis of the post-independence civil war can be traced to the 1962 World Bank–sponsored commissioning of the Kaptai Hydroelectric Power Project, which resulted in the displacement of 100,000 people, or one-quarter of the CHT population, and the submerging of 40 percent of the region’s rich agricultural land (Mohsin and Ahmed 1996). The Pakistani government spent 12.5 million rupees (compared to the planned 240 million) for the rehabilitation and compensation of the people displaced as a result of the project. Aggravating the problem further, in 1964 the government annulled the CHT Regulation of 1900, withdrawing the region’s special administrative status. This decision was reaffirmed in the 1972 Bangladesh Constitution (Arens and Chakma 2002). When General Zia became the new president in 1975 through a military coup, democratic struggle for the CHT autonomy grew into a low-intensity armed conflict that evolved into a civil war, which has lasted to some extent to the present day.

Some 65,000 Chakma tribe members remain in India today, where they took refuge not only

from the Kaptai Dam construction but also from the government forces in the civil war (Human Rights Congress on Bangladesh Minorities 2003). The Chakmas, who settled in the northeastern part of the country, disrupted the demographic structure of the three districts: Lohit, Changlang, and Papumpare. Adding to the tensions are numerous reports pointing to the nexus of the Chakma refugees with underground extremists operating in Tripura. There is currently no integrated regional approach or political willingness to resolve the refugee crisis.

Bangladesh’s independence brought about human rights abuses and large-scale massacres of the indigenous people of the CHT (United Nations Economic and Social Council Commission on Human Rights 1993). The government approved policies of “planned population transfer” whereby more than half a million Bengali plains settlers were moved into the CHT in an effort to displace the Jumma peoples. The initial settlement plan included the transfer of 400,000 Bengalis into the region, pushing the locals into areas of lower-quality agricultural land and forcing different tribes to coalesce into cluster villages that resembled concentration camps (Amnesty International 2000).

Shanti Bahini initially formed resistance against such encroachment of government-sponsored Bengali population transfers in the CHT (Huque 1998). As its tactics failed to prevent the further influx of Muslims into the region, Shanti Bahini’s goals evolved into outright demands for the region’s elevated autonomy. In some accounts, this dispute is compared to the American Indian campaigns, in which soldiers and white settlers pushed the Indians westward in an attempt to fulfill a nineteenth-century political philosophy of a “manifest destiny.” This philosophy held that the United States held a right to the conquest of North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

In the mid-1970s, the Bangladesh government sanctioned military occupation of the region, causing a refugee spillover into neighbor-



The Chittagong Hill Tracts dispute is over autonomy in southeastern Bangladesh. Here a Hill Tracts student protest group marches on the prime minister's office in Dhaka in August 2003. (Shawkat Khan/AFP/Getty Images)

ing India. The government persistently denies most of the charges of arbitrary arrest, extrajudicial execution, massacre, torture, and unlawful killing of the indigenous people. Instead, it claims that the tribes constitute less than 0.5 percent of the total population inhabiting more than 10 percent of the area of Bangladesh and that therefore an influx of settlers is inevitable and within their rights. The ongoing civil war continued until the formal peace agreement was signed in 1997, ending a twenty-four-year insurgency that claimed more than 8,500 soldiers, rebels, and civilians and caused an influx of more than half a million refugees into neighboring countries (PRIO 2004). In the eight years since the agreement, Bangladesh has yet to come to terms with the disastrous legacies of civil war; the legal, political, and economic bias toward the tribal people; and the sporadic acts of aggression and violence across the CHT—all of which stand in the way of the agreement's implementa-

tion. The government has violated most of its key promises in the accords. The Bangladesh military, which remains a de facto authority in the region, surrounds the area, assisting in the construction of hundreds of mosques, Islamic religious schools (madrassas), and Muslim settlements. Any attempt to oppose the status quo ends in arrest, torture, and jail on charges of terror and extortion. The most threatening development remains the silent genocide: demographic manipulation of government-sponsored Muslim settlement, which resulted in the increase of the Muslim population in the CHT from 2 percent in 1947 to more than 60 percent in 2004. In one such operation in the early 1980s, Ali Haider Khan, deputy commissioner of the CHT, was authorized to implement the settlement of 100,000 Bengali families to the CHT (Peace Campaign Group 2000). Under the program, each family received between 2.5 and 5 acres of land, depending on location; preference

was given to retired army personnel and former members of paramilitary forces.

Many international observers, indigenous representatives, and foreign officials within the country bear witness to severe human rights violations, degradation of democratic norms and standards, unlawful use of military force against civilians, systematic racial discrimination, ensuing ethnic cleansing in the CHT, communal attacks on tribal villages, suppression of free media, and politically motivated attacks on human rights activists, intellectuals, and opposition political leaders. Moreover, the 2001 election saw the rise of Islamic political parties backed by an 88-percent Muslim population in Bangladesh, confirming allegiance to the “Islamic State” (Constitution of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh, Part I, Article 2A). The country has since become the new “rest stop” for Taliban and al-Qaeda fugitives and has further strengthened its resolve in the Islamization of the CHT and the victimization of its citizens. In an effort to keep the war a secret, the government has denied or restricted the movement of peace activists and

journalists throughout the region, and tourists who arrive by bus from the Chittagong port are allowed to spend no longer than twenty-four hours to a few days in the CHT.

The Insurgents

Efforts of the indigenous people to create an organized resistance movement within the CHT date back to the establishment of British colonial rule. The Chakmas, the largest of the thirty tribes populating the disputed region, demanded constitutional recognition of the CHT as a special administrative area within the British Empire. In 1900, the struggle resulted in a special ordinance that declared the CHT a special administrative area. This special status was annulled in the 1964 Pakistani constitution and in the subsequent 1972 Bangladesh constitution.

Resulting Jumma resentment and dissatisfaction inspired the creation of a political party under the auspices of MP (member of Parliament) Manabendra Narayan Larma on February

Table 1: Civil War in Bangladesh

War:	Shanti Bahini vs. government
Dates:	August 1972–December 1997
Casualties:	8,500 (rough estimate)
Regime type prior to war:	Parliamentary democracy
Regime type after war:	Parliamentary democracy (BNP)
GDP/capita year war began in 1972:	US \$920.48
GDP/capita 5 years after war in 2000:	US \$1684.58
Insurgents:	Shanti Bahini, UNDF
Issue:	Privileged status for the CHT region
Rebel funding:	Drugs, arms smuggling, ransom
Role of geography:	Rebels hid in forested and hill areas
Role of resources:	Not decisive or adequate enough to cite
Immediate outcome:	25-year civil war; treaty signed in 1997
Outcome after five years:	Feeble peace with low-key, sporadic violence
Role of UN:	UNDP in facilitating development
Role of regional organizations:	None
Refugees:	Estimated 60,000 remain outside country, some repatriated (action still in progress); 50,000 internally displaced persons
Prospects for peace:	Not favorable

Sources: Levine 1999; Center for the Study of Civil War (n.d.); Human Rights Congress for Bangladesh Minorities 2003.

15, 1972: Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti (PCJSS). The party viewed the emergence of Bangladesh on the basis of Bangladeshi and Islamic nationalism as an implicit threat to Jumma's future political, social, and economic development. The party presented the Awami League with a four-point list, demanding (a) declaration of the CHT as an autonomous zone with its own assembly, (b) the incorporation of provisions similar to the 1900 CHT Ordinance into the Bangladesh constitution, (c) recognition and maintenance of the tribal kings' offices, and (d) incorporation of provisions safeguarding the autonomy of the CHT into the Bangladesh constitution. The government not only ignored the list of demands but responded with a military offensive and a population transfer of Bengalis to the CHT. On the other hand, the CHT tribes, having exhausted the peaceful means of conflict resolution, turned to arms and violence. To that end, Shanti Bahini coordinated, implemented, supported, trained, and funded guerrilla warfare to preserve the special status of the region and the safety of its people. Although its success in achieving the organization's goals remains debatable, Shanti Bahini provided the backbone of armed resistance to the Bangladesh government for decades until it was formally abolished in 1999.

Shanti Bahini was formed on January 7, 1973, a year after the PCJSS had exhausted all peaceful means of conflict resolution. Most of its members came from the three most numerous tribes in the region—the Chakma, the Tripura, and the Marma—who were also the most disadvantaged by the government's regional policies. Although most legacies of the war for independence were harmful to the indigenous people, the leftover surplus of small arms, modern weapons technologies, and explosives were a great advantage to Shanti Bahini. Ideological fervor was augmented with the necessary military equipment, and the stage was set for an intense civil war.

Armed operations began in 1974, after a large number of tribal people were properly trained and equipped. In addition to the regular force,

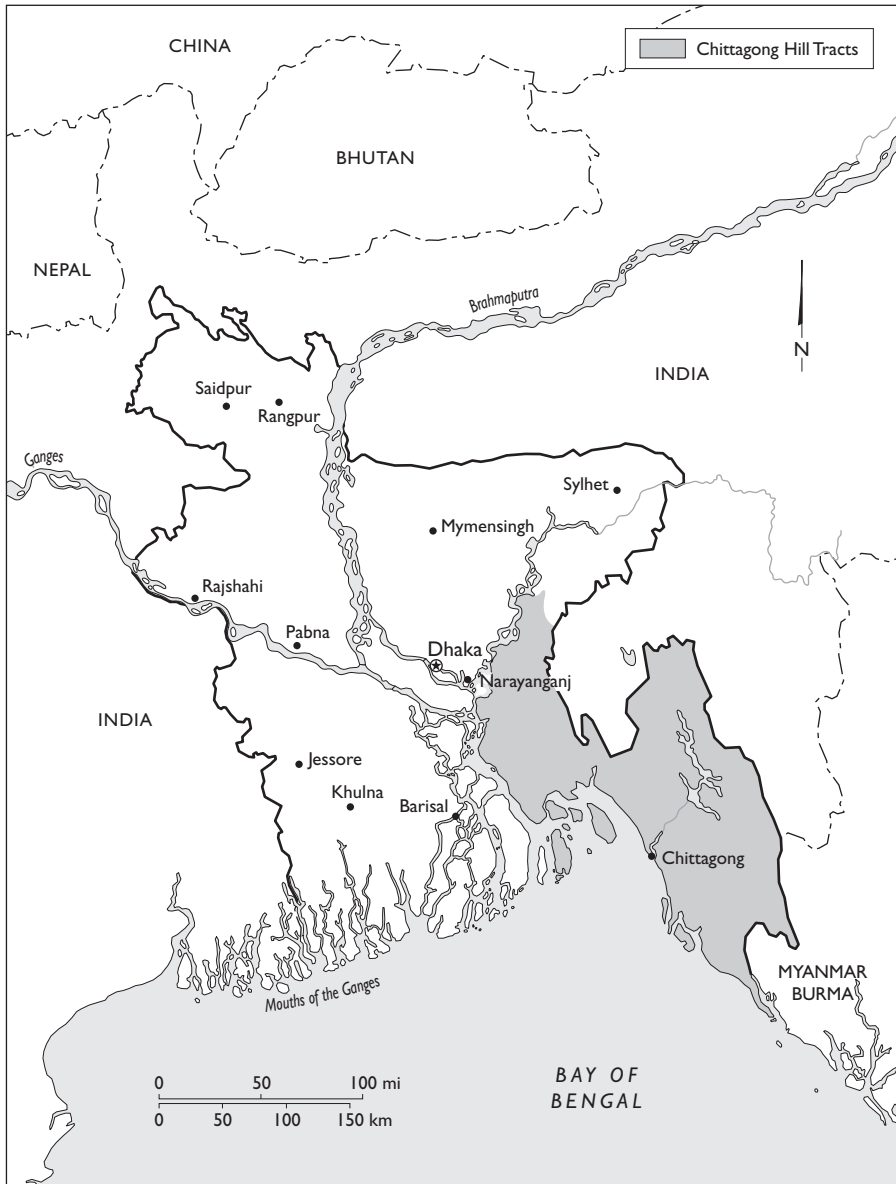
Shanti Bahini created a militia consisting of personnel less well-trained but capable enough of disturbing the peace and the lives of Bengali settlers in the CHT. In the ensuing two decades, the rebels conducted raids on the government forces surrounding the region, ambushes of government military officials, kidnappings of foreign nationals for ransom, forceful extortion of resources from the settlers, and acts of aggression against fellow tribesmen unsympathetic to their goal. Resisting them stood the army and the police, who also created, trained, and equipped the Village Defense Parties. Also known as Defense Police, these groupings were made up of Bengali settlers in the CHT.

After Larma's assassination in 1983, the organization split into two factions, those who remained loyal to Larma's goals and the Preeti group. The latter surrendered to the government in 1985, declaring a unilateral cease-fire and surrendering its weapons. The Larma group, under field commander Bodhipriya Larma, carried on activities against law enforcement and military personnel in the CHT, seeking autonomy for the region and halting of settlement. Bodhipriya initiated peace talks with the government in the early 1990s that eventually culminated in the agreement of 1997.

Geography

The CHT is located in southeastern Bangladesh, bordering India to the north and Myanmar to the east. It covers no more than 10 percent of the total land area of Bangladesh. Unlike the rest of the country, which is generally flat, the CHT terrain features numerous valleys, whose heavily forested ridges rise to more than 3,000 feet. The region is relatively resource rich, with an abundance of fruit, bamboo, timber, and gas deposits. Many Western oil giants have expressed the desire to commence exploration of the CHT gas reserves, Shell Oil among them.

Shanti Bahini used its geographical advantage to compensate for its relatively weak numerical strength. The indigenous people have lived in the area for centuries; they are far more familiar



with the landscape than are the government's forces, and they are thus able to execute insurgency from under the cover of the mountains and the forests. To that end, Shanti Bahini divided the CHT into two military zones (north and south), with each zone further split into three sectors and each sector into smaller areas. The headquarters and other logistically important rebel bases were located within the densest forests of the region.

The government's response has been a public relations campaign declaring the problem in the CHT to be economic, not political. Government officials argue that the funds are desperately needed for the improvement of the standard of living and the economic infrastructure for indigenous people—a strategy that ultimately should bring about the end of hostilities. To that end, in 1976 the CHT Development Board was established to absorb and redirect foreign aid to-

ward implementation of programs for the alleged economic development in the region. The contributions and financial aid poured in from many donors, including UNICEF, UNDP, and the Swedish and Australian governments. The real nature of the projects, however, was anti-insurgency development, including construction of road infrastructure to facilitate military deployment in remote areas of the region, deforestation to expose the rebel hideouts, and further military equipment for Bengali settlers to fight the insurgents. The true intentions of the CHT board and the Bangladeshi government were exposed in 1982, when the general officer in command of the 24th Infantry Division of the Bangladesh army was appointed the board's chairman. He proceeded to further use funds provided by the Asian Development Bank, the World Bank, and others to achieve military goals in the region and to finance additional Bengali settlements.

As already shown, geography has been the key advantage of the rebels, providing a safe haven against the more sophisticated arms technology and numerical advantage of the government forces. Recently, Bangladesh has become the key transit point for illegal arms trade, most of which takes place through the Cox Bazar (Kamboj 2005). In the process, the country has been flooded with small arms and other, more developed weaponry readily available to the rebels. As they become better equipped, two interrelated factors stand to change: Geography stands to lose some of its relevance as the rebels' primary advantage, as they may become capable of taking the conflict to the streets and other areas of the country.

Tactics

The Bangladeshi government relied on four principal tactics to combat the CHT insurgency. First, it conducted arbitrary arrests, mass detentions, rapes, executions, torture, and kidnapping of indigenous people. International relief and human rights organizations fear that the true number of those who perished as a result

will never be known. Second, the government encouraged forced population transfers of Bengalis into the region through generous allocations of land grants, cash, and rations. Bengali settlers now account for almost half the population. Although this program was secret at first, the government has admitted to the program's implementation, aimed at artificially disrupting regional demographic balance. Third, the government sanctioned forced religious conversion and persecution through construction of mosques and madrassas, while encouraging destruction of Buddhist and Hindu temples. A Saudi government-funded nongovernmental organization (NGO), Al-Rabita, is a chief Islamic missionary institution in the country, receiving full state and military support in the Islamization of Bangladesh. Al-Rabita set up Islamic preaching centers and Islamic hospitals in the CHT, overtly promoting Islam and encouraging Jumma conversion. And fourth, the government committed massacres in the CHT—thirteen from 1980 to 1989—resulting in more than 3,000 civilian deaths and more than 100,000 refugees (Amnesty International 2000). The actual numbers will probably never be recovered.

On the rebel side, the tactic *du jour* is kidnapping. On February 16, 2001, three foreign nationals, engineers working in Bangladesh, were abducted by the United People's Democratic Front (UPDF), a group organized by former Larma faction members who did not support the signing of the 1997 agreement. In March of the same year, in one of several such instances that month, insurgents kidnapped three pro-Peace Treaty activists and injured several others (SATP 2001). These episodes are not likely to subside in the future, as the government persistently fails to address indigenous people's grievances.

During the first few decades of the war, conflict was confined to the CHT. Manipulating geography to their advantage, the rebels relied chiefly on ambushing the government forces and conducting hit-and-run attacks on army

personnel stationed in the area. This is likely to change. In addition to the small arms confiscated from the Bangladeshi and the capitulating Pakistani military, the rebels succeeded in acquiring some of the most advanced weapons technology. The sources of such sophisticated arms, including AK-47, silencer-fitted guns with telescopic viewfinders and antitank missiles, are still unknown or debated (A. Kumar 2003a). It is not known whether the government does not want to regulate the proliferation of arms in Bangladesh, or whether it is simply incapable of doing so. Recently, one significant seizure of illegal arms in the CHT region, on April 2, 2004, exposed 1,290 AK series rifles, 1.1 million rounds of ammunition, 25,020 grenades, 840 rockets, night vision goggles, and silencers for guns, in boxes labeled “made in China” (P. Kumar 2004). This confirms the recent UN research indicating the change in status of Bangladesh from a transit country to a country that is a user of illegally smuggled arms that are manufactured in illegal factories all over Bangladesh. The report further points out that there are an estimated 200,000 illegal firearms in the country and eighty syndicated terrorist and criminal groups. Additionally, some 600 to 700 illegal firearms enter the country each day (Kumar 2003a).

Experts claim that very few, if any, South Asian insurgency groups use such weaponry as high-velocity rockets. This equipment is more conducive to the classic warfare against a regular army, not the asymmetrical combat that has generally characterized the Bangladeshi civil war. With such weapons at their disposal, insurgents are now capable of taking the battle to the flatlands, creating chaos and panic among the Bengalis and executing attacks in public places or during demonstrations without being detected.

Causes of the War

Rarely has there been an instance of an armed conflict with respect to the occurrence of which one can point to a single cause. It is no different

with the civil war in Bangladesh. At the present time, fewer than 1 percent of the country’s population, who live on an estimated 10 percent of the land, is seeking a special status for the region they live in. In contrast, the Bangladeshi government and its people remain reluctant to award any type of privileged constitutional standing to the CHT. The identity, cultural, and ethnic differences between the two sides have been reinforced by a combination of influences: historical factors; colonial, imperialistic, and governmental policies; the development of a “Bengali” nationalism; and the recent increase in the presence of Islamic fundamentalism in the country. These differences have played a key role in limiting the degree of interaction among the two sides, thereby impeding the growth of religious and ethnic tolerance and the growth of a functioning civil society. By extension, despite the signed peace accord in 1997, both sides remain hesitant to make the compromises that may help the country toward a sustained economic and political development. Nonetheless, the grand picture of the civil conflict in Bangladesh is not a simple one. The causes of the war include a number of factors that, combined, have led to a perpetual state of conflict and have retarded the country’s transition to peace.

The earliest period to which we can trace the roots of the conflict is when the UK granted independence to two successor states, India and Pakistan, a 1947 arrangement that left a bifurcated Muslim nation separated by more than a thousand miles. Under imperial rule, the CHT enjoyed a privileged administrative status, any type of Bengali settlement and migration was forbidden, and the region enjoyed limited self-government. Since the British left, the CHT has undergone a gradual stripping away of its special standing within the country as the prospects of eventual conflict grew proportionately with the diminishing rights of the indigenous people.

We can argue that the cause of the present-day civil war in Bangladesh dates to between 1957 and 1963, with the construction of the World Bank–sponsored Kaptai Dam near Rang-

mati. The Pakistani government sacrificed the interests of indigenous agricultural CHT population for a dependable source of energy. The project resulted in destruction of at least 54,000 acres of settled, arable land, cultivated mainly by the Chakma tribe, submergence of more than 400 square miles of additional land, and far-reaching negative economic, cultural, and social effects on the locals. An estimated 40,000 Chakma tribe members took refuge in neighboring India. Coupled with the construction, the Pakistani government encouraged the settlement of Bengalis in the area.

We can also argue that the progressive Islamization of Bangladesh has led to intolerance of any other religions and more violence against the groups resistant to Islam. Thus, the outbreak of the civil war was a natural consequence of policies that can be traced to the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Allegedly, Bhutto believed that friendly relations between Bangladesh and India would pose a national security concern for Pakistan. To that end, he sought to spread Islamic fundamentalism throughout Bangladesh, driving a wedge between Bangladesh and its powerful, largely Hindu neighbor (S. Kumar 2005). This policy was strengthened in the late 1970s with the rise of the military leadership in Bangladesh, which proceeded to desecularize the Constitution of 1977 and lift the ban on communal and fundamentalist parties. When General Ershad came to power, declaring Islam the state religion in 1988, one can argue that the fate of the CHT people was sealed, as the choices available to them ranged from conversion to Islam to refuge in neighboring countries. Evidence shows that they overwhelmingly chose the latter option, joining the ranks of an estimated 20 million Bangladeshi immigrants. The mounting spread of Islam is most evident in the estimated 64,000 madrassas that are said to be the breeding ground for terrorists (Kamboj 2005).

Proliferation of Islamic education centers, largely financed by petrodollars from Saudi Arabia, is marked in the CHT region, where the fun-

damentalist group Harkat-ul-Jihad, an organization with Wahhabi and Taliban influences, equips and trains its followers to conduct armed raids against the tribes' people. The group has since worked on establishing the Islamic Hukumat (Islamic Rule) in Bangladesh, and has provided support campaigns against such liberal and secular practices as music, dance, movies, and television. There are a number of other Islamic groups, one of which, Jamaat-i-Islami, holds two ministerial positions within the present BNP regime in Bangladeshi government.

It is no surprise that the government seeks Islamization of Bangladesh as a policy initiative geared toward establishing the country's unified identity. Even though it is home to more than 140 million people, Bangladesh faces the significant security dilemmas that are often characteristic of smaller states. One such issue is its territorially and numerically powerful Hindu neighbor, India. Within that context, further Islamization of Bangladesh is one government's available tool to prevent its identity from being subsumed by India. During its transition from Bengali to the identity of extremist Islamist nationalism, the Bangladeshi government faces two groups: non-Bengali speakers and non-Muslims, the majority of whom live in the CHT region. Fleeing government and terrorist forces, many non-Bengali and non-Muslim CHT people sought refuge in India, triggering a chronic refugee problem that persists to the present day.

On the other hand, we can also trace the conflict's origin to 1971. Although Bangladeshi people sacrificed their lives to gain independence from Pakistan, the Jumma minorities remained largely indifferent to the cause of their countrymen. There is no single reason for this ambivalence, whether it be the relatively peaceful culture of the CHT tribes or Jumma's expectation of becoming a part of India. Additionally, some influential individuals among the CHT tribes sided with the Pakistani government, whereas others complained of being excluded from participation in the war. For one of those reasons or all of them combined, in the context of the Bangladeshi

campaign for sovereignty, the Jummas' intentions came to be perceived as disloyal. By extension, following the war for independence, the Bangladesh government and its people were quick to point a finger at the region and blame its people for treason and subversion. With its complete monopoly on the military and the police, the government was able to implement and enforce any policy it deemed necessary, including punishment of those who remained disloyal to the cause of independence. In the case of the CHT, that meant sanctioning population transfers into the region, denying the Jumma's claim for elevated administrative status for the CHT, and employing aggression and hostility against the indigenous people.

Lastly, these events and subsequent developments in the region between the government and the CHT minorities unfolded against the background of a faltering economy with abundant but undeveloped resources, rampant corruption, nonexistent social benefits, an inefficient educational system, and successive military governments. In addition, Bangladesh's relative lack of geostrategic importance warranted the noninvolvement of international community in the conflict, much to the satisfaction of the government, which was free to pursue its policies unfettered by outside influences.

Outcome

Prior to the 1997 agreement, civil war in Bangladesh was fairly easy to explain: Shanti Bahini fought for the rights and autonomy of CHT, and the government struggled to prevent them from succeeding. In the postagreement period, the situation became a lot more complex. Sheik Hasina's Awami League government, which won the national elections in 1996 and signed the 1997 agreement on government's behalf, was replaced by the coalition of the BNP and the radical fundamentalist party Jamaat-i-Islami, both of which were against the agreement in the first place. On the side of the insurgents, there were now three factions: the United

Women in Power in Bangladesh

Begum Khaleda Zia is the Bangladeshi prime minister. As the first woman in her country in the post, she was in power from 1991 to 1996 and again after the BNP election victory in 2001. Her assassinated husband, General Ziaur Rahman, formed the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and set the country on a course toward rapid Islamization. Khaleda Zia was born in 1945 and married General Rahman in 1960. After her husband's death, she took very little interest in politics but instead focused on raising their two sons. That changed in 1983, when Justice Sattar appointed her vice chairman of the BNP. She succeeded Justice Sattar in 1984 and until 1990 was detained seven times during General Ershad's rule. Khaleda Zia was elected the country's first female prime minister in 1991 in Bangladesh's first free and fair elections. Khaleda Zia introduced compulsory free primary education, free education and stipends for female students until tenth grade, and a food-for-education program. She further increased the age limit for entry into government services from 27 years of age to 30 and made the highest budgetary allocation in the education sector. In 2001, the BNP—in coalition with the Jatiya Party, Jamaat-i-Islami, and Islami Oikya Joy—won the election with a two-thirds majority, and Khaleda Zia was once again elected prime minister.

People's Democratic Front, who views the agreement as an act of treason; the Parbatya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samiti (PCJSS), who supported the agreement; and the indigenous people in general, who want peace, stability, order, and the rule of law to return to the country that has spent the last three decades entrenched in civil war. Most of the fighting in the area now occurs between the UPDF and the PCJSS on one side, while a low-key hostility and tension remain between the indigenous population and the Bengali settlers that can easily explode, given the proper trigger (such as the breakdown of internal order and law, a terrible

economic situation, or an increase in radical fundamentalism), into large-scale violence at any point. In the five years after the agreement was signed, there were an estimated 300 victims; but things have grown more macabre since 2002, with confrontations and gunfire occurring daily.

Conflict Status

The Peace Agreement sought to mitigate three important issues. First, it stipulated the creation of the CHT Regional Council “comprising the Local Government Councils of the three Hill Districts,” which would have twenty-two members elected from the tribal population, with a special quota for each tribe. The council’s activities would include coordination of development activities in the area, general administration, provision of law and order, NGO activities, and disaster and relief management. Most important, the council would be entrusted with resolving land disputes, especially disputes between settlers and indigenous people regarding proper verification of land records in the region (Chittagong Hill Tracts Treaty 1997, Article D.4). Second, the accord did not extend general amnesty to army and police personnel for past human rights violations, but it granted amnesty to those members of Shanti Bahini and PCJSS who surrendered their weapons. Third, the accord stipulated the need for speedy rehabilitation of tribal refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), who by definition are those displaced between August 1975 and August 1992.

More than eight years after the agreement that officially ended the civil war in Bangladesh, the country remains deeply entrenched in endemic political, social, and economic problems. In addition to those issues, the government’s lack of political willingness to implement the agreement’s provisions, coupled with growing resentment and tensions among an indigenous CHT population that grows more militarily able and better equipped as time goes by, threatens to push the country into another crisis. The agreement contains a number of weaknesses: There is

no constitutional provision for ethnic identity or the councils, which consequently could be repealed at any point; there is no deadline for military withdrawal or implementation of the accord; and there is no provision for an independent monitoring institution to oversee implementation of the agreement.

Consequently, under no international or domestic pressure, the government has not fulfilled the four outstanding issues it promised in the accords:

- (1) It has established the CHT regional council as promised, but the council is a de facto institution that remains void of any political power, autonomy, or legitimacy with which to solve one of the most pressing and contentious issues, the question of land;
- (2) it has not repatriated the Jumma refugees and has not addressed the resettlement of the Bengali settlers who have inhabited the region through government-sponsored forced population transfers;
- (3) it has not facilitated the return of the Chakmas’ ancestral lands taken over throughout the three decades of the conflict; and
- (4) it has not reduced—but since 2002 has even stepped up—its military presence in the region. (A. Kumar 2003a).

The problem of IDPs can be likened to the Israeli–Palestinian problem, as both accentuate the grave prospects for solving the problem of land and property ownership. Refugees who wish to return to their homes often discover that, in the meantime, their houses have been taken over by members of another religion or side. The European Parliament has earmarked the funds for repatriation of Bengali settlers from the CHT back to the plains, but the government, despite voicing willingness to undertake such action given adequate funding, has yet to present a project proposal.

The BNP supports the status quo, the party having declared that the agreement was not in the interest of Bengali people. Keep in mind that

the greater portion of its support comes from the fundamentalist Islamic groups and that its coalition partner is the radical Islamic group Jamaat-i-Islami; since its electoral win in 2001, the BNP has consistently acted against implementation of the 1997 accord. These issues constitute strong potential triggers capable of thrusting the country into another round of civil war.

Since 2001, the BNP set Bangladesh on the path of rapid Islamization, in the process providing safe haven for a number of international and domestic Islamic terrorist groups. Islamic outfits operating within Bangladesh won a de facto license to terrorize minority tribes in the country, mainly focusing on the CHT. The full support given to the Islamic groups by the local police effectively erodes the last line of defense of the indigenous people against the government. The divisional inspector general of police of Rajshahi, Noor Mohammad, has openly stated his support and has urged his colleagues to uphold the activities of the self-styled vigilante groups in the country (A. Kumar 2004). An estimated 305 minority attacks were reported in 2005; in 2004, eleven members of Hindu family in one CHT village were burned to death by an Islamic group (S. Kumar 2005). The government shows no signs of willingness or ability to maintain internal law and order. Proliferation of small arms and a flourishing drug trade are driving the crime rate up, justifying reports by the United Nations Development Program and Transparency International referring to Bangladesh as the most corrupt country in the world (Haokip 2002).

In addition, an estimated 20 million Bangladeshi immigrants have fled the country, about 15 million of whom have settled in India (Kamboj 2005). Instead of seeking to resolve the refugee problem, the Bangladesh government charged India with sheltering anti-Bangladesh groups, including the United People's Democratic Front, which fights for CHT autonomy (Routray 2004). On September 20, 2004, Financial Express said, "There is mistrust and misunderstanding about India in Bangladesh. As a matter of fact, there is Indo-phobia not only in

Bangladesh but in the region as well" (as quoted in Routray 2004).

There are no significant prospects for ending the refugee problem in a satisfactory way for any of the three sides—Bangladesh, India, or the refugees. Tensions have been rising within the two peaceful northeastern Indian states, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram, which are home to more than 60,000 Chakma and Hajong Buddhist refugees from the CHT region (Haokip, 2003). These indigenous people took refuge in the two republics as a result of the Kaptai Dam construction, and the subsequent civil war in the CHT became an added obstacle to their return. A significant portion, although not all, of the 60,000 consists of men and women fleeing the civil war and the subsequent falling life standards and lack of opportunity in Bangladesh. The increasing impatience of the citizens of Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram about the issue has recently culminated in two significant events.

First, the All Arunachal Pradesh Student Union (AAPSU) served a quit notice to the refugees, threatening violence and agitation if they are not deported from the republic. The union's members belong to the more radical elements of society, many of whom contributed to the formation of the Eastern India Liberation Tigers Front (EILTF). Their reaction was further aggravated by the decision of the Supreme Court of India to accept all Chakmas living in Arunachal Pradesh state as Indian citizens. Although the ruling does not guarantee citizenship rights, it lends legal credibility to all Chakmas who wish to stay in India.

In the second instance, the convener of the Core Committee on Deportation of Chakma Refugees, Domin Loya, conveyed an additional threat, claiming that New Delhi's favorable stance on settling of refugees in the two republics may provoke large-scale violence and a civil war. Their statement implied not only a bilateral problem between Bangladesh and India but the possibility of a larger national security problem if the issue is not resolved immediately: "If New Delhi [*sic*] try and impose an arbitrary decision

asking Chakmas to be settled here, we would have to look for help from our lost brothers [implication for China] to fight for our rights” (Hoakip, 2003). In response to both threats, many of the young Chakma and Hajong indigenous people have crossed over to Bangladesh to engage in arms and drug smuggling.

Duration Tactics

South Asia is cradled between the Golden Triangle and Golden Crescent, two of the world’s key producers of psychotropic drugs. The Golden Crescent is the prime illicit opium-producing region in the world, located at the crossroads of central, south, and western Asia and overlapping three nations—Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq. The Golden Triangle is the second-most important opium-producing area and also has been in the business longest (since the 1950s, as opposed to the Golden Crescent’s 1970s), straddling the mountains of three countries in southeast Asia: Myanmar, Laos, and Thailand. As a consequence, rebel groups and government forces are able to extract enormous funds from the flourishing drug trade in an area where democratic norms and standards are difficult to come by and borders are porous. The flourishing drug trade has fostered a nexus of terrorist organizations, drug traffickers, and money launderers who, in addition to dealing a crushing blow to the rule of law, are also the key actors in regional civil wars. It is no different in Bangladesh, which is both the producer and a transit country for cannabis, heroin, opium, marijuana, and codeine-based cough syrups such as Phensedyl (Manohamaram 2003). Profits from illegal trade are used to bankroll the Islamization of the CHT on one side and continued insurgency on the other. Some studies showed an increase in the abuse of heroin since 1995 in Bangladesh and highlight the country’s producing capacity, with cannabis and poppy cultivation rife in the CHT (Haokip 2003).

External Military Intervention

Overwhelming international aid has recently targeted a reduction in population growth in

Bangladesh in the hopes of enhancing economic development and indirectly halting the ongoing civil war (DaVanzo, Grammich, Nichiporuk, and Fair, 2004). The country features a high population density (nearly 1,100 per square kilometer), more than twice that of any other nation with at least 10 million people. It remains to be seen whether the government’s political commitment to this goal will contradict its pledge to the spread of Islam in the country. Due to rising tensions and the increase in confrontations, foreign aid is channeled into the country sparingly, and the international community remains largely aloof from the CHT conflict.

One of the more alarming trends in Bangladesh recently is the increase of foreign terrorist groups who, in addition to seeking a safe haven in Bangladesh, cooperate with the government in spreading Islam and forced conversion across the country. The most frequent point of entrance for the terrorist is the CHT, where many of them remain to support madrassas, terrorize the locals, smuggle drugs and arms, and train recruits in weapons handling (Sakhuja 2003). It is believed that 150 men belonging to the Taliban and al-Qaeda crossed into Bangladesh in 2001 through CHT, while Chittagong and Cox Bazar are two major transit points for arms smuggling. *Time* magazine dubbed Bangladesh a “hotbed of radical Islam,” whereas *Far Eastern Economic Review* was no less critical, depicting the country as a “cocoon of terror.”

Conflict Management Efforts

Bangladeshi civil war remained off the world’s radar for most of its duration until the signing of the 1997 agreement. The efforts to settle the conflict began in 1985, when the agreement between General Ershad’s government and a PCJSS breakaway faction resulted in surrender of the group’s 300 members, who in exchange received rehabilitation packages consisting of symbolic land rations (Amnesty International 2000). Leading PCJSS structures rejected the accord, and the conflict continued. One positive result was the beginning of communication be-

tween the two sides, which eventually resulted in the establishment of the three district elected councils in Rangmati, Khagrachari, and Bandarban with limited administrative and supervisory authority over some government departments, such as fisheries, agriculture, small and cottage industries, public health, and primary education. The PCJSS lobbied for the UN presence to oversee the withdrawal of the military and the Bengali settlers from the region. As the UN failed to respond, PCJSS announced a unilateral cease-fire in 1992, remaining in effect until the 1997 agreement between the National Committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts and the PCJSS in the presence of the highest government authorities in Bangladesh. One can only speculate whether the international community's failure to oversee and support implementation of the agreement resulted in its failing legitimacy.

Conclusion

Two problems exist in Bangladesh relating to civil war. First, terrorism is on the rise, with alleged links between Bangladesh and Pakistan's external intelligence agency (ISI) and international Islamic terrorist groups. Second, there is growing unrest in the CHT. The two reinforce one another. Under the government's protection, terrorist groups ensure that arms and drug smuggling flourishes and madrassas proliferate. This poses a direct threat for the CHT non-Muslim. Since political dialogue ceased in 2001, the country has witnessed a breakdown of the rule of law and internal order that has subsequently hindered any chance of economic development.

Today, global broadcasting news agencies are focused on stories of nuclear talks with North Korea and the Iraqi war. The CHT population and stories of their multidecade appeal for recognition, peace, and stability have yet to reach a wide audience and provoke an urgent response and condemnation of human rights abuses.

Milica Begovich

List of Acronyms

AAPSU: All Arunachal Pradesh Student Union
 BNP: Bangladesh Nationalist Party
 CHT: Chittagong Hill Tracts
 EILTF: Eastern India Liberation Tigers Front
 NGO: nongovernmental organization
 PCJSS: Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti
 UPDF: United People's Democratic Front, a breakaway faction from the PCJSS that did not support the signing of the 1997 peace accord with the government.

Glossary

Cox Bazar: The longest natural beach in Bangladesh, this stretch of 120 kilometers has become one of the key transit routes for illicit drugs, arms, and terrorist trade.

East India Company: British company chartered by Elizabeth I in 1600 to develop trade with the new British colonies in India and southeastern Asia. In 1773, the British Parliament passed an amendment to curb the Company's exploitative practices and gain a share of its revenues. In the eighteenth century, the company assumed administrative control of Bengal and held it until the British army took over in 1858 after the Indian Mutiny.

Jumma: Common name for some 600,000 indigenous people, spanning some 20 different tribes, living in the CHT region.

Madrassas: Religious schools funded by petrodollars from Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern countries; an overwhelming presence in Pakistan and other countries in the region, allegedly promoting anti-Western sentiments and forced conversion to Islam of all non-Muslim people.

Taliban: In translation, it means "students of Islamic knowledge"; characterizes the Islamic regime in Kabul and Afghanistan, and consists of people who believe in an almost medieval brand of Islam.

Tripura: Indian state that absorbed the highest number of the CHT refugees as a result of the civil war.

Wahhabi: An Islamic movement named after Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahhab (1703–1792); represents a fundamentalist, puritanical Sunni form of Islam. It has become an object of increased interest because it is the major sect of the government and society of Saudi Arabia. Wahhabism is an offending synonym for one form of Salafism.

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Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992–1995)

Introduction

For the first time since the Middle Ages, Bosnia-Herzegovina (referred to as Bosnia in this article) became an independent nation in 1992, one of six states that would eventually emerge from the ashes of the former Yugoslavia. The price Bosnians paid for this sovereignty was a civil war in which hundreds of thousands were killed, millions displaced from their homes, and war crimes and atrocities committed on a scale not seen in Europe since World War II. The Bosnian war was the severest of the four wars that (so far) have resulted from the demise of Yugoslavia, but it cannot be understood without reference to the broader context in which it occurred. At the same time, Bosnia has been fought over for centuries, and any decision about when the story should begin is somewhat arbitrary. This article begins with the Yugoslavian context from which modern Bosnia emerged, then devotes most attention to the particulars of the recent war.

Country Background

The second Yugoslavia was established after World War II, which coincided in the Balkans with a vicious civil war that claimed as many as 1.7 million lives. In Yugoslavia, the memory of this era was “politically almost as powerful as the history of the Holocaust is in Israeli politics today” (Denitch 1994, 31). Communist parti-

sans led by Jozep Broz Tito defeated both the Ustashe, a Nazi puppet regime based in Croatia, and Serbian nationalist Chetniks and ushered in an era of heavy-handed, antinationalist, Communist rule. Tito ruled largely through the strength of his personality and, to keep a lid on renewed disputes between ethnic or religious groups, forbade any expressions of nationalist sentiment. Until its collapse, Yugoslavia was a federation of six republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia) and two autonomous regions (Kosovo and Vojvodina). Within these republics lived, in relative peace, people who classified themselves as belonging to at least ten different nationalities.

Most of the Yugoslav republics were dominated by their namesake ethnic group (Serbia by mostly ethnic Serbs, Croatia by mostly ethnic Croats, etc.). Bosnia was different. In 1991, it contained about 43 percent Muslims, 31 percent ethnic Serbs, 17 percent ethnic Croats, and a mix of other nationalities. Once the war began, this balance meant that the conflict over what should become of Bosnia was far more intense than in other republics. Ethnicity was generally an important cleavage, but a significant cultural divide also existed between conservative, often ethnically intolerant rural Bosnians and more cosmopolitan urban Bosnians who were less concerned with ethnicity. Sarajevo, Bosnia’s capital and

largest city, typified this cosmopolitan Yugoslav identity. It had been the site of the 1984 Winter Olympics and remained home to houses of worship from all the Yugoslav faiths. Throughout Bosnia, “[o]ne of the three ethnic groups usually predominated in any given area, but in most places there was at least some ethnic commingling at some level of dispersion. Before the war there were places in Bosnia where one could, for instance, find a Serb-majority street within a Croat-majority town in a Muslim-majority opština (county or municipality)” (CIA 2002, 121).

The Bosnian Croat population was concentrated in the Herzegovina region in southwestern Bosnia, along the border with Croatia. Historically, the mostly rural Herzegovinian Croats have been more politically extreme than other Bosnian Croats; Serbs were known to say “nothing grows in western Herzegovina except rocks, snakes, and Ustashe” (Silber and Little 1996, 212). The Bosnian Serb population was spread out, with some majority Serb districts in eastern Bosnia and in the north and west along the borders with the Croatian Krajina. The majority of Serbs were rural, and although there was an urban–rural political divide among Serbs, most shared something of a martyr complex, a legacy of prior Serb victimization at the hands of the Ustashe. Unlike Bosnian Croats and Serbs, most of whom viewed Croatia and Serbia as their respective homelands, Muslims in Bosnia did not have an ethnic homeland. There had been Muslims in Bosnia since the Turkish occupation in the fifteenth century, and districts with majority Muslim populations were spread throughout Bosnia, with concentrations in the far northwest corner near Bihac and in pockets in central and eastern Bosnia.

By the late 1980s, three sets of issues were contributing to the tensions that would eventually lead to Yugoslavia’s disintegration and war in Bosnia (CIA 2002, 45). The first was economic. By the 1980s, unemployment had risen, foreign debt levels had become unsustainable, economic growth had slowed, and real income was dropping (Woodward 1995). These deteriorating

economic conditions exacerbated existing tensions over uneven development between republics. Slovenia and Croatia enjoyed the most advanced economies of the republics, and many resented their disproportionately large contributions to the federal tax base and began to push for economic liberalization. Meanwhile, although Bosnia had enjoyed some economic improvements during Tito’s reign, it remained less developed than the other republics. “GNP per capita was 35 percent below the Yugoslav average in 1981” (Burg and Shoup 1999, 43).

Second, growing interrepublic political tensions and demands for increased political autonomy began to emerge after Tito’s death in 1980. Many believed that ethnic Serbs had too much power in the federal government. In fact, they made up the largest single group in the Yugoslav population and were dominant in the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) officer corps. Furthermore, the federal government was seated in the Serbian Republic. These types of concerns had led to a new constitution in 1974 that had transferred authority away from the federal center to the republics and autonomous regions and provided for an eight-member presidency that would rotate annually among them. In the early 1980s the plan seemed to be working, but without Tito’s as the galvanizing force, the republics had trouble remaining unified. By the late 1980s, the federal government “retained effective authority only within the spheres of foreign policy, the economy, and defense. Even these domains had begun to erode as some of the individual republics undertook their own foreign and economic policies independent of—and at times at odds with—the federal government’s” (CIA 2002, 45).

Finally, the fall of the Berlin Wall brought with it the deterioration of Yugoslavia’s most powerful unifying force: the Communist Party. Communists were largely replaced by (and often became) nationalists, further increasing interrepublic divisions. To these were added increased intrarepublic divisions in Bosnia, where the party had been multiethnic, made up in

1982 of 42.8 percent, 35 percent, and 11.9 percent ethnic Serbs, Muslims, and Croats, respectively (Burg and Shoup 1999, 45). The fact that ethnic Serbs and Croats in Bosnia were targets of nationalist appeals in Serbia and Croatia only exacerbated this dynamic. Multiparty elections held in Bosnia in November 1990 were decided exclusively along ethnic lines. The three parties that collectively gained nearly 90 percent of the votes were

- (1) the Party of Democratic Action (Stranka Demokratske Akcije [SDA]), the Muslim party led by Alija Izetbegovic, an activist who had been imprisoned twice by the Communists for advocating a larger role for Islam in Bosnia;
- (2) the Serb Democratic Party (Srpska Demokratska Stranka Bosne I Hercegovine [SDS]), the Serb party led by Radovan Karadzic, a former psychiatrist adamantly opposed to any move to lessen the connection between Bosnia and Yugoslavia; and
- (3) the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica Bosne I Hercegovine [HDZ]), the Bosnian branch of the Croatian nationalist party, a branch that was divided internally between some who wanted to preserve the unity of Bosnia and others who wanted to annex the Croatian-majority areas of Bosnia to Croatia.

The pace of Yugoslavia's deterioration had accelerated on April 24, 1987, when Slobodan Milosevic, then first secretary of the Serbian Communist Party, made an inflammatory speech in Kosovo, a predominantly Albanian Muslim autonomous region of great historical importance to Serbian nationalists, and began his ride to power on a wave of Serbian nationalism. This Serb nationalism, rooted in a martyr complex that asserted that Serbs were being denied their rightful role in Yugoslavia, threatened to upset the country's balance of minorities and, in the eyes of most Slovenes, Croats, and Mus-

lims, validated their discomfort with Serb domination of the federal government.

By May 1991, referenda in both Slovenia and Croatia had come out overwhelmingly in favor of secession. Negotiations between the republics on the future of the federation brought no solutions, and war began on June 25, when both Slovenia and Croatia unilaterally declared themselves independent. Milosevic acceded to Slovenia's secession after a short and relatively bloodless war, but the large ethnic Serb minority in Croatia bristled at the idea of living in a Croat-dominated state, and Milosevic sent in the JNA to crush the rebellion and ostensibly to protect Serbs from attacks by Croat nationalists. Some in the army viewed their actions as an attempt to preserve Yugoslavia; although dominated by ethnic Serbs, the army was also the federal institution that, more than any other, realized Tito's slogan, "Brotherhood and Unity" (CIA 2002, 46). That the mission in Croatia was pursued with the help of ultranationalist Serbian militia by murdering or evicting nearly all non-Serbs living in predominantly Serbian regions of Croatia suggests that many in the JNA also viewed their role in ethnic terms. Thus began the "ethnic cleansing" of the former Yugoslavia.

The summer of 1991 in Bosnia was filled with tense and acrimonious negotiations between the SDA, the SDS, and the HDZ over the future of Bosnia. As Nikola Koljevic, an SDS representative on the Bosnian Presidency, said, "Throughout 1991, even in the beginning of 1992, each side thought the other wouldn't dare. And there was that terrible tense political game. Until finally we found ourselves at the point of no return" (Silber and Little 1996, 212). In October, over the fierce objections of its Serb members, the Bosnia parliament voted in favor of Bosnian sovereignty. The Serb members of the republic declared their own parliament in response, and it voted to remain part of the Serb-dominated rump Yugoslavia.

In mid-December 1991, Germany pressured the European Commission (EC) into announcing that former Yugoslav republics requesting

international recognition would be granted such recognition in mid-January in the context of a global solution to the Yugoslav issue and if they met certain yet-to-be-specified human rights conditions. Several days later, Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnian Presidency, a rotating body with two seats each for Muslims, Serbs, and Croats and one for a Yugoslav, led a vote to seek EC recognition. Only the Presidency's Serb members voted against the decision. Circumstances were exacerbated when, on December 23, against the wishes of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the United Nations, Germany unilaterally recognized Slovenia and Croatia as independent.

In January 1992, the EC ruled that Bosnian Serb hostility to the application for recognition was grounds for rejection and proposed a referendum to resolve the issue. Bosnian Serb politicians attempted to preempt any such referendum by declaring their own Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (later named *Republika Srpska* [RS]). When the referendum did occur from February 27 to March 1, it was decided almost exactly along ethnic lines, with Serbs boycotting it and Muslims and Croats voting in favor of independence. In what has been described as "a dry run for an eventual Serb takeover, orchestrated from Belgrade" (Burg and Shoup 1999, 118), Serbs set up barricades in Sarajevo. Popular protests in Mostar and Sarajevo repudiated the masked gunmen behind the barricades and demanded their removal, which Izetbegovic read as a political defeat for the Serbs. He declared Bosnia independent on March 3, and the declaration was ratified by the Bosnian parliament (minus the boycotting Serb members) later that evening.

Conflict Background

In a sense, then, the war that began in Bosnia in the spring of 1992 is best characterized as an ethnically driven attempted secession within a secession. At the outset, the war pitted the Bosnian Serbs, whose first wish was to remain part of Yu-

goslavia, against the newly independent Bosnian government, which was at the outset a shaky alliance mostly of Bosnian Muslims and Croats, both of whom wanted to secede from Yugoslavia.

Between Bosnia's declaration of independence and the EC's April 6 recognition of that independence, all sides prepared for the imminent war. "This first phase of the struggle was characterized by the breakdown of law and order, the takeover of power throughout the republic by the national parties and their "crisis staffs" (*krizni shtabovi*), and local confrontations, mostly between Serbs and Croats, in anticipation of major battles to come" (Burg and Shoup 1999, 119). When Izetbegovic issued a call for the mobilization of reservists on April 4, the SDS called on Serbs to evacuate Sarajevo. Shelling of Sarajevo began on April 6, and Serb paramilitary troops, along with Serb JNA reservists, crossed the Drina River the next day to begin claiming eastern Bosnia for the Serbs. Full-scale war had begun.

The *Vojske Republike Srpske* (VRS [Army of the Serb Republic]) began the war comprised of about 250,000 men and had a huge advantage over its opponents in weapons, including tanks, armored fighting vehicles, artillery, and mortars. This advantage in armaments was to be the single biggest factor in the early Serb victories. The VRS's weakness, as the war developed, was its manpower disadvantage. By the end of the war, the VRS could field only about 155,000 men. The Bosnian government, on the other hand, was almost entirely unprepared for war. The VRS had inherited most of the weaponry from the JNA in Bosnia, and "[on] 15 April 1992, when the Bosnian Government in Sarajevo declared the establishment of a military force, the Bosnian Army [ARBiH] consisted of little more than the text of the announcement" (CIA 2002, 143). By the end of that month, the Bosnian government could probably field somewhat more than 100,000 men, fewer than half of whom had small arms and virtually none of whom had heavy weapons. In Herzegovina, Bosnian Croats had assembled about 25,000 rea-

Brcko

Brcko, a port city on the Sava River in northeastern Bosnia, was one of the most strategically important and hotly contested sites of the war. It is the main city in the Posavina Corridor, the hinge that links the two halves of what is now the Republika Srpska (RS). It is also the only northern access between the Federation on the one hand and Croatia and the rest of Europe on the other. So important was Brcko to each side that the parties that met at Dayton in 1995 could not agree on its future. Its status remained unresolved until, after many delays, an American arbitrator finally announced in March 1999 that Brcko would be held in condominium—that is, it would be part of the territories of both the RS and the Federation but would fall under neither's jurisdiction. The arbitrator created "a single, unitary multi-ethnic democratic government to exorcise, throughout the pre-war Brcko Opstina, those powers previously exercised by the two entities and the three municipal governments" (Brcko Arbitral Tribunal for Dispute Over the Inter-Entity Boundary in Brcko Area 1999, para. 36). Crucially, the arbitrator assigned responsibility for oversight of this government to the Brcko supervisor, an American ambassador-level official with broad-ranging powers over Brcko's governors.

What has happened since Dayton has provided some vivid lessons in the difference between procedural democracy and liberalization in general. Brcko has, in effect, become a U.S. protectorate in the Balkans. No Bosnian official in Brcko was elected by the Brcko population until October 2004, when the supervisor finally concluded that the conditions for such an election were favorable. In spite of this lack of democracy, Brcko is widely cited as a leader in reform in Bosnia. The city has successfully organized a truly independent judiciary and created a multiethnic police force and civil service, and at the same time it has integrated schools, returned confiscated property, and fostered an increasingly business-friendly environment. Brcko has succeeded in reform where much of Bosnia, in spite of its success in holding elections, has floundered. In its slow emergence from the destruction of the war, Brcko has not only shone a light into Bosnia's future but has also illustrated that elections are but one step, and perhaps not the first step, in the process of building a successful democracy.

sonably well-armed paramilitary troops and had the added benefit of ongoing support from the Croatian Army.

The Bosnian government was vulnerable at the outset of the war; its main objective was to survive and retain as much territory as possible. The poor preparations for the war meant that there was little in the way of a central strategy and that "for the first year of the war, both the government as a whole and each government-held region essentially fought its own battle for survival" (CIA 2002, 142). Sarajevo became the war's most visible symbol. After the government, with the help of a host of local gang members, turned back a Serb attempt to divide the city in early May, it remained in the government's hands for the rest of the war. The VRS decision to lay siege to Sarajevo and shell it from the surrounding hills, hoping to coerce concessions from the government, did much to turn the international community against the Serbs.

Outside Sarajevo, 1992 marked the beginning of the ethnic cleansing campaign. Muslim towns along the Drina River, in the east of Bosnia, and along the Sava River in the north were overwhelmed by VRS troops, often with the help of Serbian irregulars and reservists. The Serbs also made significant inroads in central Bosnia. However, the areas around the eastern towns of Gorazde, Zepa, and Srebrenica and the northwestern town of Bihac withstood Serb attacks. "The Serbs also failed to establish a secure corridor in the north between Banja Luka . . . and Serbia" (Burg and Shoup 1999, 133). In Herzegovina, combined Croat and Muslim forces retook Mostar and cleared it and the surrounding regions of most Serbs.

By early 1993, the ARBiH was able to field 261,500 reasonably well-armed and increasingly professional troops, 90 percent of whom were volunteers (CIA 2002, 180). Furthermore, the ARBiH began to rein in the criminal gangs that

The Tunnel

Even in the best of circumstances, a house that backs up to the runway of an international airport can be a noisy place. For the Kolar family, whose house borders the Sarajevo airport, noise from the airport was the least of their worries during the war. “[E]very day during the war at least 10 shells fell on or within 50 meters of our house,” says Bajro Kolar (Alic 2002). Why was the house the target of such intense shelling? Because it was not only a house but also one of the entrances to the tunnel that served as Sarajevo’s sole link with the outside world during that city’s siege.

After the Serbs handed control of the airport over to the UN in July 1992, the front line around Sarajevo ran directly through the airport; the Serbs held positions on both ends of the runway, while the Bosnian government held the territory along each side. The sole connection between desperate Sarajevans and the rest of Bosnia was through a gauntlet of Serb sniper fire across the runway and the open fields that surrounded it. In early 1993, the Bosnian government began to dig—by hand and candlelight—a tunnel beneath the airport. By the time the tunnel was completed in July 1993, it was 800 meters long, 1.5 meters wide, and low enough that many who passed through it bumped their heads on its ceiling along the way. Though it regularly flooded to varying degrees, it also was eventually fitted with an oil pipeline and electrical cables, which would power much of the city through the cold winters of the siege.

Soldiers, civilians, and supplies passed through the tunnel for the remainder of the war, in spite of the incessant Serb shelling. Some estimate that between two and three million people used the tunnel, and there is no doubt that the supplies and reinforcements that passed through it saved Sarajevo and the Bosnian government from certain defeat. Today, the Kolar family house has been converted into a museum that commemorates the tunnel’s contribution to Bosnia’s war effort. More importantly, the most intrusive noise that visitors to the house now experience is the sound of the occasional aircraft.

had been essential to the early Sarajevo defense but were now a liability. This increase in capability enabled the ARBiH to take the offensive in some areas, although the Serbs consolidated their hold on eastern Bosnia. Meanwhile, in Sarajevo, which remained the most visible front in the war, Muslims and Serbs maneuvered for political and military advantage, with the government desperately angling for forceful international intervention on its behalf and the Serbs continuing to shell the city and press their advantage as much as possible without provoking such intervention.

International efforts to end the war intensified in 1993 and paradoxically played a role in launching two new fighting fronts. The first new front erupted after Cyrus Vance and David Owen, who represented the UN and the EC, respectively, as the cochairmen of the Peace Conference on Former Yugoslavia, proposed the Vance-Owen Peace Plan (VOPP). The VOPP would have preserved Bosnia as a single state but devolved substantial powers to each of ten

provinces defined primarily by ethnicity. The Croats, eager for autonomy within the Croat-majority regions, immediately accepted the plan. Once the map was published, “the Bosnian Croat serving as minister of defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina ordered Croat forces to take control of those provinces expected to be Croat-majority territories. His action was immediately opposed by the Muslim commander of the Bosnian army” (Burg and Shoup 1999, 134). Soon, the Croats began a massive shelling of the Muslim half of Mostar, which they viewed as the “capital” of their new statelet, and Muslims and Croats began fighting in much of central Bosnia, with Croats ethnically cleansing “their” provinces. The VOPP was rejected in a Bosnian Serb referendum, but negotiations based on it continued until September, when Izetbegovic withdrew, calling the latest proposal “genocidal.” A second new front emerged when Fikret Abdic, a rival of Izetbegovic’s and a Muslim representative on the Bosnian Presidency from Bihac, broke from Izetbegovic over his withdrawal and

declared the creation of the “Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia,” of which he was the president. Within six weeks, he had made peace with both the Bosnian Serb and Croat forces and joined them in fighting the Bosnian government.

Serbs were the main beneficiaries of the Croat–Muslim fighting. The Bosnian Croats were outnumbered by the Muslims and lost more in the fighting, but because Croatia supported the Bosnian Croats, the fighting also took a heavy toll on the Muslims. When the United States threatened Croatian President Franjo Tudjman with economic sanctions if he didn’t stop supporting the Bosnian Croats, Tudjman endorsed the talks that led to the signing of the Washington Agreement on March 1, 1994. The agreement ended the Croat–Muslim fighting and created the federation that became the basis of the postwar governing structure in the areas still under government control. In contrast, the intra-Muslim fighting in Bihac dragged on until late summer 1994, when the ARBiH 5th Corps finally managed to defeat the breakaway Muslim forces.

From a strategic perspective, the end of the Croat–Muslim fighting was extremely important, as it allowed a now battle-tested ARBiH augmented by Croatian allies to focus its attention exclusively on the fight with the VRS. Just as important, the Washington Agreement reopened an arms pipeline to the ARBiH. The Bosnians took this opportunity to employ a new strategy that would, almost for the first time in the war, put the VRS on the defensive and mitigate its continued advantage in heavy arms. In early 1994, ARBiH General Rasim Delic “placed his hopes on war of attrition across the country that would employ small to medium-sized attacks in an effort to wear down the Serbs and gain back key bits of territory. He believed his bigger army could absorb more easily than the VRS the manpower losses this strategy would require . . . battle after battle raged day after day for obscure villages, mountains, and roads throughout Bosnia” (CIA 2002, 219). Although the VRS was

not overwhelmed, it lost much of the strategic initiative and, undermanned and demoralized, was largely unable to retain territory when it did take the offensive.

The VRS attempted to retake the initiative in April 1994 with an assault on Gorazde, one of the designated UN “safe areas” along the Drina that had held out against the 1992 Serbian campaign in eastern Bosnia. The VRS attack was a military success but a strategic error, as it led to increased international pressure on the VRS and its allies in Serbia. After Ratko Mladic, the VRS general, refused UN demands to cease the attacks, NATO on April 10 launched punitive air-to-ground strikes, the first in its history. The pinprick strikes had little military impact, but they did signal the entry of a new phase in the war. Mladic took 150 UN personnel hostage and launched a retaliatory shelling of Tuzla. However, he eventually ended the attack on Gorazde at the request of Milosevic, who was also under international pressure to stop the war.

The groundwork for the international community’s increased assertiveness had been laid in February 1994, when, in a rare display of decisiveness and resolve, the West responded to a mortar shell that killed sixty-nine people at a market in Sarajevo. Media coverage of the carnage was instantaneous, the international public was outraged, and within days NATO, led by France and the United States, issued an ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs to remove their heavy weapons from a 20-kilometer “exclusion zone” around Sarajevo or submit them to UN control. If they failed to do so, they were warned, they would face NATO air strikes. Mladic eventually complied with this demand, and the shelling of Sarajevo ceased. Although life for Sarajevans improved, this changed little militarily; the front lines around Sarajevo remained in place, and both the siege and the broader war continued unabated.

1995 began with a four-month cease-fire negotiated by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter that significantly decreased fighting while giving each side a chance to rebuild for their spring

campaigns. Sure enough, hostilities restarted in the spring when the VRS reentered the 20-kilometer exclusion zone around Sarajevo and resumed shelling. When the VRS refused renewed UN demands that the heavy weapons be removed, NATO launched another round of largely symbolic air strikes against Serb positions. This time, the VRS responded by redoubling their efforts, including launching a mortar into a crowded cafe in the center of Tuzla, killing seventy-one people, and taking more than 200 UN personnel hostage throughout Bosnia.

In July, after a failed ARBiH attempt to break the siege of Sarajevo, the VRS sought to regain the initiative and consolidate its acquisitions in eastern Bosnia. During this effort, the Serbs launched an offensive in Srebrenica that would lead to the worst single massacre of civilians in Europe since World War II. The VRS overran the Srebrenica enclave on July 11, 1995, and while Dutch peacekeepers stood by, they separated the men and boys over eleven years of age from the women and children. Within a few days, more than 7,000 had been murdered. More than any other single event, this massacre demonstrated conclusively just how impotent the international community was in the face of flagrant violations of the safe areas and of the Serbs' continuing ethnic cleansing.

Following a series of Croatian successes in retaking territory from Croatian Serbs in May 1995, a joint ARBiH/Bosnian Croat/Croatian offensive in western Bosnia led to rapid and dramatic changes in the control of Bosnian territory. By the time this offensive was over, Serb-controlled territory had fallen from nearly 70 percent to less than 50 percent of Bosnia. Ultimately, the ARBiH offensives that had been going on for much of the summer, combined with these joint offensives, "forced on Mladic and the VRS the realization that the military balance had decisively shifted against the Serbs; a cease-fire and a peace agreement were all they had left to protect the existence of Republika Srpska" (CIA 2002, 391).

The Serb need to find a peace settlement was confirmed when NATO responded, beginning

August 30, to a mortar attack that killed 37 people in a Sarajevo market by launching a series of devastating air strikes (code-named "Operation Deliberate Force") on Serb positions throughout Bosnia. On the same day, Karadzic, Mladic, and Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the RS Parliament, signed with Milosevic what came to be known as the Patriarch's Agreement because it had been sponsored by the Serbian Orthodox patriarch (Silber and Little 1996, 365–366). The Patriarch's Agreement gave Milosevic the authority to negotiate on behalf of the Bosnian Serbs. NATO suspended its bombing September 15 when U.S. negotiator Richard Holbrooke signed an agreement with the Serbs to remove their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo. Fighting continued over the next month as each side attempted to consolidate its gains in anticipation of a negotiated end to the war. Finally, on November 12, Izetbegovic, Milosevic, and Tudjman met at a Camp David-style summit in Dayton, Ohio, where Holbrooke kept them until they had negotiated the peace agreement that ended the war.

The Insurgents

As is clear from its description, the war in Bosnia was not an asymmetric civil war pitting a clearly established government against a smaller, less powerful group of insurgents. Rather, the war emerged from the disintegration of Yugoslavia and was fought by three major fighting forces.

The JNA was one of the largest armies in Europe, but it was not Yugoslavia's only fighting force. Following the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, Tito restructured the Yugoslav military to improve the probability that the country could repel an attack by the Soviets. He did so by creating a complement to the JNA called the Territorial Defense (Territorijalna Odbrana [TO]). The TO concept meant that the entire male population would receive military training and, in the event of attack, would mobilize to fight a partisan war against any occupying force. The TO was decentralized; each republic's

Table 1: Civil War in Bosnia and Herzegovina

War:	Bosnia government vs. Republika Srpska vs. Croats
Dates:	March 1992–November 1995
Casualties:	250,000 total deaths. Between 55,000 (Lacina and Gleditsch 2005) and 150,000 (Doyle and Sambanis 2000) battle deaths.
Regime type prior to war:	Not applicable; Bosnia did not exist as a state prior to the war. Score of –5 for Yugoslavia in 1991.
Regime type after war:	Not applicable; although several elections have occurred since the war ended, administration of Bosnia has been overseen by the international community, represented politically by the Office of the High Representative (OHR) and militarily by a variety of foreign military powers.
GDP/capita year war began:	Unknown. Figures for 1990 (\$4,548) and 1991 (\$2,740) are in 1985 US dollars and are only for Yugoslavia (Fearon and Laitin 2003).
GDP/capita 5 years after war:	\$1,177 in 2006 US dollars (World Development Indicators 2005).
Insurgents (combatants):	Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Muslims
Issue:	Ethnicity, secession
Rebel funding:	Neighboring states Serbia and Croatia, illegal smuggling, stockpiles of weapons inherited from parent states
Role of geography:	Approximately 60.5 percent of Bosnia's terrain is mountainous, but geography played a limited role.
Role of resources:	Bosnia has no natural resources of note, although looting was a way for irregular forces to sustain their activities.
Immediate outcome:	Negotiated settlement in which state is independent but broken into autonomous "entities"
Outcome after 5 years:	Stable, internationally monitored peace, elections
Role of UN:	UNPROFOR deployed; troops sometimes taken hostage by the Serbs
Role of regional organization:	The EC, NATO, and the Contact Group were key players.
Refugees:	Up to 1.7 million internally, 1 million externally
Prospects for peace:	Good in the short term, but core issues remain unresolved; given the region's history, a return to war in the long term would be unsurprising.

Sources: Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Fearon and Laitin 2003; Lacina and Gleditsch 2005; World Development Indicators 2005.

political authorities were in charge of their TO forces and the stockpiles of small arms at their disposal (TOs lacked heavy armaments). Although the JNA comprised about 170,000 soldiers at the beginning of the 1990s, the TO theoretically could call up more than 1.2 million (CIA 2002, 47–48).

During the buildup to war in Bosnia in 1991–1992, the JNA pursued a “dual-track policy of working for peace between all three ethnic groups but preparing for war in support of the Serbs” (CIA 2002, 129). In part, this meant making sure that the JNA in Bosnia would choose the right side if Bosnia declared its independence. In January 1992, Milosevic had issued a secret order to transfer JNA officers and troops

born in Bosnia, most of whom were Serbs, back to stations in that republic. The impact of this order was magnified by a Croatian cease-fire requirement that the JNA withdraw its troops from Croatian territory, leaving that many more troops for deployment in Bosnia. According to one Serbian official, by the time the JNA made its formal withdrawal from Bosnia in May 1992, 85 percent of the 90,000 troops in Bosnia were from Bosnia, and the vast majority of these were Serbs. When the JNA withdrew, these troops stayed on as well-armed fighters for the new VRS (Silber and Little 1996, 218). At the same time, the JNA in Bosnia ensured that the TO detachments and police units in the predominantly Serb districts retained their arms while

arms were removed from the TO detachments in non-Serb parts of the country.

When Bosnia became independent, the VRS included arms and fighters from the JNA, the Bosnian TO and police detachments, and Serb volunteer paramilitary groups in both Bosnia and Serbia. The Muslim military organization originated from a combination of Muslim TO units and a paramilitary organization called the Patriotic League that the SDA had founded in 1991. Similarly, the Croatian Defense Council (Hrvatska Vijeće Odbrane [HVO]) grew out of a paramilitary organization formed in 1991. However, for all practical purposes the HVO was part of the Croatian Army in the early part of the war (CIA 2002, 134).

The advantage in armaments with which the VRS had begun the war continued as the war dragged on. Milosevic and Mladic remained close allies, and although there were occasions on which Milosevic would attempt to appease international negotiators by claiming to cut off the Bosnian Serbs, the VRS rarely lacked for support from Serbia. This often came in the form of JNA reservists and paramilitaries, especially during the campaigns in eastern Bosnia in the early part of the war. It also included financial support and arms replenishment. Similarly, the HVO received ongoing support from Croatia, the main exception being when the international community pressured Croatia to help end the Muslim–Croat war in 1994.

In sharp contrast to these two images, the ARBiH was woefully underarmed through much of the war. When the war began, the JNA troops that had not simply transitioned into VRS withdrew, taking with them JNA-owned weapons and leaving behind for the ARBiH only a few TO small arms. What made the situation particularly dire for the Muslims was the arms embargo the UN had imposed on all the former Yugoslav republics in 1991 in the hopes of minimizing the number of arms in circulation in the region. The embargo froze in place for much of the war the VRS arms advantage, a fact that would lead to intense debate among

interested members of the international community about the efficacy and morality of the embargo.

Geography

The Bosnian landscape has shaped the country's history in important ways. The rugged mountainous terrain that covers much of the country served as a defense against invaders as far back as the Roman era. More recently, the cover this terrain provides was a main reason the Yugoslav leadership decided to locate a large proportion of its defense industries there (Burg and Shoup 1999, 43). Beyond these mountains, central and northern Bosnia is mostly characterized by rolling green hills. The richest agricultural land in the country lies in the northeast along the River Sava, whereas the Herzegovinian climate, dry and arid, is more typically Mediterranean.

Although this varied and often rugged terrain undoubtedly played an important role in many of the tactical decisions the military leaders made during the war, there is no reason to believe that geography played a decisive role in the parties' strategic outlook. As the war did not pit a small and mobile group of combatants against a larger army but rather involved armies that competed for control of territory, terrain did not serve as cover for an insurgency the way it has in so many other civil wars.

Tactics

The siege of Sarajevo, the haunting video footage of prisoners in concentration camps (or more recently of prisoners being murdered), and the mass killings of civilians in Srebrenica are some of the lasting images of the civil war in Bosnia, images that bring to mind a savagery and bloodlust that shocked the world. Such images lead many to believe that a Hobbesian anarchy descended on Bosnia in 1992 in which neighbors who had dined together in peace one night were suddenly torturing and killing one another the next. This understanding is incomplete. In fact, two seemingly contradictory themes characterized the war. The first is articu-



lated well by Mueller, who claims that the conflict in Bosnia was spawned

... by the ministrations of small—sometimes very small—bands of opportunistic marauders recruited by political leaders and operating under their general guidance. Many of these participants were drawn from street gangs or from bands of soccer hooligans. Others were criminals specifically released from prison for the purpose. (Mueller 2000, 42–43)

A more recent analysis by the CIA highlights another dimension of the conflict:

In fact, virtually all of the fighting was done by professionally led, relatively well-organized citizen armies, and the contrary view is largely the product of mirror-imaging by Western officers who regularly disparaged the appearance, discipline, and professionalism of the armies involved. . . . The myth of the so-called “paramilitaries” has persisted, although few, if any, major independent paramilitary units operated after 1992. Of the original independent forces, nearly all were either

incorporated into the contending armies or disbanded; the rest were only nominally independent. (CIA 2002, xii–xv)

These two themes—bands of opportunistic marauders on one hand and well-organized armies on the other—define the “symmetric non-conventional war” (Kalyvas 2005) that tends to generate high levels of violence. Their combination also explains in part the tactic that became the war’s calling card: ethnic cleansing. The common perception of such atrocities is that they were committed mostly “by young urban gangsters in expensive sunglasses from Serbia, members of the paramilitary forces raised by Arkan and others; and . . . what they were doing was to carry out a rational strategy dictated by their political leaders—a method carefully calculated to drive out two ethnic populations and radicalize a third” (Malcolm 1996, 252). Another possible explanation for ethnic cleansing that is consistent with Bosnia’s symmetric, nonconventional war emerges from an understanding of patterns of

violence within the war itself. As Kalyvas and Sambanis argue, “. . . ethnic cleansing may have also been an answer to the problem of population control. Actors lacking the ability to control populations whose loyalty is questionable, may choose to deport them instead in order to secure their rear” (Kalyvas and Sambanis 2005, 43).

Causes of the War

Although it may not be the case that war in Bosnia was inevitable once Slovenia and Croatia seceded from Yugoslavia, it is probably fair to say that, by that point, avoiding such a war would have required a herculean effort and a mountain of luck, given the vital and irreconcilable political interests at stake among the Bosnian Serbs, the Muslims, and the Croats (CIA 2002, 160). In addition to the factors discussed above that set the stage for the war, several other general explanations for the war exist. These include Huntington’s (1996) clash of civilizations, which emphasizes the incompatibility of the three civilizations that meet in Bosnia: Eastern Orthodox Christianity, Islam, and Western Christianity. Kaplan (1993) focuses on the “ancient hatreds” that have driven Muslims, Serbs, and Croats to fight time and again in the Balkans, and sees the recent war as another link in that chain. As attention has shifted, in the years since the war ended, to the capture of war criminals and their prosecution by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), many have shifted their gaze to the Machiavellian role played by specific immoral individuals in the lead-up to the war. Leaders such as Milosevic, Tudjman, Izetbegovic, and Karadzic each used nationalist appeals to consolidate their hold on political power in post-Communist Yugoslavia, and their decisions were responsible for the war that resulted. In the end, all these factors played a role in the tragedy.

Outcome

The fighting in Bosnia ended in 1995 with the Dayton Agreement. However, the conflicts that

motivated that fighting persist. The nationalist parties that led their respective ethnic communities into the war easily achieved postwar electoral success; many of their goals did not change, even if the methods they used in pursuit of those goals did. Although this is a dramatic improvement for the Bosnian people, it does not bode well for the future of the Bosnian state.

Conflict Status

The settlement reached at Dayton included both a military component that would end the fighting and disarm the parties and a civilian component that would form the basis of the Bosnian state. On the military side, the outcome reflected the international community’s desire to limit its military involvement in the quagmire that the Bosnian situation had become. The initial military component was called the Implementation Force (IFOR) and included the deployment of more than 60,000 international troops headed by contingents from Britain, France, and the United States. These troops were to remain in Bosnia only until the first set of national and municipal elections, scheduled for the end of 1996.

The civilian component of Dayton reflected the intense mistrust between the warring parties and the international community’s simultaneous insistence on the inviolability of the borders of the Bosnian state and refusal to accept the legitimacy of the ethnic cleansing that had characterized the war. The main power centers would be the two entities established under the accords: the RS and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH). The RS would be a Bosnian Serb entity, whereas the FBiH would be further divided into ten cantons, control of which was apportioned among Bosnian Croats and Muslims. The central government would be extremely weak, reliant on the entities for its funding and responsible only for matters related to foreign trade, foreign policy, customs, interentity communications, transportation, and inter-national and interentity law enforcement.

The Office of the High Representative (OHR) was created by the international community and

assigned the authority to interpret the civilian elements of the settlement. By 1997, the political parties had clearly demonstrated their lack of interest in giving up their ethnically based power structures or facilitating the refugee return process that was an essential element of Dayton. It had also become clear that OHR's supervision of the political reform process relied too much on persuasion and was unable to overcome the parties' obstinacy. In December of that year, therefore, the OHR was given the power to impose legislation and to dismiss elected officials judged to be impeding implementation of the Dayton Agreement—powers that have since led some to refer to the OHR as “the European Raj” (Knaus and Martin 2003).

Duration Tactics

Although it seemed interminably long to its victims and lasted much longer than many expected it to, the war in Bosnia was shorter at about three and one-half years than many other civil wars in the post–World War II era. To the extent that any external factors affected the war's duration, the international community probably deserves the most attention. Had the international community not been fixated on Bosnia, the war might well have taken a different course. For example, several times the VRS stopped short of individual battle aims in the interests of preventing NATO attacks, international condemnation, or being cut off from Serbia. The siege of Sarajevo vividly illustrates this dynamic. For the better part of three and a half years,

Serb armed forces had isolated the capital from the rest of Bosnia . . . Although frequent interruptions of the relief flights and the occasional overland convoys tightened the belts and hollowed the cheeks of its citizens, they were able to endure far longer than if they had been truly cut off by a conventional siege. Simply put, international humanitarian assistance managed to sustain the city throughout the war and thwart the Serb objective of a starvation-induced capitulation. (CIA 2002, 307)

On the other hand, had the international arms embargo not perpetuated the ARBiH's dis-

advantage in armaments, even an unchained VRS might have struggled to impose its will. In the end, then, the international community had an important, if indeterminate, impact on the war's duration.

External Military Intervention

International involvement in the former Yugoslavia began with the EC sanctions imposed on all the former Yugoslav states on November 8, 1991. These sanctions were lifted from all but Serbia and Montenegro a month later, and the remaining sanctions were adopted by the UN Security Council later in the war. The promise to lift sanctions was a carrot the international community used to pressure Milosevic to rein in the Serbs in Bosnia. Such pressure tactics worked occasionally, as when Milosevic briefly closed the border between Bosnia and Serbia after the Bosnian Serbs rejected the VOPP, but ultimately the sanctions had limited impact on Bosnian Serb decisions. Similarly, in 1994 the United States threatened to cut off Croatia if it did not push the Bosnian Croats to settle their war with the Muslims. The stick seems to have been more effective—the Washington Agreement was an important element in turning the tide of the war against the Serbs. Nevertheless, Croatia remained an important ally of the Bosnian Croats and later of the Federation in the war against the VRS.

UN involvement in Bosnia began when, in June 1992, the mandate of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), deployed to Croatia in 1991, was expanded to include ensuring the security and functioning of Sarajevo airport and the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the city. In September 1992, the mandate was once again expanded to allow UNPROFOR to support humanitarian efforts throughout Bosnia. UNPROFOR would eventually also monitor the safe areas, the no-fly zone over Bosnia, and several of the cease-fires that were negotiated during the course of the war.

In addition to Croatia, Serbia, and the UN, NATO as an organization and NATO countries



The United Nations went in to restore order as Yugoslavia disintegrated. Here a Bosnian soldier watches a UN convoy in Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, in March 1993. Some of the worst violence of the civil war took place in Bosnia. (Chris Rainier/Corbis)

individually played important roles in the conflict. This began as early as 1991, when Germany led the push for EC recognition of Slovenia and Croatia and NATO began to enforce the arms embargo on the region. The role of the United States in the conflict began somewhat later and was also essential, if sometimes controversial. The United States did not contribute troops to UNPROFOR, and it was only marginally supportive of the early EC peace proposals, most of which called for an extensive ground force to monitor the peace. Instead, for most of the war the United States endorsed the “lift and strike” policy, which meant attempting to right the imbalance of power between the two sides by lifting the arms embargo and striking Serb positions from the air.

Outside of NATO countries, Russia’s involvement in the war was the most intensive. Russia almost without exception served as the

defender of Serb interests in the international community, opposing the use of force by NATO or the UN in nearly every circumstance and instigating a new round of negotiations once the NATO bombs began to fall. The Cold War having only recently ended, the Russians were able to deter some international threats to use force against the Serbs by raising the specter of a larger conflict between NATO and the countries in Russia’s sphere of influence. However, as the Bosnian war dragged on and memories of the Cold War faded, the U.S. approach more or less won out. We have already seen the role NATO eventually played in the conflict, beginning with the first bombings of Serb positions after the Serb attack on Gorazde in 1994 and culminating in the massive air strikes on Serb positions throughout Bosnia that helped drive the Serbs to the negotiating table in 1995.

Conflict Management Efforts

International efforts to resolve the Bosnian conflict began after the referendum in 1992, boycotted by the Serbs, in which Bosnians voted in favor of independence. Portuguese Ambassador Jose Cutilheiro convened talks in Lisbon, leading to the Cutilheiro Plan, eventually rejected by Izetbegovic, which called for Bosnia's international borders to remain unchanged and for the formation of three ethnic cantons that would have broad power over all but economic, foreign, and defense affairs.

The VOPP, presented to the parties in January 1993, was the next attempt to resolve the conflict. It would have made Sarajevo a demilitarized area, provided for extensive human rights protections, and given the Bosnian Serbs control of 43 percent of Bosnia's territory, even though at the time they controlled about 70 percent of the territory. Unsurprisingly, 96 percent of Bosnian Serbs rejected it in a referendum. In May 1993 came the Joint Action Plan, proposed by the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, France, and Spain, which established Muslim safe areas in and around Srebrenica, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zepa, Gorazde, and Bihac. The UN Security Council later authorized the use of air power to protect these safe areas, making them a haven for Muslim refugees and later the sites of some of the worst atrocities of the war.

The Joint Action Plan was followed by the Owen-Stoltenberg Plan, which proposed a minimal central government that could only operate by consensus, and a map that gave the Serbs 53 percent of the territory, the Croats 17 percent, and the Bosnian government the remaining 30 percent. In the words of one of the Serb members of the delegation at the talks, "The Turks [a derogatory reference to Muslims] are going to be like walnuts in a Serbo-Croat nutcracker" (Silber and Little 1996, 303). The Bosnian parliament rejected the plan in September 1993. In November, France and Germany proposed the EU Action Plan, which attempted to remedy the issues to which the Muslims objected. This time the Serbs rejected the plan.

As noted above, the United States was an important part of the negotiations between the Muslims and Croats that led to the Washington Agreement in March 1994. Then, following the first round of NATO bombings in April, Russian President Boris Yeltsin appealed for an international summit on Bosnia. The summit led to the creation of the Contact Group, which comprised representatives from France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The Contact Group presented a new peace plan in July that provided 51 percent of the territory to the newly formed Bosnian-Croat Federation and 49 percent to the Bosnian Serbs. The Federation accepted the plan, as did Milosevic, who was eager to end the war so as to get the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro lifted. When Karadzic and the Bosnian Serb assembly rejected the plan, Milosevic reimposed an economic blockade along the Bosnia/Serbia border, and the Contact Group announced it would not deal with Karadzic until he had accepted the terms for negotiation.

All the while these peace plans were being debated and negotiated, UN officials and others on the ground worked to negotiate cease-fires. Countless times, these efforts seemed to bear fruit with the signing of one or another agreement. And countless times, hopes were dashed when the agreements were broken almost before the ink on them was dry. Eventually, the combination of an increasingly effective Bosnian army, the combined Federation-Croat offensive, and an increased international involvement led the parties to the table at Dayton. This marked the end of the war in Bosnia, if not the end of the wars in the former Yugoslavia. It also marked the transition from international efforts to end the war to an extensive international effort to implement a peace.

Conclusion

The war in Bosnia lasted more than three years and is estimated to have claimed approxi-

mately 250,000 lives. Of these, anywhere from 100,000 to 195,000 were civilians not killed in battle (Doyle and Sambanis 2000, dataset; Burg and Shoup 1999, 169). Estimates of the number of people forcibly displaced from their homes range from 900,000 to 1.2 million who became refugees in other countries and 1.3 to 1.5 million who were displaced within Bosnia (Burg and Shoup 1999, 171). Large numbers of civilians were also rounded up and held captive in horrifying conditions, images of which were broadcast around the world, evoking memories of World War II concentration camps. Untold numbers of crimes were committed, including systematic rape and torture. The country's economy was shattered and criminalized as billions of dollars of property and infrastructure damage was done. And even ten years after the war officially ended, Bosnia continues to be a weak and dysfunctional state riven by ethnic animosity and heavily if not completely reliant on international assistance for its survival.

Steven Shewfelt

Chronology

- June 25, 1991 Slovenia and Croatia declare independence. Fighting breaks out in Slovenia, and skirmishes between Croats and Serbs in Croatia intensify.
- September 25, 1991 UN Security Council (UNSC) imposes arms embargo on all Yugoslav states.
- November 8, 1991 EC imposes economic sanctions on all Yugoslav states pending their cooperation with the peace process. Sanctions on all but Serbia and Montenegro are lifted two months later.
- December 1991 Germany recognizes Slovenia and Croatia as independent states.
- December 24, 1991 Macedonia, Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia apply to the EC for recognition as sovereign states.
- March 1, 1992 Bosnia holds referendum on independence; Serbs react violently to the outcome.
- March 3, 1992 Izetbegovic declares Bosnia independent.
- April 6, 1992 EC agrees to recognize Bosnia. Full-scale war begins almost immediately.
- May 30, 1992 UNSC imposes economic sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro.
- June 27, 1992 EC accepts responsibility under the UN to open Sarajevo airport.
- October 1992 UNSC establishes no-fly zone over Bosnia.
- January 1993 Vance and Owen present VOPP. Bosnian Croats immediately accept the plan.
- March 25, 1993 Bosnian government signs the VOPP.
- May 6, 1993 Bosnian Serb Assembly overwhelmingly rejects the VOPP. Muslim enclaves in Bosnia are designated as "safe areas."
- June 4, 1993 UNSC authorizes troops for the safe areas and permits them to use force *to defend themselves*.
- August 27, 1993 Bosnian government assembly rejects Owen-Stoltenberg plan. Bosnian Serbs accept the proposal the next day.
- September 27, 1993 Fikret Abdic leads Bihac into declaration of independence from Bosnia.
- February 9, 1994 NATO gives Bosnian Serbs ten days to withdraw heavy weapons from 20-kilometer exclusion zone around Sarajevo.
- February 20, 1994 Russian troops redeploy from Croatia to Sarajevo to monitor Bosnian Serb withdrawal of weapons.
- February 28, 1994 U.S. planes flying a NATO mission shoot down four Bosnian Serb aircraft violating the no-fly zone.
- March 18, 1994 Washington Agreement signed, ending fighting between Bosnian government and Bosnian Croats and establishing the Federation.
- April 10, 1994 U.S. planes flying a NATO mission bomb Serbs attacking Gorazde. Serbs detain UN personnel in response.
- July 6, 1994 Contact Group (EU, UN, U.S., and Russia) presents its peace proposal.
- August 19, 1994 Muslim Rebel leader Abdic surrenders to Bosnian government.
- August 27, 1994 Bosnian Serbs reject Contact Group plan in referendum.
- January 1, 1995 Four-month cessation of hostilities negotiated by Jimmy Carter goes into effect.
- May 25, 1995 NATO launches air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions around Sarajevo. Bosnian Serbs react by announcing their

- rejection of all prior agreements with the UN and taking peacekeepers hostage.
- July 11, 1995 Bosnian Serbs overrun Srebrenica safe area.
- August 14, 1995 U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke launches peace negotiations.
- August 23, 1995 Bosnian Serb shell kills thirty-seven in a Sarajevo market. NATO launches air strikes throughout Bosnia.
- August 30, 1995 Bosnian Serbs give negotiating authority to Milosevic.
- September 15, 1995 Croat/Bosnian Army offensive results in massive retaking of land from Bosnian Serbs.
- November 12, 1995 Talks begin at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio.
- December 14, 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement signed in Paris, France.
- Source: CIA 2002.

List of Acronyms

- ARBiH: Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Armija Bosne i Hercegovine)
- BiH: Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnia i Hercegovina)
- FBiH: Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Federacija Bosne i Hercegovine)
- FRY: Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
- EC: European Commission
- HDZ: Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine)
- HVO: Croatian Defense Council (Hrvatska Vijeće Odbrane)
- ICTY: International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
- IFOR: Implementation Force
- JNA: Yugoslav National Army (Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija)
- OHR: Office of the High Representative
- RS: Republika Srpska
- SDA: Party of Democratic Action (Stranka Demokratske Akcije)—the Muslim party in BiH
- SDS: Serb Democratic Party (Srpska Demokratska Stranka Bosne i Hercegovine)
- TO: Territorial Defense (Teritorijalna Odbrana)
- UNPROFOR: UN Protection Force
- VOPP: Vance-Owen Peace Plan
- VRS: Army of the Serb Republic (Vojska Republike Srpske)

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Burma. *See Myanmar/Burma*

Burundi (1972)

Introduction

The events in Burundi in 1972 were a watershed in the history of the nation, and they shaped its political future all the way to the present day. When this terrible time was over, nearly 200,000 people would be dead and hundreds of thousands more would be displaced as refugees in neighboring countries. The genocide in 1972 entrenched a system of fear that ultimately led to a series of reprisals and instituted a culture of mistrust between the Hutu and the Tutsi that has yet to be reconciled.

Prior to the 1972 war, Burundi was not a peaceful country. The struggle for independence and political manipulation by the Belgian colonizers intent on maintaining control over Burundi had produced many clashes. There were numerous conflicts over land, financial matters, and other political concerns. Ethnicity, however, had rarely been a cause for conflict by itself before the 1960s. That began to change after the assassination of Prince Rwagasore in 1961, which ultimately led to a conflict between a largely Tutsi government army and Hutu rebels protesting their treatment under the new regime. The war in 1972 lasted only a month, but it left an impression on the inhabitants that persists today.

Hard figures for casualties and the exact sequence of events are hard to come by. It is estimated that between 100,000 and 200,000 peo-

ple—mostly Hutu and their Tutsi sympathizers—were massacred in 1972. In general, the rebels involved in the attempted coup are all dead. Many of the accounts of the events come from refugees who managed to escape to neighboring countries. Official representatives from the Burundian government have maintained that there was a large group of rebels from inside Burundi and foreign fighters from neighboring Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo). Only one thing is certain: The events in 1972 were tragic and, unfortunately, part of a vicious cycle that had persisted for decades.

Country Background

Burundi is a small central African nation of roughly 11,000 square miles located on the shores of Lake Tanganyika and bordered by Rwanda, Congo, and Tanzania. It is divided into sixteen provinces that are headed by governors appointed by the president. The capital, Bujumbura, is relatively small for a national capital, with around 25,000 inhabitants at the time of the insurrection. Culturally, Burundians tend to prefer to live in small, fragmented groups in the hills that make up the country. Urban centers and villages are rare, with the exception of Bujumbura. The other areas in Burundi would hardly qualify as cities by Western standards, as they usually have around 10,000 inhabitants at most.



Two Hutu tribesmen lie dead on a road near Bujumbura, Burundi, in May 1972. They were killed in the violence between ethnic Hutus and Tutsis. (Bettmann/Corbis)

The Burundi kingdom was founded in 1680 and was colonized by Germany in 1896 as part of the combined Rwandan-Burundi state (Ruanda-Urundi). In 1916, the Belgians occupied Burundi, and it officially came under Belgian control on June 20, 1922, as part of the League of Nations mandate that divided African colonies among European nations. Releasing its formal ties to Belgium, Burundi became an independent monarchy under Prince Charles Ndizeye on July 1, 1962.

Even as a Belgian colony, Burundi maintained a high degree of self-rule. In fact, there were usually more missionaries in Burundi than colonial officers (Rake 1987, 47). Belgium preferred to rule indirectly, by supervising the Burundian princes and regional rulers and by educating the ruling classes. This had the unfortunate effect of creating an educated, ruling Tutsi minority that began to use its power to dominate the unedu-

cated, agriculturally based Hutu. Despite the presence of elected positions and a king, Burundi was classified as a strong dictatorship before, during, and after the war. Even today, Burundi is considered to be in a dictatorial transition and has many elements of a military regime.

Burundi is a poor nation with few natural resources, although it does have large nickel deposits. It is also landlocked, making agriculture the primary economic sector. Coffee is the most important crop, accounting for 90 percent of exports. Consequently, the economy is subject to swings in world coffee prices. There is no notable manufacturing sector. A literacy rate of approximately 50 percent and government instability keep investments and economic expansion low (see Table 1 for GDP data). Burundi also has one of the highest population densities in Africa, with more than 400 people per square kilometer

Who's a Hutu?

The conflict in Burundi is largely thought of as an ethnically based conflict, and the genocide was certainly based on ethnicity. Yet the two ethnic groups are strikingly similar. What, then, is the basis for the bloodshed?

Anthropologists divide ethnic characteristics into two types: ascriptive and nonascriptive. Non-ascriptive characteristics are those that are difficult to change, or characteristics that one is born with—for example, skin color, height, eye color, or other physical characteristics. Ascriptive characteristics, by contrast, are acquired. These include cultural attributes such as language, religion, and dress, and regional characteristics, such as accent and pronunciation. In the case of the Hutu and the Tutsi, there are very few differences in either type of characteristic, leading some scholars to conclude that there is no real ethnic distinction between the two. They share the same language, religion, social organization, and settlement region. Physical determination is tricky. Tutsis are thought to be taller and slimmer with delicate noses. Hutus are stereotypically shorter and stouter, with a broader, flatter nose. In reality, the distinctions are often difficult to make, especially as intermarriage between the two groups has historically been high.

The Tutsis most likely came from East Africa several hundred years ago. The Hutu existed in present-day Burundi prior to the Tutsis' arrival and conquered the native Twa groups. During the period prior to colonization, the terms *Hutu* and *Tutsi* were used to determine social ranking and work position. The Hutu were traditionally farmers, whereas the Tutsi raised cattle. Because cattle were greatly valued in Burundian society, any cattle herder was known as a Tutsi—and hence a person of high status. Through education or affluence, any member of society could become a Tutsi. Similarly, a Tutsi could become a Hutu through a change in employment status or loss of influence.

Colonial powers used this division to influence and manipulate certain groups in Burundi. The Belgians promoted the Tutsis and gave them more authority and representation in government, as well as ethnic identification cards. This established the terms *Hutu* and *Tutsi* as ethnic identities rather than classes. The Hutu were relegated to agricultural and peasant positions. This forcible subjugation of the Hutu and the elimination of social mobility contributed to the development of the ethnic hatred that fueled Burundi's civil wars. At the same time, the division of ethnicity in Burundi is blurry, leaving one to wonder about the true nature of this conflict.

in the denser areas and more than 200 in the sparser regions. It is also one of the smallest nations in Africa—smaller than the state of Maryland. At the time of the 1972 conflict, the population of Burundi was over six million. Crowded conditions inside the country created considerable population pressures for grazing land, agricultural areas, and living space.

Three main ethnic groups make up the population of Burundi. The Hutu constitute roughly 85 percent of the population, the Tutsi account for approximately 14 percent, and the Twa account for the remaining 1 percent. There is a small contingent of Asians, Europeans, and Americans, but they account for a minimal percentage of the population. The majority of the population is Catholic (62 percent), with indige-

nous beliefs (23 percent), Muslim (10 percent) and Protestants (5 percent) rounding out the religious background. Kirundi and French are the official languages, but Swahili is occasionally used, especially in commercial transactions.

Conflict Background

Ethnic tensions in Burundi by themselves were not a significant problem under the monarchy or under colonial rule. Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa alike recognized the authority of the monarchy. When tension did arise, it was often the result of political infighting among regional princes, or it was over accession issues, rather than strictly ethnic confrontations. Despite the fact that the ruling classes were ethnically Tutsi, the constant

fighting among the regional rulers required that princes have the support of the entire regional population, both Hutu and Tutsi (Lemarchand 1996). As the Hutu outnumbered the Tutsi, angering this population meant that the local monarch would lose legitimacy and resource support. Unlike neighboring Rwanda, the monarchy was not strongly associated with an ethnic dominance. The mwami (ruling monarch) enjoyed popular loyalty in Burundi regardless of his ethnic background.

Although the 1972 event was certainly one of the most devastating conflicts in Burundi's history, it is not an isolated event; Burundi has a history of coups and internal conflicts. Although the most recent conflict prior to 1972 was in 1965–1966, the struggle for independence in 1961 produced internal infighting for political control, and there were several other minor (mostly regional) skirmishes during the colonial era.

The Hutu were dramatically underrepresented in government and were subject to repressive tactics under various Tutsi regimes. The 1972 war was fought for control over the government, but it was fought along ethnic lines and is categorized as an ethnic conflict. Estimates of the number of casualties range from 100,000 to more than 300,000, not including the hundreds of thousands of people who fled into neighboring Rwanda, Tanzania, and Zaire (Congo).

The military, funded from government revenues, was comprised of approximately 30,000 soldiers and was almost entirely Tutsi after a purging of Hutu in 1965. Government military tactics in the war included the usual assortment of repression techniques: the use of roadblocks to prevent movement, as well as beatings, jailing, and mass execution. All Hutu were suspect, as were any Tutsi who opposed their treatment. The Tutsi-dominated government was determined to maintain power in Burundi. Arms trafficking was, and still is, a problem in Burundi, and the government was able to acquire weapons without much difficulty (Human Rights Watch 1998).

The rebel army was not an organized fighting force and was composed of an estimated 2,000 to 5,000 individuals. The rebels used coordinated attacks on April 29, 1972, in the cities of Bujumbura, Gitega, and southern Burundi to attempt an overthrow. The rebels did not appear to have a clear leadership structure or hierarchy, and the attacks appear to have taken place with a nominal amount of leadership and planning. This assessment, however, is uncertain, as those suspected of involvement with the attacks were rapidly executed.

These attacks were a response to the continuing oppression of the Hutu and the denial of educational and career opportunities. Further fanning the flames were the Tutsi refugees from Rwanda who espoused an anti-Hutu rhetoric and advocated violence against the Hutu. This was especially problematic in the north, where the majority of the Tutsi refugees crossed the border from Rwanda.

There were considerable spillover effects from this and other Hutu–Tutsi conflicts in the Great Lakes region of Africa. One adage notes, “When Rwanda sneezes, Zaire and Burundi catch a cold.” As refugees flowed from Burundi and Rwanda into Zaire, Tanzania, and Uganda, they continued to fight and created ethnic tension in other areas. Neighboring countries also provided grounds for rebels to regroup and stage future attacks. Rough estimates put the number of displaced persons at more than 500,000 people.

The Insurgents

The rebel Hutus, after years of repression and denial of opportunity by the Micombero government, decided to stage a coup and establish Hutu control of the government. The rebels were not funded by any particular source other than day-to-day agricultural income. It appears that two military depots were attacked, and some small arms were taken during the night of April 29, 1972. Aside from some planning on the date and timing of attacks, there was little

Table 1: Civil War in Burundi

War:	Hutu rebels vs. Tutsi government
Dates:	April 29, 1972–May 1972
Casualties:	Estimated 150,000–200,000
Regime type prior to war:	Military dictatorship (–7) (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	Military dictatorship (–7) (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP/capita year war began:	US \$774 in 1996 constant dollars
GDP/capita 5 years after war:	US \$857 in 1996 constant dollars
Insurgents:	Hutu rebels
Issue:	Ethnic security
Rebel funding:	Agricultural income
Role of geography:	Neighboring countries used to plan attacks
Role of resources:	No natural resources used to fund either side
Immediate outcome:	Government military victory; genocide of Hutu
Outcome after 5 years:	Tutsi domination of government; reprisal killing
Role of UN:	Some humanitarian assistance, no direct action
Role of regional organization:	OAU investigation, no direct intervention
Refugees:	Estimated 300,000–500,000
Prospects for peace:	Recent years have seen improvements, but Burundi still experiences ethnic conflict.

Sources: Marshall and Jagers 2002.

known coordination. The arms used in the attacks were mostly small handguns, machetes, and clubs—all things that the rebels already owned or were able to easily acquire. The rebel group did not appear to have external assistance, despite the account of the Micombero government stating that Zairian Mulelist rebels assisted with the plot. There is no evidence to support this, and if Zairian groups were involved, it was to a very small extent.

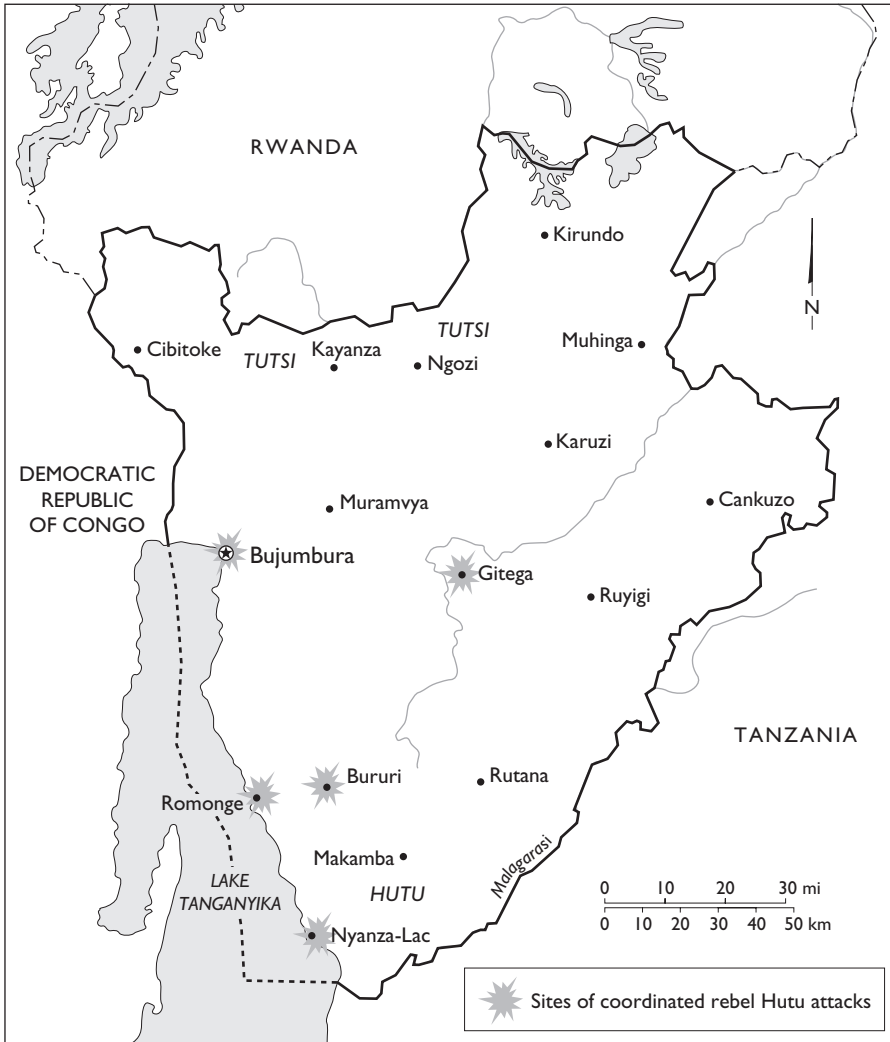
Geography

The geography in Burundi did not directly contribute to the conflict, although it played an indirect role. The region is hilly, with a relatively high elevation. This elevation keeps the climate comfortable, at a year-round temperature of about 73 degrees. With the exception of the low-lying region along the Lake Tanganyika shore, the country is free of pests that spread tropical diseases. Consequently, few Burundians died from tropical diseases—which increased the population pressure. In the present day,

AIDS has taken a tremendous toll on the Burundian population, but in 1972, AIDS was not prevalent.

Burundi's hilly geography did not hide bands of rebel groups as in other countries. The Hutu and Tutsi lived intermixed on the hillsides, with a slightly higher concentration of Tutsi to the north near Rwanda and a higher concentration of Hutu along the lake, where the climate is not good for cattle herding, a primarily Tutsi operation. The tremendous population has stripped Burundi of much of its natural forestation, as most of its wood is used for fuel. Despite having two national parks and nature reserves, Burundi is almost completely bereft of any wildlife outside these areas: Everything has been hunted for food, or its habitat has been destroyed.

Nearby countries, in particular Tanzania and Zaire, might have provided some shelter for rebels who were planning the attacks, but most of the insurgents were local and fought in their native areas. The insurgency was brief and lasted for only a week before government forces



crushed the rebellion. Unlike other civil wars, where the geography increased the duration of the conflict or provided an advantage to one side or another, the geography in Burundi had little effect.

Tactics

The tactics used by the rebels in this conflict were confined to general attacks on government buildings and an attempt by 40–50 people to take over the radio station near Bujumbura. There were no prior terrorist-style attacks, and the Hutu rebels did not use typical guerrilla tactics. Because the rebellion was so short and the

reprisal killings so swift, the rebels did not have time to go into hiding.

The government, for its part, simply used the military to track down and kill all suspected rebels. After a period of about three weeks, most foreign governments agreed that the Tutsi-led military had eliminated most of the insurgents and was starting to indiscriminately kill Hutus with the aim of eliminating most of the ethnic group. Specifically targeted were Hutus with education or leadership skills. At this point, it is widely believed that Micombero had lost all control of the Burundian army to Tutsi officers with an extremist agenda.

Causes of the War

In order to understand the causes of the war, it is essential to understand the nature of ethnicity and race relations in Burundi. Burundi and its ethnic tensions are similar to, yet fundamentally different from, those in neighboring Rwanda. Prior to independence, Rwanda observed a strict ethnic split between the Hutu and the Tutsi. By contrast, Burundi had a much more fluid system. There was considerable mixing between the groups, and although the Tutsi tended to be well off socioeconomically, no strict division prevented either of the two groups from advancing socially.

In Kirundi, the word *Hutu* also means “peasant.” In Burundi, a Hutu could be anyone of a lower rank, regardless of his or her ethnicity. Likewise, a Tutsi was someone of a higher rank. Hutus were generally agriculturalists, whereas the Tutsi tended to engage in commerce or government work. In this way, a Hutu could become a Tutsi by rising socially or economically, and a Tutsi could become a Hutu through a change in profession or fortune. Education was a key factor in social mobility, for an education meant the possibility of working for the government, a key employer in this developing nation. The notion of ethnicity in Burundi was tied less to strict racial composition than to social standing within the community.

This began to change around 1961, just before independence. Prior to the 1960s, the ganwa, or the ruling elite, held most of the political power. Germany and Belgium ruled indirectly through the ganwa during colonial times. The ganwa were generally ethnic Tutsi, although most Burundians tended to see them as a separate ruling class rather than Tutsi or Hutu. One reason for this was that regional rulers were constantly fighting among each other for control of a particular region. Maintaining power meant that each ganwa required the support of the entire population of a region, both Hutu and Tutsi. Because the population of Burundi was 85 percent Hutu, the rulers had to have Hutu support. Hence, the ruler had a built-in incentive to treat

the entire population well and not promote one group over another if he wished to maintain power. Consequently, the ethnicity of the ganwa was never really an issue.

Like most states with fragile institutions, the ganwa eventually found themselves too weak to govern a nation without outside help. Burundi had structured itself as a constitutional monarchy, with a parliament, a prime minister, and a ruling monarch from the ganwa. After independence, a young politician by the name of Prince Rwagasore saw an opportunity for political power. He began to talk of nationalist policies and founded the UPRONA (Union for National Progress), whose emergence was a turning point in Burundian politics. UPRONA was the first nationalistic party, and its electoral success stunned the pro-Belgian group that had expected to easily win.

The UPRONA was initially started as a party for all Burundians and included both Hutu and Tutsi. Rwagasore and UPRONA strove to keep ethnic tensions at bay and managed to create a semblance of cohesion among Burundians. In the first democratic elections of 1961, UPRONA won 80 percent of the vote, took 58 seats out of 64 in the National Assembly in the 1961 elections, and saw Rwagasore become Prime Minister. Unfortunately, the cohesion and relative peace brought by Rwagasore was short-lived; he was assassinated on October 13, 1961. His successor, Andre Muhirwa, ordered the execution of Rwagasore’s accused killers. This was the beginning of a terrible and bloody cycle in Burundian politics. Some believe that former colonial master Belgium had a hand in the assassination of Rwagasore in order to protect economic investments in the region (Scherrer 2002, 219). However, no formal evidence has ever been presented to substantiate this.

The membership of the parliament in the early days after independence was about half Hutus. After Rwagasore’s death, the parliament began to split among ethnic rather than regional lines. In 1961, the ethnic distribution of high-ranking civil servants (those at the level of

director or above) was 43 Hutu, 83 Tutsi, and 4 others (Melady 1974). One can see that, although Tutsis were overrepresented at this time, nonetheless a considerable number of Hutus participated in government.

The assassination of Rwagasore created a power vacuum, and a crisis of leadership formed in the UPRONA. It was at this time that ethnicity became a major issue in Burundian politics. A bitter struggle for the leadership of UPRONA ensued between the Hutu and the Tutsi. Ultimately, the Tutsi succeeded. Rwagasore's death also created a legitimacy crisis for the government as a whole, and the monarchy was exiled a few years later. In 1965, the monarchy became an obstacle to aspiring politicians of all ethnicities. A Hutu rebellion against the monarchy was unsuccessful but demonstrated how little respect Burundians now had for the *ganwa*.

This attempted coup was staged because the appointed Hutu prime minister, Pierre Ngendandunwe, was shot to death on the day he announced his cabinet in the fall of 1965. The *mwami*, or king, refused to appoint another Hutu to take his place. A Hutu appointment was naturally expected, as they had won twenty-three out of thirty-three seats in the National Assembly. Instead, Leopold Biha, a Tutsi, was appointed. This was a shocking setback for the Hutus.

The coup began when a group of armed Hutu military men drove to Biha's house, knocked at his door, and shot him at point-blank range. This group also tried to force its way into the royal palace, where it met unexpected resistance. The ramifications of the attempted coup would be more numerous than perhaps even the planners of the coup attempt realized. Not only was the coup unsuccessful, but the Tutsi now had a reason to remove all Hutu from government and military positions on suspicion of plotting against the government. Consequently, the Hutu lost all reasonable expectation of participation in government, and a purge of Hutu from the military officer corps and higher levels of government service began. This unsuccessful rebellion and the weakness of the monarchy cleared

the way for Tutsi domination of the government and UPRONA. One year later, in 1966, the Tutsis and UPRONA proclaimed the First Republic under Tutsi President Michel Micombero.

After the failed 1965 coup, militia groups began to form, especially as offshoots of the UPRONA. The JNR (Jeunesse Nationaliste Rwagasore), the youth wing of the UPRONA, initiated UPRONA's militant, anti-Tutsi stance. The JNR, later the JRR (Jeunesse Revolutionnaire Rwagasore), became devoted to Tutsi domination and also began to espouse the violent defense of Tutsi domination. It was only in Burundi that the youth groups were the source of violent, extremist, anti-Western positions (Lemarchand 1996, 62). The JRR membership consisted of secondary school and university students, dropouts, and unemployed youth. Other Tutsi extremists were spurred to action by the coup attempt and the desire to eliminate potential Hutu leaders.

Three weeks after the assassination of Prime Minister Biha, the government handed down eighty-six death sentences and executed any Hutu official or military officer thought to be associated with the plot. This basically gave the Tutsis complete control of Bujumbura, as well as control over a majority of other regions in the country.

The purge of the military eventually allowed the army to become an instrument of Tutsi domination. In the weeks after the attempted coup, "hundreds of officers were massacred by their commanding officers" (Lemarchand 1996, 86). In addition, a height-by-width requirement was implemented as a way to exclude any Hutu from joining the military in the future (Greenland 1976). It was after these purges that a group of students appear to have taken to the bush with the intent to garner support for a major insurrection against the Tutsi-dominated government.

By 1967, only three out of twenty regional directors were Hutu, and the rest of the government was completely Tutsi dominated. The idea of a "Hutu threat," or potential repression by a Hutu majority, also played a role in intra-Tutsi

conflict. Rival Tutsi factions used the Hutu threat to keep politicians from taking moderate positions. This rhetoric, of course, made the Tutsi population anxious, for they took the embellished talk as factual.

President Micombero was from the Bururi region in southern Burundi. Rival Tutsi groups from the north and south began to fight over power in the mid-1960s. Micombero began to distrust the northern Tutsis, thinking that they might be loyal to the monarchy rather than to the First Republic. He also began to think that certain members of his cabinet were plotting to restore the monarchy. This belief was reinforced by other southern Tutsis, who wished to remove a few of their political rivals. Micombero began to eliminate the northern Tutsis from his cabinet and other high-level government positions, and he consolidated power solidly within the southern group of Tutsis. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the government and senior military positions consisted almost entirely of southern Tutsi. Almost without exception, the Hutu had been eliminated from military and government service.

The presence of a Hutu regime and majority rule in nearby Rwanda also could have further inspired Hutu discontent. This sense of ethnic politics in Rwanda spilled over to the tactics of Burundi politicians. Many people were attracted to the idea of a Hutu republic, as they were the majority ethnic group. The Tutsi became further threatened when the Catholic Church began organizing Hutu trade unions and guilds. The Tutsi saw this as a direct threat to their traditional commercial domain and an imposition on the Tutsi lifestyle and role in society.

Around this time, there was also an influx of Rwandan refugees from the Tutsi massacres that took place in 1959–1960. These refugees settled mostly in the northern part of Burundi, near the Rwandan border. These refugees spread fear of Tutsi elimination and frequently spouted anti-Hutu rhetoric. The fact that such a small minority as the Tutsi controlled the government made President Micombero gravely concerned about

maintaining power while limiting the potential for coup attempts by the Hutu or a rival Tutsi group.

The Congo rebellion in eastern Zaire also had some minor spillover effects. Rebel groups began to use Burundi as a staging ground for attacks in Eastern Congo and Rwanda. This provided some trafficking of small arms and military training, although there is not a lot of evidence that rebel Hutu groups benefited from this.

The Hutu were starting to realize that they were systematically being denied advancement opportunities through purges of the civil service and the military, and they were also discovering that the education limits placed on them would limit the advancement of coming generations. Their position in society was now confined largely to the agricultural peasantry. By the early 1970s, the Hutu had come to the conclusion that the only option they had was violent insurgency. A coup attempt began on April 29, 1972, after a short period of planning.

The Ibo plain was the site for most of the Hutu uprising. This area was predominately Hutu, as the tropical climate is not suited to raising cattle, a typically Tutsi pastime. This region was also known for its instability, particularly near the city of Rumonge. Although the instability was not of an ethnic nature, it nonetheless created a tense environment for the area's inhabitants. The Ibo plain was also one of the few places in Burundi where tropical diseases and health care were serious concerns.

Several months prior to the attacks, there were unusual movements of Hutu teachers to Tanzania. This caused some worry in the Tutsi administration. Some Tutsi even began to warn their Hutu neighbors that a move against the Hutu was coming (Lemarchand 1996). During these few months, some arbitrary arrests were made among the Hutu populations, and a few isolated incidents were reported. Like many other aspects of this conflict, however, the details are sketchy and uncertain. The actual intentions of the group, the tactics that were planned, and the operation of the rebel group are unknown.

The insurrection appeared to have some planning, as all the Hutu teachers in the Nyanza-Lac region fled to Tanzania several days before the attacks began. In response to the flight of the teachers, the regional government decided to hold a meeting of provincial administrators in Rumonge on April 29 to discuss the situation. That meeting was the spark that lit the fire of Hutu rebellion.

The following was a cable from Michael Hoyt, the U.S. deputy chief of mission in Bujumbura, to the State Department concerning the 1972 attack by the Hutu (Lemarchand 1996):

Bands of Mulelist Hutu enter Burundi during the past week from Tanzania and started slaughtering in Nyanza-Lac and particularly Rumonge, April 29. Trouble spreads to Bururi where many soldiers at military training camps killed. Small arms may have been taken. News reports suggest many officials in Bururi province also killed and fighting continues throughout. We have reliable reports Burundi armed forces machine gunning groups of insurgents from the air. Members similar to the same band arrived Bujumbura attacked vehicles in the evening April 29. Bands of people yelling Mulelist slogans.

The Mulelist slogans came from a revolutionary movement in Zaire in the mid-1960s led by Pierre Mulele. The Mulelist movement led an initially successful rebellion in the Kwilu region of Zaire. The utterance of these slogans by the Hutu rebels allowed the Burundi government to blame foreign fighters for part of the rebellion. It is possible that Burundian Hutu fighters might have adopted Mulelist slogans and dress in an effort to cover up the true origination of the planning. This failed miserably, however, as the government soon began to exterminate all Hutus regardless of their level of participation in the rebellion.

On that day, April 29, between 7:00 and 8:00 in the evening, "armed Hutu insurgents, numbering anywhere from 300–500, attacked government posts and military installations in Rumonge and Nyanza-Lac" (Lemarchand, 1996,

91). Simultaneously, similar attacks were launched in Bujumbura and the Gitega region. Approximately forty rebels had the intention of attacking and gaining control of the radio station in Bujumbura. When they were unsuccessful, they took control of an intersection in the city, burned two cars, and killed a small number of people in the cars. The rebels in Bujumbura were very quickly eliminated, and the city was calm again after only a few hours.

The situation was different in Rumonge and Nyanza-Lac. The Hutu insurgents who attacked the military training camps now had control of the grounds, and they slaughtered every Tutsi in sight. The Hutu rebels also killed any Hutu who refused to participate in or aid the rebellion. At this point, roughly 3,000 people were estimated to be dead, most of them Tutsi.

Some of the insurgents, after learning of the nonsuccess in Bujumbura, retreated to a commune in Bururi and proclaimed a Hutu republic. Less than one week later, the Burundian government crushed the rebellion and regained control over all areas of Burundi.

The government pointed to two possible reasons for this rebellion (of course, they did not consider repression of the Hutu to be a possible cause). Publicly, the government blamed the exiled King Ntare for preparing an invasion of foreign forces in an attempt to return to power. This explanation was convenient, as during the short Hutu siege, King Ntare, who was back from exile and under house arrest in Burundi, was assassinated by government officials. The other explanation was that Hutu officials within the government had concocted a master plot to take control of the government.

The real situation is far murkier and probably contains elements of both reports. Rene Lemarchand describes it as a highly unstable coalition among three groups: a handful of Hutu students from the south, a shadow Mulelist presence in Zaire, and possibly a few Hutu elites in Bujumbura. According to testimony, "the insurgency was the brainchild of four people, three of whom were students at the University of Bu-

rundi, and a former Deputy who had been incarcerated and later released” (Lemarchand 1996, 93). Little else is known about the leadership of the insurgency, but it is thought that these people attempted to create a coalition of Hutu support, which appeared to be well received among middle-class Hutu. This was the group that had lost the most during the civil and military purges of the late 1960s.

The repression of the Hutus began almost immediately after the attacks in Bujumbura and Gitega. It took almost a month, however, before much of the world realized that genocide was

taking place. Martial law was imposed throughout Burundi, along with nighttime curfews. The genocide continued until August 1972, by which time almost every Hutu with any form of education, even a secondary school education, was dead.

After the first month, militia groups, in particular the JRR, began to indiscriminately kill Hutus throughout Burundi. More extremist elements of military also began to view the complete elimination of the Hutu race as necessary for the survival of the Tutsis. President Micombero had effectively lost control of the military. Greenland

The Threat of Education

In the 1972 genocide, all Hutu were considered a potential threat to the government. Children, especially those who had some form of education, were thought to be possible future leaders of a rebel movement. To eliminate any latent threats, the Tutsi-dominated military massacred thousands of students, even down to the primary school level. Entire schools were rounded up and all the Hutu students massacred during the month that followed the rebel attacks. In some ways, this did have the effect the Tutsis desired. The Hutu who survived were without even the most basic education. Without an education, and thus without hope for skilled or government positions later in life, the Hutu were relegated to the ranks of the poor.

This was not the only occasion when students were the targets of genocidal violence. For the next thirty years, both Hutu and Tutsi students were slaughtered as the genocide and reprisals took place. In 1993, the Jedebu, the youth arm of the FRODEBU (Front for Democracy in Burundi) party, heavily participated in the murder of Tutsis. (FRODEBU was founded in 1993 by Ndayaye and other Hutu intellectuals as a primarily Hutu political party.) Tutsi students were targeted and burned alive or hacked to death with machetes or killed with other improvised arms. Other times, the victims were Hutu, as in these accounts from 1996 (taken from Amnesty International's 1996 country report on Burundi):

On 25 July Tutsi students of the Institut supérieur d'agriculture (ISA), Higher Agricultural Institute, in Gitega killed 30 of their Hutu schoolmates. As the massacre took place the school premises were surrounded by members of the security forces who reportedly stopped and killed other Hutu students who tried to escape. Some of the students were burned in their mattresses with their property. Those killed include Fabien Buyana, Jean-Claude Ndayizigiye and Léonidas Ntayizaniye, Marie-Rose Nshimirimana, Imelda Ntakiyiruta, Désiré Sindayikengera, Mathilde Ncahoruri and Valérie Nimbeshu. Ten other students have “disappeared.”

On the same night at Rusengo High School in Ruyigi province two Hutu students were killed by Tutsi schoolmates and soldiers and Tutsi students threw grenades into the dormitory of Hutu students in Rumonge High School, in Bururi province, killing one student and injuring 12 others. The deputy Principal of the school reportedly refused to carry the injured students to hospital.

In spite of these horrors, about half of Burundi's children get at least a basic education. President Nkurunziza's educational reforms promise to increase the level of learning in Burundi. With education, there is hope for Burundi and its future leaders.

notes that killing Hutus was encouraged as good citizenship. Radio broadcasts aired the message “hunt down the python in grass,” or kill all the Hutu who threaten your existence (Greenland 1976, 98). In the 1970s, killing was considered “all but a civic duty” (Evans 1997, 22).

In the south, near Bururi, all Hutu were suspect and murdered, without exception. At the university, Hutu students were beaten to death or taken and executed. All Hutu elites and any potential elites were systematically eliminated. Even churches were not spared; many Hutu priests were massacred in the weeks following the April 29 attack. The government’s intent was not only to eliminate potential Hutu leaders but also to spread terror throughout the country as a deterrent to any future uprisings and to teach the Hutu a lesson that would be remembered. Unfortunately, this lesson is still remembered, and the Hutu and Tutsi of Burundi came to see each other as a threat to survival.

After the 1972 ethnic cleansing, Tutsi domination of Burundi was assured, at least in the short term. Bereft of any educated elites, leaders, or even people with the ability to read and write, the remaining Hutu were firmly under Tutsi control.

Outcome

Conflict Status

The actual conflict persisted for only a week before government forces decisively won over the rebel Hutu groups. The repression and genocide lasted another two months, until roughly August 1972. Hundreds of thousands of refugees left Burundi, and some are still waiting to return. More than two decades of sporadic conflict followed the 1972 genocide, flaring up particularly in 1993. Unfortunately, civilians were often the target of various rebel groups, as were humanitarian organizations (Scherrer 2002, 236).

A transitional government was established by then-president Buyoya in 2001 to promote a shift to a multiethnic democracy. Elections in

late 2005 resulted in the selection of former Hutu rebel leader, Pierre Nkurunziza, as president. At his inauguration, he swore to “ban all ideologies of ethnic division and genocide” (Reuters 2005). President Nkurunziza appointed a cabinet that was 60 percent Hutu and 40 percent Tutsi, as is required by Burundi’s new constitution. Since 1998, Burundi has been increasingly peaceful and is making some progress in its transition to full democracy.

Duration Tactics

The conflict was relatively short, as the Hutu rebels groups were small compared to government forces. It appears that the Hutu rebels felt that the larger Hutu population could make up for the small number of armed insurgents, or, conversely, they anticipated that many more would rise up and join the insurgency. Regardless, the Hutu rebels were outnumbered and outgunned. They did not have the resources, the numbers, or the military tactics for a successful or long-lived insurgency.

External Military Intervention

No other nations were willing to intervene in what they felt was an internal matter. Anticolonial sentiment among the Africans prevented Western nations from intervening, and the desire for autonomy (and lack of need) kept the Burundian government from appealing for support. The Hutu rebels may have received some support from foreign rebel groups, but other African nations strongly and publicly supported the Micombero government.

Conflict Management Efforts

The OAU (Organization for African Unity) conducted an investigation of events, and the Tanzanian Prime Minister, Rashidi Kawawa, along with Somali Vice President General Kulmil, made formal visits to Bujumbura. All findings were in favor of the Burundian government. The only African leader to directly criticize the actions of the Burundi government was Rwandan President Kayibanda, a Hutu.

The United Nations provided humanitarian assistance, but African delegates to the UN stressed that the conflict was an internal African matter, implying that international intervention was unnecessary and unwanted. The UN mission to Burundi confirmed that there had been killings but was unable to take any action to stop the atrocities.

Since then, and especially after the horrific genocide in neighboring Rwanda in 1994, the world has taken greater notice of the problems in the African Great Lakes region. Burundi has had a variety of cease-fire agreements, negotiated by a wide range of entities, including the United Nations, and brokered by people such as Nelson Mandela. The conflict attracted significant international attention only in 1996, when the Burundi army and militias became a part of the Congolese conflict.

In addition to the cease-fire agreements and military action, there have been attempts to settle the conflict politically through power-sharing agreements. These agreements resulted in the formation of the transitional government headed by Buyoya in 1998 and ultimately culminated in the 2005 elections.

Conclusion

The genocide in 1972 was short but grisly, and its effects can be observed even today. The most notable result of the 1972 killings was a cycle of instability, reprisal, and indiscriminate murder. An attempted transition to democracy in 1992 resulted in a dark period during which the legitimacy of the government and the constitution were questioned. After a military dictatorship sprang up to fill the power vacuum, the stage was set for another round of genocide in 1993. It is no coincidence that these massacres were of Tutsi in the northern portion of Burundi, near the border with Rwanda, where a larger-scale genocide of Tutsi would occur only months later.

For years, Burundi would again be inflamed with ethnic killings. The events of 1972 and 1993

spilled over into neighboring Tanzania, Congo, and Uganda; rebels used these states as a base for attacks in Rwanda and Burundi. The refugee outflow from Burundi also created problems for its neighbors, as refugee camps were a major source of rebel recruits and provided training grounds for fresh attacks.

Burundian citizens have borne most of the suffering during the civil war years and its aftermath. Despite all the rancorous conflict, a small civil society has still managed to emerge, and political parties are forming where rebel organizations used to exist. Although Burundi still spends more on defense than on education, agriculture, and health combined, there are signs of hope. UNICEF estimates that approximately 59 percent of boys and 48 percent of girls are enrolled in school. High school fees are a major reason that school attendance rates are so low. New president Pierre Nkurunziza has promised to provide free primary education for each child. Higher rates of education and further economic development are certain to increase the quality of life for many in Burundi.

In July 2005, Burundi approved plans for a UN-led truth commission to investigate the crimes that were committed during four decades of civil war. Relatively free elections and a multi-ethnic government also have raised hopes that Burundi's future will not resemble its past. After almost forty years of strife, Burundi's people must begin to heal the scars of the past and demand a better future.

Chelsea Brown

Chronology

- 1919 The Belgians occupy Burundi. It becomes a Belgian colony under the League of Nations mandate.
- 1958 Prince Rwagasore becomes Burundi's first nationalistic leader and heads the Union for National Progress party (UPRONA).
- September 1961 The first democratic elections are held. UPRONA wins 80 percent of the vote, and Rwagasore becomes prime minister.
- October 1961 Rwagasore is assassinated.

- July 1, 1962 Burundi becomes independent.
- 1964 National elections occur. Hutu candidates are generally victorious.
- 1965 Prime Minister Pierre Ngendandumwe, a Hutu, is assassinated. The head of state, King Mwambutsa, refuses to appoint a Hutu prime minister despite the Hutus' winning a majority of the electoral seats.
- October 1965 The Hutu military and political elites stage an abortive coup. Consequently, Hutu begin to be removed from military and government offices.
- 1966 A Tutsi military leader, Captain Michel Micombero, assumes control of the government. King Ntare V is exiled to Germany.
- 1966–1972 Removal of Hutu from positions of power continues. UPRONA becomes an organization for furthering Tutsi political domination.
- 1972 Ntare V negotiates for his return to Burundi as a private citizen.
- April 29, 1972 Hutu rebels attack Bujumbura, Gitega, and Southern Burundi in an attempt to overthrow the Micombero government. The rebels never gain control of Bujumbura, and the entire rebellion is quelled within a week. Repression against the rebels begins almost immediately by the Tutsi-dominated military.
- May 30, 1972 The armed forces and the JRR begin to coordinate efforts to exterminate the Hutu in Burundi. The genocide lasted until August, 1972.
- 1976 Jean-Baptiste Bagaza (Micombero's cousin) seizes control of the Burundi government.
- 1977–1985 The purging of all religious personnel and missionaries begins. Later, restrictions are imposed on religious services and schools.
- 1987 Factional struggles within the government lead to a bloodless coup, and Pierre Boyoya seizes power.
- 1988 A Hutu uprising again brings mass violence between Tutsi and Hutu to Burundi.
- 1993 Melchior Ndadaye becomes Burundi's first Hutu president. He is assassinated a few months later by the Tutsi-controlled military. Many Hutu leave for Rwanda.
- 1994 Parliament appoints another Hutu as president. President Cyprien Ntaryamira is killed in a plane crash along with the Rwandan leader. This sparks the beginning of the genocide in Rwanda.

- 1995 Ethnic tensions again flare up in Bujumbura.
- 1996 Pierre Boyoya again seizes power and suspends the constitution.
- 1998 A transitional government is agreed upon.
- 2001 A power-sharing agreement is brokered between the Hutu and Tutsi.
- 2005 Voters agree to a new power-sharing constitution, but the government remains shaky and unstable.

List of Acronyms

- FRODEBU: Front for Democracy in Burundi
 ISA: Higher Agricultural Institute (Institut supérieur d'agriculture)
 JNR: Jeunesse Nationaliste Rwagasore: the early youth wing of the UPRONA
 JRR: Jeunesse Revolutionnaire Rwagasore: the Tutsi dominated, more militant and anti-Hutu youth wing of UPRONA. Formerly the JNR.
 OAU: Organization for African Unity
 RPF: Rwandan Patriotic Front
 UPRONA: Union for National Progress. A nationalistic, anticolonial party founded by Prince Rwagasore.

Glossary

- ganwa:** The ruling, or elite, class of people before and during colonial rule.
- genocide:** The systematic and planned extermination of an entire national, racial, political, or ethnic group.
- Hutu:** A member of a Bantu people inhabiting Rwanda and Burundi.
- Micombero, Michel:** The Tutsi president of Burundi at the time of the 1972 conflict and genocide.
- Mulelist:** Term given to followers of the Zairian rebel Mulele.
- mwami:** A king or ruling monarch.
- Ntare V Ndizeye:** The exiled former king of Burundi, who was executed during the 1972 conflict.
- Tutsi:** A member of a Bantu-speaking people inhabiting Rwanda and Burundi.

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Cambodia

(1970–1975 and 1979–1991)

Introduction

Cambodia, one of the oldest states in Southeast Asia, has undergone many transformations, from the ancient Angkor Empire to today's Kingdom of Cambodia. Since the nineteenth century, it has been subject to the influence of many other countries, including France, Japan, China, the Soviet Union, the United States, and neighboring Vietnam and Thailand. The population is largely rural, an ethnically homogeneous people most of whom are Buddhists and whose principal language is Khmer. Cambodia's two civil wars, the first from 1970 to 1975 and the second from 1979 to 1991, were inextricably bound up with international Cold War politics and the Vietnam War. Despite the Paris Peace Agreement of 1991, which ended the last civil war, Cambodia is not completely at peace today.

Country Background

Cambodia's long history has not provided a shield against political turmoil. From the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, Cambodia's Angkor Empire ruled over much of the Southeast Asian mainland. It left historical remains that are among the wonders of the world and evidence a highly developed civilization. From the fourteenth century, Cambodia began to contract, squeezed by Thailand on one side and Vietnam on the other. From the seventeenth century to

the eighteenth, Cambodia degenerated into a tribute country subject to intervention by Thailand and Vietnam in its domestic affairs, a period known as Cambodia's "Dark Age." This period ended when Cambodia was made a French protectorate in 1863 and became a part of French Indochina. During World War II, Cambodia was occupied by the Japanese. After World War II, Cambodia remained a French colony until its independence in 1953 (CIA 2005; Peou 2001, 36).

Cambodia's independence did not guarantee the building of a peaceful and stable state of Khmer people. Cambodia's ideological conflicts and civil wars, its "vortex of politics," inflicted poverty, death, and the fear of war on countless numbers of people for a long time. The Kingdom of Cambodia, ruled by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, was established in 1953 and lasted until 1970, although political chaos continued as domestic ideological conflicts increased, as did threats posed by the communization of the Indochina peninsula—particularly the Vietnam War. In 1970, the Khmer Republic, an extreme right-wing, anticommunist regime, was established following a coup d'état led by General Lon Nol. The antigovernment protests and guerrilla warfare between the Communist Khmer Rouge and the supporters of the deposed Sihanouk continued until 1975. With the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, the Communist revolution led



Khmer Rouge prisoners are guarded by government soldiers near Phnom Penh, Cambodia on August 26, 1973. (Bettmann/Corbis)

by the Khmer Rouge was successful, and Cambodia became Democratic Kampuchea. Between 1975 and 1979, however, under the leadership of Pol Pot, the level of internal political conflict and bloodshed increased to such a level that Cambodia became known as the “Killing Field.” The massacres produced a large number of refugees. Working from Hanoi, pro-Vietnamese powers in turn expelled the Khmer Rouge by sending Vietnamese troops to attack Cambodia and established another Communist government, the People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), and leaving a Vietnamese military advisory group to supervise Cambodia’s domestic affairs. When the Vietnamese troops completely withdrew from Cambodian territory in 1989 in response to steadily increasing international pressure to conclude Cambodia’s civil war, then-prime minister Hun Sen changed the country’s name to the State of Cambodia (SOC) and concluded a peace agreement with the antigovernment powers.

After the country’s existence as Prince Sihanouk’s Kingdom of Cambodia in 1953, through the signing of the Paris Peace Agreement in 1991 and the democratic elections mandated by the United Nations in 1993, and finally into Cambodia’s reincarnation as the State of Cambodia, the nation experienced political instability and transitional turmoil in both its domestic and its international affairs. In particular, the Communist revolutionary movement, which spread rapidly after 1960, became a civil war as a result of Lon Nol’s coup d’état and the establishment of the extreme right-wing, anticommunist Khmer Republic. Cambodia was eventually communized by the Khmer Rouge in 1975; the Khmer Rouge were expelled and the Khmer Republic replaced by the PRK. Despite this, civil war continued until the Paris Peace Agreement was signed in 1991, owing to prolonged physical clashes and military conflicts between the PRK government,

Angkor Empire (ninth to fifteenth centuries CE)

The Angkor empire was the greatest empire in Cambodian history. It started in the Rulus and Siem Reap areas in the ninth century and expanded its territory into modern Cambodia and into Thailand, southern Vietnam, and Laos. The Angkor kingdom was the strongest kingdom in the Southeast Asian continent during its reign, and its strength peaked during the reigns of Suryavarman II (1113–1150) and Jayavarman VII (1181–1219). Much of Cambodia's cultural heritages and legacies—including Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom—date from these periods. Cambodia's empire, however, started to decline in the thirteenth century, and it disappeared in the fifteenth century. The main reason for its collapse was the invasion of the Thai nation (that is, the kingdom of Sukhothai and kingdom of Ayuthaya), which rose from the west of the Angkor Empire.

remnants of the former Khmer Republic government, and Sihanouk loyalists.

Conflict Background

To understand the background of the two Cambodian civil wars, 1970–1975 and 1979–1991, it is necessary to comprehend Cambodia's domestic and international circumstances at the time of independence in 1953. The Indochina peninsula, which had been under the protection and colonial rule of France since the end of the nineteenth century, had been an arena of perpetual struggle among the world powers. During World War II, Cambodia was occupied by the Japanese. After the war ended in 1945, King Norodom Sihanouk demanded Cambodia's independence from France. In 1953, Cambodia achieved independence, and King Sihanouk, a widely respected leader, established the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Sihanouk, who converted Cambodia's form of government to a constitutional monarchy after independence, handed over royal authority to his father, Norodom Suramarit, in early 1955

and attained absolute power by successfully winning the general election. He then established the leading political party, Sangkum (Sangkum Reastr Niyum), and maintained a comparatively stable, authoritarian rule until the mid-1960s. Sihanouk's greatest political goals were Cambodian independence and a stable reign, and he sought various diplomatic policies that would influence international politics and provide a secure regional environment to fulfill his goal. The surrounding environment of the Indochina peninsula, which had undergone rapid change since the end of the 1950s, in fact caused Sihanouk's basic diplomatic policies to change; political changes in Vietnam were particularly important factors. Sihanouk's diplomatic position was initially pro-American, and he accepted American support in the early stages of state building after independence in 1953; but he subsequently became a neutralist to get out from under pressure from the superpowers (America and China) when ideological conflicts deepened in Indochina later in the 1950s. In the 1960s, he attempted an ideological transition to collaboration against the Communists when the threats against Communism increased.

There is no doubt that the international divisions and confrontations caused by the Cold War affected Cambodia's diplomatic policies and domestic politics (Peou 2000). In the earlier stages of independent statehood, Sihanouk selected pro-American diplomatic policies to oppose threats from surrounding countries such as China and Vietnam. However, Sihanouk diplomatically approached China and Vietnam while fundamentally deciding to remain neutral because (1) interference in Cambodia's domestic politics by South Vietnam and Thailand accompanied U.S. support, (2) potential threats were increasing, and (3) Khmer Serai, the rightist organization supported by the United States, was gradually expanding its activities. Nevertheless, improvement of relations with Communist countries eventually led to the severance of diplomatic relations with the United States when the Vietnamese war reached its climax.

Sihanouk's attempt to reach a strategic balance, however, was challenged by the following factors. First, Cambodian neutrality was damaged by the presence of the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong's base in Cambodia. Second, it was also plagued by the use of Kampong Saom (then Sihanoukville) by the Communists as a supply port for Communist forces, as well as the intelligence gathering activities on the parts of both South Vietnam and the United States. By 1966, Sihanouk had allied himself secretly with the North Vietnamese, a decision (probably impossible to avoid) that was a major reason for his deposition four years later. Under the terms of the alliance, the North Vietnamese stationed troops in Cambodian territory and received arms and supplies from North Vietnam and China via the port of Sihanoukville in Cambodia (Chandler 1996, 194).

Frequent changes in Cambodia's diplomatic policies caused domestic political disorder. In fact, the Sihanouk administration was most interested in the movements of Cambodian Communists, the Khmer Rouge. With the threat of Communizing Indochina on the increase since the mid-1960s, Sihanouk attempted to compromise with the Communists. After the dismissal of the Indochina Communist Party (ICP) in 1951, the Khmer Rouge lost its power for some time, as demonstrated by the movement of the Hanoi Khmer to northern Vietnam. However, the Khmer Rouge was re-established by young Communists such as Ieng Sary, Khieu Samphan, Hou Yuon, and Saloth Sar (Pol Pot). They equipped new battle lines while maintaining an independent relationship with the Indochina Communist Party and organized an anti-Sihanouk guerrilla movement in the late 1960s. The leftist powers began to expand their activity to consolidate the communist line, starting with the 1966 election; at the same time, the rightist factions began to back away from Sihanouk to restrain his procommunist policy. In 1966, Communists Hou Yuon, Khieu Samphan, and Hu Nim,

who were elected representatives, were given ministerial posts; but they remained honest despite this patronage. They surrendered their posts in 1967 and 1968 and escaped to the jungle region when their lives were threatened by the prince's men and by right-wing government factions.

From the mid-1960s, the Sihanouk administration faced domestic political crises caused by various factors, such as the failure of socialistic economic policy pursued by Sihanouk, isolation from the Western countries, resistance of rightist powers in the country followed by the relationship with the Vietnamese communists, and the activities of supporters of Communist revolution. In early April 1967, Smlaut and Batdambang, two provinces known for the presence of big landowners and economic inequality, were plagued by insurrections. More than 200 local people, some bearing anti-American banners, attacked Cambodian army posts near Smlaut. The Communist party leaders in the far-away northeast did not know when the attack was going to occur, but undoubtedly the local radicals, exasperated by the government's behavior, encouraged the people to revolt (Chandler 1992, 81). The government was unable to pacify the insurgency completely. It spread from Batdambang to the south and southwest and to the central provinces. The areas affected were Pouthisat (Pursat), Kompong Chang, Kampong Cham, Kampong Spoe (Kompong Speu), Kampot, and Kampong Thum. Eleven provinces were reportedly affected by the insurgency by the end of 1968. The Kampuchea Communist Party (KCP) almost completely dominated the Khmer Loeu regions of Mondol Kiri (Mondolkiri) Province and Rotanokiri Province until the end of the decade.

The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea (RAK) was set up by the Communists in January 1968. Although Sihanouk was still in power, the RAK did not get much support from the North Vietnamese, the Viet Cong, or the Chinese. On the other hand, because Sihanouk's Cambodia

Table 1: Civil War in Cambodia

War:	Khmer Republic government vs. FUNK (1970–1975) PRK government vs. CGDK (1979–1991)
Date:	March 1970–April 1975 December 1978–October 1991
Casualties:	At least 200,000 (1970–1975), estimated 300,000 (1979–1991), estimated
Regime type prior to war:	–7 (Lon Nol’s Khmer Republic in 1970; republican authoritarianism; Polity II variable in Polity IV data, ranging from –10 to 10) –7 (the Khmer Rouge’s Democratic Kampuchea in 1979; revolutionary totalitarianism)
Regime type after war:	–7 (continued since the Democratic Kampuchea government) 2 (since 1998)
GDP/capita year war began:	Estimated US \$130 (an estimate in 1970) Estimated US \$130 (an estimate in 1979)
GDP/capita 5 years after war:	Estimated US \$130 (in 1980) Estimated US \$300 (in 1996)
Insurgents:	FUNK (1970–1975) CGDK (1979–1991)
Issue:	Ideological struggle for control of central government
Rebel funding:	Foreign aid (USA, USSR, China, Vietnam, Thailand, etc.)
Role of geography:	Rebels hid in rain forest and mountains.
Role of resources:	Not known
Immediate outcome:	Victory of the Khmer Rouge; establishment of the Democratic Kampuchea government in 1975 Treaty facilitated by UN in 1991; democratic general election in 1993
Outcome after 5 years:	Continuous civil war and dissolution; collapse of the Democratic Kampuchea and establishment of the People’s Republic of Kampuchea in 1979 Provisional peace maintenance and establishing the coalition government since 1991
Role of UN:	No active role from 1970 to 1975 Facilitated peace talks from 1979 to 1991; implemented UNTAC in 1992.
Role of regional organization:	ASEAN active since 1967, but no successful result
Refugees:	Roughly 360,000 (1970–1975) 600,000 (1979–1991)
Prospects for peace:	Provisional peace since democratic election by UNTAC in 1993 Potential for conflict between CPP and FUNCINPEC persists

Sources: Marshall and Jagers 2002.

controlled some parts of supply lines vital to North Vietnam for its Viet Cong bases, North Vietnam did not want to sour its relationship with Cambodia. In addition, weapons supplied to Sihanouk by Beijing and Moscow were used to suppress the insurgents. Pol Pot and other Khmer Rouge leaders became convinced that other Communist countries did not care much about the Communist struggle in Cambodia from 1967 to 1969.

The Insurgents: Coup d’État, the Communist Revolution, and Pol Pot’s Regime (1970–1979)

It is not easy to identify precisely the rebels in the Cambodian civil war that began in 1970. The Communist forces, which began to gradually strengthen the Communist revolutionary movement against the Sihanouk administration from the late 1960s on, commenced its rebellion when

the rightist military coup d'état led by General Lon Nol occurred in March 1970. The Communist revolutionary movement initially spread in the form of protests or regional rebellions with the Khmer Rouge at the center. However, the civil war entered a new phase that involved ordinary combat and guerrilla warfare when Sihanouk, who was deposed by General Lon Nol in 1970, proclaimed the coup a military rebellion and made an alliance with the Khmer Rouge. The alliance of the royal powers (Sihanouk's supporters, leftists, and Communists) and Khmer Rouge combined to form the National United Front of Kampuchea (FUNK: Front Uni National de Kampuchea) and announced an official attack against the Khmer Republic administration established by Lon Nol.

After its formation in March 1970, FUNK claimed to stand for the alliance of the entire Khmer people, both outside and inside the nation, including the Khmer Rouge, and was followed by the announcement of the establishment of the Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea (GRUNK: Government Royal d'Union Nationale de Kampuchea) in May. The Khmer National Armed Forces (FANK: Forces Armées Nationales Khmères), a military arm of the GRUNK that opposed the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong at the beginning, was reinvigorated and renamed the Cambodian People's National Liberation Armed Forces (CPNLAF). Although Sihanouk visited once-liberated areas of Cambodia, including the Angkor Wat area, he and his followers stayed mostly in Beijing, whereas the Khmer Rouge commanded the insurgency inside the country. Increasingly, Sihanouk lost his grip on power and became a passive figurehead in the coalition. Even those who supported Sihanouk in Cambodia faced a death threat by the Khmer Rouge. Furthermore, Sihanouk himself, when he appeared in public to espouse the cause of GRUNK, was contemptuously challenged by Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan.

Consequently, the Khmer Rouge controlled the entire combat power of the GRUNK, as well

as the FANK, which was founded with approximately 3,000 people in the early 1970s and had grown to 40,000 people by 1973. At that time, Communist power in Cambodia was divided into two camps: the Pol Pot camp, which was active mainly in the northern and northeast and took an extreme anti-Vietnamese stance; and a pro-Vietnamese group called Hanoi Khmer, which had bases in the east and the southwest. The Hanoi Khmer obtained control of agricultural areas according to the guerrilla strategy of Mao Zedong and closed the net encircling Phnom Penh by disrupting the defenses of the government troops. The political marriage between Sihanouk and the Khmer Rouge was a result of sheer political calculation. Peasants, as loyal followers of the monarchy, supported the FUNK cause. It came as no surprise, then, when Lon Nol abolished monarchy and renamed the country the Khmer Republic on October 9, 1970, that the popularity of the Sihanouk–Khmer Rouge coalition soared, even though ordinary peasants were worried about the consequences for Cambodia without its monarch. The number of government troops of the Khmer Republic grew from 35,000 in 1970 to 200,000 two years later, receiving various supports from America, Thailand, and South Vietnam. However, the government forces were internally corrupt and became weaker after they gradually lost the district bridgeheads despite earlier success in suppressing the rebels.

Tactics

The two warring factions were by no means equal, and not just in terms of their numbers. Many urban young people voluntarily joined FANK within a few months of the coup. The Khmer Republican government outnumbered its enemy throughout its five years in power, but lacked training and leadership. As its numbers suddenly soared, the government was overextended. Because of the pressures of tactical operations and the need to supplement combat casualties, the FANK was unable to provide needed training for its members. Despite the



bravery of some soldiers and government units, most of the leaders were corrupt and incompetent. They had to face what were arguably the best infantries at the time, the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong. In the latter half of 1971, the Chenla II strategy of the Khmer Republic government troops, which was intended to mop up the antigovernment powers, failed; student protests intensified in 1972, overthrowing the corrupt Lon Nol administration and his despotic government. When Lon Nol's Khmer Republic was founded, more than half of Cambodian territory had already been taken by North Vietnamese troops and Khmer Rouge guerrillas, and these "liberated areas" were increasing, particularly in the agricultural and mountainous areas (Kamm 1998, 87). This condition rapidly changed when the confidential agreement between Vietnam and the United States was reached in 1973, and withdrawal of

American troops from the Indochina peninsula began. In June 1974, as Communist-led student riots spread across the nation, allied with teachers and laborers, the Khmer Republic administration was hard pressed to maintain the regime. The Khmer Rouge was winning the control of the Mekong River; by the end of 1974, they had blocked off all land routes, and Phnom Penh was isolated (Becker 1998, 17).

Causes of the War

The Cambodian civil war of 1970–1975 can be understood as having strong implications for the Communist revolution, which was an ideological conflict based on an international Cold War system that also influenced Cambodian domestic politics. Nevertheless, political conflict and armed clashes during Cambodia's domestic conflicts resulted in the continuation and spread of

the civil war. In 1970, few minorities inhabited this linguistically and culturally homogeneous land. In prerevolutionary Cambodia, 85 to 95 percent of the inhabitants spoke Khmer and followed the Buddha's teachings. It was an overwhelmingly rural economy and ethnically quite homogeneous. And Cambodia was overwhelmingly Theravada Buddhist, whereas Chinese and Vietnamese are usually Mahayana Buddhists (Martin 1994, 1; Kiernan 2002, 5–6). Despite such similarities, ideological conflicts and confrontations caused by the international Cold War, and the threats to the regional security of Southeast Asia posed by the Vietnamese War, drove Cambodia into a more hazardous civil war.

The first Cambodian civil war was triggered by Lon Nol's coup d'état in 1970, which toppled Sihanouk and drew Cambodia into a wider conflict. Communism had been spreading steadily since the late 1960s, and demonstration and rebellions were occurring in every region. Nonetheless, after the coup in 1970, most people in agricultural area supported Sihanouk, not Lon Nol; the regional conflict developed into a national one when Sihanouk made an alliance with the Khmer Rouge, the leaders of the Communist revolution. Backed by centuries of tradition, Prince Sihanouk continued to influence the social fabric of Cambodia, which increasingly resulted in large tracts of Cambodian territory falling under the administration of Cambodian rebels in the so-called liberated zone (Ayles 2000, 80). A large number of middle-class and educated Khmers in urban area were tired of Sihanouk and hoped for a change of leadership; nevertheless, most of the rural population still supported Sihanouk. Right after the coup, the prince, who stayed in Beijing, appealed to his people to resist the coup. Pro-Sihanouk riots broke out almost immediately in the eastern part of the country (Chandler 1996, 205).

Outcome

The ideological component of the Cambodian civil war had been strengthened by the strong

anticommunist policies of the Lon Nol administration and the involvement of the Vietnam War. When Sihanouk fell from power, North Vietnam and the Viet Cong were afraid of a prospective pro-Western regime in Cambodia, which might allow a U.S. military base in Cambodia. To avoid this, North Vietnam and the Viet Cong moved forces deeper into Cambodia, and a new military headquarters was set up in Kracheh (Kratie). South Vietnam and the United States jointly launched a multipronged attack in Cambodia to destroy the Central Office for South Vietnam, the headquarters of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong combat operations.

Duration Tactics

The attack destroyed extensive logistical installations and large amounts of supplies. Nevertheless, according to a report disclosed later from the United States Military Assistance Command Vietnam, a large amount of material had already been moved deep into Cambodia to avoid the attack. The North Vietnamese army spied on the Khmer Republic's government forces, and three months after the coup, the North Vietnamese army and the Cambodian People's National Liberation Armed Forces had wiped out FANK from the third of the entire northeastern of the country. After sweeping out the government forces, they focused on the local insurgents. The Khmer Rouge established "liberated areas" in the south and southwest, where they governed themselves independently of the Vietnamese.

External Military Intervention

Lightning attacks on and bombardment by the U.S. Army and the South Vietnamese troops in Cambodia during this process stimulated the Cambodians' national sentiment and became the main cause of Cambodia's involvement in the Communist revolution of the Khmer Rouge (Chandler 1998, 211). The United States, with no previous agreement with or warning to the Khmer Republic administration, dispatched 31,000 U.S. armed forces and 43,000 South Viet-

namese armed forces into Cambodian territory and commenced massive bombardments. This strategy, which was approved by President Richard Nixon, was initially to attack the military bases of the North Vietnamese who had secret movements within Cambodian territory; but to this was added physical damage to the Cambodian people, creating as many as 130,000 refugees during the bombardments. Between 1970 and 1973, U.S. air forces carried out 2,875 decisive bombing attacks; nearly 450,000 tons of bombs were dropped in Cambodian territory—50 percent more than were dropped on Japan during World War II (Becker 1998, 17; Kiernan 2002, 19).

Conflict Management Efforts

International society gave no help to end the Cambodian civil war between 1970 and 1975. On the contrary, the Cold War system of international politics was the fundamental cause of the Cambodian civil war: the extreme conflicts and confrontations between the capitalist powers (with the Western powers in the center) and the socialist powers (the Soviet Union and China) encroaching on the Indochina peninsula. Major Western countries such as the United States, and countries belonging to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), such as Thailand and the Philippines, supported the Khmer Republic administration; whereas China, the Soviet Union, and Vietnam supported the Communist powers in Cambodia and the rebellion movements that followed after them. Threats of communization of the Indochina peninsula, initiated by the Vietnam War, accelerated ideological conflicts and civil war within Cambodia; and the countries surrounding Cambodia and the international powers supported different political groups in Cambodia in pursuit of their own interests.

When the United States withdrew its troops from the Indochina peninsula according to the 1973 confidential agreement between the United States and Vietnam, conditions in Cambodia also changed rapidly. The Khmer Republic lost

more than 80 percent of the Cambodian territory to the Communist powers—the North Vietnamese, the Viet Cong, and the Khmer Rouge—and was deprived of a basis of support. Between that time and 1974, the population of the capital city, Phnom Penh, rapidly increased from 600,000 to 2,000,000 from the influx of refugees who fled their hometowns and flocked to the capital to avoid the U.S. attack and the Communist forces. Serious economic difficulties and social disorder persisted because the Communists cut the main routes of transportation of food, indispensables, and armaments. Insurgency occurred in every region of the nation, spurred by Communist forces, and hundreds of battalions moved against the capital city of Phnom Penh (Kiernan 2002, 32).

Cambodia's insurgent forces were split between the hard-line Khmer Rouge and moderate, pro-Vietnamese Hanoi Khmer. The Hanoi Khmer controlled the Khmer Communist movement in Prey Veng in the Eastern Zone. Across the Mekong River was the Khmer Rouge's occupied zone. The Khmer Rouge was preoccupied with military questions. Operations took the form of three successive storming attacks in 1973, 1974, and 1975, aimed at capturing Phnom Penh. The first storming operation was carried out on between May and July 1973; rebel troops were spurred forward by the vision of liberating Phnom Penh. "In early 1974, the rebel forces regrouped and formed a loop around Phnom Penh as they readied themselves for their second attack. Although they were not able to capture the capital, by the end of the year they had prevented travel by road between Phnom Penh and the port city of Kompong Som. Supplies for the capital had to be supplied by air or via the Mekong River. The final attack was planned for the 1975 dry season. By the end of 1974, all roads to the capital were cut, and in the early hours of January 1, rebel forces opened their bombardment (Becker 1998, 158–159; Chandler 1992, 104–109). The troops stationed along the Mekong River were able to cut lines of supply for food, fuel, and ammunition, to starve

the city gradually. The troops also fired the city, incurring many civilian casualties. Many of the republican soldiers ran out of ammunition and were eventually overrun by the Khmer Rouge. At last, on April 1, 1975, President Lon Nol resigned and flew out of the country. A last-minute peace talk initiated by the United States and involving Sihanouk failed, and the Khmer Rouge captured Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975.

After the surrender of Phnom Penh, the Khmer Rouge established the Democratic Kampuchea government and expressed very strong nationalism. Between April and August 1975, GRUNK nominated Prince Sihanouk and Phen Nouth as prime minister and governor, respectively; however, Kieu Samphan, Ieng Sary, and Pol Pot of the Khmer Rouge held the real power. In particular, they established a strong public mobilization system with the help of Angka, the infamous confidential information organization, and adopted a pro-Chinese line when Pol Pot took hold of the real power, one year after expelling pro-Vietnamese Hanoi Khmer powers such as Chia Sim and Heng Samrin. The term *Khmer Rouge* originally included anti-Vietnamese Maoist communists, Khmer Vietmin, and pro-Vietnamese Hanoi Khmer, but now it generally refers to the Khmer Vietmin. For the Khmer Rouge, the two major enemies were the imperialist United States and Vietnam; accordingly, it made a clean sweep of people who were known to have sympathized with capitalist, imperialist, and pro-Vietnam or pro-China powers (Kiernan 2002, 3). In massacres carried out by the Khmer Rouge, well-known as the “Killing Field,” at least 2,000,000 people were executed between April 1975 and January 1977. This later came to the attention of the international community and received heavy criticism.

No official record remains of the number of people victimized during the 1970–1975 civil war and the subsequent Khmer Rouge–controlled Democratic Kampuchea (1975–1979). Most records and documents having to do with refugees and victims were destroyed when the Khmer Rouge took power, and the Democratic

The Killing Field, 1975–1979

The “Killing Field” was a huge massacre committed by Pol Pot’s Khmer Rouge between 1975 and 1979. The Khmer Rouge, who took over its power from Lon Nol, established a very nationalistic regime called Democratic Kampuchea that maintained a pro-China and procommunist stance. Its regime purged Chia Sim and Heng Samrin, who were allied with Vietnam, through what is now infamously known as the Angka, a secret police. With the help of the Angka, Khmer Rouge maintained a very strong public mobilization system. From 1975 to December 1978, when Vietnam began its invasion, the Khmer Rouge committed massive public executions of more than 2,000,000 people including what it classified as pro-Americans, procapital and proimperialists under the slogan of “Let’s Complete a Perfect Socialist Revolution by extorting the revisionists.”

Kampuchea government established an unfriendly and exclusive political system. In spite of this, solid arguments exist for the assessment that approximately 741,000 Cambodians died at the hands of Pol Pot’s regime (Ayres 2000, 97). More than 200,000 Khmer people were massacred between 1975 and 1979, in addition to those who died during the civil war itself, and the number of wounded is estimated in the thousands (Becker 1998, 1; Chandler 1996, 212; Osborne 1994, 9; Vickery 1984).

The Insurgents: The People’s Republic of Kampuchea and Continual Civil War (1979–1991)

The successful Communist revolution undertaken by the Khmer Rouge in 1975 and the establishment of the Democratic Kampuchea did not mean the end of the civil war. In fact, the reign of the Khmer Rouge and its consequent state building caused the spread of the new conflict and civil war. After the establishment of the

Democratic Kampuchea in 1975, tension grew within the Khmer Rouge. The confrontation between the Khmer Vietmin, with Pol Pot, Kieu Samphan, and Ieng Sary at its center, and the Hanoi Khmer, with Chia Sim, Heng Samrin, and Hun Sen at the center, was especially linked to the establishment of relations with China, Vietnam, and the Soviet Union. Pol Pot, who came to possess the real political power following expulsion of the pro-Vietnamese powers in the power struggle of 1976, strongly adopted a pro-Chinese line in foreign policy, while domestically he carried out state building according to the model of China's "Great Leap Forward" and "Cultural Revolution," conducting a grand purge (Chandler 1992, 70; Martin 1994, 210). Moreover, based on old national sentiments, the Pol Pot administration dispatched troops to the Mekong Delta region, where territorial disputes with Vietnam had persisted for a long time; in April 1977 they

attacked the Cambodia–Vietnam border area, where the Vietnamese refugees were settled, and killed a great many Vietnamese.

Geography

The Mekong Delta area bordering Cambodia and Vietnam was the region of confrontation during border disputes stemming from the agreement of the Brevié Line during the French colonial period in 1939. Around 1 million Cambodians lived in Vietnamese territory, and around 500,000 Vietnamese were residing in Cambodian territory at the time of the incident.

The strained relations surrounding the border of the two countries finally developed into a war; Vietnamese troops attacked Cambodia on April 6, 1977. The fighting, which continued for weeks, caused approximately 8,000 deaths on both sides, and the Pol Pot administration broke off diplomatic relations with Vietnam in December of the



same year. Cambodia and Vietnam both repeatedly attacked and retreated between January and April of 1978, and in May 1978, Vietnam supported the Kompong Cham people's uprising led by the National United Front for National Salvation (KNUFNS), headed by Heng Samrin in pro-Vietnamese Hanoi Khmer. Ultimately, Vietnam decisively attacked Cambodia in December 1978, with Heng Samrin's KNUFNS in the vanguard, followed by five Vietnamese regular army divisions. Having relatively great military strength, Vietnam expelled Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge in only seventeen days and established the People's Republic of Kampuchea in January 1979, with Heng Samrin, the pro-Vietnam figure, as its head (Gottesman 2002, 10–11).

Establishment of the PRK, which was supported by Vietnamese military economic aid, gave the Cambodian civil war a new aspect. In October 1979, the Khmer Rouge army, which had lost three-fourths of its total strength, arrived at the Khmer-Thai border (Martin 1994, 240–241). A significant number of Khmer Rouge troops had been able to escape the Vietnamese forces and reposition themselves in the border regions. Pol Pot's remaining army controlled only unpopulated jungle along the 400-mile Thai border, usually mountainous areas difficult for attackers to approach. They survived there only because of Thailand's readiness to supply them and to allow the leaders of the widely separated Khmer Rouge camps easy contact with one another via Thai roads. China supplied them with food and arms, delivered to the Cambodians by the Thai military (Kamm 1998, 150).

Tactics

Former Khmer Rouge leaders had close ties to Sihanouk's National Army (ANS: Armée Nationale Sihanoukienne), which conducted rebel operations near the Thai border; additionally, the Khmer People's National Liberation Armed Forces (KPNLAF), controlled by the former prime minister of the Khmer Republic administration, Son Sann, conducted anticommunist resistance across the border. These groups proposed to ally

themselves against the PRK government in Phnom Penh (Martin 1994, 248–250). In 1981, Sihanouk formed his own organization, National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC: Front Uni National pour un Cambodge indépendant, neutre, pacifique, et coopératif), and its military unit, the ANS (Sihanouk's National Army).

In June 1982, Khieu Samphan of the Khmer Rouge, Son Sann of the KPNLF (Khmer People's National Liberation Front), and Sihanouk of FUNCINPEC attended a three-party conference in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, with China as mediator, and finally announced the formation of Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) (Gottesman 2002, 139). They demanded withdrawal of the Vietnamese military from Cambodia and suspension of domestic interference, and declared their intent to continue to resist the PRK government in Phnom Penh. Western countries, including the United States and most ASEAN countries, promised political and humanitarian support for the CGDK, and China promised military support. In fact, on February 17, 1979, China attacked northern Vietnam with 320,000 troops to punish Vietnam for its attack on Cambodia, inflicting thousands of casualties within a two-week period (Chandler 1996, 229). The United Nations also recognized the CGDK and promised humanitarian support to end the Cambodian civil war.

Meanwhile, Vietnamese military operations to suppress the rebellion against the PRK government continued. Vietnamese forces conducted offensive operations during the dry seasons, and the resistance forces counterattacked during the rainy seasons. "Toward the end of each year, as the rains stopped and the muddy roads dried out, the Vietnamese army went on the offensive. Capable of moving its artillery from place to place, the Vietnamese could pursue the Cambodian resistances and destroy its bases. Then, each spring, as the rains resumed, the resistance would strike back, destroying railroads, bridges, and fuel facilities and forcing the now immobilized Vietnamese to defend their

hard-earned territory” (Gottesman 2002, 223). In 1982, Vietnam launched an attack on the Khmer Rouge base at Phom Melai in the Caramom Mountains. The following year, Vietnam bombarded civilian camps near the Thai border. The camps belonged to all three resistance groups. Hundreds of civilian casualties resulted, and more than 80,000 refugees fled to Thailand. However, damage to the resistance was not serious. In the 1984–1985 dry season, the Vietnamese again attacked the camps of all three resistance groups. This time, despite strong resistance, Vietnamese forces were able to sweep out the resistance camps in Cambodia and drive them into Thailand. The Vietnamese consolidated their gains by sealing the guerrilla route into the country, constructing trenches, erecting wire fences, and laying mines along the entire Thai–Cambodia border, using Cambodian forced labor (Kamm 1998, 201).

Causes of the War

The primary causes of the second civil war, fought by the PRK government and the CGDK between 1979 and 1991, evolved out of the 1970–1975 war and the establishment of the Democratic Kampuchea by the Khmer Rouge. The ongoing Cold War and the security concerns of countries with interests in Southeast Asia increased ideological conflicts and political confrontations within Cambodia and, as a result, propagated a new civil war. But unlike the first civil war, which was essentially a Communist revolution, the 1979–1991 civil war was characterized by even power struggles. Following the successful Communist revolution of the Khmer Rouge in the 1970–1975 civil war, regional security problems and a power struggle within the Khmer Rouge eventually provoked the interference of Vietnam, the outside power. The result was the emergence of various domestic conflicts caused by a combination of civil war and the competing security interests of the surrounding Southeast Asian countries, the United States, China, the Soviet Union, and others.

The 1979–1991 Cambodian civil war involved the strategic interests of the United States and the Soviet Union, as it did the historical and geographical interests of the surrounding countries—Vietnam, China, and Thailand. Vietnam, which had strained its relations on the Indochina peninsula by attacking Cambodia, primarily attempted to protect its national security by establishing governments in Cambodia and Laos that would accommodate Vietnam’s policies, thereby buffering potential threats posed by surrounding ASEAN countries, which were receiving support from the anticommunist United States, at the same time that it sought to exclude the influence of China, which acted as suzerain to the countries of Indochina. This situation also impacted the interests of the Soviet Union, which, as a rival of China, tried to buffer China’s status and influence in the Communist bloc by providing strong support for Indochina. Meanwhile, although the United States (which was still suffering from the nightmare of the Vietnam war) did not become directly involved in the Cambodian conflicts, they expedited support for the ASEAN countries and the rebel groups inside Cambodia to prevent the communization of the Indochina countries one after another (Chanda 1988; Miller 1990; Simon 1978).

The beginning of the second civil war was Vietnam’s attack on Cambodia. When Phnom Penh surrendered following the Vietnamese army’s attack on Cambodia in 1979, Heng Samrin’s KNUFNS established the People’s Republic of Kampuchea. Vietnam’s 200,000 troops controlled major population centers as well as the countryside from 1979 to 1989. In contrast, Heng Samrin’s 30,000 soldiers were plagued by low morale and desertion. Although guerrilla resistance continued, there is evidence that Heng Samrin’s PRK supported the guerrillas in terms of logistic and moral aspects. Vietnam’s support of the Heng Samrin regime, which was dependent on Vietnam in every respect, was not enough. Especially, in rural areas, security was not total, and transportation routes were hampered by

guerrilla activity. The Cambodian people were alienated from Vietnam because of the latter's presence in Cambodia. The settlement of Vietnamese in Cambodia further estranged the Cambodian people. Against this background, by the end of the decade Cambodian nationalism was again emerging against the traditional enemy, the Vietnamese.

Outcome

As the time passed, the Cambodian civil war appeared to be dominated by the PRK government troops and the Vietnamese troops; economic sanctions by the United States, pressure from the UN to solve the refugee problems in a humanitarian way and end the conflict, and peace conferences organized by the ASEAN countries were all putting pressure on the Phnom Penh government and Vietnam. Vietnam stationed troops in Cambodia, even after the surrender of Phnom Penh and the establishment of the PRK, to shatter the resistance of the CGDK, including the Khmer Rouge. Vietnam stationed 100,000 troops out of 200,000 in southern Cambodia and committed the rest to sweeping actions against the Khmer Rouge, gradually seizing the local towns. In fact, a substantial reason for stationing Vietnamese troops in Cambodia was that Vietnam feared China's revenge and the conflicts along the Thai border. The Khmer Rouge, many of whom escaped over the Chinese border, along with Sihanouk's FUNCINPEC and Son Sann's KPNLF, continued to carry out resistance activities with the support of China and Thailand.

Conflict Status

The rapid increase in the number of refugees escaping from Cambodia across the Thai border served to concentrate the international community's attention on the Cambodian civil war. Refugees who tried to cross into Thailand were often threatened with of blackmail and violence from the nascent village militias, bandits, and the Khmer Rouge (Gottesman 2002, 41). At least

600,000 Cambodians moved their homes during the Pol Pot era and as the Vietnamese invasion approached the Thai border. The international community, through various official and non-governmental relief organizations, provided the Khmer Rouge and the Cambodian refugees with food and medical care (Kamm 1998, 151). The international community conducted a massive relief action, coordinated by the United States through the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and the World Food Program. In the decade following 1972, about \$400 million was provided. The United States contributed nearly \$100 million out of the \$400 million. At its peak, more than 500,000 Cambodians were stationed in the refugee camps along the Thai–Cambodian border.

Duration Tactics

Consequently, the second Cambodian civil war, which started with Vietnam's attack on Cambodia in 1979, unlike the 1970-1975 war, was accompanied by international attention and active relief activities. In July 1979, the UN convoked the Geneva International Conference to discuss the Cambodian crisis, urging the Heng Samrin administration and Vietnam to conclude the Cambodian conflict as soon as possible. The ASEAN also had a deep interest in Indochinese conflicts, including the Cambodian crisis, which had the potential to develop into a crisis comprising all the ASEAN countries. The ASEAN therefore expressed serious concern, requesting a prompt withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cambodia and strongly opposing the hegemony building of China, the Soviet Union, and Vietnam in Indochina (Kamm 1998, 193). This demonstrated that the Cambodian civil war was not merely a Cambodian domestic problem or a bilateral conflict between Cambodia and Vietnam but an international issue with regional security implications.

External Military Intervention

In 1986, Vietnam withdrew their occupation forces from Cambodian territory. Succumbing

to international pressure, Vietnam withdrew its remaining forces in 1989–1990. This development allowed the PRK to begin making economic and constitutional reforms to ensure its political future. In April 1989, Vietnam and Cambodia announced that the final withdrawal would be completed by September 1989. Changes in the domestic and international environment were the major reason for Vietnam's withdrawal from Cambodia. To overcome its domestic economic crisis, which had peaked by the mid-1980s, Vietnam gradually sought methods of economic revolution such as “Doi Moi,” while considering the withdrawal of its troops in Cambodia to reduce the enormous military expenditure. Especially after the Soviet Union's adoption of perestroika in 1985 based on the “New Thinking,” the United States reduced its military aid to Vietnam, and therefore Vietnam no longer had the economic capability to maintain troops in Cambodia.

In the middle of this, gradual changes began to appear inside the PRK government in the mid-1980s. When there was a lull in the civil war with the dominance of the PRK and the Vietnamese troops, the new generation of political leaders, bolstered by nationalism and unilateralism, began to take most of the major positions in the Kampuchean (or Khmer) People's Revolution Party (KPRP) instead of the first-generation leaders who were trained in Hanoi. The newly authorized prime minister, Hun Sen, declared, “What we are afraid of is not the liberalist economy, but famine of the people,” and pursued changes in economic policies and improvement in international relations. The Khmer People's Revolution Party, the ruling party of Cambodia, abandoned its socialistic line in April 1989 and began to carry out a revolutionary policy of accommodating a multi-party system and a market economy, and changed the title of the party to the Cambodian People's Party (Ayres 2000, 145). In addition, the Hun Sen government also complied with the terms of the peace agreement with the CGDK rebels due to pressures from the interna-

tional community to peacefully solve the Cambodian issue.

Conflict Management Efforts

The end of the Cambodian civil war was the final result of the endeavors of the international community to solve the Cambodian crisis and change the environment of the international system. Unlike the 1970–1975 war, the second Cambodian civil war, which was caused primarily by the Vietnam's attack on Cambodia in 1979, was regarded as the main threat to the security of Indochina. Accordingly, the international community ultimately persuaded the warring parties to conclude a peace agreement through various arbitration aimed at facilitating humanitarian aid and a peaceful resolution of the Cambodian crises. The international focus on reconciliation in the post–Cold War environment, exemplified by the Soviet Union's policy of perestroika in particular, is thought to have heavily influenced the Cambodian civil war. The post–Cold War period, a time of transition in international security, promoted an environment of reconciliation and cooperation among Southeast Asian countries, helping them to end the Cambodian crisis and solve the Indochina problem.

In 1989, the UN passed its motion of intervention in the Cambodian crisis with 124 approvals, 17 objections, and 12 abstentions. For a month after July 1989, representatives of eighteen countries, including four Cambodian political parties, met in Paris to negotiate a settlement. They attempted to agree on main objectives that were regarded as crucial for the future of Cambodia: a completed and verified withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, the prevention of the restoration of the Khmer Rouge, and self-determination for the Cambodian people. The Paris conference also made some progress in the following areas: an international control mechanism, the interpretation of international guarantees for Cambodia's independence and neutrality, plans for the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons, the reconstruction of the

Cambodian economy, and cease-fire procedures. However, they had to wait a year or so until a comprehensive settlement was agreed upon. A year later—that is, on October 23, 1991—the concerned parties convened again in Paris to sign the settlement giving the UN full authority to supervise a cease-fire, to repatriate the displaced Khmer along the border with Thailand, to disarm and demobilize the factional armies, and to prepare the country for free and fair elections.

Conclusion

The international security environment after World War II, the so-called Cold War, heavily influenced the communization of countries of the Indochina peninsula, such as Cambodia and Laos, as did the Vietnam War. In Cambodia's case, the country experienced prolonged civil war in a series of "political vortices" evoked after its independence in 1953, and the Cambodian people suffered deaths and famine during this period. A combination of the Cold War structure in international politics, the ideological conflicts of the countries surrounding Cambodia, and Cambodia's own political conflicts and domestic divisions resulted in a condition of extended civil war. Because of its location in the middle of Southeast Asia, and because of the persistent intervention and influence of the surrounding powers, Cambodia's civil war conflicts and confrontation structure were a function of the dynamic relations between various opposing domestic political powers and those outside the country.

After the signing of the Paris Peace Agreement in 1991, UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia) was established in Cambodia. A general election was held under the supervision of the UN in May 1993, the result of which was that Cambodia again became the Kingdom of Cambodia, a constitutional monarchy. However, this political process has not resulted in a completely peaceful settlement for Cambodia since 1993. In 1997, a coup d'état

was attempted by Hun Sen that threatened the general election that was to be held in 1998; intermittent violence occurs, along with suppression of parties that oppose Prime Minister Hun Sen and the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) government. Although various attempts and arbitration by the UN and the ASEAN to peacefully resolve the Cambodian civil war were successful in settling physical clashes and military conflicts between the political parties in Cambodia, there is no guarantee of Cambodia's complete democratization and political stability.

It is the responsibility of various political powers and the Cambodian people to ensure peace and stability in Cambodia. The Cambodian people have already experienced tragic suffering in the vortex of the long civil war, and they desperately want peace and political stability. The challenge now is to completely dissolve potential political conflicts that still exist inside Cambodia and to achieve peaceful prosperity and stability. To reach these goals, a clear understanding of the causes and conditions of the past civil wars is necessary, as are the continuous observation and support of the international community.

Dong-Yoon Lee

Chronology

- December 1953 Cambodia gains independence from France.
- 1955 Sihanouk abdicates in favor of his father, Norodom Suramarit, and forms a broad political movement, Sangkum, which wins all seats in Parliament.
- March 18, 1970 Coup d'état led by General Lon Nol and Sirik Matak, a cousin of Sihanouk, during Sihanouk's visit to Moscow.
- March 23, 1970 Sihanouk announces the formation of the National United Front of Kampuchea, which includes the Khmer Rouge.
- April 30, 1970 President Nixon announces that American troops have invaded Cambodia with the aim of eliminating the Vietnamese Communist bases.
- January 27, 1973 The Paris Agreement is signed, ending the war in Vietnam.

- April 17, 1975 Phnom Penh is surrendered by the Khmer Rouge.
- January 8, 1976 The constitution and government of Democratic Kampuchea are announced.
- December 1978 Vietnam establishes the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation (KNUFNS) in the “liberated zone”—Cambodian territory occupied by Vietnam. Full-scale invasion of Cambodia by the Vietnamese army and the KNUFNS.
- January 7, 1979 Declaration of capture of Phnom Penh by the Vietnamese Army and PRK.
- June 22, 1982 Under pressure from China and the United States, the noncommunist resistance forces loyal to Prince Sihanouk and former Premier Son Sann agree to join the Khmer Rouge in a new CGDK. The ASEAN is the official sponsor.
- December 2–4, 1987 The first Sihanouk–Hun Sen meeting takes place at Fère-en-Tardenois.
- January 20–21, 1988 The second Shihanouk–Hun Sen meeting at St-Germain-en-Laye.
- April 1989 Name of the state is changed from PRK to the State of Cambodia (SOC) by Hun Sen’s government.
- September 26, 1989 Official withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops and advisors from Cambodia.
- September 10, 1990 Supreme National Council is formed, uniting the pro-Vietnamese government of Hun Sen and partners in Sihanouk’s CGDK: the Khmer Rouge, Sihanouk’s supporters, and the anticommunist and anti-Vietnamese Son Sann movement.
- October 23, 1991 Paris Peace Agreement is concluded by the nineteen representatives of the states concerned in the Cambodian disputes, including the United Nations Security Council.
- March 1992 Official activity of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) is initiated.
- May 1993 Democratic general election is held under the supervision of the UN; FUNCINPEC, royalist group win elections, gaining 45 percent of the vote despite voter intimidation by Hun Sen’s Cambodia People’s Party. Sihanouk bows to pressure, fearing civil war, and assures Hun Sen that, despite election defeat, he will be given equal power to govern together with Ranariddh, the president of FUNCINPEC.
- September 24, 1993 The Kingdom of Cambodia is established with Sihanouk as king, Ranariddh as first prime minister and Hun Sen as second prime minister.
- July 5–6, 1997 After both prime ministers, Ranariddh and Hun Sen, bolster their personal military forces in Phnom Penh, Hun Sen stages a military coup d’état, overthrowing all his opponents and their leaders.
- May 1998 A federal government is established through general election, with Hun Sen as prime minister.
- July 23, 2003 Hun Sen’s Cambodia People’s Party wins in the general election.

List of Acronyms

- ANS: Armée Nationale Sihanoukienne (Sihanouk’s National Army)
- ASEAN: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
- CGDK: Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea
- CPNLAF: Cambodian People’s National Liberation Armed Forces
- FANK: Forces Armées Nationales Khmères (Khmer National Armed Forces)
- FUNCINPEC: Front Uni National pour un Cambodge indépendant, neutre, pacifique, et coopératif (National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia)
- FUNK: Front Uni National du Kampuchea (National United Front of Kampuchea)
- GRUNK: Government Royal d’Union Nationale de Kampuchea (Royal Government of the National Union of Kampuchea)
- ICP: Indochinese Communist Party
- KCP: Kampuchea (or Khmer) Communist Party
- KNUFNS: National United Front for National Salvation
- KPNLAF: Khmer People’s National Liberation Armed Forces
- KPNLF: Khmer People’s National Liberation Front
- KPRP: Kampuchean People’s Revolutionary Party, also called the Khmer People’s Revolutionary Party
- PRK: People’s Republic of Kampuchea
- RAK: Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea
- SCO: State of Cambodia
- UNTAC: United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia

Glossary

FUNCINPEC: Acronym for Front Uni National pour un Cambodge indépendant, neutre, pacifique, et coopératif, or National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia. The royalist political party was created by Sihanouk in 1981 to fight the Phnom Penh regime of Heng Samrin and their patrons, the Vietnamese. After the peace accord was signed in 1991, Sihanouk handed over the party's leadership to his son, Ranariddh (Mehta and Mehta 1999, xx).

Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP): The KPRP was an offshoot of the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP), which played a vital role in opposing French colonial rule and the Japanese occupation of Cambodia. The KPRP was formed in 1951 after the ICP was dissolved and reorganized into three Communist parties for Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The party in Cambodia split in 1962 into pro-China and pro-Soviet factions. Pol Pot's pro-Chinese group was strongly anti-Soviet. This division took deep root in Cambodia when the pro-Soviet and pro-Vietnam faction under Pen Sovann was replaced by Pol Pot as the leader in Phnom Penh (Mehta and Mehta 1999, xx).

Khmer Serei: The Khmer serei (Free Khmer), considered rightist because they had the support of the United States, South Vietnam, and Thailand, where they were based, were a real problem for Norodom Sihanouk until 1970 (Martin 1994, 45).

Killing Field: With the successful communist revolution in 1975, the Khmer Rouge established the Democratic Kampuchea and pursued political and economic socialization. Pol Pot, who attained political power in this process, carried out a grand purge following the model of China's Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution, which killed at least 200,000 Khmer people (Chandler 1992, 70; Martin 1994, 210).

Paris Peace Accord: The peace agreement, formally known as the Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, was signed in Paris on October 23, 1991, and ended the fighting among the four Cambodian factions, who agreed to work toward democratic elections under the supervision of the United Nations (Mehta and Mehta 1999, xx). The 1991 Paris Peace Agreement established the United

Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) and supervised main policies and administration works in Cambodia until the democratic government was established. The main duties of the UNTAC were (1) to supervising the cease-fire system, (2) to disarm the military divisions, (3) to control the parties and groups to foster a neutral political environment, (4) to implement humanitarian improvement, (5) to solve Cambodian refugee problems, and (7) to enforce free and just general elections.

Sangkum (Sangkum Reastr Niyum, or People's Socialist Community): Established by Prince Norodom Sihanouk in 1955, Sangkum was Cambodia's unique national movement that selected socialistic advantages based on the royal regime and Buddhism. Its goal was the political, economic, and socialistic development of Cambodia, but the Sangkum organization in reality played a role as a political vanguard and the political party of Sihanouk (Peou 2000, 45–6).

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Chad

(1966–1979)

Introduction

Chad, located in north central Africa, has been one of the most conflict-torn countries in the world over the last forty years. Chad became independent in 1960 and was immersed in a bloody civil war only six years later. The country has been in civil war, with brief breaks, for nearly forty years. The focus of this chapter is the first phase of that civil war, which began in 1966 and lasted until 1979. The chapter describes the conflict and attempts to explain why the conflict broke out when it did, why it lasted so long, and why it could not be resolved through negotiated settlement. First, however, a brief description of the demography, political history, and economics of independent Chad is given. This discussion will help to frame the analysis of the dynamics of the Chadian civil war.

Country Background

Although Chad is the fifth-largest country in Africa, it has a small population (approximately 5 million people) clustered primarily in the southern part of the country, where the climate is more favorable and resources are more abundant. The population of Chad is ethnically and linguistically diverse, with approximately 200 ethnic groups and more than 100 languages. The population can be broadly separated into northerners, who tend to be Muslim and Arab, and

southerners, who tend to practice Christianity or indigenous religions and are racially African (Azevedo 1998).

Chad became a colony of France in the late nineteenth century and gained independence in 1960. In the precolonial period, northerners were dominant in Chad, and this dominance continued throughout most of the colonial period. Upon independence, however, a single-party government was formed, led by François Tombalbaye, a southerner (Tombalbaye later changed his first name to Ngarta). Although the government included a mix of people from northern and southern Chad and was fairly evenly balanced between Muslims and non-Muslims, the principal governmental officials were southern, and the government was perceived as southern dominated.

The postindependence constitution created a separation of powers between three separate branches of government; however, Tombalbaye proved to have what amounted to dictatorial power to enact his agenda. Although Chad did have elections in the early 1960s, Tombalbaye was the only candidate on the ballot, and the system was completely undemocratic. In elections in 1967, Tombalbaye received 93 percent of the votes.

The government of Chad remained autocratic throughout the 1966–1979 civil war. In the 1970s, Tombalbaye faced opposition from a

growing number of fronts, including those within his own government and the military. In response to this opposition, Tombalbaye undertook numerous purges of the military and other security forces, which only served to heighten resentment against him. On April 13, 1975, members of the Chadian gendarmerie, reacting to a purge of their forces that had included the arrest of their leader, assassinated Tombalbaye in a coup d'état. His government was replaced by a military government led by General Malloum. Malloum ruled Chad through the end of the conflict in 1979, when a peace accord created a Transitional Government of National Union and set a timetable for elections. These elections were never held, however, and the country quickly returned to civil war.

At the time of independence, Chad was one of the poorer countries in the world. It had an unfavorable climate, few educated or trained individuals, and basically no economic infrastructure. Most of the population was engaged in subsistence farming and pastoral cultivation of livestock. Compounding these difficult starting conditions, mismanagement by the government limited any economic growth that could have occurred in the postindependence period. The final straw for the Chadian economy was the civil war that broke out in 1966. Much of the country was immersed in conflict, and the economy was devastated. The combination of government mismanagement and civil war eliminated any progress and in fact meant that the economy was worse off in the 1970s than it had been in 1960. By the 1980s, the World Bank ranked Chad as one of the five poorest nations in the world (Collelo 1990).

Conflict Background

The 1966–1979 war in Chad was just the first in a string of civil wars that have afflicted that country for the last forty years. The conflict does not fit easily into a single category, as multiple dynamics were present in the fighting. The Chadian civil war certainly had an ethnic element, as

The Black Sheep Conspiracy

As the civil war in Chad wore on and the situation in the country became increasingly unstable, opposition to Tombalbaye from within the government grew. Many attempts were made to remove Tombalbaye from power, leading him to claim, late in his presidency, that “he had survived more coup attempts than any other African leader” (Azevedo and Nnadozie 1998, 50).

The strangest alleged coup attempt occurred in June 1973, when thirty prominent southern political and military figures, including future president General Malloum, were arrested for participation in the “black sheep plot.” Tombalbaye claimed that these individuals had conducted a traditional magic ceremony that involved burying a blinded black sheep in an attempt to overthrow Tombalbaye. It is unclear whether these allegations were true, but the accusation of the “black sheep plot” was one of a set of bizarre actions by Tombalbaye that led to increased dissatisfaction with his presidency and eventually to his assassination in 1975. (Azevedo and Nnadozie 1998; *Africa Confidential* 1975, 25).

the primary combatants were a government generally dominated by southerners and a set of insurgent groups led by northerners. As the conflict wore on, however, the ethnic or ideological aspects of the struggle became less important. Instead, the violence was driven primarily by conflict between the leaders of various factions who tried to consolidate their control over as much of the country as they could.

The conflict had a strong external dimension as well. France supported the government militarily throughout much of the conflict, and Libya and other regional states provided varying degrees of support to different insurgent groups. The internal actors in the conflict were generally poorly organized and ineffective. The insurgents were beset by fractionalization and almost completely unable to unite; by the end of the war, at least eleven different factions were fighting under

the banner of the National Liberation Front (FROLINAT). The Chadian Armed Forces (FAT), meanwhile, were small, very ineffective, and unorganized, and performed poorly on the battlefield. The Correlates of War project estimates that the FAT ranged in size from 1,000 to 5,000 troops over the course of the war (Singer 1987), a number probably equivalent to the total number of insurgents participating in the conflict.

Despite the general disorganization of the various internal actors, the conflict had devastating consequences for the civilian population. It is estimated that more than 5,000 people died in battle (Lacina and Gleditsch 2005), and the number of civilian casualties was certainly higher. Additionally, at least 11,000 refugees were created. These direct human costs were compounded by economic destruction, which made even worse off a country that had begun as one of the poorest in the world.

With the exception of the creation of refugees, the conflict in Chad had little effect on its neighbors. Chad shared a border with Sudan, which was involved in a war over similar issues although with the opposite composition (in

Sudan, a northern, Islamic-dominated government faced an insurgency led by a southern Christian–African group). However, despite these commonalities, the two conflicts stayed largely separate.

The Insurgents

Identifying the rebels in the Chad conflict is difficult because the main insurgent organization, FROLINAT, was incredibly fractionalized throughout the war. These various factions fought under different names and were themselves afflicted by leadership struggles across the course of the conflict. This section focuses on the main factions and on the insurgent leaders who had a role throughout much of the conflict.

FROLINAT was formed in exile in 1966. At the beginning it was led by Ibrahim Abacha, although he was killed in 1968. Throughout much of the organization's operation, the political wing of FROLINAT was led by Dr. Abba Siddick, a former minister in the Tombalbaye government who served as the international voice of the organization (*Africa Confidential* 1977).

Table 1: Civil War in Chad

Dates:	1966 to 1979
Casualties:	5,727
Regime type prior to war:	–9 (Polity 2 variable in Polity 4 data, ranging from –10 to 10)
Regime type after war:	0 (no government)
GDP/capita year war began:	US \$1198 (real GDP per capita in 1996 US dollars)
GDP/capita 5 years after war:	US \$859 (real GDP per capita in 1996 US dollars)
Insurgents:	FROLINAT (National Liberation Front)—divided into various factions; FAN (Armed Forces of the North), FAP (Popular Armed Forces)
Issue:	Tax policy, dominance of southerners in government, ethnicity/religion
Rebel funding:	Some support from Libya, Sudan, other countries
Role of geography:	Rebels operated in vast, unpopulated regions of north.
Role of resources:	Libya annexed the Aouzou Strip, which was rumored to have uranium; no other role of resources in the conflict.
Immediate outcome:	Peace agreement, which created a Government of National Union
Outcome after 5 years:	Renewed warfare
Role of UN:	Very little role
Role of regional organization:	Regional states, led by Nigeria, helped facilitate negotiations.
Refugees:	11,500
Prospects for peace:	Very low

Sources: Doyle and Sambanis 2000, Gleditsch 2002, Lacina and Gleditsch 2004, Marshall and Jagers 2002.

Within Chad, FROLINAT was initially divided into three separate “field armies.” The First Army operated in the southeast and had the closest links to Abba Siddick. The Volcan Force of the First Army was based in northeastern Chad and was led by General Baglani. The Second Army operated in Tibesti (in northern Chad) and was led by Hissen Habré. Habré would become an important figure in the later stages of this civil war.

Although each of these field armies was nominally under the command of Siddick’s political organization, they operated with a large degree of autonomy. As the war dragged on, divisions between these field armies increased, and leadership struggles within them led to the emergence of new factions. In considering the mid- to late 1970s, it is more appropriate to treat these groups as separate insurgent organizations rather than as factions within one overarching group. At that stage in the conflict, there were at least four factions of FROLINAT fighting against the government.

The First Army of FROLINAT stayed loyal to Siddick throughout the conflict but was largely ineffective on the battlefield. Azevedo (1998) reports that the First Army had about 2,000 troops from 1969 to 1972 but that it was primarily a loose coalition of guerrilla organizations rather than a coherent fighting force. This loose coalition was unable to accomplish much militarily.

The Volcan Force, meanwhile, was made up of Arab fighters who had rejected Siddick’s leadership. The Volcan Army remained independent until Baglani’s death in 1977, at which point it began negotiating with the Second Army (now led by Gukuni Woddeye) to form a united front.

In 1976, Gukuni Woddeye became leader of the Second Army after removing Habré. The Second Army, also referred to as the Popular Armed Forces (FAP), was largely ineffective on the battlefield until it could coordinate actions with the Volcan Force beginning in 1977.

Habré, meanwhile, took some 300 troops with him, and they began operating under the name Armed Forces of the North (FAN) in the

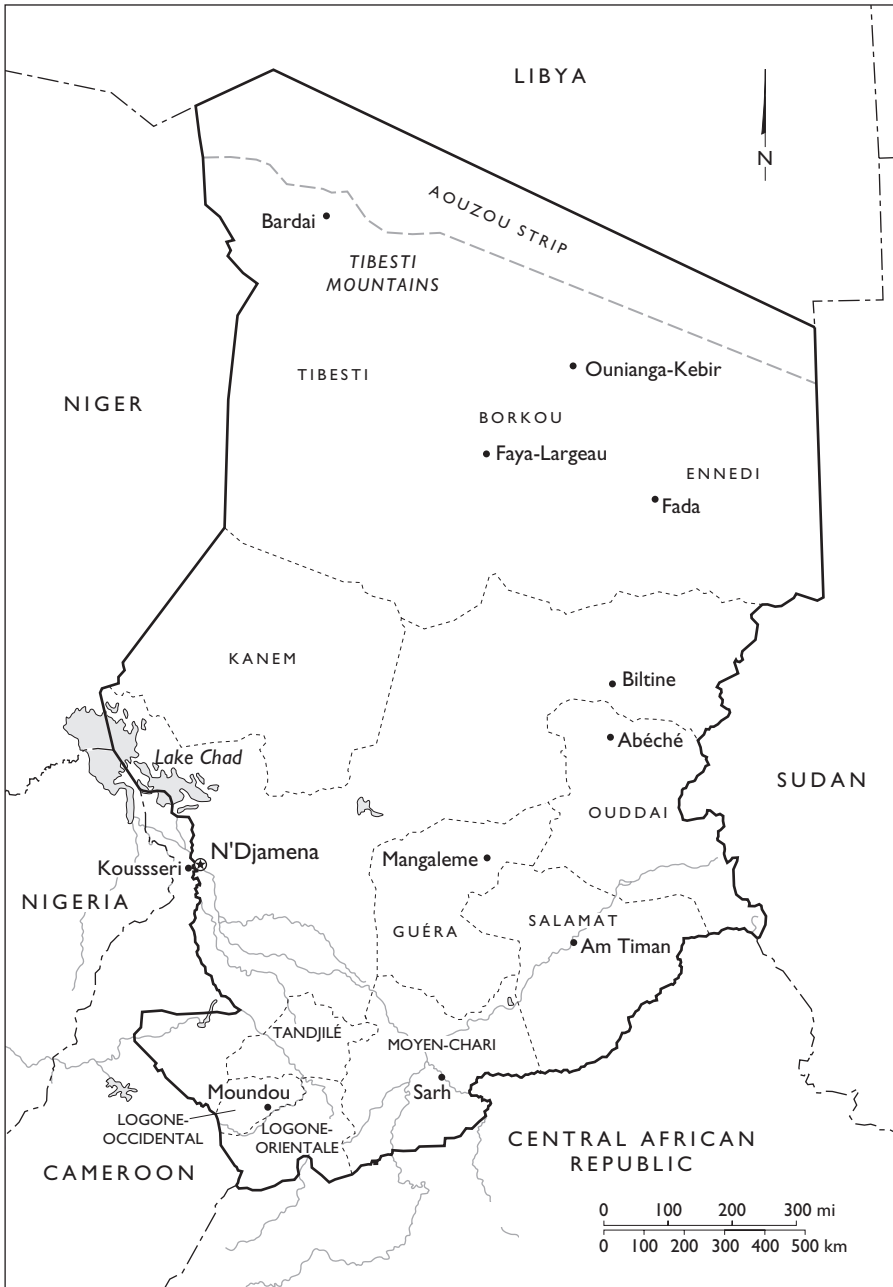
eastern part of the country with support from Sudan. Over the next few years, FAN was able to achieve substantial victories against the weak Chadian Armed Forces, and by 1979 the group had grown to 1,500. In 1978, the president of Chad, General Malloum, felt increasing pressure both internally and externally to try to reach some deal with the rebels, and he incorporated Habré into his government as prime minister.

The Third Army was led by Aboubakar Abderahmane and was based in Karem Province in western Chad. Abderahmane received support from Nigeria, but the Third Army was unable to accomplish much militarily.

Although each of these insurgent groups was militarily weak and generally unorganized, they were able to operate in Chad primarily owing to three separate factors: the complete ineptitude of the FAT, the large area of the country that was out of the control of the government, and limited funding from external patrons, primarily Libya. Libya’s role in the Chadian conflict is complex, however, and that state should not be seen solely as a patron of antigovernment forces. Rather, Libya’s primary goal in Chad was to secure control of the Aozou Strip, a part of Chad claimed by Libya that contained uranium. Libya alternated between providing funding to the various insurgent groups and fighting against them. The role of Libya (and other external actors) in the conflict is discussed in more detail following.

Geography

The geography of Chad was a major factor that allowed these insurgent groups to organize; however, geography played a different role than that commonly identified in theories of civil war. Typically, scholars who write about terrain and conflict identify heavily mountainous or forested terrain as providing an opportunity for rebels to organize outside the reach of the state. However, Fearon and Laitin (2003) identify Chad as only 8.5 percent mountainous, and the country has virtually no forest cover. Buhaug and Lujala (2004) have collected data on the ter-



rain of that region of each country in which the civil war was active. They identify the Chadian “conflict zone” as 6 percent mountainous and only 2 percent forested.

In the Chadian civil war, it was not mountains or forest cover that allowed the rebels to

organize outside the reach of the state. Rather, it was the fact that large areas of Chad’s northern desert and Sahelian regions are unpopulated. Ninety percent of Chad’s population lives in 10 percent of the country, clustered in the south where climate and economic resources are more

favorable. It was in these largely unpopulated regions of Chad that the rebel groups were able to organize and operate outside the army's reach.

Tactics

The main tactic used by the various factions of FROLINAT throughout the Chadian civil war was guerrilla warfare. The groups operated in vast areas of the country that were outside the control of the central government, and they consolidated their control over that territory through guerrilla tactics. Through the late 1960s and early 1970s, the insurgents gained control of increasing amounts of Chadian territory through these tactics, to the point that by the late 1970s the government's control of the capital was threatened by insurgents.

The war in Chad between the government and the insurgents was a low-tech war. Neither the army nor the insurgents were well-equipped. What arms the FROLINAT factions had were provided primarily by their external patrons, which over the course of the fighting included the Central African Republic, Sudan, Egypt, Algeria, and Libya. This foreign support was crucial to their ability to sustain warfare. Lemarchand (1985, 244) writes that the insurgents "left to themselves stood little chance of survival" but that this foreign support allowed them to continue warfare.

As the war continued, FROLINAT used a new tactic to obtain weapons. In 1974, members of FROLINAT kidnapped West German and French nationals based in Chad and held them hostage for ransom. The French and West German governments negotiated directly with the hostages for their release and paid ransoms to obtain the freedom of their nationals. FROLINAT then used this ransom to buy weapons to use in its insurgency

Causes of the War

The roots of rebellion were sown very early in Chad's independent history. Political organizations led by northern elites opposed to President

The Breakdown of the Chad–France Alliance

A major turning point in the war between the government of Chad and the various factions of FROLINAT occurred when General Malloum ordered France to pull its troops out in 1975. The French troops had provided a high degree of protection to a Chadian army that was largely ineffective on its own. When France left, FROLINAT was able to make major advances on the government, which led Malloum, three years later, to reverse course and ask France to return. Interestingly, such a dramatic shift in the course of the war was caused not by some overarching policy disagreement between Malloum and France; rather, Malloum was upset by France's behavior regarding a French national who had been taken hostage by FROLINAT.

On April 21, 1974, Madame Françoise Claustre, a French archeologist working in Chad, was kidnapped along with another French national and two West Germans. She was held hostage in northern Chad. In August 1975, her husband sneaked into the Tibesti region of Chad to try to rescue her and was himself caught. They were held until January 1977, when they were finally released.

The Claustre affair, as it is often referred to, created an uproar in France. There was popular pressure on the French government to obtain the release of Madame Claustre, and in response France entered into direct negotiations with the rebels. France's bypassing of the Chadian government and negotiating with the rebels infuriated both Tombalbaye and his successor, Malloum, and caused the breakup of the alliance between France and Chad. The action of greatest benefit for FROLINAT throughout the course of the conflict was the kidnapping of a French archeologist (Keesing's *Contemporary Archives* 1975, 1977, 1980; *Africa Confidential* 1975, October 16).

Tombalbaye's single-party rule formed shortly after independence but were based primarily in other northern and central African capitals. Northern dissatisfaction with southern dominance of the government, therefore, can be seen

as a major underlying cause of the war. However, for the first six years of independent rule, this dissatisfaction did not turn into violent conflict, and Chad stayed largely peaceful.

The spark that turned northern dissatisfaction into violent conflict came in the form of the government's tax policy. In 1965, Tombalbaye issued a new tax on cattle (the main source of wealth for the pastoral and semipastoral populations of northern Chad) and increased other taxes. The increase in taxes led to a revolt in the northern Chadian town of Mangalme, during which ten governmental officials were killed. The government responded by killing approximately 500 members of the Nubu ethnic group, whose members were seen as responsible for the killing. The government response led to protests in other parts of northern Chad, and governmental reprisals continued to be incredibly brutal.

In response to these massacres, northern intellectuals gathered in Sudan on June 22, 1966, and formed the National Liberation Front. FROLINAT began a guerrilla insurgency based in the northern part of the country. The organization was almost immediately beset by fractionalization. FROLINAT became a loose coalition of factions opposed to the government, rather than a coherent insurgent force.

The response by government officials to the FROLINAT insurgency in the early days of the conflict served only to heighten northern resentment targeted against the government. Southerners who had been appointed prefects in northern provinces enacted anti-Muslim and anti-Arab legislation, such as levying fines on men who wore beards or turbans or on women who disrobed in public, as well as other unpopular legislation, such as requiring pastoral farmers to be sedentary. In response, some prefects were murdered, and northern support for the various antigovernment factions of FROLINAT grew.

Although the civil war began over tax policy, therefore, the main issue in the dispute that led to the FROLINAT insurgency was southern dominance of the government and repressive

policies targeted against the northern population. The government's response to the outbreak of conflict only served to heighten northern resentment, laying the foundation for further violent conflict. This cycle of escalation had led to a large-scale civil war by the end of the 1960s.

In the 1970s, the northern-versus-southern conflict continued to be fueled by the perception of antinorthern government policies. In the mid-1970s, Tombalbaye implemented a policy of *authenticité*, which involved changing colonial names to African names (he changed his first name from François to Ngarta) and required that civil servants undergo tribal ceremonies traditionally associated with southern Chadian culture. These policies were seen as continuing the government's prosouthern position and prolonged the feelings of resentment among northerners.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

Although the civil war discussed in this article is listed as lasting from 1966 to 1979, it makes more sense to think of 1979 as a turning point in the war rather than as an actual end. By 1979, years of devastating warfare and foreign intervention had left Chad in a horrible state. Although for the first ten years the civil war was confined to the underpopulated areas of northern and eastern Chad, by the late 1970s full-scale fighting had broken out between forces loyal to General Malloum and Prime Minister Habré in N'Djamena. Azevedo (1998, 105) writes that by late 1979 Chad "was now divided into four nearly autonomous sections." The FROLINAT factions controlled the north, the capital was nominally under the control of the central government, the south was controlled by militias from the Sara ethnic group and breakaway factions of the military, and the Aouzou strip of northern Chad had been occupied militarily and annexed by Libya.

Despite the long years of fighting, by the end of the 1970s it was clear that no one party could

win the conflict militarily. Foreign intervention and favorable geography had allowed each party to avoid losing (see “Duration Tactics”), but they also prevented any individual group from winning. The conflict had been long and costly, and clearly no end was in sight.

In 1979, facing these terrible conditions, the various factions in Chad agreed to participate in negotiations. Given the extreme fractionalization of the conflict and the large number of leaders who wanted a role in deciding the fate of the state, peace talks proved very difficult. Several rounds of negotiations took place, beginning in February 1979 and continuing in Kano and Lagos, Nigeria, throughout the spring and summer. Finally, at talks in Lagos begun on August 19, 1979, all major factions to the Chadian conflict signed an agreement. The Lagos Accord had four major provisions: a cease-fire, the creation of a Transitional Government of National Union (GUNT), which would include representatives from all major factions, a demilitarized zone around N’Djamena, and the integration of the military. The GUNT was designed to govern the country for eighteen months, at which point it would be replaced by a government formed by free and fair democratic elections.

The Lagos Accord broke down almost immediately. Although the GUNT included all factions, there was general dissatisfaction with the large role played by Gukuni Woddeye (who was the president of the GUNT) and his followers. Gukuni and Habré (the defense minister) quickly clashed, and in March 1980 warfare broke out in N’Djamena between their factions. Other groups quickly returned to war as well, and by the end of 1980 the country was again in full-scale civil war.

The new phase of civil war in Chad has continued since 1980 with only brief breaks in the fighting. From 1980 to 1982, Habré’s forces, backed by France and other countries in the West, consolidated their control over much of Chad until on June 7, 1982, Habré took N’Djamena and became the president. Gukuni’s forces returned to warfare and were joined by a

number of other antigovernment groups. Habré was overthrown in 1990, but the new government continued to face challenges from large numbers of insurgents. Throughout the 1990s and into the twenty-first century, the conflict in Chad has continued to be fractionalized, with many groups fighting to consolidate control of the state. A peace agreement signed in January 2002 again broke down almost immediately and, as of the summer of 2006, the conflict remains unresolved.

The 1966–1979 period of the Chadian civil war did represent a specific phase in the conflict. During that time period, a number of insurgent groups fighting under the banner of FROLINAT battled a Chadian government that actually functioned somewhat like a state. Since 1980, the Chadian conflict has been much more a multi-party conflict in which it is less clear whether a Chadian state exists at all. However, the 1966–1979 conflict should not be viewed as a separate conflict from the later phases of the civil war, because there does not appear to be anything special about the Lagos Accord reached in 1979. Throughout the conflict in Chad, a number of peace agreements have been reached, all of which broke down quickly. Rather than seeing the 1979 Lagos Accord as an unsuccessful transition from warfare, that agreement is better viewed as the ending of one phase of conflict in an almost forty-year-long civil war that began in 1966 and continues today.

Duration Tactics

The civil war in Chad was very long. Even viewed as a separate civil war, the 1966–1979 conflict was thirteen years long. If the conflict is viewed as ongoing since 1966, then the duration of warfare is over four decades. A number of different factors have made the conflict resistant to resolution, through either military victory or negotiated settlement, and therefore of longer duration. The primary factors were the geography of the country, the role of external actors in providing sanctuary and support to rebel groups, and the multiparty nature of the conflict.

The role of geography in allowing the rebels to organize to start their insurgency was discussed above. Geography had a major impact on the duration of the war as well. The fact that insurgent groups could operate largely outside the reach of the state meant that they were able to remain militarily viable much longer than they otherwise could have. Geography to a large extent overcame problems of fractionalization, small fighting forces, and a lack of sophisticated weaponry that plagued the various factions of FROLINAT throughout much of the conflict.

External involvement was another major reason that the conflict lasted as long as it did. In particular, two separate effects of external involvement can be identified. First, external actors such as France and Libya provided direct military assistance to the government and rebels respectively, preventing either side from being defeated by the other. The importance of this

type of external involvement can be seen in the period from 1975 to 1978, when General Malloum ordered French troops out of Chad (see sidebar, “The Breakdown of the Chad–France Alliance”). When French troops no longer supported the Chadian army, the rebels made the largest gains of the war, and the Malloum government faced its greatest threat, leading Malloum eventually to ask France to send in troops again.

The second role of external actors was to provide sanctuary for the FROLINAT factions. Many regional states allowed the insurgents to set up bases inside their territories, and this gave the factions a base of operations completely outside the scope of the Chadian state. Salehyan (2005) argues that foreign bases have a major effect on duration because they allow weak rebels to operate out of reach of the state. The effect of foreign bases, then, compounded the effects of



A rebel of the Patriotic Salvation Movement stands guard in the Tibesti mountains of northwest Chad in September 1975. (Henri Bureau/Sygma/Corbis)

geography, allowing the insurgents to operate largely beyond reach of the state.

Finally, the Chadian conflict was prolonged by the multiparty nature of the civil war. From the early stages of the war, FROLINAT was beset by fractionalization, and by the mid-1970s these separate factions operated as autonomous insurgent organizations rather than as separate factions within one organization. Cunningham (2006) argues that multiparty conflicts are significantly more resistant to resolution through negotiation and therefore of longer duration. The case of Chad supports this approach, as the multiparty nature of the conflict made negotiating an integrated government more difficult and was the major factor leading to the breakdown of the Lagos Accord in 1980.

Geography, external intervention, and the multiparty nature of the conflict all led to the long duration of the Chadian conflict. These factors made it more difficult for one side to win militarily, creating more barriers to a negotiated agreement and leading to the breakdown of the peace agreement reached in 1979.

External Military Intervention

As discussed above, external actors played a large role in the Chadian conflict. The dominant external actor throughout the conflict was France, which had a military agreement with the Tombalbaye government following independence. In 1968, France honored that agreement and dispatched troops to the country to battle the FROLINAT-led insurgency. This intervention gave the government the upper hand in the war, a position they retained until 1975, when General Malloum ordered French troops to leave the country following a dispute over France's negotiating directly with FROLINAT to free French hostages. Malloum's decision proved disastrous for the military position of the government, and in 1978, at Malloum's request, the French returned. France retained a military presence in Chad well into the 1980s.

After France, the largest external role in the Chadian civil war was played by Libya. With the

exception of providing some small support to FROLINAT, Libya stayed out of the conflict until Colonel Muammar Kadhafi came to power in 1969. Kadhafi had visions of Arab dominance of northern Africa and of a pan-Islamic federation that would include countries such as Chad. When Kadhafi came to power, he began to provide high levels of support to FROLINAT. Relations between Chad and Libya improved in the mid-1970s when Chad agreed to cut diplomatic ties with Israel and, paradoxically, when Libya annexed a part of Chad called the Aouzou Strip. That annexation led some of the rebel groups, such as that led by Hissen Habré, to reject Libyan support. As the civil war continued, however, the relationship between Libya and Chad deteriorated again, and Libya continued to support Chadian insurgents, although relations between Habré and Kadhafi remained strained.

France and Libya had the most direct involvement in Chad and were the main external participants in the 1966–1979 phase of the conflict. Other regional states participated as well, primarily by providing sanctuaries to Chad's insurgent groups. As the war moved into the 1980s, the external dimension increased, particularly once Libya stepped up its involvement in the conflict in 1983. The United States, which viewed Kadhafi's regime as a major threat to its foreign policy, became involved on the side of the Chadian government less out of an interest in the specific elements of that conflict than to stop Kadhafi from accomplishing his goals in the region. Additionally, as the 1980s wore on, other African states became involved in attempting to resolve the conflict but met with little success.

External states played a significant role in the Chadian conflict, and the civil war in Chad would have played out much differently had there been no external involvement. In a sense, Libya's and France's military involvement cancelled each other out, as both supported opposing sides. Each intervention allowed a largely unorganized and ineffective military force (the

FAT and the FROLINAT) to survive and organize until it was better able to wage war.

Conflict Management Efforts

Although the Chadian conflict experienced a high level of external involvement from its outbreak, there was basically no international effort at conflict management until 1979. In the late 1970s, France began to pressure the government of Chad to end the rebellion by integrating the rebels into the government, but this pressure did not develop into any kind of internationally organized negotiation process.

By 1979, however, it was clear to other states in the region that the Chadian state was in danger of collapsing completely. Neighboring states pressured the government and the FROLINAT factions to participate in a series of negotiations held in Nigeria in 1979. Four negotiating sessions were held: two meetings in Kano, Nigeria, in March and April and two further sessions in Lagos, Nigeria, in May and August. The second meeting in Lagos resulted in a peace agreement signed by all the major factions, which provided for the Transitional Government of National Union.

As part of the regional peace process, Nigeria sent peacekeepers to N'Djamena to monitor implementation of a cease-fire agreement. However, the government of Chad did not see Nigeria as unbiased, because at the first negotiations in Lagos, Nigeria (along with all other bordering states) had threatened to impose an economic boycott on Chad if the government did not negotiate. In retaliation, the government ordered the peacekeepers out of the country on June 1, 1979 (Keesing's Contemporary Archives 1980, February).

At the August 1979 meeting that led to the Lagos Accord, Chad's neighbors agreed to deploy an inter-African force to implement the peace agreement. This force was never fully deployed. In 1980, Congolese troops were sent to Chad; however, they were very disorganized and completely unable to stop the violence once the conflict reignited. In 1981, a multina-

tional force made up of troops from Nigeria, Senegal, and Zaire was deployed to Chad, but again the force was unable to stop the fighting, and in 1982 the force withdrew as the conflict heated up and the state collapsed into full-scale civil war.

Regionally led conflict management efforts in Chad proved completely ineffective in sustainably resolving the conflict. There was basically no conflict management process for the first dozen years of the conflict, and when negotiations were organized by neighboring states in 1979, they were done so in a way that the Chadian government did not view as impartial. The major failing of the international effort was that it promised to deploy a peacekeeping mission to enforce the cease-fire and, later, the peace agreement, but it did not follow through by deploying a significant mission. Walter (2002) argues that it is virtually impossible for actors in civil war to implement a peace agreement in the absence of an international guarantee to monitor and enforce the terms of the agreement. In Chad, regional states made a guarantee, but the failure to follow through on it was a major hindrance to successful resolution of the conflict. It is unclear whether a robust international mission could have succeeded, but the international conflict management effort as it was configured was a complete failure.

Conclusion

The Chadian civil war of 1966–1979 was very destructive. More than 5,000 people lost their lives, more than 11,000 were driven from the country as refugees, the economy was ruined, and despite a brief break in fighting following the Lagos Accords in late 1979, the conflict has continued for decades. The civil war has been difficult to resolve, in part because of the extreme internal divisions within Chad and the geography of the country, which predispose it to warfare; however, the actions of international actors have rendered the conflict even more resistant to resolution.

First, various northern and central African states provided sanctuary to different factions of FROLINAT, leading to the further fractionalization of the organization. This fractionalization was a major hindrance to negotiations because it became more difficult to find an agreement that all sides could support.

Second, external states such as France and Libya intervened militarily to help their respective sides win. The effect of these interventions, however, was not to help either side win but rather to prevent both from losing. At the same time, neither state put pressure on its allies to negotiate until late in the conflict.

Third, when negotiations were undertaken, it was difficult to find an unbiased mediator that did not have a direct interest in the conflict. Nigeria and the other regional states were perceived by the Chadian government as opposed to its interests. The United States was completely opposed to Libya and could not be impartial. The lack of an unbiased negotiation process hindered the ability of the parties to find a mutually satisfactory peace.

Finally, once the parties did reach an agreement, the regional African states failed to deliver on their promise to deploy a robust peacekeeping force to enforce the agreement. This failure opened the door for further conflict; indeed, civil war returned to the capital within a matter of months.

The Chadian civil war can be seen as a complete failure of conflict management efforts on the part of international actors. Admittedly, many of the actions taken by states such as Libya, Sudan, and France were not designed to manage the conflict at all; however, even actions that were so intended failed utterly as well.

In a sense, then, the Chadian civil war is a textbook example of how not to respond to an internal conflict. Obviously, there is no way to know how the conflict would have proceeded in the absence of international interference. It does not seem too difficult to conclude, however, that the conflict was longer, more destructive, and

more prone to recurrence because of the international dimension.

David Cunningham

Chronology

- September–October 1965 Members of the Mubi ethnic group violently protest new government taxes. The government responds with extremely repressive measures, heightening tensions between southern government officials and northerners.
- June 22, 1966 At a meeting in Nyala, Sudan, northern politicians and intellectuals establish the National Liberation Front (FROLINAT) and identify their goal as overthrowing Tombalbaye's government.
- August 1968 France agrees to provide military support to help the government defeat the rebels in the Tibesti region in northeast Chad.
- September 1969 The Libyan government is overthrown in a coup led by Colonel Kadhafi. Kadhafi becomes a major supporter of FROLINAT.
- 1972–1973 Libyan forces occupy and annex the Aouzou Strip in northern Chad, a region rumored to have uranium.
- April 13, 1975 President Tombalbaye is assassinated by junior officers of the gendarmerie (police force).
- October 1975 Following General Malloum's order, France pulls its military forces out of Chad.
- October 18, 1976 Hissen Habré is removed from the leadership of the FROLINAT Second Army (also known as Armed Forces of the North) by Gukuni Woddeye. He goes on to establish a new group based in the eastern part of the country.
- 1978 French troops return to Chad but do not take a side in the conflict and do little to protect the government.
- August 29, 1978 General Malloum and Hissen Habré sign an accord that brings Habré into the government.
- March 11, 1979 Kano I negotiations begin, producing a peace accord between some of the major factions.
- April 3, 1979 Kano II negotiations produce agreement on a Transitional Government of National Union (GUNT), but this government never materializes.

- May 27, 1979 Lagos I negotiations include virtually all major factions.
- August 19, 1979 Lagos II negotiations lead to the Lagos Accord, which creates a newly configured GUNT and calls for the integration of the military and the deployment of a peacekeeping force.
- March 22, 1980 GUNT breaks down; major warfare breaks out again in N'Djamena.

List of acronyms

- FAN: Armed Forces of the North
 FAP: Popular Armed Forces
 FAT: Chadian Armed Forces
 FROLINAT: National Liberation Front
 GUNT: Transitional Government of National Union

Glossary

- Aouzou Strip:** A region of northern Chad rumored to possess uranium reserves. In 1972–1973, Libya occupied and annexed the Aouzou Strip.
- authenticité:** Also known as Chaditude, a policy enacted by Tombalbaye in the 1970s to shore up his support among southerners. Under authenticité, colonial names of cities were changed to African names, Tombalbaye changed his first name from François to Ngarta, the practice of traditional religions was encouraged, and thousands of civil servants were required to undergo traditional initiation ceremonies.
- Lagos Accord:** A peace agreement signed in Lagos, Nigeria, in August 1979. The accord called for a cease-fire, the establishment of a Transitional Government of National Union, the creation of a demilitarized zone around N'Djamena, and the integration of the military. The accord broke down within less than a year, and the country returned to full-scale civil war.
- Sahel:** A climatic area stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Horn of Africa. The Sahel is the border between the dry Sahara desert and the more tropical area to the south. It receives little annual rainfall, making agriculture difficult. Central Chad is in the Sahelian zone.
- Transitional Government of National Union (GUNT):** A government created by the August 1979 Lagos Accord. It involved all of the major factions and was designed to govern for eighteen months until democratic elections were held. The GUNT broke down because of

fighting among the factions and dissatisfaction with the way cabinet positions were distributed through the government.

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Chechnya. *See* Russia

China

(1946–1949)

Introduction

With more than a million battle deaths and as many as 5 million civilian casualties (Rummel 1991), the Chinese civil war (1946–1949) is considered one of the bloodiest civil wars in human history. The three-year war was the final stage of the long-term struggle between the governing Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party of China [KMT]) and the rebelling Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which had begun in the late 1920s and was interrupted by the second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). The Chinese civil war started soon after the Japanese surrender at the end of World War II and ended with a divided country. The defeated KMT fled to Taiwan along with more than 2 million of its supporters and, under U.S. protection, managed to continue the rule of the Republic of China (ROC) on the island to the present day; whereas the winning CCP established a Communist regime, the People's Republic of China (PRC), on the mainland.

In addition to the decisive battle between the CCP and the KMT, two other civil conflicts occurred, on Taiwan and on mainland China. Soon after the war, after Japanese colonial rule of Taiwan ended and Taiwan was returned to China, a bloody conflict broke out in February 1947 between local Taiwanese and the KMT taking over authority. The uprising was suppressed and approximately 18,000 to 28,000 people killed (Roy 2003). In mainland China, the com-

plicated status of Tibet led to military conflicts, first in 1950 when Tibet was conquered by the Communist forces, and then in 1959, when a revolt took place. Both conflicts resulted in thousands of casualties.

Note: The Pinyin system is used in this article for transliterated Chinese names and expressions; the Wade-Giles equivalents appear in brackets. However, the original form is used for a few well-known names and terms, such as *Kuomintang* (*Guomindang*, pinyin, or the Nationalist Party), *Chiang Kai-shek* (*Jiang Jieshi*, pinyin), and *Sun Yat-Sen* (*Sun Yixian*, pinyin).

Country Background

In 1911, the Xinhai [Hsin-hai] Revolution led by the Tong Meng Hui [T'ung-meng hui] and other revolutionary groups overthrew more than 2,000 years of monarchical rule in China and established the first democratic republic, the Republic of China. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, the founder of the Tong Meng Hui, was elected as the first provisional president on January 1, 1912. However, in order to prevent civil war and foreign intervention, Sun agreed to resign and pass the presidency to Yuan Shikai [Yuan Shih-k'ai], the former military leader of the Qing [Ch'ing] Dynasty, on the condition that Yuan arrange the abdication of the Manchu emperor.

After Yuan's inauguration, Sun Yat-Sen and Song Jiaoren [Sung Chiao-jen] established the KMT as an amalgamation of Tong Meng Hui and other revolutionary organizations. In February 1913, the KMT obtained the majority in the first national assembly. However, the short-lived democracy lasted a mere several months before Yuan dissolved the KMT and suspended the national and provincial assemblies. In the following two decades, China was actually governed first by Yuan's dictatorship (1913–1916) and then by the Beijing [Peking] warlord government (1916–1928) after Yuan's death.

To restore the republic, Dr. Sun reorganized the KMT in 1914 and set up a rival government in Guangzhou (Canton) three years later. Because no Western powers recognized KMT's self-proclaimed government, Sun turned to the Soviet Union for assistance. In 1923, the Soviet–KMT alliance was created, and the Soviet Union pledged to supply the KMT with financial and military aid. Another consequence of the alliance was the cooperation between the KMT and the fledgling CCP, which was also known as the first United Front.

Inspired by the Russian Revolution, the CCP was established in June 1921, aiming to set a Russian-style Communist regime in China. Under the instruction of the Communist International (Comintern), the CCP decided to cooperate with the KMT in 1923. All of the 420 CCP members were ordered to join the KMT while keeping their CCP membership. In 1926, a year after Dr. Sun's death, the Guangzhou government launched the long-delayed Northern Expedition to unify the country. Chiang Kai-shek was appointed commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army (NRA). The Northern Expedition was an easy victory, owing to the better organized, more disciplined NRA troops and wide support from rural peasants and urban laborers. For instance, Shanghai, China's industrial center and largest city, was liberated by union laborers even before the NRA troops arrived. In 1928, the NRA conquered Beijing and united the country under the nominal

control of the KMT's nationalist government at Nanjing [Nanking].

Chiang Kai-shek never wholeheartedly supported Dr. Sun's alliance with the Communists and always considered communism a destructive power in China. The expected victory of the Northern Expedition and the mounting labor and peasant movements sponsored by the CCP removed Chiang's hesitation. After the NRA took over Shanghai in April 1927, Chiang's forces launched an unexpected attack against the Communists and union members, thousands of whom were arrested and executed. The "white terror" was quickly extended to other regions, destroying most of the CCP's bases. After a series of abortive armed insurrections, the CCP was forced to retreat to the mountainous countryside in the interior Jiangxi [Kiangsi] province. After consolidating its rule, Chiang's nationalist government resumed military actions against the Communists, who had now established several bases in central China. Between 1930 and 1934, Chiang launched five annihilation campaigns with more than 2 million troops. The Communist forces, now renamed the Red Army, repelled the first four but were eventually driven out of their bases in the last one and began the famous one-year, 6,000-mile Long March to the remote Shaanxi [Shensi] province in northwest China. Only 8,000 of the original 100,000 people reached the new base in Yan'an [Yenan], a barren place in north Shaanxi province. During the Long March, Mao Zedong [Mao Tse-tung] established his unchallengeable leadership within the CCP.

Conflict Background

In addition to the civil war between the CCP and KMT, there were also two other civil conflicts in postwar China: the February 28 uprisings of the native Taiwanese against the KMT authority in 1947 and, after the establishment of the PRC, the conflict between the Communist government and the local government of Tibet in 1950 and 1959.

The February 28 Uprising in Taiwan, 1947

In 1947, as the Chinese civil war was under way on the mainland, a serious armed conflict broke out on the island of Taiwan between the native Taiwanese people and the ROC authority dominated by the mainlanders.

Defeated in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), the Chinese Qing government had been forced to cede Taiwan to Japan in the Shimonoseki/Maguan Treaty. During the next fifty years, Taiwan was under the colonial rule of Japan. At the 1943 Cairo conference, both President Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill endorsed Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's claim to Taiwan following Japan's surrender. This point was restated in the Potsdam Declaration, which was ultimately accepted by Japan after two nuclear bombs were dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In October 1945, Chen Yi [Chen I], the KMT-appointed governor-general of Taiwan, and his staff of 28,000 landed on Taiwan, resuming Chinese rule after a half-century hiatus.

It did not take long for the Taiwanese people to become disillusioned with liberation. No different from the KMT administrations in other occupied places, Chen Yi and his cronies were infamous for their ineffectiveness, repressiveness, and corruption. Rather than revitalizing the wrecked economy, they seemed to be interested only in personal aggrandizement and in extracting Taiwan's resources for the ongoing civil war on the mainland. The undisciplined KMT troops were much better at stealing from the local residents than in maintaining social order. The situation was further complicated by the deep distrust between the native Taiwanese and the mainlanders. On the one hand, higher levels of social and economic development under Japanese rule had facilitated the Taiwanese people's sense of superiority over their fellow mainlanders. On the other hand, the KMT government was convinced that the local Taiwanese people had been badly "corrupted" by

The Third KMT-CCP United Front

On April 20, 2005, Lian Zhan [Lien Chan], chairman of the KMT, made a historic visit to Beijing to meet with Hu Jintao, general secretary of the CCP. This marked the first summit between the two parties since the bloody civil war. Many felt encouraged, calling it a historic breakthrough of the impasse across the Taiwan Strait. This description suggests that, like the previous CCP-KMT United Fronts, this summit would lead to some kind of political cooperation between the two sides. Observers also expressed cautious optimism, maintaining that the current KMT was no longer the ruling party in Taiwan. Nor did it have the majority in the legislature. Although the summit represented the highest level of contact across the strait so far, it was important only in the sense that it opened another channel of communication. Still, some argued that this meeting originated mainly from the KMT's consideration of domestic politics—that the KMT attempted to use the "China card" to redress its continuous decline on the island and to regain the majority in the imminent legislative election. The KMT's move would push the ruling Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) toward a more extreme pro-independence stance, thereby aggravating the current situation.

the heavy Japanese influence of the past half century. Taiwan's relatively peaceful history under colonial rule was always interpreted as the result of Taiwanese–Japanese collaboration. This was further evidenced by the fact that more than 200,000 Taiwanese served in the Japanese army during World War II. As a result, the KMT authority on Taiwan was exclusively dominated by mainland "carpetbaggers," who controlled the economy and monopolized the production and trade of a broad range of bare necessities (such as sugar, tobacco, and tea). In this situation, it was only a matter of time for the mounting hostility to evolve into large-scale social turmoil and violence.

The February 28 uprising was sparked by a small incident in Taipei, the capital of Taiwan.

On February 27, 1947, two officers of the Monopoly Bureau arrested a widow for selling cigarettes illegally. The woman resisted the officers' attempt to confiscate her cigarettes and money, and a crowd gathered and menaced the officers. The frightened officers tried to escape and fired warning shots. One onlooker was killed by a stray bullet. The next morning, thousands of angry people assembled at the Monopoly Bureau calling for the execution of the two officers. Demonstrators then marched to the governor-general's office, and their demands also became a broad range of political claims. In the succeeding conflicts with the security forces, several protesters were killed. The Taiwanese public was further infuriated; violence swiftly spread to all of Taipei and, within two days, throughout the island. Because many of the government troops had been recalled to fight the Communists on the mainland, the governor-general was left with only 11,000 soldiers and police, far too few to handle the riots. With the exception of a few key government buildings, the whole island fell under the rebels' control. During the early days of the uprising, mainlanders were the major victims, identified in the streets and then beaten or killed.

The spontaneous rebellion was soon organized under the leadership of the local elites. Temporary security forces were established to restore public order. A committee was formed to open negotiations with the government over Taiwan's future. The political demands of the rebels were finally presented on March 7 as the 32 Demands, which called for, among other things, more autonomy (but not full independence), free elections, and end to government corruption, and Taiwan's participation in negotiating the peace treaty with Japan.

As negotiations continued, KMT reinforcements were en route to the island. As soon as they landed on March 8, the governor-general suspended negotiations, declared martial law, and staged a massive crackdown on the rebels. The KMT troops quickly seized control of major cities, encountering only minor resistance. On

March 13, a more virulent campaign, called "exterminating traitors and cleaning out villages," was conducted to root out rebels hiding in the countryside, to prevent future uprisings. Much indiscriminate slaughter of civilians and the deliberate murder of native Taiwanese, mainly intellectuals and students, were reported. Thousands of Taiwanese dissidents were jailed or forced to flee abroad. Soon after the uprising, the nationalist government declared a total of a few hundred deaths, a hundred of which were the KMT soldiers; however, estimates of the actual number of deaths are as high as 100,000 (Lai, Myers, and Wou 1991). In a recent report issued by the ROC government in 1995, the number of deaths is said to have been between 18,000 and 28,000 (Roy 2003). The February 28 uprising lost Taiwan a whole generation of native elites.

Chen Yi was dismissed in the wake of the crackdown and appointed governor of another province (he was finally executed on Chiang's order in 1950 for his collaboration with the Communists). The martial law was cancelled by the new governor-general but was imposed again in 1949 as the KMT managed to fortify its last foothold against Communist infiltration.

Tibet Annexation (1950) and Revolt (1959)

For about 700 years, Tibet (*Xizang* in Chinese) had been a member of the tributary system, with China at the center. In 1721, the Chinese Manchu government began to nominate two resident commissioners, called ambans, to govern Tibet together with the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. Additionally, thousands of Chinese troops were garrisoned at Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. Following China's decline and defeats in a couple of wars in the late nineteenth century, Tibet became a focus of the competition between Russia and Britain for Central Asia. In 1904, a British expedition conquered Tibet to contain Russia's expansion. The thirteenth Dalai Lama fled to Mongolia. The British imposed the Anglo-Tibetan Accord on the regent govern-

ment at Lhasa, obtaining the right of free trade and the control of Tibet's external affairs. However, two years later, in a treaty that forced the Manchu government to accept the accord, the British government conceded China's suzerainty over Tibet. In 1910, the Manchu government sent troops to recover its authority in Tibet, forcing the thirteenth Dalai Lama to escape for the second time.

The direct rule of the Qing Dynasty over Tibet was short-lived. When the Manchu government teetered on the verge of collapse in the 1911 Xinhai Revolution, conflicts broke out between Tibetan and Manchu forces in Lhasa. Several months later, the Manchu forces retreated from Tibet. In 1913, the thirteenth Dalai Lama returned to Tibet and resumed his rule. Despite the desire for independence, when civil war broke out in China, the thirteenth Dalai Lama was quite clear about the trouble a declaration of independence would bring to his people. In practice, he adopted a rather ambiguous policy to deal with China. On the one hand, backed by Great Britain, on many occasions Tibet behaved like a state with full sovereignty, for example, regarding the 1913 Tibet–Mongolia Treaty and the 1914 Simla Convention (which Chinese representatives finally refused to sign). Tibet also declared its neutrality in World War II and turned down the nationalist government's request to be allowed to move military supplies through Tibetan territory. On the other hand, the Dalai Lama and his government sent representatives to the ROC national congress and the drafting committee of the ROC constitution. They also allowed the nationalist government to set up a liaison office at Lhasa and, as in the amban system, to appoint resident commissioners. In 1940, following the tradition of the Qing Dynasty, the nationalist government confirmed five-year-old Tenzin Gyatso as the reincarnation of the thirteenth Dalai Lama, who died in 1933.

In short, during the early decades of the twentieth century, when most parts of China were plagued by endless conflicts and wars, Tibet experienced one of the most peaceful pe-

riods in its history. By the time the PRC was established in 1949, Tibet had actually obtained quasi-independent status. Except for some minor conflicts with bandits and Han warlords in the neighboring provinces, the Dalai Lama and his government ruled “the roof of the world” without external interference. The two wars in 1950 and 1959 reflected the struggle between the Communist government and the Tibetan authority over such fundamental issues as Tibet's sovereignty, its political system, the status of religion, and relations between serfs and nobles. The 1950 war forced the Tibetan government to concede China's sovereignty over Tibet. And the second war in 1959 eventually ushered in a Communist political regime, formally ending Tibet's traditional, theological regime. Approximately 40,000 Chinese soldiers and 60,000 Tibetans were killed in these wars (Sarkees 2000).

Soon after the CCP came to power in 1949, Beijing announced that Tibet was an integral part of China and that the People's Liberation Army (PLA) would liberate Tibet. Beijing also proposed negotiations with the Tibetan government for a “peaceful liberation.” However, private contact in New Delhi between Tibetan representatives and the Chinese ambassador to India was suspended after a year of futile bargaining. Beijing was convinced that the Tibetan regent government (the fourteenth Dalai Lama was sixteen years old at that time, too young to govern by himself), instigated by the United States and the United Kingdom, was deliberately postponing the process, awaiting a more favorable international situation. Another significant consideration of the Chinese decision makers was to avoid possible American intervention in the context of the Korean War—the U.S. Navy had just blocked the Taiwan Straits to prevent the PLA from invading Taiwan. On October 7, 1950, the same day that the U.S.-led UN troops crossed the thirty-eighth parallel on the Korean Peninsula despite China's warning, 40,000 PLA forces attacked the 4,000 Tibetan soldiers stationed in Changdu [Chamdo] in eastern Tibet.

The Tibetan army was rapidly overwhelmed, and on October 19 Tibetan commander Nagbo Nagwang Jigme surrendered to the PLA. According to the official Chinese account, about 114 PLA troops and 180 Tibetan fighters were killed or wounded (Wang and Gyaincain 1997), whereas the Tibetan government-in-exile estimated the casualties to Tibetan forces to be several thousands (Government of Tibet in Exile 1996).

The military fiasco shocked the Tibetan government. The fourteenth Dalai Lama and his cabinet escaped to a small town on the Indo-Tibetan border after appointing two temporary prime ministers at Lhasa. Facing the threat of a full-scale Communist invasion, the Tibetan government had no choice but to resume negotiations. In April, a delegation headed by the captive Nagbo was sent to Beijing. On May 23, 1951, Nagbo signed the Agreement of the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet (the Seventeen-Point Agreement). In this agreement, the Tibetan government recognized China's sovereignty over Tibet and the central government's rights in Tibet's defense and foreign affairs. In return, the Chinese government promised to keep the existing Tibetan political system and to protect religious freedom. There were sharp disagreements within the Tibetan government about ratifying the agreement. The disputes were finally resolved with the victory of the monastic community, which supported ratification. On October 20, the fourteenth Dalai Lama issued a letter of acceptance and returned to Lhasa. A week later, PLA troops entered Lhasa and other major Tibetan cities.

The Seventeen-Point Agreement, which was later denounced by the Dalai Lama as a product under duress, could not provide grounds for cooperation between the CCP and the Dalai Lama. It was eventually impossible for China's sovereignty over Tibet to be compatible with the supreme power and divine prestige of the Dalai Lama. Moreover, a theological, aristocracy-governed Tibet could not be tolerated forever in an

authoritarian, secular regime that advocated the rule of the working class. The final breakup was only a matter of time.

The immediate cause of the 1959 Tibet revolts was land reform, a basic Maoist policy to win the support of the peasants by means of redistributing land ownership. By the middle 1950s, all mainland provinces except Tibet had finished the reforms. But harsh repressions, even executions of landowners, were common during the process of land reform. The issue of land reform was addressed in a rather ambiguous way in the Seventeen-Point Agreement, according to which the central government would carry out reforms in Tibet but in a way "of its [Tibetan] own accord" and "by means of consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet" (Article XI). Of Tibet's population of 1.2 million people, 700,000 were landless serfs who made their living by working the land owned by nobles and monasteries. Apparently, any efforts at land reform would definitely harm the vital interests of the Tibetan ruling class. In Kham and Amdo, the Tibetan-concentrated regions in the neighboring provinces, land reform had provoked open military resistance.

In the early 1950s, generally speaking, Beijing exercised its power over Tibet in a rather conciliatory manner. The traditional Tibetan political system was kept largely intact with merely minor revisions. In 1954, the fourteenth Dalai Lama, aged nineteen, was elected vice president of the National People's Congress (NPC), the supreme organ of China according to the constitution. The sixteen-year-old tenth Panchen Lama was also elected to NPC's standing committee. With respect to land reform, Mao wrote to the Dalai Lama in 1957 promising to postpone the reforms if Tibetans were not ready. However, as ideological enthusiasm gradually dominated the party, there were fewer and fewer restraints on China's Tibet policy. Meanwhile, the aftermath of massive political campaigns, such as the Anti-Rightist Movement (1957) and the Great Leap Forward Movement (1958–1960), spread to Tibet, further intensifying the tension. Propa-

The Eleventh Panchen Lama

The selection of the successors of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama of Tibet reflects both religious mystery and political wisdom. Upon the death of each of the lamas, several candidates of his reincarnation, or rebirth child, will be identified across Tibet, mainly according to their familiarity with the possessions of the previous Lama. The reincarnation is ultimately determined by a system of lottery instituted by the Chinese Qing Dynasty in the eighteenth century. It usually takes many years before the reincarnation is enthroned.

The unexpected death of the tenth Panchen Lama in 1989 was followed by a political controversy over the selection of his reincarnation. In May 1995, the fourteenth Dalai Lama and the Government of Tibet in Exile announced Gedhun Choekyi Nyima as the eleventh reincarnation of the Panchen Lama. However, the Chinese government rejected this announcement and selected Gyancain Norbu from the list of finalists by means of the traditional lottery system in November. Although the Tibetan government-in-exile charged the Chinese government with political persecution and called Nyima the “youngest political prisoner” in the world, the Chinese government declared that Nyima was living a normal life and that his privacy was being protected. However, the fourteenth Dalai Lama had repeated on many occasions that the selection of his reincarnation would be completely independent of the control of Chinese government (Harris and Jones 2000).

ganda denounced the “reactionary” Tibetan religious and political system. In some Tibetan counties, zealous Maoists attempted to form rural communes and overthrow the rule of monasteries and nobles. The tension reached its peak in March 1959, when the sporadic insurrections evolved into all-out armed rebellion in Lhasa.

On March 9, 1959, the Dalai Lama was invited to watch a show in the building of the PLA Tibet Military Area the next evening. Rumors

arose that the Dalai Lama was to be kidnapped and sent to Beijing as a hostage. More than 2,000 Tibetans gathered at Norbu Lingka, the Lama’s summer palace, to protect the Dalai Lama. The gathering quickly became an anti-Chinese movement calling for expulsion of the Han people and the independence of Tibet. Some pro-Beijing Tibetans were beaten and killed. Weapons were distributed, and defensive posts were set up to resist the PLA troops. On the evening of March 17, the Dalai Lama, along with eighty senior ministers and relatives, secretly left Norbu Lingka and escaped to India under the protection of Tibetan guerrillas. Between March 11 and 16, there were exchanges of mail between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Political Commissar, Tan Guansan [T’an Kuan-san]. In these letters, the Dalai Lama expressed his deep concern about the current situation and his willingness to meet Tan. Later, these letters were used to prove China’s argument that the Dalai Lama was abducted by the separatists. However, the Dalai Lama himself later claimed that he had made the decision of his own free will.

Not knowing what had happened, protesters continued the confrontation at Lhasa for another two days. On March 20, about 7,000 armed rebels raided the CCP buildings, and 1,000 PLA troops were stationed in Lhasa after being told that the Dalai Lama had left. The PLA fought back, quickly crushing the rebellion. As many as 3,000 Tibetans were killed and 4,000 arrested (Richardson 1984). On March 28, the Chinese government dissolved the local Tibetan government and ordered the PLA to wipe out riots elsewhere in Tibet. Conflicts continued for several years, until the last organized resistance was quelled in March 1962. The Chinese government announced that approximately 3,000 PLA soldiers died during the military actions (Wang and Gyaincain 1997). About 87,000 Tibetans, according to the government-in-exile, were killed in the conflicts (Government of Tibet in Exile 1996).

After putting down the riots, the Chinese government carried out “democratic reforms” in

Table 1: Civil War in China

War:	Nationalist Party (KMT) vs. Communist Party (CCP)
Dates:	July 1946–October 1949
Casualties:	6 million (1 million military and 5 million civilian)
Regime type prior to war:	–5 (Polity 2 variable in Polity 4 data, ranging from –10 to 10)
Regime type after war:	–8 (Polity 2 variable in polity 4 data, ranging from –10 to 10)
GDP/capita year war began:	US \$62 (1957)*
GDP/capita 5 years after war:	US \$58 (1957)*
Insurgents:	Chinese Communist Party
Issue:	Control of the government
Rebel funding:	Self-reliance and some Soviet aid
Role of geography:	The countryside of Manchuria and north and central China
Role of resources:	Agriculture, handicrafts, and rudimentary industry
Immediate outcome:	Insurgent victory; establishment of People’s Republic of China on the mainland
Outcome after 5 years:	Stable authoritarian regime but with massive political movement
Role of UN:	None; no peacekeepers
Role of regional organization:	None
Refugees:	2,000,000 (to UK-controlled Hong Kong and KMT- controlled Taiwan)
Prospects for peace:	Favorable

Sources: Marshall and Jagers 2002; Heston, Summers, and Aten 2002; Sarkees 2000.

Notes:

* Because there are no statistics on per capita GDP in both 1946 and 1949, the estimated figures for the years 1933 and 1952 (Perkins 1975) are used instead. However, there are still significant differences between 1933 and 1946 as well as 1952 and 1949. For instance, the total industrial production of 1949 was only 46.7 percent of 1952 (United Nations 1951). The economic situation of 1933 was largely similar to that of 1946. For instance, the national income was 20,387 million Chinese dollars in 1933 and 23,393 in 1946 (United Nations 1950).

Tibet, entirely destroying the traditional ruling monastic and noble classes. During the reforms, as many as 80,000 Tibetan monks, aristocrats, and serfs fled to neighboring India, Nepal, and Bhutan. In 1965, the Tibet Autonomous Region, headed by the appointed Han officials and Tibetan collaborators (including the tenth Panchen Lama and Nagbo) was established, becoming the fifth minority autonomous region in the PRC. However, despite its name, the actual autonomy left to the Tibetans was quite limited compared to that granted by the Seventeen-Point Agreement.

The Insurgents

It seemed to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek that he was never closer to victory in his two-decade struggle with the CCP than in the winter of 1936. His NRA armies had surrounded the remaining 30,000 Communist forces within an isolated re-

gion of northwest China. The Communists seemed on the verge of extinction. However, Chiang’s final, fatal strike, the planned sixth annihilation campaign, was abruptly strangled by the Xi’an [Sian] Incident, a clash between Chiang and some KMT generals over resisting the Japanese invasion. Japan had taken over Manchuria in 1931 (the Mukden Incident) and had set up a puppet state headed by the abdicated Manchu emperor. Although Chiang was using his best troops against the Communists in the south, Japan began to invade north China, directly threatening Beijing and Tanjin [Tientsin]. The threat of a full-scale Japanese invasion deeply divided the nationalist government between those whose highest priority was to exterminate Communists and those who favored fortifying against the Japanese first. Frustrated by Chiang’s policy of “maintaining internal order before repelling the foreign invasions,” General Zhang Xueliang [Chang Hsüeh-liang], the former warlord of

Manchuria, detained Chiang when the generalissimo flew to Xi'an to press for a harsher assault against the Communists. In the following negotiations between General Zhang, Generalissimo Chiang, and the CCP representative, Chiang was compelled to agree to cease the anticommunist campaigns and turn the guns on the Japanese. The second KMT-CCP United Front was therefore established.

According to the KMT-CCP agreement, the Communist forces were reorganized into the NRA under the direct command of the nationalist government. The Communist authorities also changed its name to "the Special District Government" under the ROC. During the eight-year war with Japan (1937–1945), while the KMT troops fought the Japanese at the front, the CCP troops carried out extensive guerrilla warfare behind the Japanese line. Nevertheless, the actual KMT-CCP cooperation was minimal. While battling the Japanese, both were preparing for an increasingly unavoidable showdown. Skirmishes and conflicts never ceased. As ultimate triumph over the Japanese became less ambiguous, the nationalist government became more preoccupied with containing the Communist expansion and began to deploy its best troops in the Communist-controlled region. At the same time that the war with Japan was being fought, intense conflicts between the CCP and KMT troops were occurring more frequently. The second United Front was eventually brought to an end in 1941 by the New Fourth Army Incident, in which KMT troops ambushed and killed 7,000 Communist soldiers. By 1944, as many as 500,000 NRA troops had been used to blockade the Communists.

The eight-year war with Japan inflicted tremendous losses upon China: 15 to 20 million Chinese died (Eastman 1986); all of Manchuria and most of north and east China (including all the urban centers) were occupied. However, the relative impact of the war on the KMT sharply contrasted with the war's effect on the CCP, severely altering the relative power of the two organizations. The nationalist government suf-

fered tremendous losses. The total war with the technologically superior Japanese troops had cost the nationalist government more than 3 million troops, including detachments of its best Central Army, trained by German advisors and equipped with German weapons. The Nationalist government had to abandon its traditional base, also the most affluent region of China, and move the capital from Nanjing to Chongqing [Chung-ching], a mountainous hinterland city. As a result, the Nationalist government lost half of the population and more than 90 percent of its industrial capacity. The premodern economy was crumbled by wartime privation. The industrial output of the Nationalist government plummeted to 12 percent of its prewar level, yet prices skyrocketed to 2,500 times their prewar levels in the KMT-controlled region. Even more serious, domestic fractionalization, massive corruption, and shortages of basic supplies deeply demoralized the NRA. In 1944 alone, 500,000 NRA soldiers deserted or defected to the Japanese (Eastman 1986). Actually, the NRA conducted no effective military operations in the last three years of the war. As General Joseph W. Stilwell, commander of the American forces in China, observed in 1944, the Nationalist troops were "generally in desperate condition, underfed, unpaid, untrained, neglected, and rotten with corruption" (Eastman 1986, 578).

In contrast, the second United Front with the KMT and the full-scale war with Japan gave the Communists a priceless moment in which to consolidate their new base and then expand their influence. In the succeeding years, the Communists restored and augmented their power and influence with alarming rapidity. By the time of Japan's surrender, the number of CCP members had increased twentyfold, from 40,000 to 1,211,000, and the armed forces had grown from 30,000 to 910,000 (Domes 1984). Its controlled territory also extended from the sparse region around Yan'an (the Shan-Gan-Ning Border Region) to a dozen consolidated bases scattered throughout north and central China. More importantly, in sharp contrast to



the factious KMT, Mao had successfully consolidated his unchallenged authority in the party and had organized the CCP into a political power with impressive solidity and efficacy. His version of Marxist ideology, the *Thought of Mao Zedong*, was erected as the guiding doctrine of the Chinese Communist movement. In short, after the Sino-Japanese War, the CCP had grown into a major power in China and had acquired the potential to challenge the dominance of the KMT.

Causes of the War

Long before the Japanese surrender, an important goal of U.S. China policy was to prevent the predicted civil war between the KMT and CCP. As early as 1944, the U.S. government was actively engaged in mediation between the two rivals. In a surprise visit to Yan'an in November,

Patrick Hurley, President Roosevelt's personal envoy, signed a joint proposal with Mao for a postwar coalition government. However, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek immediately refused this proposal on the grounds that it was impossible to build a coalition government when the Communists had their own armed forces and local authorities.

In the wake of Japan's surrender, Hurley, now the American ambassador to China, visited Yan'an again and escorted Mao Zedong to Chongqing for peace negotiations. Under Hurley's mediation, Mao and Chiang arrived at an agreement on a couple of basic principles, later known as the October 10 Agreement. According to the agreement, the KMT would end its one-party rule, establish a coalition government, and guarantee the basic freedom of the people. In return, the Communists pledged to withdraw from some bases and gradually reduce their

armed forces. However, no details about implementing these principles were discussed, nor did they touch on the most immediate topic, takeover following the Japanese surrender—which soon vividly exposed the fragility of the agreement.

The sudden Japanese capitulation on August 15, 1945, was followed by a race between the CCP and KMT to take over the Japanese-controlled territories. Under Mao's command, the Communist forces raided the Japanese-held cities and outposts from their rural bases. Apparently disadvantaged by the remoteness, Chiang ordered the Japanese troops to surrender only to the Nationalist forces and to resist Communist takeover with force if necessary. In the meantime, 400,000 to 500,000 KMT troops were hastily transported (mainly by the United States) to take over the territory surrendered by the Japanese in north and central China. The U.S. government also dispatched 53,000 marines to occupy major cities such as Beijing and Tianjin for the Nationalist government.

The situation in Manchuria, which was seized by the Soviet Red Army after Japan's capitulation, was a bit more complex. Russia's role in the long-term CCP–KMT struggle was always unclear. It is therefore inappropriate to exaggerate the Soviet influence in causing the Chinese civil war. Before Chiang's Nanjing government obtained wide international acknowledgment, the Soviet Union was the only power that recognized and assisted the KMT authority rather than the Beijing warlord government. At the same time, it also directed the CCP to cooperate with the KMT through the Comintern, which resulted in the first United Front. Although KMT–Soviet relations had cooled because of Chiang's anticommunist position, Russia was still the biggest sponsor of China's resistance of the Japanese, until the German invasion in 1941. Stalin poured some \$250 million in aid into the Nationalist government but gave nothing to his Chinese Communist comrades. Stalin never disguised his disrespect for Mao and his CCP peers, calling them “synthetic communists” (not real Commu-

nists, in part because Mao was the only CCP leader of whom Moscow was not a patron). As the ROC ambassador to Russia, Jiang Tingfu [Chiang T'ing-fu] insightfully pointed out, “Moscow was more interested in stirring up opposition to Japan in China than it was in spreading communism” (Eastman 1986, 576). On the day of Japan's surrender, the Soviet Union and the Nationalist government signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, in which Stalin recognized the Nationalist government as the only legitimate government of China and promised not to intervene in Chinese internal affairs. Not surprisingly, this deeply upset the CCP. Mao even complained that the Soviet Union did not allow Communist revolution in China (Slyke 1986). The case of Manchuria again showed the ambiguity in Stalin's China policy. At Chiang's request, the Soviet Red Army twice postponed their evacuation to wait for the arrival of KMT troops. However, on the other hand, Stalin allowed the CCP troops to cross Manchuria and transferred to them the equipment and munitions of the 700,000 Japanese troops.

As a result, the KMT occupied nearly all the urban centers and transportation lines, while the CCP held the countryside and some middle-sized towns in Manchuria and north and central China. The conflicts during the takeover process announced the failure of Hurley's mediation, which in turn led to his resignation in November 1945. President Truman made another attempt. He appointed General George Marshall as his special representative to mediate the mounting KMT–CCP conflict. General Marshall's reputation did work: A cease-fire agreement was initiated upon his arrival. Moreover, the Political Consultative Conference (PCC), the preparatory committee for the constitutional government agreed upon in the October 10 Agreement, was also held. However, the General's personal charisma could not solve the deep-rooted hostility between the two rivals. Neither side took the truce seriously. The rivals were more likely to regard the Marshall mission as a political strategy to buy time and public

support than as a sincere effort toward a democratic republic. Violations and violence occurred time and again. In Manchuria, large-scale conflict broke out following the Soviet Red Army's withdrawal in March 1946 and quickly spread to other regions. At the end of June, all the people, General Marshall included, were convinced that a full-scale civil war was inevitable. The cease-fire agreement expired with neither side proposing extension. In July 1946, when Chiang tore up the October 10 Agreement and launched the general offensive against the CCP-controlled areas, the Chinese civil war began.

It seemed that, at least in 1946, neither the United States nor the Soviet Union wanted to turn China into a new battlefield right after the world war. Instead, both favored a coalition government headed by Chiang's KMT. Ideologically, common ground existed between Maoism and Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People." For instance, in the October 10 Agreement, Mao agreed to use the three principles as the guiding doctrine of the coalition government. At the seventh congress of the CCP in 1945, Mao even claimed that these principles had been "completely carried into effect in China's Liberated Areas" (Slyke 1986, 717). In this sense, the cause of the Chinese civil war was more prudential: disagreement over control of the government. On the one hand, as the only ruling party since 1928, the KMT did not want to share power with the insurgent Communists. On the other hand, to Mao, who believed that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," handing over the armed forces without a credible guarantee was no different from political suicide. The memory of the bloody suppression of the past was still strong. Unfortunately, neither the United States nor the Soviet Union could provide the Communists such a guarantee because of their evident favoring of the KMT.

Outcome

When the war started, the KMT, although severely weakened by the Japanese, still had over-

whelming advantages over the CCP in nearly every aspect. The KMT had approximately four times more troops, better equipped and better trained, than the CCP did; it had a rather powerful air force and navy, compared with nearly nothing on the Communist side; the Nationalist government controlled almost all the trade, finance, industry, and transportation centers of the country. Internationally, the Nationalist government was recognized as the sole legal government of China; and the United States, as its firm ally, provided the KMT with military advisory groups and \$2 billion in aid, whereas the CCP could not count much on the Russians. It was therefore not surprising to note the popular optimism among the KMT generals at the outset of the civil war. Many of them believed that they could conclude the war within several months.

From the view of the Communist Party, the civil war can be divided into three stages (Chinese Academy of Military Science 1997): the defensive stage (July 1946–March 1947), the stalemate stage (March 1947–August 1948), and the offensive stage (September 1948–October 1949). In the first stage, the KMT army launched full-scale attacks against the CCP-controlled areas. Within half a year, the KMT troops had conquered almost all the Communist-controlled cities and county (*xian* [hsien]) towns. Chiang's attacks culminated in the takeover of Yan'an, the CCP's wartime capital, after Mao had discarded this city. However, Chiang's military campaigns did not achieve their goals. CCP forces, guided by Mao's mobile warfare strategy, always initially abandoned the cities while aiming at wiping out the KMT fighting troops. At the end of the first stage, Mao's "territory-for-manpower" strategy cost Chiang 97 (about 780,000 troops) of his 218 regular brigades, while the CCP suffered a loss of 300,000 men and large amounts of territory (Chinese Academy of Military Science 1997).

Unable to sustain a full-scale offensive, Chiang concentrated military action on the two major regions in Shandong [Shantung] and Shaanxi provinces. The civil war entered the stalemate stage. The Communist forces, now renamed the

People's Liberation Army, not only repulsed the concentrated attacks but also staged a number of counterattacks against the overextended KMT troops. By the end of the summer of 1948, the Nationalist government had lost about one-third of its original troops, and the balance of military power had for the first time shifted toward the PLA, with 2,260,000 troops versus 2,180,000. In terms of equipment, the PLA also owned more heavy weapons than the NRA. Because the KMT troops were badly overextended with the exception of the KMT's traditional base in the Yangzi [Yangtze] River region, the PLA outnumbered the NRA on all major battlefields. Moreover, when the extensive land reform won the CCP wide support from the peasants, the Nationalist government was plagued by economic collapse, rampant corruption, and a prevailing antiwar movement in its controlled area (Chinese Academy of Military Science 1997).

When the last stage started in September 1948, the situation in north China and Manchuria had been totally reversed: The CCP-controlled regions had merged into a continuous area, and the KMT forces were isolated in several major cities. The last stage of the Chinese civil war consisted of three all-out campaigns in Manchuria, north China, and central China, respectively. The first campaign, the Liaoshen [Liaohsi-Mukden] Campaign, started when some 700,000 PLA troops attacked the 500,000 KMT soldiers stationed in three Manchurian cities, Jinzhou [Chin-chow], Changchun, and Shenyang (Mukden). The battles lasted fifty-two days and ended with the complete victory of the PLA. The CCP controlled all Manchuria, killing and capturing about 470,000 KMT troops at the expense of 69,000 soldiers (Chinese Academy of Military Science 1997).

After seizing Manchuria, about a million PLA troops advanced southward to capture two important cities in North China, Beijing and Tianjin, starting the Beijing-Tianjin Campaign. The campaign ended on January 21, 1949, when the KMT General Fu Zuoyi [Fu Tso-yi] and his 250,000 soldiers surrendered Beijing without a

fight. As a result, the CCP completely controlled north China, and the KMT lost another 500,000 soldiers. About 34,000 PLA soldiers were killed (Chinese Academy of Military Science 1997).

Simultaneously with the fighting in Beijing and Tianjin, Chiang made a last-ditch effort and threw all his remaining troops (about 800,000) to battle the 550,000 CCP troops over control of the vast region to the north of the Yangzi River, opening the Huai-hai Campaign. The fifty-five-day campaign turned out to be the fatal strike on the Generalissimo's already shaken rule: He lost all the armed forces he had; as many as 500,000 fighters were either killed or taken prisoner. With about 134,000 casualties, the PLA took control of central China and cleared the way to the heart of the Nationalist government (Chinese Academy of Military Science 1997).

Chiang was forced to step down, but he still controlled the KMT and the Nationalist government behind the scenes. After an abortive negotiation, the PLA resumed military action in April 1949 and crossed the Yangzi River. Unable to organize an effective resistance, the KMT's remaining authority in south and west China collapsed like falling dominoes. Nanjing, Shanghai, Wuhan, Guangdong—one city after another easily fell to the Communists. When Mao Zedong proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China in Beijing on October 1, Chiang and his government were at Chongqing, the wartime capital in World War II and the place in which he had declared victory in the war with Japan. Two months later, Chiang left the last KMT city on the mainland and flew to Taiwan before the advancing PLA took control of the airports. The Generalissimo never returned, although he never abandoned his desire to reclaim the mainland. By the end of the year, the CCP had taken over the entire country with exception of Taiwan and Tibet.

Conclusion

As soon as the PLA took over the mainland, preparations were under way for crossing the



Nationalist troops march for the final time in Guangzhou, China on October 19, 1949. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Taiwan Straits and exterminating the remnant KMT forces on the island. However, unlike the battle on the mainland, the PLA's major obstacles were the KMT's superior navy and air forces, as well as the PLA's lack of means of transport. On October 24, 1949, an attempt to land on Jinmen (Quemoy), a small offshore island eight miles from the mainland, resulted in the annihilation of all 9,000 soldiers. Although in a later battle the better prepared PLA successfully landed and took over Hainan, China's second-largest island (fifteen miles from the mainland), the 100-mile-wide Taiwan Straits were still a big challenge to the fledgling PLA navy and air forces.

What made the Taiwan Straits an insurmountable obstacle was the changed U.S. policy in this region. Expecting the eventual defeat of the KMT forces, the U.S. government decided to extract itself from the mire of Chinese civil war. On January 1950, President Harry S. Truman declared that "the United States has no plan to

follow any course that might involve the United States in the Chinese civil war" (Li 2001, 143), implying that the United States would acquiesce in the PLA's liberation of Taiwan. However, the Korean War broke out in the midst of the PLA's preparations for crossing the Taiwan Straits. The invasion of North Korea highlighted the threat of Communist expansion. Taiwan, therefore, obtained its new strategic value as an anti-Communist buffer. On June 27, President Truman announced a policy of neutrality in the Taiwan Straits and dispatched the Seventh Fleet to prevent attacks from both sides. Therefore, the Cold War confrontation permanently crystallized the separation of the KMT's ROC on Taiwan and the CCP's PRC on the mainland.

In a strict sense, the Chinese civil war was not over yet. During the Cold War, both the Communist and the Nationalist authorities proclaimed themselves the sole legal government of China, and the Straits became one of the most violent regions in East Asia. The tension be-

tween the two camps always found an outlet in the Taiwan Straits. Twice, in what were later called the first and second Taiwan Strait crises, the situation became explosive, even on the edge of nuclear war. In the post-Cold War era, when the Asian Pacific region became the engine of the world economy, the Taiwan Straits were still singled out as one of the few flashpoints that could result in a full-scale war between China, Taiwan, and even the United States. The crisis in 1995–1996, when the PLA mobilized 160,000 soldiers in landing exercises and blockaded the island with mobile, nuclear-capable, short- and intermediate-range missiles, was a vibrant example of how intense a military showdown across the Taiwan Straits could be.

The situations of the other two civil conflicts are a little different. In Taiwan, reference to the February 28 uprising was a political taboo in KMT-ruled Taiwan during the following decades. Officially, the KMT government imputed the uprising to the remaining Japanese collaborators and infiltrated Communists (who actually had played a minor role at most). On the other side of the Taiwan Straits, the Communist government commemorated the February 28 uprising each year, calling it the great revolution of the Taiwanese people against the KMT reactionary rule. To the Taiwan independence organizations, however, the February 28 uprising marked the start of the Taiwan independence movement. In 1995, Lee Teng-hui, then president of the ROC and chairman of the KMT, made a formal apology on behalf of the government and the party. February 28 was also set aside as a national holiday in Taiwan.

Upon his arrival at India, the fourteenth Dalai Lama established a government-in-exile in Dharamsala, India, taking care of more than fifty Tibetan settlements in India, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan. In the following decades, his persistent effort gained him worldwide respect but more as a religious leader of the Tibetan people than as the political head of an exiled government. In 1989, after the Chinese

government cracked down on the separatist riots with military forces at Lhasa, the fourteenth Dalai Lama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize not only for his pursuit of Tibet's liberty and democracy but also because of his firm commitment to the principle of nonviolence. On many occasions, the Dalai Lama had made it clear that he and his exiled government sought not independent statehood for Tibet but a democratic local authority with a high level of political autonomy. This provided ground for a possible compromise between his exiled authority and the Chinese government. In recent years, there have been many reports of secret contact between the Lama and Beijing, but no progress.

Min Ye

Chronology

- October 10, 1911 The Xinhai Revolution breaks out.
- January 1, 1912 The Republic of China (ROC) is established in Nanjing. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen is elected provisional president.
- February 12, 1912 The last emperor of the Qing Dynasty abdicates.
- March 10, 1912 Yuan Shikai is sworn in as provisional president of the ROC.
- April 1914 The Simla Convention is held between representatives of Great Britain, China, and Tibet.
- June 1914 Sun Yat-Sen reorganizes the KMT in Tokyo.
- July 1917 Sun Yat-Sen establishes a rival government in Guangzhou.
- June 1921 The CCP is established in Shanghai.
- January 1923 Sun Yat-Sen and the Soviet representative issue a joint announcement declaring the alliance of the KMT and Soviet Union.
- June 1923 In the third congress, the CCP decides on cooperation with the KMT, encouraging the CCP members to join the KMT while keeping their CCP identities.
- March 12, 1925 Sun Yat-Sen dies in Beijing.
- April 12, 1927 Chiang slaughters the Communists and the labor unions in Shanghai, ending the first United Front.
- December 29, 1928 The Northern Expedition sent by the KMT to unify China.

- September 18, 1931 Japanese attack Chinese troops stationed in Manchuria (the Mukden Incident) and occupy Manchuria.
- March 9, 1932 Japan establishes the Manchuguo, a puppet regime headed by the abdicated Qing emperor, in Changchun, Manchuria.
- December 17, 1933 The thirteenth Dalai Lama dies.
- October 1934–October 1935 The Long March of the Communists from central China to northwest China occurs.
- December 12, 1936 General Zhang Xueliang detains Chiang Kai-shek in Xi'an; compels him to stop the anticommunist campaign and build a national anti-Japanese coalition (the Xi'an Incident).
- February 22, 1940 Five-year-old Tenzin Gyatso is confirmed as the reincarnation of the thirteenth Dalai Lama.
- January 1941 Nationalist troops ambush and kill 7,000 Communist soldiers in south China, bringing to an end the second KMT–CCP United Front (the New Fourth Army Incident).
- November 22–26, 1943 In the Cairo Conference, leaders of China, the United Kingdom, and the United States discuss the Allies' position on Japan.
- August 14, 1945 The Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance is signed.
- August 15, 1945 Japan surrenders to the Allies, ending the Sino-Japanese War.
- August 28, 1945 On Chiang Kai-shek's invitation, Mao Zedong flies to Chongqing, escorted by U.S. ambassador Hurley, to conduct negotiations on the postwar arrangement.
- October 1945 Hen Yi, the first KMT governor-general, lands on Taiwan to take over the territory surrendered by the Japanese.
- October 10, 1945 Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong sign the October 10 Agreement.
- November 1945 Hurley resigns as U.S. ambassador to China because of the failure of his mediation.
- December 1945 President Truman appoints General Marshall as his special representative to mediate the KMT–CCP conflict.
- February 28–March 13, 1947 The February 28 Uprising of the native Taiwanese against the KMT government occurs.
- March 19, 1947 Nationalist troops conquer Yan'an, the Communist wartime capital, after Mao initially discards the city.
- September 12–November 2, 1948 The Liao-shen Campaign: CCP vs. KMT over control of Manchuria.
- November 6–January 10, 1949 The Huai-hai Campaign: CCP vs. KMT over control of central China.
- November 29–January 31, 1949 The Beijing–Tianjin Campaign: CCP vs. KMT over Beijing and Tianjin.
- October 1, 1949 Mao Zedong proclaims the establishment of the People's Republic of China in Beijing.
- October 24, 1949 Nine thousand PLA troops land in Jinmen; none return, owing to superior KMT navy and air force and lack of transport ships.
- December 1949 Chiang Kai-shek flies to Taiwan from Sichuan province.
- January 5, 1950 President Truman announces that the United States will not become involved in the dispute over the Taiwan Straits.
- June 25, 1950 North Korea invades South; the Korean War begins.
- June 27, 1950 President Truman declares neutrality of the Taiwan Straits and orders the Seventh Fleet to separate the KMT and CCP forces.
- October 7, 1950 PLA attack Tibetan forces stationed in Changdu. Tibetan troops surrender on October 19.
- May 23, 1951 The Tibetan delegation signs the Agreement of the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet in Beijing.
- March 1959 Armed rebellion in Lhasa is suppressed by the PLA. The fourteenth Dalai Lama and some followers flee to India, establish Tibet government-in-exile.
- September 1965 Tibet Autonomous Region is established, the fifth and last minority autonomous region in China.

List of Acronyms

- CCP: Chinese Communist Party
 Comintern: Communist International
 DPP: Democratic Progressive Party
 KMT: Nationalist Party of China
 NPC: National People's Congress
 NRA: National Revolutionary Army
 PCC: Political Consultative Conference
 PLA: People's Liberation Army
 PRC: People's Republic of China
 ROC: Republic of China

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Colombia (1978–Present)

Introduction

At first glance, Colombia seems to have several positive features that would set the country aside from most of Latin America. The country is rich in natural resources and experienced a stable economic growth for most of the twentieth century, combined with a long democratic tradition and notably few interventions by the military in its political life. (Rabasa and Chalk 2001, 4; Silva 2001). Despite these features, the country has also become the battleground of one of the most complex and intense civil wars in the world, a war that claims several thousand victims each year (Restrepo, Spagat, and Vargas 2003, 2006). Although a multitude of explanations exist, some aspects stand out throughout Colombia's history. The society and its political life have largely remained fragmented; developments were regionally specific and accompanied by a constant high degree of violence. Indeed, it can be argued that armies were already mobilized before the political objectives of the insurgencies had formed. These aspects have also made it difficult to find a solution for the conflict, as suggested settlements have created new grievances and led to the formation of new armed groups. It is no coincidence that several analysts have used the term *labyrinth* to describe the Colombian civil war.

The left-wing rebel movements in Colombia originated in public dissatisfaction with growing

social inequalities, but other considerations grew in importance as the conflict developed. Conflict actors have benefited from, but also contributed to, an expanded unofficial economy based on the export of natural resources, most notably the illegal drug trade. Profits acquired in this trade have further increased the capabilities of rebels and paramilitaries who assumed state-like responsibilities in territories under their control.

The Colombian civil war is one of the severest ongoing conflicts in the world, although it is difficult to give a precise estimate of conflict-related fatalities, for the country also has suffered from severe criminality. According to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program, a traditionally conservative source, clashes between the government and the guerrillas have led to at least 42,000 victims (UCDP 2005). If additional violence is included, such as attacks on civilians and the fighting involving paramilitaries and drug cartel militias, this estimate should be several hundred thousand deaths (Bergquist, Peñaranda, and Sánchez 2001, 276; Restrepo, Spagat, and Vargas 2006). The higher estimate is based on annual homicide reports, and it has been argued that as many as 80 percent of the violent deaths in Colombia are due to everyday violence rather than directly related to the guerrillas or armed forces (Bejarano 2003). The effects of the civil war have been further observed through

numerous human rights abuses, and at least three million people have been displaced, according to Refugees International (RI 2005). In general, the rebel groups formed in the mid-1960s; but the conflict can easily be divided into two phases, with the second and more intensive period starting around 1978. This article focuses primarily on the second phase of the conflict, when the impact of the drug trade and introduction of paramilitary forces created some features that are arguably unique to the Colombian civil war.

Country Background

Colombia is considered one of Latin America's oldest democracies, with an institutionalized two-party system in place since the mid-nineteenth century. Colombia is administered through thirty-two departments and one federal district, all of which enjoy substantial independence. In many areas, the development of basic public infrastructure such as sanitation or electricity depended on communal efforts or the individual efforts of a regional politician or family (Pearce 1990). Since independence in 1830, the dominant elites within the two parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals, have been successful in maintaining their influence over the Colombian political establishment. When other political movements have developed, these have been either incorporated into the two-party structure or marginalized through suppression. Throughout the nineteenth century, early political life spawned a vivid political debate between party representatives in Bogotá while the rest of the country remained organized along basic feudal lines. The outcomes of elections were usually determined by the ability of local party representatives to "mobilize" the rural vote. Electoral manipulation, fraud, violence, and clientism were widespread practices, as political decision making in the capital rarely influenced the lives of the peasant population (Palacios 1980, 83; Pearce 1990, 35). The development of political factionalism in the country could also be attrib-

uted to the character of the economic sector, as the Colombian economy at the time depended almost entirely on agriculture exports. During the 1880s and 1890s, the need for labor grew on the expanding coffee-growing haciendas, which created a migration of the rural population from the Andean highlands to the temperate midlands and hot lowlands. Colombian coffee exports became an increasingly successful industry and an important source of tax revenue for the government, and poor peasants were encouraged to settle on available public land. The basic issues of competition over land and labor during these decades continued, remaining one of the more sensitive political issues in Colombian history. This fierce competition over agricultural resources also led to early outbreaks of violence as armed militias were recruited by some wealthy landowners to acquire peasant-designated land (LeGrand 1984, 34–40).

In the early twentieth century, the government tried to further facilitate coffee exports by investing in communications improvements, using loans from the United States and indemnification for the loss of Panama in 1903. Industrialization of the country continued at a slow pace, but the creation of public works led to employment opportunities that attracted people to the town (Pearce 1990, 29). Urbanization and economic development during the first decades of the twentieth century were accompanied by growing labor and peasant movements that, influenced by European socialist doctrines, increased political mobilization among the poor population (LeGrand 1984, 41–42; Rudqvist 2002). Many of these new political ideas were adopted by the opposition at the time, the Liberal Party, which created a leftist faction that propounded social reform. When the Liberals started to introduce some of these policies after winning the presidency in the 1930s, parts of the Conservative Party instead drifted toward a populist fascism influenced by the examples of Spain and Italy. Even though neither of the most radical wings of the respective parties managed to control the government in this period,

Colombian political life became increasingly vocal and violent. Following a turbulent decade in which moderate politicians of both parties had been increasingly marginalized, large-scale violence erupted in 1948. The assassination in April 1948 of the hugely popular leader of the Liberal Party left wing, José Eliécer Gaitán, led to violent riots in Bogotá that spread across the country and initiated the period in Colombian history commonly referred to as *La Violencia* (The Violence). Political life in Colombia all but collapsed, and democracy was suspended while a military government took power in the years 1953–1958. The military dictatorship of Gustavo Rojas Pinilla was initially supported by large parts of the population as well as many leaders within the political establishment. They considered the military administration a transitional phase, but when the armed forces failed to eradicate the violence and Rojas initiated his own political movement to compete with the traditional parties, the Conservative Liberal elite unified to restore democracy (Burnett and Johnson 1970, 315–17; Pearce 1990).

Exiled Conservative and Liberal leaders signed the San Carlos Agreement in 1957, which proposed a sixteen-year period of shared government powers between the two parties to stabilize the situation. The proposal was supported by a popular plebiscite in December 1957, and the Frente Nacional (National Front) coalition government was installed. According to its critics, the Frente Nacional reinstated the traditional parties' authority over political life, established new patronage systems, and led to a significant decrease in voter participation (Rivera Cusicanqui 1984, 36–37). Simultaneously, attempts to improve economic performance in the country during the 1960s led to renewed tension regarding social inequalities. In the countryside, the government encouraged a move toward large-scale private enterprise to increase efficiency in the agricultural sector, even though this interrupted the traditional life of the independent, small-scale peasantry. The urbanization trend continued, but the investments did

not create enough employment opportunities in the cities. In the period between 1958 and 1978, GDP per capita increased from US \$540 to US \$1,999 (in current prices). The rapid urbanization in effect led to more economic inequality and a growing “informal” economic sector, which included both legal odd jobs and illegal activities (Pearce 1990, 70–78). When the economy suffered a recession in the early 1980s, the situation worsened, and structural adjustment programs since then have only increased unemployment and economic inequalities. In 2000, the Colombian GDP per capita had increased to US \$5,800 but more than 60 percent (2001 est.) of the Colombian population was classified as living in poverty (Valenzuela 2002). Although the Frente Nacional system formally ended in 1974, the sharing of bureaucracy posts continued to 1978, and the basic tenets of the agreement remains in place. According to the latest data on the Polity IV democracy scale (2003), the level of democracy in Colombia has remained basically unchanged since the end of military rule in 1957 (Marshall and Jaggers, 2002).

Conflict Background

All these different phases of the political, societal, and economic development of Colombia were accompanied by violence. After independence, the military leadership seemed content with a limited mission primarily concerned with protecting the borders of the country rather than pursuing an active role in politics. This has obviously been positive for the development of the Colombian democracy in comparison to other Latin American countries, but it also opened the door for regular use of private militias. Throughout the nineteenth century, conflict between Conservative and Liberal supporters was almost continuous, culminating in the 1,000-day war in 1899–1903 (DeRouen Jr and Heo 2005). Apart from the political violence at the time, the country also became rife with organized, armed groups involved in criminal activities, as well as

conflicts between large landowners and peasant settlers and indigenous tribes. The radical political mobilization in the 1920s was accompanied by large-scale strikes and attempts to initiate regional socialist revolutions. When the Liberal government imposed partial social reforms in the 1930s, some Conservatives supported by local bishops and businesspeople began to set up paramilitary associations. The movement in opposition to the government's policy included attacks on peasants who demanded the right to land, and many of the reforms introduced in the mid-1930s were reversed in the early 1940s. Concern within the armed forces about the increasing violence in the country led to a failed coup attempt in 1944, which further destabilized the situation. Demonstrations, street protests, and strikes became daily features of Colombian life in 1946–1948. Local clashes broke out between supporters of the right-wing fundamentalist Conservative party leader Laureano Gómez and the left-wing Liberal party leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, as moderate factions in the parties became marginalized. The violence was also becoming more organized, especially in rural areas. Conservative militias were created to threaten and murder likely Liberal voters in the 1947 congressional elections. Liberal supporters also armed themselves, and an estimated 14,000 victims were claimed by political violence in 1947 (Pearce 1990, 30–47).

The political violence observed during these years can still be considered only a prequel to the anarchy that followed. The assassination of Gaitán in April 1948 during the ninth Pan-American Conference led to large-scale riots in Bogotá that are usually referred to as the *Bogotazo* and that destroyed much of the city center and had some 2,000 victims. In the weeks that followed, disturbances spread across the country as the movements became more organized. The government responded by restricting civil liberties and initiated army repression against Gaitán supporters, while right-wing paramilitary groups became increasingly active. The situation in October 1949 was beyond control: “[M]assacre fol-

lowed massacre; . . . Anyone not supportive of the government became a potential victim, while the opposition formed resistance committees to avenge them” (Guzmán, Borda, and Luña 1986, 1: 44). The decade that followed is referred to as *La Violencia*, and it has been estimated that almost 300,000 people were killed by government forces, partisan political rivalry, and rural banditry (Restrepo, Stragat, and Vargas 2003). Despite the high casualty numbers during *La Violencia*, it is estimated that the number of murders reported in 1988 was some 30 percent higher than the most violent year of *La Violencia* (Bejarano 2003). Also, *La Violencia* did not affect all parts of Colombia but was confined to certain regions, and the experiences within these regions were different. In some regions, armed peasant self-defense groups took control of territory and redistributed land with the help of the growing Communist Party. In other regions, powerful landowners expanded their land by dispossessing poorer peasants by force or threats. During *La Violencia*, a new type of actor also became increasingly common through the formation of organizations referred to as *Los Pájaros* (the Birds). The best term for them would be militias-for-hire, who managed to establish themselves as an important actor in several regions. Apart from being used as mercenaries, mainly by wealthy landowners and companies, these groups sometimes participated in joint operations with the military and developed a role in the local economies through stealing and trading in coffee (Guzmán, Rals, and Umana 1986, 1:165–166; Pearce 1990, 56–57).

The political compromise of the *Frente Nacional* in 1958 is often quoted as the end of *La Violencia*, and an amnesty was offered to all Conservative and Liberal militias. The new government led to a decrease in violence, but several groups, including many *Pájaros*, rejected the offer and effectively continued as criminal gangs. Furthermore, the amnesty did not extend to the Communist guerrillas, who had managed to establish “independent republics” in some parts of the country. The Communist guerrillas,

who largely had cooperated with the Liberals during La Violencia, expressed a willingness to join the amnesty, but this was rejected by the new government and the military establishment. The Colombian political elite and military establishment actively tried to improve relations with the United States and were convinced that the successful Cuban revolutionaries were planning an attack on Colombia. With U.S. military assistance, several counterterrorist operations were launched in 1961–1964 to suppress the bandits and the remaining Communists (Nieto, 2003, 184–186; Pearce 1990, 62–64).

Although the military operations were successful in removing many of the guerrilla leaders, new organizations formed, convinced that armed struggle was necessary to force political change. The example of the successful Cuban revolution further influenced the willingness of antigovernment groups to take up arms, and

several rebel groups were formed in 1965–1966. The 1960s saw an increase in kidnapping for ransom, and the Colombian Ministry of Defense encouraged wealthy families to form civil defense associations—thus further increasing the number of armed militias in the country (Burnett and Johnson 1970, 321). On several occasions in the years that followed, the military announced that they had “eliminated the guerrillas,” but the rebels continued to grow until a full-scale civil war erupted twelve years later (Nieto 2003, 185–186).

Although the Communist guerrillas slowly increased their presence in rural areas, in 1972 there was also an outbreak of urban terrorism through the creation of the group M-19. The rebels managed to increase their resources during the 1970s as Colombia became a major transit country for drug smuggling—first marijuana and eventually cocaine—to the United States.

Table 1: Civil War in Colombia

War:	ELN, EPL, FARC, M-19 vs. government and paramilitary groups (AUC)
Dates:	Ongoing since 1978
Casualties:	More than 60,000, including more than 22,000 killed in battle*
Regime type prior to war:	8 (ranging from -10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type at present (2007):	7 (ranging from -10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP/capita year war began:	US \$612 (constant 1985 dollars)
GDP/capita at present:	US \$6,600 (2004 estimate)
Insurgents:	ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional; National Liberation Army), EPL (Ejército Popular de Liberación; Peoples Liberation Army), FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas; Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia), M-19 (Movimiento 19 de Abril; 19th of April Movement)
Issue:	Ideological struggle for control of central government
Rebel funding:	Drugs, kidnapping for ransom, “taxation” of controlled territory, smuggling
Role of geography:	Rebel strongholds in jungles and mountainous areas
Role of resources:	Important sources of revenue, but also reason for clashes between rebels and paramilitary groups
Immediate outcome:	Conflict ongoing
Outcome after 5 years:	Conflict ongoing
Role of UN:	Limited
Role of regional organization:	Limited
Refugees:	More than 3,000,000
Prospects for peace:	Not likely

Sources: CIA 2005; Doyle and Sambanis 2000a, 2000b; Refugees International (RI) 2005; Restrepo, Spagat, and Vargas 2006.

Notes: *D & S data estimate 50,000 total deaths for the years 1978–1999. Of these, it is suggested that 22,000 were battle related in the time period 1984–1992. According to the CERAC microlevel dataset (www.cerac.org.co), an additional 10,384 people were killed in the conflict in 2000–2002.

Another important source of continued organized criminality that eventually influenced rebel income was the trade in gold and emeralds (Pearce 1990, 106–109).

The Insurgents

The Frente Nacional coalition government managed to end the worst excesses of La Violencia in 1958, and many armed groups dissolved as a consequence of the amnesty. However, the basic conditions that had contributed to the political instability remained unresolved in rural areas throughout the country. The Communist Party was outlawed in 1956, and the military leadership, backed by the political and economic elite, considered socialist agitation the main threat to national security. At the same time, the example of the successful Cuban revolution had a strong impact on the antigovernment movements that started to form in the cities, mainly centered on university campuses. A group of students inspired by the Cuban victory wanted to organize a similar revolution through establishing the *Movimiento de Obreros, Estudiantes y Campesinos* (Workers, Students, and Peasants Movement [MOEC]) in 1959. MOEC never managed to start a guerrilla war, for the leaders were killed in counterinsurgency operations, and the organization split into different factions (Rempe 1995). A small group of former MOEC activists went to Cuba for basic military training in 1964 and returned with the intention to overthrow the government. On January 7, 1965, the first armed attack by the *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* (National Liberation Army [ELN]) was launched by twenty-eight men and women armed with hunting rifles (Medina 1996). The group received increased popularity when Camilo Torres, a Catholic priest and lecturer at the National University of Bogotá, joined the ELN in July 1965. Torres wanted to create a united front of opposition movements and drafted a political program for the ELN before he was killed in his first battle in February 1966 (Pearce 1990, 168). The organization continued

to grow in strength for another decade but had become marginalized by the time the second phase of the Colombian conflict began in 1978.

The Colombian Communist Party split in the mid-1960s, and a Maoist-inspired breakaway faction was formed in 1965. The new organization, *Partido Comunista Marxista-Leninista* (PC-ML), started preparing a peasant-based struggle in the regions of Córdoba and Bajo Cauca. Even though student activists in the PC-ML almost immediately formed the *Ejército Popular de Liberación* (People's Liberation Army [EPL]) it was 1967 before the group was involved in any fighting (Pearce 1990). The military launched several operations targeting EPL and its supporters during the early and mid-1970s, and the group had limited influence when the conflict escalated in 1978.

The third major rural guerrilla group in the Colombian civil war had direct links to the history of La Violencia, in which peasant self-defense groups had taken administrative control of their territories and established leftist “independent republics.” The Colombian military considered these areas the most serious threat to national security, and plans were drafted to regain control of these territories. With the help of military aid in the form of the U.S.-sponsored Plan LASO (Latin America Security Operation), Colombia initiated Plan Lazo (“lasso”) to surround and defeat the guerrillas. Plan LASO managed to defeat the “republics,” but the harshness of government repression also created desperation among the remnants of the self-defense groups. The few surviving guerrillas, Communist and non-Communist, met in July 1964 to form a unified front as the *Bloque Sur* (Southern Block) and to call for an “armed revolutionary struggle to win power” (Rempe 1995, 319). At the second conference of the *Bloque Sur* in 1966, the group established an army under the name *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas* (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia [FARC]) (García-Durán 2004; Molano 1994). The FARC started as the smallest of the three rural insurgencies but managed to increase its

influence through a steady expansion. The FARC has been the most powerful insurgent group for most of the time since 1978.

The ELN, the EPL, and the FARC have much in common. They were formed in the same time period, share the same basic ideology, and have mainly focused on fighting in rural areas with the intention to control territory. The fourth major rebel group in the conflict had a different background and used different methods. After a decade of Frente Nacional rule, opposition to the two-party dominance in Colombia became more intense. The former military dictator, Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, returned from exile to form an alternative popular political movement, the Alianza Nacional Popular (National Popular Alliance [ANAPO]). Apart from its political activity, ANAPO established a strong following in urban areas by dispensing services in poor neighborhoods. After four recounts of the votes in the 1970 presidential election, Rojas was narrowly defeated by the Frente Nacional candidate despite strong claims of election fraud (Bushnell 1993). Disgruntled former ANAPO activists decided in 1972 to join forces with a group expelled from FARC, the Jaime Bateman Cajón, and formed the armed group Movimiento 19 de Abril (the 19th of April Movement [M-19]). The name referred to the frustrating election day of 1970 (Peace 1990, 170–171). The strategy of M-19 was to launch high-publicity operations, *golpe revolucionario publicitario*, to destabilize the state and instigate a public uprising against the government. In its first political attack, the M-19 stole the sword of the independence hero Simon Bolívar from its exhibit in Bogotá in 1974, and the group continued to create civil disorder throughout the 1970s. The M-19 attracted former guerrillas and students in urban areas and managed to become arguably the most influential, if not the biggest or most active, insurgent group toward the end of the decade (Gómez 1996; Kirk 2003, 63–64).

The situation could hardly have been more different for the different insurgent organizations when the conflict escalated in 1978–1979. The

M-19 was slowly becoming more militant and expanding into rural areas, particularly the region of Caquetá, to increase its support base. This was accompanied by an increase in kidnappings for ransom by the group and the theft of 5,000 weapons from the army headquarters outside Bogotá in January 1979 (Gómez 1996; Pearce 1990, 171–172). The increase in kidnappings brought the group into open conflict with militias formed by the drug cartels, and the M-19 never managed to establish a strong rural presence. After participation in the peace attempts during the mid-1980s, the M-19 launched another spectacular attack, the takeover of the Supreme Court of Justice in Bogotá in November 1985. The military response was substantial, and the M-19 was on the retreat until the group signed a peace agreement and became a political party in 1990 (Boudon 2001, 181; Pearce, 1990).

In 1978, the FARC had managed to become the largest rural guerrilla group by avoiding military offensives. In the first decades of its existence, the FARC had mainly focused on defensive tactics, such as organizing basic services and protecting peasants from harassment by large cattle ranchers. The organization became, in effect, the governing authority in the regions under its control and was for periods supported both by landowners and by peasants. Establishing a general staff and secretariat in 1974 was the first step toward expanding FARC influence, but despite the group's substantial local strength, it had managed to establish only nine fronts (military commands) by 1979. Three years later, the FARC officially declared that a revolutionary situation existed in the country and adopted more offensive military tactics. The number of fronts soon grew to twenty-seven in 1983, to sixty in 1995, and to more than seventy in 2000, when FARC claimed to have at least one front in each Colombian department (Pearce 1990, 173; Rabasa and Chalk 2001, 26–27). Although government offensives have made the FARC withdraw from some of its bases, the organization remains by far the biggest guerrilla group in Colombia, with an estimated 18,000 troops in 2004 (UCDP 2005).

The expansions of the FARC and the M-19 were made possible in part by the increased economic resources they received through increased kidnapping and taxation of the growing drug industry. At the same time, joining or supporting the guerrillas also provided security against the increased threat from paramilitary groups and drug cartels (Bejarano 2003). By the late 1970s, cocaine had largely replaced marijuana as the main Colombian drug export, and the newly formed cartels were looking for rural areas with limited government control to set up refining laboratories. Most of the cocaine paste was imported from Peru and Bolivia and the finished product mainly smuggled to the U.S. market. The cartels were allowed to settle in guerrilla-controlled territory by agreeing to pay a protection tax of around 10 percent on all transactions (Joyce and Malamud 1998, 69–70, Krahnmann 2005, 72). Although the FARC quickly increased the number of its fronts, local commanders became more independent, and the approach to the drug businesses has not been regulated centrally. In some regions, drug plantations were suppressed, whereas others accepted the cartels, and some became actively involved in the business (McDermott 2004, 29). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, an increasing amount of coca was grown in Colombia following successful drug eradication programs in Bolivia and Peru (McCoy 2003, 444; Thoumi 2002). The FARC established a minimum price that the middlemen had to pay the farmers for the cocaine paste in their territories but also provided security for the laboratories, which were usually set up close to the guerrilla camps. The income from the drug trade has become increasingly important for the rebels, and protection of drug-producing territories has influenced the military strategies used, especially by the FARC's South and East Blocs (McDermott 2004).

In 1978, both the EPL and the ELN were almost destroyed as rebel movements. Following large-scale military operations targeting the ELN throughout the 1970s, it was reported that only thirty-six guerrillas remained in rural areas

in 1978. The organization regained their political influence in some areas, and the group suddenly expanded following the ELN's nonparticipation in the peace dialogue initiated in 1982 (Pearce 1990). Since the early 1980s, the ELN has been the second-largest active, left-wing guerrilla group, and it also has established some strategic cooperation with the FARC. The ELN has also received some revenue from the drugs business but mainly has focused on kidnappings, extortion, and sabotage of the Colombian oil industry for its income. It is generally estimated that since 1996, the ELN has consisted of some 3,000–5,000 troops (Rabasa and Chalk 2001).

The EPL also suffered through government offensives in the 1970s, but more significant were the internal divisions that split the political organization, the PC-ML, into several factions in 1975. The group continued to lose influence until the party renounced Maoism in 1980. Although the organization expanded slightly in the decade that followed, it never acquired the capabilities of the other guerrillas and joined the peace process in the mid-1980s to build political support among the population. A peace agreement with the government was signed in 1991 but was renounced by a faction of the EPL that continued some activity and relied mainly on kidnappings for income. When the EPL faction tried to expand its rural positions, it came into conflict with the FARC forces, who accused the group of selling out and cooperating with paramilitaries (Human Rights Watch 1998; Pearce 1990, 176).

The sixth main conflict actor developed in response to the increased influence of guerrillas as well as the drug trade in the early 1980s. On December 3, 1981, a helicopter flying over the city of Cali distributed leaflets announcing the formation of the group *Muerte A Secuestradores* (Death to Kidnappers [MAS]). The group was formed by members of the Medellín drug cartel to hunt down and kill the M-19 activists responsible for kidnapping the sister of a local cocaine boss (Kirk 2003, 104; Pearce 1990, 177). Paramilitary organi-

War on Drugs, Terror, and Oil Protection

In the past few years, analysts have started to make connections between U.S. military support to the Colombian government and the demand for increased oil production from the country. Since 1986, when President Ronald Reagan declared drug trafficking—especially that controlled by Colombian syndicates—a threat to U.S. national security, substantial military aid has been directed to strengthen the Colombian armed forces. The U.S. aid, including the substantially increased package initiated in 2000 as Plan Colombia, was initially not to be used against the guerrillas. Following the al-Qaeda attacks on September 11, 2001, this restriction has been removed. Despite negotiations at the time going on between the government and the rebels, the U.S. State Department branded the FARC, the ELN, and the AUC as terrorist organizations, and in early 2002 U.S. military aid was shifted from “counter narcotics to counter insurgency” (McCoy 2003, 449). The funds allocated to Plan Colombia have since then increased, as the U.S. has established a more visible presence on the ground. Most of the U.S. advisors are Special Forces personnel with the explicit objective of creating Colombian units designated to protect oil pipelines. It has been reported that the U.S. soldiers have conducted some of their training “during actual military and intelligence gathering missions” (Klare 2005, 142). As the guerrillas have increasingly focused on disrupting the oil industry in Colombia, it is thus not unlikely that U.S. soldiers may become involved in fighting the Colombian civil war.

zations had been commonplace in Colombia, and the legal possibility had existed for the military to organize civilians into self-defense boards since the mid-1960s (Zárate-Laun 2001). The establishment of MAS was viewed as an example by many politicians and businesspeople discontented with guerrilla taxation, and the phenomenon quickly spread across the country. At the same time, political developments also made the military more inclined to support the formation of paramilitary groups. The election of President Belisario Betan-

cur in 1982 led to the initiation of peace negotiations with the rebels and a focus on national reconciliation. For the Colombian military, this was accompanied by a change of strategy from the previous “dirty war” tactics of suppression. Parts of the military were suspicious of the peace talks and helped organize paramilitary groups, mainly with the objective of attacking the guerrillas despite the cease-fire (Pearce 1990; Zárate-Laun 2001). The paramilitary groups that at first had acted in tandem with the army became increasingly independent and copied the tactics of the guerrillas. Kidnappings and human rights abuses increased as the groups aimed to limit guerrilla income by taking control of taxation and territory themselves. One of the more influential early rural paramilitary groups was the Autodefensas Campesinas de Córdoba y Urabá (Peasant Self-Defense Groups of Córdoba and Urabá [ACCU]). Led by Fidel “Rambo” Castaño, the group managed to force the FARC out of the Magdalena Medio by 1985, and Castaño and his brothers soon became involved in controlling the drug business in the region (Human Rights Watch 1996). With the help of the paramilitaries, large landowners expanded their territories, at the expense of the rural peasant population, from an estimated one-third to one-half the arable land between 1984 and 1987. This was accompanied by an increase in human rights abuses and political murders committed by paramilitaries, which led to strong protests among the Colombian civil society; self-defense groups became illegal in 1989 (Human Rights Watch 1996).

After Carlos Castaño took over the leadership of ACCU following his brother’s disappearance in 1994, a process was launched to unify the different regional paramilitary organizations and diversify into other regions. Through an organizational structure that tried to emulate guerrillas, the ACCU joined forces with self-defense groups in the regions of Cesar, Magdalena Medio, Santander, Casanare, Cundinamarca, and the eastern plains to establish the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (United Self-Defense Groups of Colombia [AUC]) (Human

Rights Watch 1996). Since 1997, the AUC has been a fully organized, independent actor even though some links to the military allegedly remain. Apart from modeling their structure on the guerrillas, the AUC has also established itself as an actor with strong interests in the illegal drug industry, collecting protection fees for territory under its control. When the AUC has expanded, it has focused on resource-rich areas, allegedly to limit guerrilla access to resources. Controlling territories with oil, gold, and drug production has also made it possible for the paramilitaries to strengthen their forces (Zárate-Laun 2001). Ideologically, the group has pursued an agenda based on antileftist ideas and rejection of any reforms of land ownership. The AUC has become the fastest growing actor in size and capabilities within the conflict during the last decade, recruiting mainly in poor urban areas and offering attractive salaries (Bergquist, Peñaranda, and Sánchez 2001, 133–134).

Geography

The fighting in Colombia has spread into each of the thirty-two departments of the country, although there have been substantial regional

differences in intensity, in part owing to the dramatic geographical attributes of the country. According to Sánchez and Núñez, “The geographical differences within Colombian departments are many. . . . For example, the temperature of Cundinamarca (a department located in the center of the country, and one of its richest regions) varies from very hot in some places to freezing cold in others” (2000, 5). In general, three main geographical areas can be identified, all of which provide opportunities for groups to take cover. The lowlands of the Pacific and Caribbean coasts are similar and covered with thick jungle. From the lowlands rises the mountainous region, consisting of three Andean ranges, that cuts the country and defines its climatic variations. The highlands comprise only 26 percent of the Colombian territory, which is dominated by peaks reaching over 5,700 meters (18,700 feet). The ranges are separated by deep valleys, notably those of the two great rivers, the Cauca and Magdalena, and the cooler climate in the highlands has made the region the most populated as well as the center of the country’s economy. The third region, to the east, consists of huge plains to the north and extensive forests to the south (Pearce

Table 2: Intensity and Escalation of the Conflict 1990–2002

Estimated Troop Sizes (Average) for Conflict Actors

Year	No. of Deaths	Gov.	AUC	FARC	ELN
1990	1,820	133,000		5,500	2,200
1991	1,860	134,000		5,500	1,750
1992	2,036	139,000		6,000	2,750
1993	1,560	139,500		3,500	1,000
1994	1,375	146,400		5,700	2,500
1995	1,330	146,400		5,700	2,500
1996	1,582	143,000		5,700	2,500
1997	1,741	143,000	2,000	6,400	2,750
1998	2,417	144,000	4,000	11,000	4,500
1999	2,710	153,000	5,300	13,500	4,500
2000	3,101	158,000	8,000	12,500	4,500
2001	3,245	158,000	11,500	17,500	4,000
2002	4,036	158,000	15,000	17,500	4,250

Sources: Restrepo, Spagat, and Vargas 2006; Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) 2005.

1990). Routes developed by refugees and drug traffickers have also been used by guerrillas, who move along the mountains across the border to Ecuador in the south as well as under the cover of the jungle to Peru, Brazil, and Venezuela to the south and east (Millett 2002).

The ability of armed groups to benefit from the geography has been further accentuated by the slow development of the Colombian transport network. Historically, rivers were the most important routes of transportation, and the roads and railroads built in the late nineteenth century were designed to connect towns and villages within the same region rather than to interconnect nationally. The country still has one of the lowest road densities in Latin America (Sánchez and Núñez Méndez 2000, 6–7). It can be concluded that despite the sometimes impressive capabilities of the different armed groups in Colombia, both in reference to manpower and weaponry, the geography has made it possible for groups to survive even when severely outnumbered. The physical and political geography of the country has contributed to the strategies used with several smaller fronts in different departments.

Tactics

The geography has influenced tactics in the conflict, benefiting smaller groups with high mobility. For historical and political reasons, the Colombian war has been characterized by brief encounters between local, operationally independent, smaller units. The different insurgent groups all originated as small groups, whereas the Colombian army deliberately adopted a strategy based on U.S. counterinsurgency manuals. Historically, the Colombian armed forces were formed for border protection, and the underfunded police were responsible for regulating internal divisions in the country. Since early in the twentieth century, Colombia's official policy had been to follow the United States in foreign policy and security matters, and these contacts became further institutionalized after La Violencia erupted in 1948. Colombia was the only

Latin American country to send troops to the Korean War, and an increasing number of officers were sent to the U.S. counterinsurgency training academy, the School of the Americas, renamed in 2001 the Western Hemispheric Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC) (DeRouen and Heo 2005; Stokes 2005, 5).

When the Frente Nacional coalition government took power in 1958 and ended the most intensive part of La Violencia, a military strategy was devised to defeat remaining armed groups. This strategy, which was based on recommendations from a U.S. Special Survey team in 1959–1960, provided the basis for military action to protect national security from internal threats in Colombia. And although several modifications have been made to the strategy, the basic concepts have remained the core of the military approach to dealing with the guerrillas. Arguably, the increased military buildup in the years since 2002 has led to a return to many of the concepts originally introduced in the early 1960s (DeRouen and Heo 2005, Koth 2005, 18–19). Most of the Colombian military is organized into mobile infantry forces that are supported by a relatively large fleet of helicopters and have the ability to initiate joint internal security operations with the police. These troops are the descendents of the specific counterinsurgency battalions and hunter–killer teams established in the 1960s (DeRouen and Heo 2005; Stokes 2005, 69–70). Central to Colombian military tactics has been the military's ability to use civilians as informers and supporting troops. The ability of the military to create and arm paramilitary units was legalized by Law 48 in 1968, which built on a decree in place since 1965. These “self-defense boards,” consisting of civilian personnel from the combat zone, operated in coordination with the armed forces and also had an unspecified mandate to prevent the formation of rebel groups. When the conflict escalated in 1978 through offensives conducted by the government of Julio Cesar Turbay (1978–1982), these paramilitary forces were criticized by human rights organizations. It was argued that the use of semimilitary groups led to



impunity for the armed forces' involvement in a "dirty war"—murders, disappearances, torture, etc.—against the civilian population (Ruiz 2001, 164–169; Stokes 2005, 72–73; Zárate-Laun 2001). Arguably, the poor human rights record of the armed forces and its paramilitary allies during this period led to increased support for the guer-

rillas in rural areas. Even though membership in a paramilitary organization of any kind became illegal in 1989, reports throughout the 1990s continued to highlight links between the armed forces and the paramilitary groups. As part of recent reorganizations of the Colombian military, renewed options have been created to incorpo-

rate civilians into the counterinsurgency efforts. Military intelligence has been bolstered with a network of part-time civilian informants. Also, conscripts from rural areas have deliberately been placed into regionally based “peasant platoons” to support the police and regional troops (DeRouen and Heo 2005). These developments have received criticism from human rights organizations concerned that this might lead to an increase in military atrocities against civilians.

The tactics employed by the guerrillas have been similar to the government’s in that the main imperative has been to avoid full-scale battles and engage in smaller, hit-and-run operations. There has been a distinct difference between the terrorist tactics of the mainly urban-based M–19 and the rural FARC, EPL and ELN, although the latter groups have modified their tactics in past years. The spectacular tactics employed by the M–19 made the group one of the most influential in the conflict until the peace agreement in 1990. The organization was different from the other insurgents in its focus on urban warfare and also in that it could trace its origin to middle-class intellectuals rather than peasants. This led to the formation of a strategy referred to as the *Organizacion Politico Militar* (Military-Political Organization [OPM]), which emphasized the symbolic value and social impact of the operations as being of equal importance to military-strategic gains (Gómez 1996). In 1974, the group announced its existence in the week leading up to the symbolic theft of the sword of the national liberator, Simon Bolívar, by blanketing Bogotá with messages such as “Wait for the M–19” and “The M–19 is coming” (Kirk 2003, 63–64). Even the bank robberies and kidnappings that provided most of the funds for the M–19 were ideologically justified, with U.S. interests specifically targeted. Apart from large-scale, spectacular operations, the M–19 also pursued minor sabotage operations to initiate public discontent and force the ruling parties to open up the political sphere to other actors. Often, these operations coincided with an effort to strengthen

the M–19’s popularity and influence, such as stealing trucks with food and medicine and delivering them to the poorest communities (Gómez 1996).

The traditionally rural guerrilla groups FARC, EPL, and ELN have employed similar tactics throughout the conflict. The civil war in Colombia never became a significant part of the Cold War, despite the significant U.S. resources allocated to defeating the Communist threat. This can be attributed partly to the local background of the insurgencies and partly to an apparent lack of interest on the part of the socialist bloc in supporting the Colombian guerrillas. All the groups formed in the mid-1960s had links to different factions of the Colombian Communist Party, but none of them were encouraged from abroad in their struggle. Notably, the Soviet Union tried to pressure the FARC, officially embraced as the army of the Colombian Communist Party, to stop their activity in an attempt to improve Soviet relations with the Colombian government. Cuba was more active, supplying basic military training to the founding members of EPL and the ELN. However, even though a secret CIA report in 1968 declared the substantial threat of a Cuban-sponsored revolution in Colombia, the rebels received only limited material support (Ruiz 2001, 119–120). Furthermore, in late 1968 the Cuban government decided to redirect its program of military support to the Middle East and Africa (Copper and Papp 1983).

The lack of outside support meant that Colombian organizations had to acquire resources themselves through criminal activity and taxation of areas under their control, and thus provided a tactical imperative for the rebels to take control of economically important areas. Lack of outside support also explains why the insurgents so willingly established alliances with the drug cartels. Apart from providing economic resources through the taxation of drug traffic, the cartels also provided connections and transportation for arms transfers (McCoy 2003, 447). The end of the Cold War influenced the conflict in that it made possible



An injured man is evacuated from the Palace of Justice, occupied by guerrillas of the 19th of April Movement (M-19), in Bogotá on November 6, 1985. M-19 and other rebel groups are partially financed by taxes they impose on Colombia's drug industry. (AFP/Getty Images)

the Colombian Communist guerrillas' acquisition of more advanced weaponry. The availability of arms from Eastern Europe and used materiel from the Central American conflicts that ended in the late 1980s boosted guerrilla capabilities (Rabasa and Chalk 2001, 35–36).

Although the guerrillas, especially the FARC, have managed to establish several battle fronts across Colombia, these consist of small units of about 100–200 combatants (Jansson 2005). Following the government offensives since 2002, these fronts have been further divided into “guerrilla” units reportedly consisting of twenty-six troops each (McDermott 2004, 31). With the exception of temporary operations launched by either party, the conflict has become “normalized,” and all parties seem to refrain from engaging in battles (Ceballos Melguizo 2001, 112). According to an eyewitness account:

The plains are a divided territory. . . . Each side knows where the other is and respects their territory, but outside of those boundaries, on the road, on the paths and in the towns every type of revenge and outrage is committed. . . . We even saw how the guerrilla camped on one side of the river and the army on the other. Each washed on its banks, but they didn't attack each other. Each side considers the war a job to be done and if they're not forced to fight, they prefer not to risk their lives. . . . Both want us, the people, to offer them our services and when we serve on one side, the other side kills us and vice versa. (Galvis 2000, 135)

A similar situation has been observed in urban areas, where front lines are established on a block-by-block basis, although the situation is further complicated there (Fichtl 2004). After the M-19 signed a peace agreement in 1990, remaining guerrilla groups tried to expand into

urban areas. The armed groups in poorer urban communities developed independently of the guerrillas, who tried to link up with them through tactical alliances such as the FARC-sponsored Red Urbano Antonio Narino (Antonio Narino Urban Network [RUAN]) (Rabasa and Chalk 2001; Rudqvist 2002). The urban militias had formed mainly in response to the drug-related gang wars in the cities during the late 1980s and consisted of a mix of former gang members, M-19 activists, and self-defense vigilantes. The groups declared themselves the armed power of the barrios and announced their presence through graffiti while attacking criminals, drug addicts and dealers, and occasionally the police (Ceballos 2001, 120–122).

The connections between the rural guerrilla headquarters and the urban groups are reportedly weak, and the growth of paramilitaries during the last decade have probably also made some of these actors change their allegiances from the FARC to the AUC without notable difficulties. During the last decade, there seems to have been a slight development of insurgent tactics toward more urban, “terrorist” tactics. Because the situation in rural areas is unlikely to provide a significant military breakthrough for either party, more attention has been given to M-19-style operations. The peace negotiations with the FARC in 1998–2002 were interrupted and eventually abandoned because of highly publicized terrorist operations such as airplane hijackings, and in June 2001, the FARC threatened to take the war to the cities (McDermott 2003, 22; Ruiz 2003). After the breakdown of negotiations, urban guerrilla operations increased. The FARC fired mortars on the inauguration ceremony of President Álvaro Uribe in 2002 and was responsible for several bombings in the following year. As part of its urban strategy, the FARC allegedly employed bomb experts from the Basque Euskadi ta Azkatasuna (ETA [Basque Nation/Fatherland and Liberty]) and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) (McDermott 2003, 22–23). The other active remaining guerrilla group, the ELN, has also increased its use of terrorist

tactics such as airplane hijackings, although the group to a lesser extent seems to target civilians in its operations. An important source of income for the ELN has traditionally been extortion of the Colombian oil industry, and it has been blowing up pipelines systematically in the north of the country (Rabasa and Chalk 2001, 45).

The final actor in the conflict, the paramilitaries of the AUC, has largely adopted the same tactics as the guerrillas but with a more systematic approach to attacking civilians. The guerrillas have consistently punished the civilian population that broke the imposed “law” in their territories, but the paramilitary forces deliberately included attacks on suspected civilian left-wing collaborators as part of their strategy. Hundreds of political assassinations by paramilitary groups in the 1980s ruined the FARC’s attempt to lay down arms and become a political party, the Unión Patriótica (Patriotic Union [UP]) (ACEU 2004). After the paramilitaries created the AUC in 1997, violence escalated, and it has been observed that most of the increased intensity in the conflict during the last years can be attributed to AUC attacks on civilians (Bodemer, Kurtenbach, and Meschkat 2001). The guerrillas have responded with the same tactics, accusing civilians of supporting the paramilitaries and executing them. After public outrage at large-scale killings of civilians committed by paramilitaries in the late 1990s, the AUC publicly committed to becoming more “selective” in its operations. According to human rights organizations, this has led not to fewer killings but to a tactical change: People are abducted into the forest, and bodies are found in separate locations. Both the FARC and the AUC have forcibly displaced civilians to control territory, and assassinations by both groups have increased during election campaigns to influence the results.

Causes of the War

The causes of the conflict—that is, why the rebel movements formed and managed to attract

The Effects of Paramilitary Activity in Putumayo

The leader of the AUC, Carlos Castaño, has famously declared that the development of paramilitary groups is the response by local communities to the terror of the guerrillas. A different pattern has been identified in the region of Putumayo in southern Colombia on the border of Ecuador and Peru. FARC influence in the region grew during the 1980s as the organization smuggled arms and drugs across the borders. The FARC declared a minimum price for coca paste and taxed this trade as well as the oil production in the area. In 1998, AUC paramilitary forces invaded the department and initiated a deliberate attempt to take control of the drug trade. At first, the paramilitaries attacked the civilian population to decrease support for the guerrillas and to establish formal links by making security guarantees to the leadership of indigenous communities. The FARC forces withdrew to the southeast parts of the department and redirected their tactics to focus on the oil infrastructure in the region. Since 2001, the paramilitaries have raised the tax on coca cultivation in the region and have forcibly taken over several positions in the trade, first as middlemen but eventually also as “patrons” responsible for the export of the cocaine. These actions have led to a reduction in the share distributed to the peasants and picking workers, influencing the quality of life of the poorest population in the department. In the third phase of the paramilitary plan to join the department’s economic and social life, the paramilitaries cleansed their own ranks of the forces involved in the massacres, thus increasing security in the region and increasing their own influence in local political units. In 1998, paramilitary activity was not created by the political and economic elites in the department, but these elites have been infiltrated by actors with strong connections to the paramilitaries (Jansson 2003, 2005; Leech 2004; Sweig 2002).

members and supporters—have been outlined in detail in the foregoing sections. Throughout Colombia’s history, each period of economic growth led to growing economic inequality, and the political establishment was reluctant to address issues that concerned the poorer majority of the population. In particular, issues involving land ownership and labor rights were ignored, despite their having caused several previous periods of social unrest. To further enhance the lack of trust in the state, government and police officials had not managed to provide the population with basic services or security. Indeed, it can be argued that territory under guerrilla control provided less corruption and a more secure system of law and order than had been provided in supposedly “free” areas. However, there were undoubtedly some events during the late 1970s that propelled the conflict from regionalized, low-intensity rebellions to a civil war.

It should be noted that the time of escalation of the Colombian conflict from low-intensity clashes, ongoing since the mid-1960s, to civil war is disputed and not based on precise information, owing to the difficulty of distinguishing

between violence related to the conflict and violence related to criminality. Regardless, a number of developments in 1975–1979 changed the nature of the conflict substantially. The political situation in the country was tense, with opposition against the Frente Nacional system and increased political violence during the 1970s. The disgruntled public began to organize nationally, through unions and organizations for indigenous peoples’ rights, and regionally, through local civic committees concerned about incapacities of local government (Pearce 1990). Government corruption and economic recession led to an increasingly vocal labor opposition and culminated with the first national civic strike in the country in 1977 (Pearce 1990, 172; Thoumi, 1994, 47). The winner of the presidency in 1978, Julio César Turbay Ayala, had campaigned on a platform of decentralization, economic reform, and defeating the growing insurgencies. A large-scale military and police “dirty war” was launched in 1978 against guerrillas and drug producers, leading to the most repressive Colombian government experienced. Imprisonment and torture became systematic,

as suspected guerrilla supporters were also targeted. Fighting increased, while the repression led to further antigovernment sentiment and the growth of guerrilla groups and paramilitary self-defense militias (Pearce 1990, 172).

The guerrillas were also getting more ambitious in their approach to the conflict in 1978. The FARC had established a general secretariat in 1974 and initiated a process of expansion. The election of the hard-line president Turbay made the M-19 increasingly impatient with urban tactics, and it devised an attempt to establish itself in rural areas, especially the region of Caquetá.

Finally, an additional factor behind the increased fighting in the late 1970s was the establishment of the second wave of drug business. The trade in marijuana had started to diminish, and a police offensive in 1978 eradicated many of the remaining producers, but the trade was replaced by the cocaine industry. Thousands of peasants, including unemployed people from the cities, started to colonize new areas of Colombia to grow coca, even though most of the raw material was imported from Peru and Bolivia. Most of the marijuana trade had been controlled by American and Mexican distributors and thus provided only limited income for the Colombian contacts. In the mid-1970s, some Colombians had begun smuggling small quantities of cocaine into the United States and quickly made huge profits. Soon, connections were made with coca-growing peasants in Peru and Bolivia, and Colombian-led distribution networks were established using contacts among Colombian emigrants in the United States (Thoumi, 2002). The drug cartels considered it more beneficial to establish their operations in guerrilla-held territory, providing the insurgents with increased resources to fight the government.

Outcome

The civil war in Colombia is ongoing and has escalated during the last years. There have, however, been some serious attempts to stop the

conflict through negotiations that seemed to be successful before they rather suddenly broke down. Of the four main rebel movements in the conflict, two have chosen to sign peace agreements and have become political parties; a third one, the FARC, tried as part of the first peace process.

Conflict Status

On February 20, 2002, the Colombian president, Andrés Pastrana, ordered the military to expel the FARC from the demilitarized zone they had been allowed to occupy during three years of peace negotiations. Operation Thanatos (Death) was launched a day later, when some 13,000 soldiers took control of the territory while the FARC forces quickly withdrew (UCDP 2005). More than three years of peace talks had been marred by numerous terrorist attacks by the FARC in attempts to force the government to agree to their terms, and the final incident was the hijacking of a commercial airliner with a Colombian senator aboard (Isacson 2003, 3). During the same time period, the paramilitary AUC had continued to attack guerrillas and civilians and had increased its control of territory as well as the drug trade. The majority of Colombian civilians had become weary of the guerrillas and the lack of progress in the peace process; in the presidential elections in May 2002, Alvaro Uribe Velez was chosen president. As a governor of Antioquia department in the mid-1990s, Uribe supported the formation of paramilitary groups, and he campaigned under the slogan “Firm Hand, Strong Heart!” and promised to defeat the guerrillas (DeRouen and Heo 2005). Fighting escalated dramatically in 2002, although the guerrillas mainly tried to avoid the government and paramilitary offensives and withdrew into terrain or bases along the borders of Venezuela. As it has throughout the conflict, most of the violence has been directed against civilians accused of collaborating with the opposition (Restrepo, Spagat, and Vargas 2006; UCDP 2005). This tactic has been most often used by the paramilitaries, the AUC, and

the largest guerrilla group, the FARC. According to the AUC, all labor organizers and human rights workers are considered guerrilla supporters and thus qualify as military targets.

Uribe has increased military spending, and U.S. military support has increased during the past few years, after the Colombian civil war was included in the War on Terror. Uribe's strategy has been to increase military and police presence throughout Colombia and to try to effect settlements or demobilizations with one armed group at a time.

The first secret contacts between the government and the AUC were reported in November 2002, and the group announced a unilateral cease-fire starting on December 1, a precondition for negotiations, according to the government. In July 2003, representatives of the AUC, the government, and churches signed the Accord of Santa Fe De Ralito to Contribute to Peace in Colombia. The agreement is not strictly a peace agreement, as the AUC did not have any strong political demands of government policy except a general rejection of the guerrilla ideology. By August 2005, some 5,000 paramilitary troops had been demobilized, but the process has been subjected to severe criticism from several commentators. The main objections have focused on the possibilities for AUC members to rejoin their organizations or local units of the armed forces, and the extent of impunity for former human rights violations offered to the paramilitaries (Human Rights Watch 2005; Koth 2005). It has also been observed that former paramilitaries remain in de facto control over their territories and are starting to infiltrate local political structures (Jansson 2005). Despite the demobilization process, clashes have continued in 2005 between the FARC and AUC, and there have also been some reports of clashes between different AUC members. The process so far has had limited success in decreasing the violence.

Duration Tactics

The resources available to the guerrillas and the paramilitaries from kidnappings and drug in-

dustry have caused analysts to conclude that a military solution of the conflict is almost impossible. These mainly economic resources, combined with the geography, the population's support of the groups, and the groups' ability to cross borders into neighboring countries all influence the ability of different groups to keep fighting. Recent estimates suggest that the FARC makes about US \$300 million annually from its drug trafficking activity alone—about 60 percent of its income, more than enough to maintain the current level of war (McDermott 2004, 29). It is generally expected that the AUC is receiving similar figures, as the group is more involved in the illegal drug industry and has managed to take control of more drug-producing areas in the past few years. During the expansion of AUC since 1997, the group has been able to offer new recruits higher salaries than Colombia's gross national income per capita (Human Rights Watch 2005, 19).

External Military Intervention

There has been no official military intervention by foreign troops in the conflict, although the Colombian government has received substantial aid, including military observers, from the United States. The guerrillas have fostered cross-border contacts with insurgent groups in neighboring countries and have been accused of receiving limited support from Venezuela. U.S. involvement in the development of the Colombian armed forces, and especially their counterinsurgency tactics, has been detailed previously. Furthermore, one reason why the conflict escalated in 1978 was U.S. pressure on the Colombian government to act against the growing drug industry (Thoumi 2002). In the two decades that followed, it was the export of drugs that directed U.S. policy toward Colombia. President Ronald Reagan declared a war on drugs in Latin America in 1982 and further enhanced the objective when drug trafficking in 1986 was declared a threat to U.S. national security, thus legitimizing the use of military forces to fight the drug war beyond U.S. bor-

ders (McCoy 2003, 443). During the 1980s, support consisted mainly of arms transfers and the training of Colombian military at the School of the Americas (Stokes 2005, 77). By the end of the Cold War, the United States had decided to step up the drug war. An increased five-year plan was offered to the Andean nations in 1990, providing they agreed to use the military forces against drug traffickers, and the United States also began to provide the Colombian army with communications equipment, helicopters, aircraft, and the tactical assistance of Special Operations units (McCoy 2003, 446). No new initiatives were launched during the 1990s, but the United States still supplied the Colombian military with arms worth more than \$60 million annually (Stokes 2005, 89). As negotiations began between the guerrillas and the government in 1998, the United States was preparing another initiative against the Colombian drug industry. In 2000, the United States launched Plan Colombia, which consisted of an \$860 million aid package to be used against drug producers rather than guerrillas. The plan included some drug eradication measures but mainly consisted of more military resources and additional advisors (McCoy 2003, 449; Stokes 2005, 93). At first, the U.S. resources allocated to Plan Colombia were not intended for fighting the insurgents; but reports suggested that the Colombian military ignored that aspect. After the United States launched the global War on Terror in 2001, the original plan has been substantially revised (Taylor 2005). The AUC, the ELN, and the FARC were all listed as terrorist organizations by the United States; Plan Colombia has received additional funding since 2002, and the emphasis has shifted from counternarcotics to counterinsurgency (McCoy 2003, 449). The most recent aid package, called the Andean Regional Initiative, has largely financed the government offensives since 2002, when Colombia became the third-largest recipient of U.S. military aid in the world (Stokes 2005, 5, 106–107).

Conflict Management Efforts

In Colombia, negotiation attempts have been launched following popular movements for peace rather than as a result of outside intervention. During the latest negotiations (1998–2002), several international initiatives were formed to support the peace process after negotiations had begun. Regardless, two concerted efforts have been made to end the war peacefully, and attempts to make the armed groups stop their fighting have been partially successful.

The first peace initiative grew out of the failure of the repressive policies to defeat the insurgencies in the late 1970s. As a consequence of the dirty war, the government was criticized internationally; sympathy for the guerrilla struggle, if not support for it, spread among the Colombian population. All candidates in the 1982 presidential election campaigned on the issue of peace, and the most powerful guerrillas at the time, the FARC and the M–19, were planning to continue their struggle as political parties (Pearce 1990, 174–175). The administration of Belisario Betancur (1982–1986) started by setting up a broad peace commission and offering unconditional amnesty to all political prisoners. After two years of negotiations, the FARC signed a cease-fire and started organizing a left-wing political party, the Unión Patriótica, which was officially launched in April 1985 and consisted of former guerrillas and Communist Party sympathizers (ACEU 2004, 9; Rabasa and Chalk 2001). Some FARC members were critical of the peace process, and groups such as ELN that rejected the negotiations or demanded more government concessions (such as M–19) gained increased support. The main reason for the failure of UP to become a viable option for left-wing policies was a campaign of political assassinations launched by paramilitaries supported by wealthy landowners, church officials, and factions of the army (Pearce 1990). Several thousand UP members were killed in 1985–1993 in

an upsurge of violence that eventually contributed to paramilitaries being declared illegal in 1989 and the return to fighting by FARC in 1987 (Pearce 1990, 281).

Three months after the FARC cease-fire in 1984, another agreement was signed with the M-19, the EPL, and a smaller guerrilla group called *Autodefensa Obrera* (Workers Self-Defense [ADO]). The “armed truce” did not hold for long, but negotiations continued, and the M-19 was actively trying to build up its political support by organizing public demonstrations and setting up offices in urban slums (Pearce 1990). In May 1985, the army launched an attack on the M-19 headquarters in Cali, and the M-19 officially declared that it considered the truce to be over. In November of the same year, M-19 counterattacked with a spectacular operation, a takeover by forty-one rebels of the Palace of Justice in Bogotá (Carrigan 1993). The military response using rocket grenades and tanks was broadcast on Colombian television and seemed to symbolize the definitive end of the peace process.

The M-19 had become severely weakened after the Palace of Justice incident, and after President Virgilio Barco (1986–1990) introduced socioeconomic changes and a reform of the Constitution, the organization became a political party on November 29, 1989 (Boudon 2001, 75; Pearce 1990, 218, 229). A few months before the M-19 signed the peace agreement, the group applied to become a legal paramilitary militia and to keep their arms, which further accelerated the process of making paramilitaries illegal (Zárate-Laun 2001). Negotiations with M-19 had been ongoing for a year and a half, and the apparent success of the process led to renewed talks with the FARC, the EPL, and several smaller groups; even the ELN agreed to—temporarily—stop blowing up oil pipelines (Pearce 1990, 285). Throughout the negotiations, paramilitary organizations continued to attack the guerrillas, and when the military launched offensives against FARC- and ELN-controlled territories in 1990–1991, the talks were interrupted.

However, the EPL signed a peace agreement in January 1991, and so did several smaller guerrilla groups such as *Quentin Lamé* and the *Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores* (Revolutionary Workers Party [PRT]), who all joined the new political party *Alianza Democrática M-19* (Boudon 2001, 75).

The partial success of the peace process and the violent excesses of the paramilitaries against civilians and the UP created strong public opinion in favor of renewed negotiations. A citizens group managed to gather 10 million signatures in a campaign propagating a “Mandate for Peace” in 1997, and the presidential elections the following year focused mainly on the possibilities for renewed talks (García-Durán 2004). To facilitate negotiations, the government established a 42,000-square-kilometer *Zona de Despeje* (demilitarized zone) in November 1998, consisting of five municipalities under FARC control (Rabasa and Chalk 2001, 3). The existence of the FARC zone made it difficult to initiate negotiations with ELN, as they too demanded a demilitarized zone in return for participation in the peace process (Isacson 2003, 9–10). After the process had begun, the parties agreed to some Group of Friends initiatives to help provide good offices. For the negotiations with FARC, the Group of Friends consisted of representatives from twenty-six countries, the secretary general of the United Nations, and the European Commission, whereas the ELN talks were facilitated by representatives from five countries (García-Durán 2004). As the negotiations were making slow progress, several incidents led to increasing suspicion of the other parties’ intentions. The armed forces of Colombia were being modernized as part of the Plan Colombia, the paramilitary forces were becoming increasingly powerful, and the FARC constantly disrupted the process by spectacular attacks to pressure the government to make further concessions. Colombian public opinion became impatient with the process, and in 2002 the talks were abruptly broken off as the conflict escalated.

Conclusion

The Colombian civil war has been fought for the last twenty-five years and counting, but more or less organized violence has plagued the country for more than a century. It is difficult to generalize about how the conflict is experienced in Colombia, as there is no cross-national context of conflict. The grievances concerning unequal income and land distribution and the apparent failure of the political system to administer change, which existed before the conflict began, largely remain; but Colombia has developed into a different country during the course of the conflict. The foundation of the guerrilla movements continues to be control of territory and support in the rural areas, even though the country is 75 percent urbanized (Thoumi 2002). The importance of protecting the income-generating drug, emerald, gold, and kidnapping businesses has influenced the guerrillas' strategy, and there seems to be some internal disagreement about whether "winning" the conflict is desirable. During the latest attempt of negotiations with the guerrillas, the main obstacle to settling the conflict was the fractionalization within the different parties. Different guerrilla groups, and even different guerrilla fronts, were pursuing different objectives. At the same time, the political establishment and the armed forces of Colombia—with notoriously unclear links to the paramilitaries—were also unable to present a unified front and make credible commitments (Isacson 2003, 23). The current demobilization of the paramilitaries seems to be a positive development, but several questions remain unanswered, such as whether the process will simply lead to an official assimilation of the paramilitaries into the armed forces and whether the AUC would remain demobilized if the government managed to open a similar process with the guerrillas. Looking at the history of the Colombian civil war, one must acknowledge that each attempt to resolve the conflict has led to counterinitiatives by groups that would benefit more from cementing the present system or even the armed conflict. Violence and criminality have become

lucrative businesses in Colombia, and many actors benefit from the continuing low-intensity warfare and the lack of state presence in parts of the country.

The victims of the conflict in Colombia, as in most civil wars, are the civilian population. Since the main actors in the conflict largely try to avoid open confrontation, the majority of violence is directed toward civilians accused of being informers, collaborators, or sympathizers for the other side. Most soldiers are less concerned with the ideology and politics of their organizations than with the steady source of income the organization can provide. It is a known fact, for example, that several paramilitary fighters have been recruited from the guerrillas by the offer of a higher salary (Human Rights Watch 2005). At the same time, many drug-producing peasants prefer to be on territory controlled by the FARC, for the guerrillas offer a better price than the paramilitaries do (Jansson 2005). Indeed, the Colombian conflict is a labyrinth that has become more and more intricate over time. The best approach to solving the conflict would include all the different actors among the guerrillas, the paramilitaries, and the political establishment in the future peace process. Somewhat ironically, the one thing all actors agree on is that such an approach is not possible.

Joakim Kreutz

Chronology

- December 1964 ELN is established in south Santander department.
- July 17, 1965 EPL is established by members of Partido Comunista (PC-ML).
- May 5, 1966 FARC is formed by united militias in Bloque Sur.
- 1968 Law 48 provides options for the army to create self-defense militias.
- 1972 M-19 is formed.
- Late 1978 Government launches large-scale "dirty war" against guerrilla groups and restricts human rights.
- January 1979 M-19 steals 5,000 weapons from army headquarters and initiates a rural-based struggle.

- December 3, 1981 Members of the Medellín drug cartel announce formation of the paramilitary group MAS and start attacking M–19 forces.
- May 1982 The seventh conference of FARC declares that the time is ripe for revolution and embarks on offensive military tactics.
- November 1982 The government declares unconditional amnesty for all political prisoners and initiates a peace process.
- March 28, 1984 FARC signs cease-fire agreement with the government.
- August 1984 M–19 signs cease-fire agreement with the government.
- May 1985 The different guerrilla groups (except FARC) create the umbrella organization Coordinadora Nacional Guerrillera.
- November 6, 1985 M–19 takes control of the Palace of Justice in Bogotá. Government troops storm the building.
- November 1985 FARC launches the political party Union Patriótica (UP).
- October 1987 The Coordinadora Nacional Guerrillera becomes the Coordinadora Guerrillera Simon Bolívar as FARC joins other rebel groups' attempts to coordinate activities.
- November 1989 M–19 signs a peace agreement with the government.
- 1989 Paramilitary groups are declared illegal.
- 1997 A national umbrella organization of paramilitaries, AUC, is formed on the initiative of ACCU leader Carlos Castaño.
- May 1999 Negotiations begin between FARC and the government; demilitarized zone is created.
- December 2000 United States initiates Plan Colombia, aimed at drug traffickers but leading to a modernization of the Colombian armed forces.
- December 2001 United States removes restrictions on Plan Colombia regarding counternarcotics activity, includes Colombian civil war as part of the War on Terror.
- February 20, 2002 Peace negotiations with FARC collapse; government troops launch an offensive into the demilitarized zone.
- December 1, 2002 AUC declare a unilateral cease-fire and start official negotiations with the government.
- July 2003 AUC signs demobilization agreement with the government.
- May 2006 President Álvaro Uribe Vélez is reelected.

List of Acronyms

- ACCU: Autodefensas Campesinas de Córdoba y Urabá (Peasant Self-Defense Groups of Córdoba and Urabá)
- AD M–19: Alianza Democrática Movimiento 19 de Abril (19th of April Movement Democratic Alliance)
- ADO: Autodefensa Obrera (Workers Self-Defense)
- ANAPO: Alianza Nacional Popular (National Popular Alliance)
- AUC: Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (United Self-Defense Groups of Colombia)
- ELN: Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army)
- EPL: Ejército Popular de Liberación (People's Liberation Army)
- ETA: Euskadi ta Azkatasuna (Basque Nation/Fatherland and Liberty)
- FARC: Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)
- IRA: Irish Republican Army
- LASO: Latin America Security Operation; Plan LASO
- M–19: Movimiento 19 de Abril (19th of April Movement)
- MAS: Muerte A Secuestradores (Death to Kidnappers)
- MOEC: Movimiento de Obreros, Estudiantes y Campesinos (Workers, Students, and Peasants Movement)
- OPM: Organizacion Politico Militar (Military-Political Organization)
- PC-ML: Partido Comunista Marxista-Leninista
- PRT: Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party)
- RUAN: Red Urbano Antonio Narino (Antonio Narino Urban Network)
- UP: Unión Patriótica (Patriotic Union)
- WHINSEC: Western Hemispheric Institute for Security Cooperation

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Democratic Republic of the Congo

(1996–1997 and 1998–Present)

Introduction

During the 1960s and again in the 1990s, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) became embroiled in civil war. Today, the DRC continues on the path of postconflict peace building, striving to move along the continuum from relief to rehabilitation and sustainable development. The latest civil war in the DRC (formerly Zaire) caused the death of 3.3 million people (International Rescue Committee 2003). Although the war began as a civil war, it later became an interstate war, which its participants called a civil war. At times, the war involved seven sovereign states, including Angola, Burundi, Chad, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. The events that led to this devastating civil war reflect the unique history of the region.

Country Background

During the age of discovery, European vessels searched the shores of Africa for riches and glory. The unknown region of what is now known as sub-Saharan Africa turned out to be an inhabited region where peoples and cultures flourished. As the explorers came upon the Congo River and landed on its shores, they recognized that the area was different from anything that they had ever seen. The Portuguese arrived first at the mouth of the Congo River,

encountering the people of the area. This encounter began a long and destructive relationship that still affects the people of the DRC (Hochschild 1999, 7–18).

More recently, the DRC has suffered from the colonial legacy of King Leopold II of Belgium. Formerly known as the Congo Free State, the DRC endured Leopold's destruction, devastation, and extraction. As the personal colony of the king, the DRC provided Belgium with substantial revenue and cheap (free) labor. Condemnation of his activities mounted with the creation of the Congo Reform Association in 1904. Through the work of such intellectuals as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (*The Crime of the Congo*) and Mark Twain (*King Leopold's Soliloquy*), King Leopold's control over the Congo gradually declined until 1908, when his personal rule over the Congo formally ended and Belgium assumed the role. Despite the end of his brutal leadership, the problems created by Leopold remained. Anticolonialism became the new focus of the intellectual community but faded quickly, leaving the people of the Congo in the hands of Belgium for several more years (Hochschild 1999, 185–306).

After fifty-two years of Belgian rule, the DRC gained independence on June 30, 1960. Joseph Kasavubu became the head of state and Patrice Lumumba the prime minister. Within one week, the Army mutinied, and the mineral-rich region

of Katanga declared its independence on July 11, 1960, with the provincial governor, Moïse Tshombe, as its leader. Due to Katanga's vast wealth from its mining industry, the region believed it possessed the right to independence. In September 1960, Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba, and Lumumba attempted to dismiss Kasavubu. Later, after the government reversed the dismissals, Kasavubu dismissed the parliament, and with the help of Joseph Desiré Mobutu (later Mobutu Sese Seko), the Army chief of staff, his forces took Lumumba prisoner and handed him over to the Katanga separatists. Lumumba died a mysterious death in early 1961. The international community believed that a single, united Congo would benefit the stability of the entire region, so the United Nations began its first attempt at peacemaking, a role that its charter did not envision, with the goal of stabilizing the situation in Katanga. In September 1961, UN troops used their mandate to protect themselves when Katanga troops opened fire on them. The UN responded to the aggression with military operations designed to end the insurgency. By November 1964, the UN had contained the rebellion with the help of Western troops. Despite the UN's eventual success, it suffered one of its most challenging periods when Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld died in a plane crash on his way to meet with Kasavubu.

After the cessation of hostilities in the Katanga region, the government attempted to include the secessionists in the national government. Tshombe participated in this effort and sought to build a nationwide political base. He succeeded, but after taking charge of the government formed by Kasavubu, he immediately became a threat to Kasavubu's authority. Kasavubu replaced him with Evariste Kimba. Kimba was scheduled to take office in November 1965, but Joseph Desiré Mobutu (later Mobutu Sese Seko) seized power on November 24, 1965, and proclaimed himself president, ending any semblance of democratic rule in the Congo.

After taking power, Mobutu enjoyed a period of relative calm; however, his despotic ways

began to trouble his people, and the restive regions with ideas for independence made arrangements to overthrow the despotic ruler. In 1971, Mobutu Sese Seko changed the country's name to Zaire to reflect its African heritage; he also renamed many of the regions within the DRC for the same reason. Katanga became Shaba, but its new name did not stop the rebels from preparing for war in Zambia and Angola. Twice (in 1977 and 1978) these soldiers tried to regain control of their mineral-rich region, but both times Mobutu mustered enough loyalists to put down the rebellions. These rebellions showed Mobutu's weakness but warned secessionists that rebellion would be met with overwhelming force. Mobutu ruled with an iron hand over the Congo/Zaire and maintained power for more than thirty years, using techniques that earned him the designation as one of the "Strongmen of Africa." Under Mobutu, Congo/Zaire sunk into chaos despite its vast natural wealth.

Although signs of decay developed much earlier, Mobutu's regime began to erode as the Cold War came to an end. The United States no longer felt motivated to support the kleptocratic regime of one of Africa's last strongmen, as the Communist threat in Africa had dissolved with the collapse of the Soviet Union. As Mobutu's grip on power weakened, an unarmed opposition began to form, demanding democracy. Etienne Tshisekedi led the unarmed opposition and negotiated a sovereign national conference in which all groups in Congolese society participated. Tshisekedi even became prime minister; however, Mobutu undermined the democratic process, quashing the aspirations of millions of Congolese. Mobutu's prime ministers changed several times during this period, and the erosion of Mobutu's regime continued until the rebellion led by Laurent Kabila forced Mobutu into exile, where he died shortly thereafter.

Conflict Background

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda directly contributed to the war in the DRC. With the fall of

the Hutu government in Rwanda, the ex-Rwanda army and the Interahamwe militia fled into eastern Congo along with thousands of Hutu refugees (see article on Rwanda for more details). These different groups of people were indistinguishable from refugees, making repatriation and disarmament difficult. As the international community responded to the humanitarian emergency in eastern Congo, they empowered the military elements of the Hutu refugees to deliver humanitarian assistance. The military elements rebuilt their strength and intended to retake Kigali from the Tutsi rebels. Rwanda and Uganda, realizing that the rebels intended to destabilize their countries with low-intensity strikes on their territory, decided that eastern Congo must cease to be a haven for Hutu rebels. Both countries made their case to the government of Zaire and the United Nations, but Mobutu was unable or unwilling to assist, whereas the UN did not initially believe that the

refugee camps contributed to the Hutu rebellion. Therefore, Rwanda and Uganda devised a military strategy for ending the Hutu threat.

A Tutsi people called the Banyamulenge had lived in the Congo since the eighteenth century, maintaining their Tutsi identity and thereby building animosity between themselves and their Congolese neighbors. Because they were different from the other tribes in the Congo, they remained outsiders. Mobutu rescinded their citizenship in 1981 after he had granted full Congolese citizenship to the Tutsis in 1972 (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002, 405). Therefore, when Rwanda and Uganda searched for a platform on which to achieve security in their countries, ending the Hutu threat was their main priority, and using the Banyamulenge was a means to achieve this goal. The Congolese Tutsi provided a platform on which Rwanda and Uganda could achieve their goals under the guise of an internal Congolese rebellion. This led to the rise of Laurent Kabila, a Congolese who led a



Zairians cheer the arrival of rebel leader Laurent Kabila in Kisangani, Zaire on March 21, 1997. The sign reads "Mobutu no return; Zaire no, Congo yes; Mobutu death death death." (AP/Wide World Photos)

group of four Congolese rebel groups, the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL).

Laurent Desire Kabila came to power on May 29, 1997, with the support of Rwanda and Uganda after leading a devastating military campaign across the country. Each country despised Mobutu's support for Hutus involved in the genocide in Rwanda. As Kabila's forces moved across the vast expanse of Zaire, Mobutu's military forces collapsed in successive battles. After capturing Kinshasa, Kabila renamed the country the Democratic Republic of the Congo and promised a new future for his people based on democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. Unfortunately, his socialist background and despotic tendencies quickly surfaced. He also alienated Rwanda and Uganda by expelling their military advisors.

After the fall of Mobutu, Laurent Desire Kabila began to consolidate his power. As his power grew, the other members of the AFDL began to lose influence and recognized that Kabila had no intention of including them or any other Congolese party in a new government. Kabila's actions resembled Mobutu's previous actions and infuriated both the armed and the unarmed opposition. Eventually, Kabila consolidated power and began to rule the DRC without a mandate from the people. An important component of his power was the support of Rwanda and Uganda. In exchange for their support, Rwanda and Uganda expected the inclusion of Tutsis in the government, a focus on securing the eastern Congo to prevent rebels from conducting cross-border raids, and continued economic and political support. In mid-1998, Laurent Kabila began to dismiss individuals with allegiance to Rwanda and Uganda and requested that all Rwandan military forces leave the DRC immediately.

Rwanda and Uganda condemned Kabila's actions and began to plan the ouster of their former ally. Soon after the public split between Kabila and his former allies, a movement began to overthrow Kabila. Under the pretense of democ-

racy, new rebel groups emerged and made rapid military gains throughout eastern Congo. With the support of Rwanda and Uganda, the rebels made a bold initiative by opening a western front. When the rebels threatened the Inga Dam (which supplied electricity and water to Kinshasa), the world realized that the war went beyond internal rivalries. The rapid movement of the rebel groups from eastern Congo to the west seemed beyond the capability of a homegrown rebel insurgency. Eventually, Rwanda admitted to supporting the rebels, which explained their ability to move troops and materiel across the vast country. Eventually, the Rwanda-Uganda alliance came within miles of the capital of Kinshasa; however, at the last minute Angola came to the aid of Kabila and turned the tide of the war in the west. Zimbabwe and Namibia also supported Kabila and sent troops to stabilize his failing government.

After a great deal of bloodshed, the parties to the dispute agreed to meet in Lusaka in late October 1998. The parties realized that the conflict was stalemated and that to negotiate peace was the only way to end the conflict. The rebels demanded representation in the government, while Kabila opposed their participation. Although high hopes existed when the conference produced a treaty, neither side had any intention of implementing the agreement until the other side yielded. Kabila continually resisted his obligations under the treaty, hoping to change the situation on the ground to benefit his cause. His lack of cooperation with the United Nations also distanced his government from the mainstream concerns of the international community.

Laurent Kabila's brief reign as president of the DRC ended when his bodyguard killed him on January 16, 2001 (Turner 2001, 1–2). Joseph Kabila quickly came to power upon the death of his father with the support of the military, which he had led prior to his father's death. At twenty-nine years old, Joseph Kabila became the youngest world leader, and despite controlling less than half of his country, he immediately went about forming support for his leadership among West-

ern countries. He succeeded in garnering the initial support of France, Belgium, and the United States with promises to end the war using the methods agreed upon in the Lusaka Accords.

Once again, the United Nations became involved in the Congo, but this time the UN realized that peacemaking was not the appropriate approach. Therefore, the Security Council ensured that the United Nations Observer Mission in the Congo (MONUC) remained strictly a peacekeeping mission. Unfortunately, the international community did not fully meet its obligations under the Security Council resolutions by understaffing the mission especially in relation to the size of the DRC.

The Insurgents

One unique aspect of the Congolese civil war is the wide variety of parties to the dispute who joined together to form a common front against the kleptocratic rule of Mobutu Sese Seko. In the second phase of the conflict, the parties to the dispute did not achieve the same level of cohe-

siveness, because Laurent Kabila created divisions within their ranks and solidified his base to protest the foreign intervention by Uganda and Rwanda. With these distinct aspects in mind, the depth and breadth of participants is discussed following.

In the 1996–1997 uprising against Mobutu Sese Seko, the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire included the People’s Democratic Alliance, the National Resistance Council for Democracy, the Revolutionary Movement for the Liberation of Zaire, and the People’s Revolutionary Party. The Alliance Democratique des Peuples (People’s Democratic Alliance [ADP]), is a group of Congolese Tutsis known as Banyamulenge and led by Deogratias Bugera (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002, 225; Otunnu 2003, 66). The Conseil National de Resistance pour la Democratie (National Council for Resistance and Democracy [CNRD]), is a Lumumbist guerrilla group established in 1993 in eastern Congo by Andre Kisase Ngandu (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002, 225). The Movement Revolutionnaire pour la Liberation du Zaire (Revolutionary

Table 1: Civil War in Congo

War:	AFDL vs. government
Dates:	October 1996–May 1997 and 1998–present
Casualties:	3.3 million (IRC) through 2002, 3.8 million (IRC) through 2004
Regime type prior to war:	–8. Score ranges from –10 (authoritarian) to 10 (democracy)
Regime type after war:	Initial collapse of central authority (Interregnum –77)
Current:	Transitional government (Transition –88)
GDP/capita year war began:	US \$110 (1995)
GDP/capita 5 years after war:	US \$108 (2003)
Insurgents:	Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL)
Issue:	Struggle for control of central government
Rebel funding:	Rwanda, Uganda, natural resources
Role of geography:	Large country made defense difficult, distribution of ethnic groups.
Role of resources:	Natural resources are an underlying reason for the war.
Immediate outcome:	AFDL victory
Outcome after 5 years:	Relapse to war within one year
Role of UN:	Facilitated peace talks; peacekeepers (MONUC)
Role of regional organization:	SADC actively involved
Refugees:	3.2 million internally displaced persons, 440,000 refugees
Prospects for peace:	Uncertain

Sources: Institute for Security Studies 2005; International Rescue Committee (IRC) 2003, 2004; Marshall and Jagers 2002; United States Committee for Refugees 2004.

Movement for the Liberation of Zaire [MRLZ]), is an opposition group centered around the Bashi of South Kivu and led by Anselme Masasu Nindaga (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002, 225). The Parti de la Revolution Populaire (People's Revolutionary Party [PRP]) was founded in 1967 by Laurent-Desire Kabila (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002, 225; Otunnu 2003, 49, 66).

The grouping relied on their common hatred of Mobutu Sese Seko but suffered from an underlying distrust of each other's motives. Throughout the campaign against Mobutu, the groups maintained their cohesion despite centrifugal forces opposed to their cooperation. Years of kleptocratic rule galvanized their resolve to overthrow Mobutu. Mobutu's decision to cling to power despite the movement for democracy envisioned by the Congolese National Conference made a negotiated settlement impossible. The AFDL's military success through a blitzkrieg strategy also strengthened their hand. After the fall of Kinshasa to the AFDL, Kabila immediately moved to cement his power. Despite calls for the inclusion of the unarmed opposition, Kabila maintained power in the face of calls for democracy.

In the 1998–2001 uprising against Laurent Desire Kabila, rebel groups included the Parti pour la réconciliation et le développement (PPRD), the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie-Goma (RCD-G), the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie-Mouvement de libération (RCD-K/ML), the Mouvement pour la libération du Congo (MLC), and the Union pour la démocratie et le progrès social (UDPS).

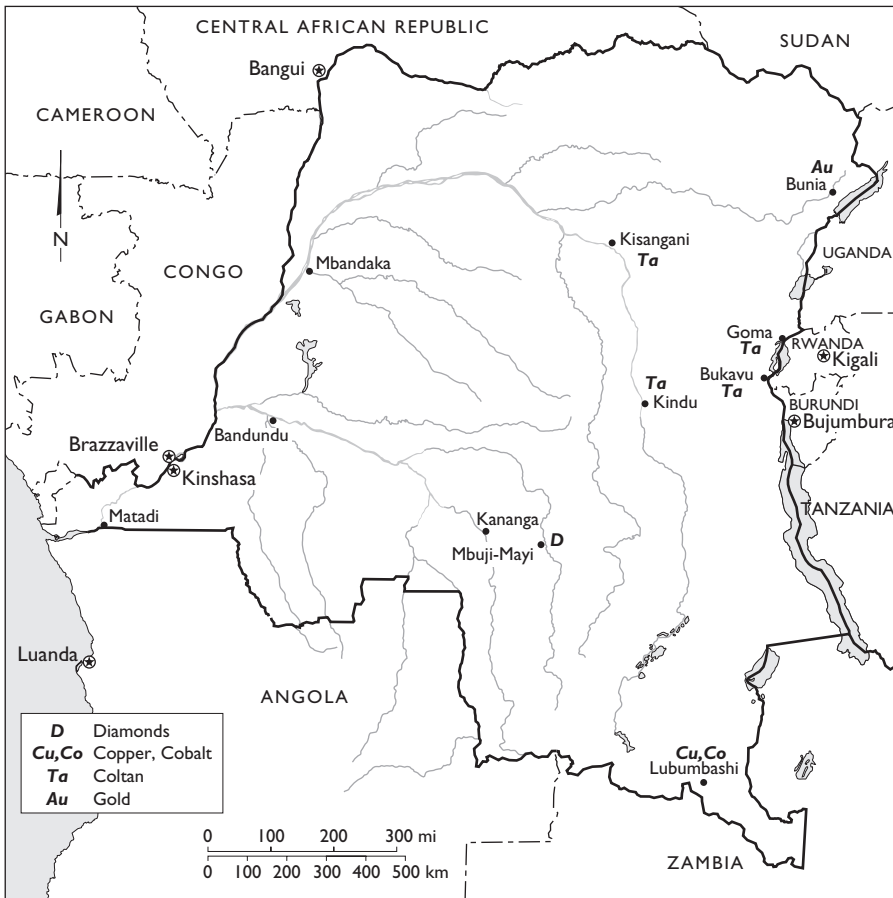
President Joseph Kabila founded the PPRD in March 2002. Its membership includes virtually all the former members of Laurent and Joseph Kabila's governments. Congolese vice president Azarias Ruberwa, a close political ally of the Rwandan government, leads the RCD-G. It controlled much of eastern DRC, and many of its leaders hail from the Banyamulenge community. Mbusa Nyamwisi, the minister of external commerce in the transition government, leads the

RCD-K/ML. The RCD-K/ML broke away from the RCD and is a political ally of the Ugandan government. It controlled an area known as the Grand Nord, which stretches from Kanyabayonga to Beni. Millionaire businessman Jean-Pierre Bemba, a vice president in the transition, leads the MLC. The MLC has close links to the Ugandan government, which controlled much of northern and central DRC. Many of the MLC's senior members hail from the civilian and military structures of ousted dictator Mobutu Sese Seko. The UDPS is the main unarmed opposition party, led by opposition leader Etienne Tshisekedi. Tshisekedi declined to participate in the transition government but intends to run in the presidential elections. There are a multitude of other, smaller parties, many of which were involved in the inter-Congolese dialogue and now have representatives in the transition government.

The groups involved in the second uprising relied more heavily on external patrons and suffered from the same mistrust as the groups involved in the first uprising. In the second uprising, this mistrust led to several changes in leadership and an inability of the groups to focus on their original common goal of overthrowing Laurent Desire Kabila. Because of their lack of cohesion, Kabila was able to focus his attention on highlighting the foreign support of the rebel groups. Kabila used Congolese nationalism (their hatred for Tutsis) to stymie the rebels backed by Rwanda and Uganda (Afoaku 2002, 109–128).

Geography

The DRC is the third-largest country in Africa after Sudan and Algeria. The military tactics of the civil war therefore reflected the size and scope of the theater of operations. During the civil war of 1996–1997 and during the war of 1998–2001, the rebels based their operations out of eastern Congo, where the government maintained the least control. In the jungles of eastern Congo, rebel groups and sovereign states used the geography to hide their forces. For example,



the Hutu militiamen and the ex-Rwandan Army soldiers used the jungle to evade capture and disguise their forces. The DRC is the second-largest country in sub-Saharan Africa, with about 2,344,885 square kilometers, roughly the size of United States east of the Mississippi River. Because of its size, the peacekeepers that United Nations and its member states provided were unable to maintain peace. This led to destabilization, which continues to exist in the DRC.

The DRC has one of the largest, most diverse populations in Africa. An estimated 60,085,804 (July 2005 est.) inhabitants live within its borders. These estimates explicitly take into account the effects of excess mortality due to AIDS (resulting in lower life expectancy), higher infant mortality and death rates, lower population and growth rates, and changes in the distribution of

population by age and sex. Because of the war, many of the inhabitants have suffered from disease and malnutrition despite the DRC's vast natural wealth. The large population in the DRC has provided ample personnel for the various rebel groups while at the same time making it nearly impossible for any government to provide jobs for the unemployed. With the size and extent of the DRC, the population is inherently diverse, making animosities between groups easy to manipulate. Throughout its history, the DRC's leaders have used these differences to maintain control. During the civil wars, this tactic has directly impacted the Tutsi minority in the eastern DRC.

The climate of the DRC varies greatly, owing to the geographic extent of the country and its proximity to the equator. Ranging from tropical

rain forest in the Congo River basin to tropical wet-and-dry in the southern uplands, to tropical highland in eastern areas, the DRC's climatic diversity provides the resources to sustain conflict. Despite being devastated by war, the DRC was able largely to avoid the famine and widespread hunger suffered by many other war-torn states. This was mainly due to the geography of the DRC, which provided food for those fleeing the violence. Although there was widespread suffering for the people of the DRC during the conflicts, the availability of food did not deteriorate as it did in other countries with less abundant food supplies.

The Congo River system, with a length of 2,718 miles, is an extensive network of navigable waterways with substantial hydroelectric potential. Because of its position on the equator, the river flows year round, and commerce thrived along its banks. Limited infrastructure requires the Congolese to rely on the river for much of their transportation. During the wars, however, commerce and transportation came to a halt on the Congo River, bringing substantial hardship throughout the areas usually served by the river. The warring parties used the river to move troops and materiel throughout the theaters of operation.

Finally, the DRC possesses vast stocks of natural resources. These include cobalt, copper, niobium, tantalum, petroleum, industrial and gem diamonds, gold, silver, zinc, manganese, tin, uranium, coal, hydroelectric power and potential, and timber. These resources became the driving force behind the wars in the DRC. Without the natural resources, the warring parties would not have been able to finance the war. Behind their public rationale for the war, the warring parties privately used the DRC's resources to enrich their supporters and finance the materials needed to conduct war.

Tactics

Throughout the civil war, all sides used multiple tactics to conduct military operations. These tactics include the use of child soldiers, natural

resources to fuel conflict, genocide, mercenaries, external intervention, ethnic animosity to increase instability, and others. The variety of tactics increased the complexity of the conflict. As tactics changed, the parties to the dispute adapted to the new situations.

In the second part of the war, the rebels initially adopted a blitzkrieg strategy, a lightning-fast advance across the DRC. This strategy relied on the assumption that Kabila would receive no external and little internal support. The rebels quickly realized that they could not logistically support such a grand strategy while defending against external support for Kabila from such countries as Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Angola (Afoaku 2002, 120–121).

During both phases of the war, but more publicly in the second phase, natural resources fueled the conflict. The UN secretary-general submitted five reports to the organization dealing with exploitation of natural resources in the DRC. These reports were the first *Interim Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (S/2001/49) of January 16, 2001; the *Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (S/2001/357) of April 12, 2001; the *Addendum to the Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (S/2001/1072) of November 13, 2001; the second *Interim Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (S/2002/565) of May 22, 2002; and the *Final Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (S/2002/1146) of October 16, 2002. The international community's attention to the plight of the DRC, especially the illegal exploitation of its natural resources, greatly exceeded the attention given to the exploitation that occurred during

Natural Resources and Conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Historically, the DRC attracted the attention of outside interests because of its natural resources. The sheer size and extent of the DRC contributes to the vast natural resources it possesses. Gold, timber, diamonds, hydroelectric potential, arable land, coltan, copper, oil, and other resources are contained within its borders. Kofi Annan, secretary-general of the United Nations, brought the attention of the world to bear on the systematic looting of the natural resources in the DRC by Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi.

The illegal exploitation of natural resources may not have been the primary reason for conflict in the DRC; however, it was the primary fuel for the conflict. Without the exploitation of these resources, small, impoverished states such as Rwanda and Uganda would not have been able to mount a countrywide campaign against the governments of Mobutu Sese Seko and Laurent Kabila under the guise of homegrown insurgency movements. Another, less publicized aspect of the war in the DRC included those countries that supported the government. For example, in the second phase of the war, Zimbabwe supported the government of Laurent Desire Kabila; however, Zimbabwe could ill afford the deployment of thousands of soldiers while its economy nearly collapsed. Without the natural resources allocated to Zimbabwe, that country's support would have evaporated. Natural resources provide a medium to cause, facilitate, extend, and end conflict, making a central contribution to the war in the DRC (United Nations, 2000a, 2002b).

the conflict to overthrow the despotic regime of Mobutu Sese Seko.

Causes of the War

The war was caused by the interaction of Mobutu's despotism and ethnic tensions between Hutus and Tutsis in eastern Congo (an extension of the Rwanda genocide). Seven factors contributed to the civil war in the DRC/Zaire. The following paragraphs explain how these factors created the environment of the conflict.

First, the refugees in eastern Zaire were a destabilizing force. Not only did the presence of the refugees create a problem, but their composition complicated relations between Zaire and its neighbors. The United Nations created large refugee camps in eastern Zaire after the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. These camps contained large numbers of Rwandan refugees, mainly ethnic Hutus. The refugees in the camp included ex-Rwanda army and Interahamwe militia as well as the former government of Rwanda. These elements used the refugees as shields to regain their strength to battle Rwanda and Uganda. Many refugees believed that they could not return to Rwanda, because propaganda from

their leadership led them to believe that Rwanda was not safe. The presence of refugees inside the borders of Zaire contributed to the instability that propagated the final collapse of Mobutu's regime.

Second, the complete collapse of the Zairian state caused by Mobutu's kleptocracy, lack of democracy, and lack of development contributed to the war. Throughout his regime, Mobutu's first priority was to maintain power; his second was to enrich himself at the expense of the Congolese people. Despite the great economic potential of the Congo, its wealth never benefited the people, only Mobutu and his cronies. Mobutu used the resources of the Congo to extract financial wealth from multinational corporations, from which he created a praetorian guard to help him maintain power. Mobutu's actions over his long reign created the conditions that led to the complete collapse of the Zairian state.

Third, the inability of the Sese Seko regime to secure its borders with Rwanda and Uganda forced two small states into a proxy war against its larger neighbor. Prior to the war in the DRC, Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni, a Tutsi, allowed the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) to

base its operations in Uganda for years. The Tutsis of the RPF fled Rwanda in the 1960s and have resided in Uganda since then. With Museveni's rise to power, the RPF gained an ally who supported their cause. During the genocide in Rwanda, the RPF launched an all-out attack on the genocidaires, overthrowing the Hutu government and forcing them into neighboring countries. These refugees were reconstituted in the DRC and launched attacks into Rwanda, destabilizing the region. The Sese Seko regime tacitly and directly supported the cross-border attacks. Rwanda, still recovering from genocide, and Uganda recognized that the remnants of the genocidaire government in the refugee camps of eastern Zaire threatened their security—a threat that they believed required preemptive action through the support of the AFDL. Mobutu's inability to adequately address the security concerns of its smaller neighbors led to conflict.

Fourth, due to the vast wealth of DRC/Zaire, the parties to the dispute garnered economic benefits by participating in the conflict. With abundant supplies of copper, cobalt, gold, diamonds, timber, water, coltan (short for the mineral columbo-tantalite) tin, and other natural resources, the disputants used the resources to finance military operations. By signing mining contracts in territory they controlled, the AFDL obtained the financial resources to purchase weapons and materiel. The existence of these resources impacted military strategy because there was a strategic advantage to hold territory containing natural resources. Military campaigns therefore centered on areas with abundant natural resources. Not only did the natural resources of the DRC/Zaire contribute to the conflict, they also fueled the conflict, making it profitable for the external participants to continue their campaigns.

Fifth, Africa's decision to accept its colonial borders, inherited from colonial demarcation, meant that many borders did not respect the distribution of ethnic groups. Specifically, the Tutsi ethnic group overlapped the borders of

DRC/Zaire, Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, and Tanzania. Many Tutsi identified with their ethnic group before identifying with the colonially constructed state boundaries. This identification by Tutsis in the Congo isolated them from other Congolese, making them the target of reprisals and unfair government policies. Although the borders did not directly cause the conflict, they contributed to the overall conditions that led to it.

Sixth, during the independence movement in DRC/Zaire, the rapidly unfolding events prevented Belgium from gradually handing control over to the Congolese. Belgium's colonial policies did not allow indigenous people to rise to important leadership positions. Therefore, the people of the Congo relied on Belgium to manage the complex bureaucracy with little input from the indigenous leaders. At the time of independence, few educated indigenous personnel possessed the expertise to run the vast territory. For example, the military had few indigenous people who possessed the skills to lead an army. The violence surrounding independence led to an exodus of Europeans from the territory. Also, Belgium's policies in Rwanda supporting the Tutsi minority over the Hutu majority created tensions that crossed Rwanda's borders and fueled an animosity that would later lead to war in the DRC. Overall, the colonial transition contributed to conditions that eventually led to the conflict (Turner 2000, 1–4).

Finally, during the Cold War the United States supported the Mobutu regime, artificially extending its duration. U.S. support lasted until the end of the Cold War, when the United States no longer needed Zaire's bases to support Angolan rebels. From its independence, Cold War rivalries affected the politics of the DRC. The battle between Patrice Lumumba, Joseph Kasavubu, and Joseph Desire Mobutu (later Mobutu Sese Seko) became a side story to the Cold War politics between the United States and the Soviet Union. Lumumba's move toward the Soviet sphere of influence, coupled with his election as prime minister, alarmed the United

States. Covert Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operatives facilitated the assassination of Lumumba and the rise to power of Mobutu. The lack of external support for the Mobutu regime removed an important support infrastructure that hastened the collapse of the regime, eventually leading to the conflict.

Despite several contributing factors, it is clear that no single event caused the war in DRC/Zaire. Throughout Mobutu's regime, the contributing factors directly caused or exacerbated by his regime culminated in the conflict.

Outcome

After the fall of Kinshasa, the AFDL began the process of forming a government. Initially, the nonviolent opposition would be part of a coalition leading the country in the spirit of the Congolese national convention held years earlier. This initial optimism soon turned to a realization that Laurent Kabila was not the democrat the people of the Congo had anticipated. This led to another conflict, which lasted for several more years. After years of conflict, the parties to the dispute realized that a continuation of the conflict was not feasible due to war fatigue, the death of Laurent Kabila, and the embrace of the peace process by Joseph Kabila.

Conflict Status

Initially, Kabila's victory led to peace; however, within one year of his victory he had squandered his political capital with behavior reminiscent of his predecessor. Therefore, the conflict continued, evolving into a new, more deadly stage that included several sovereign states. A transitional government eventually took power, with Joseph Kabila as its leader and several leaders of the rebellion participating. An election was scheduled for July 30, 2006. That election led to a runoff on October 29, and on November 15 the Independent Electoral Commission announced that Kabila had won.

Although the parties to the dispute in the DRC realized peace with the Lusaka Accords, the

momentum of those meetings did not change the situation on the ground. The tense relationship between the various parties involved in the conflict continued after the accords and required substantial compromise. On March 15, 2005, the secretary-general released a report about the status of MONUC in response to Security Council Resolution 1565. The report covers developments since December 31, 2004. The Transitional Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo made progress on several fronts; however, security sector reform and the legislative agenda did not make progress. In January 2005, the MLC nearly withdrew its support of the Transitional Government because of Kabila's dismissal of several ministers for what he called "inappropriate activities." The MLC viewed these dismissals and subsequent replacements as a violation of the Global and All-Inclusive Agreement and the Transitional Constitution. To facilitate a compromise, the International Committee for Support of the Transition (CIAT) offered proposals to end the stalemate. Fortunately, the parties came together and made a compromise to bring the transitional government back together. On January 3, 2005, the parliament ended its three-month session with achievements in the areas of armed forces, nationality, and voter registration. Unfortunately, the parliament was not able to reach agreements on referenda, amnesty, the status of the political opposition, the financing of political parties, the draft constitution, and the electoral law.

Many observers and the participants themselves believed that there would be an election in the DRC in June 2005. The president of the Independent Electoral Commission announced on January 7, 2005, that an election in June 2005 was not feasible but that an election in late 2005 was more realistic—which later became July 2006. Regional tensions continue to make peace difficult to maintain. The Joint Verification Mechanism and the Tripartite Commission have worked throughout the country to maintain peaceful relations among all parties. MONUC created Joint Verification Teams in Goma and

Transitional Government in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)

The Global and All-Inclusive Agreement signed in Pretoria, South Africa, on December 17, 2002, created the transitional government in the DRC. The transitional government envisioned during the negotiations of the Lusaka agreement included members from all parties to the dispute. Joseph Kabila leads the transitional government, and four vice presidents come from the various rebel groups. Rebel leaders as well as former government representatives participate in the transition from war to peace. Included as vice presidents are Azarias Ruberwa (political affairs, defense, security, disarmament and demobilization of former combatants), Jean-Pierre Bemba (economic and finance), Arthur Z'Ahidi (sociocultural), and Adbouldaye Yerodia Ndombasi (infrastructure). The transitional government is highly centralized, with the president leading the executive branch. A new constitution accepted in May 2005 governs the operation of the government, but this constitution must be approved in the national referendum. The cabinet, a thirty-five-member executive body, and the transitional parliament of about 500 members are based in Kinshasa. All members are appointed by signatories to the December 17, 2002, Global and All-Inclusive Agreement.

Transition in the DRC remains a slow process in which the transitional government treads softly to ensure that the fragile arrangements do not disintegrate. What was thought impossible during the reign of Mobutu Sese Seko or Laurent Desire Kabila became a reality during the reign of another Kabila. Joseph Kabila surprised the international community with his embrace of the Lusaka Accords and his approval of the Global and All-Inclusive Agreements. After the negotiated settlement finally held, the most challenging aspect of peace arrived, the transition. During the time of Kabila (Laurent) and Mobutu, no one believed that elections could occur. The transitional government predicted elections in the fall of 2005, but this did not happen. Several delays pushed the elections back to July 30, 2006 (United Nations Security Council 2005a, 2005b, 2005c).

Bukavu to monitor all agreements and build confidence. These teams include representatives of the DRC, Rwanda, MONUC, and the African Union (AU). These groups continue to work on building peace in Ituri province as well as North and South Kivu, where conflicts occurred (United Nations Security Council 2005a, 2005b, 2005c).

Duration Tactics

The rebels and the government both relied on natural resources and the related concessions to maintain the war effort. As the rebels seized territory, they immediately rescinded government concession agreements and began negotiations with multinational corporations for new concession agreements. The rebels used advanced payments to purchase arms and materiel. Stealing of natural resources became the main source of rebel financing; during the second stage of the conflict, external actors blatantly removed resources from the DRC and made substantial gains at the DRC's expense. Both sides of the

conflict used child soldiers to fill the ranks of their militias.

Both sides of the conflict inflamed ethnic rivalries to benefit their cause. Hutu, Tutsi, and Congolese ethnic identity became the center of the group's movement to overthrow the government. Kabila used anti-Tutsi sentiment to slow the advance of the rebels. He believed that the longer he could fight to a stalemate, the longer he would have to garner support from his allies. He was able to hold out long enough for Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and others to join his cause.

The war continued, owing to resource stealing and ethnic rivalries. During the first war, Laurent Kabila was able to use Congolese animosity toward Mobutu to build his support and eventually overthrow the government. During the second war, Laurent Kabila was able to stay in power by using Congolese animosity toward the Tutsi to slow the rebels' campaign against him and allow him to build a coalition of sovereign states to ensure his regime's survival.

External Military Intervention

Generally defined as an internal conflict, despite the active participation of external actors in both phases of the conflict, the war in the DRC involved a variety of tactics. Owing to the DRC's geographic extent and the policies of Mobutu Sese Seko, external actors possessed both the ability and the will to intervene in the internal affairs of the DRC. Each phase included external intervention that impacted events during the internal conflict. It is important to understand the complex relationships between the DRC and its neighbors to understand their decisions to intervene.

During the 1996–1997 rebellion, Uganda, Rwanda, and Angola tacitly supported the AFDL, whereas unsubstantiated reports believed that Sudan and UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) supported the Mobutu government. Uganda supported the rebels to secure its border from insurgent attacks from eastern Zaire, to obtain economic benefits, and to support Rwanda. Rwanda supported the rebels to secure its border from insurgent attacks from eastern Zaire, to obtain economic benefits, and to install a friendly government in Zaire. Angola supported the rebels to counter Mobutu's support of the UNITA regime. Also, Angola needed to secure its border with Zaire near the enclave of Cabinda, which Zaire had invaded in the past. Sudan may have supported the government because Sudan supported rebels looking to overthrow Yoweri Museveni, whereas Uganda supported rebels fighting against the government of Sudan. UNITA relied on its bases in Zaire for launching attacks on Angola; therefore, keeping Mobutu in power ensured UNITA's ability to use bases within Zaire.

During the 1998–2001 rebellion, Uganda and Rwanda supported the rebels, whereas Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Chad, and others supported the government of Kabila. Uganda participated in the conflict in the DRC to protect its interests in the region. As a small state dominated by Tutsis, Uganda realized that instability in the DRC threatened its security. The leaders

of Uganda and Rwanda shared a common background as they worked together to bring Tutsi governments to their respective countries. Museveni came to power first, but Kagame provided support during Uganda's difficult times. When Kagame finally realized the opportunity to bring a Tutsi government to Rwanda, Museveni supported Kagame in this quest. When the conflict in the Congo began to threaten the efforts of Museveni and Kagame to bring peace to their countries, both realized that they could affect the situation of their neighbor through military force (Clark 2002, 145–168; Otunnu 2003, 21–84). Rwanda participated in the conflict in the DRC to protect its interests in the region and to ensure that its fragile peace did not unravel because of cross-border military operations conducted by remnants of the former Hutu government. The history of genocide in Rwanda led its leadership to realize that instability in the Congo could threaten Rwanda's security. Therefore, with the support of Uganda, Rwanda used its military strength to bring about the conditions necessary for security at home. Rwanda and Uganda used their militaries to hold some territory in the DRC, but the true role of the troops was to manage the rebel groups fighting on their behalf while also overseeing the wholesale looting of the DRC's natural resources (Longman 2002, 129–144; Winter 2003, 109–136). Burundi participated in the conflict in the DRC as an extension of Rwanda/Uganda. Also, Burundi's civil war spilled across the DRC's eastern border, creating instability and a purpose for cross-border operations similar to the reasons Rwanda and Uganda cited for their incursions into the DRC (Rogier 2003, 3). Burundi's rebel groups used the lawless parts of the DRC to launch incursions into Burundi like those of the Interahamwe militia and the ex-Rwanda Army (Rogier 2003, 5). Burundi's official rationale for participating in the conflict focused on their attempts to dispel their rebel movements (Turner 2000, 1–4).

Zimbabwe participated in the conflict in the DRC to protect its interests in the region and to

enrich its economy by obtaining resources from the DRC (Rupiya 2002, 93–108). Namibia participated in the conflict in the DRC as part of the South African Development Community's mission to the country. The president of Namibia, Sam Nujoma, and Zimbabwe's president, Robert Mugabe, shared the freedom fighter mentality from their respective fights for independence. Their relationship and shared membership in the SADC brought Namibia into the war; however, Namibia's participation in the conflict did not rise to the level of Zimbabwe's. Angola participated in the conflict in the DRC to protect its interests in the region and to ensure that UNITA rebels did not maintain a presence in the DRC. During the first phase of the conflict, Angola supported the overthrow of Mobutu Sese Seko because of his open support for UNITA rebels; however, Angola shifted its support in the second phase to Laurent Kabila to ensure that Rwanda and Uganda did not gain undue sway over a future government of the DRC (Turner 2002, 75–92). Zambia participated in the conflict in the DRC at a minimal level, mainly to protect its border with the DRC, to ensure that the conflict did not spill over into its territory. Zambia contributed to the peace process by hosting the parties to the dispute at peace talks on Lusaka. Chad participated in the conflict in the DRC at the request of Laurent Kabila as a means of showing Francophone unity against the aggression of Rwanda and Uganda. Chad's participation provided more moral support than military utility. Overall, the DRC's allies used military tactics that initially stopped the advancing forces and then deployed to protect the economically strategic assets (diamonds, gold, timber, etc.) of government-held territory.

During the conflict, the United Nations became involved in the DRC for the second time in its history. Several statements issued by the UN condemned the warfare in the Congo, urged its member states to support a UN mission into the DRC, and demanded an end to the bloodshed. Despite their moral and legal obligations, the UN member states did not immediately rush to

the aid of their fellow member state. Prior to the full mobilization of Kabila's forces in the first wave of the rebellion, the UN nearly sent a mission to the refugee camps on the border with Rwanda and Uganda; however, many refugees left the camps for Uganda and Rwanda before a mission could be formed. Debate still exists as to why these refugees suddenly and voluntarily repatriated themselves, but the end result was the determination that a UN mission was no longer necessary.

Kabila felt emboldened when the UN chose not to intervene in the refugee camps, and he began a campaign across the country, eventually toppling the Mobutu regime. Later, after the first Kabila's regime collapsed and a second Kabila came to power, the UN again considered involvement. The UN worked with Laurent Kabila to form a peacekeeping mission to separate the parties to the dispute in the second rebellion. Kabila initially supported the UN in his country; however, when it began to inquire about human rights abuses, he curtailed its operations. With his death and his son's rise to power came a political opening for the UN to finally deploy a peacekeeping mission. Joseph Kabila supported the UN's role and cooperated with its envoys.

United Nations involvement escalated when the parties to the dispute signed the cease-fire agreement on July 10, 1999, in Lusaka, Zambia, opening the way for the UN to participate in the peacebuilding of the DRC. The DRC, Angola, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda, and Zimbabwe agreed to a cessation of hostilities at that time, whereas on August 1, 1999, the Movement for the Liberation of the Congo also signed the agreement. The Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD) did not sign the agreement. The agreement called for the normalization of the situation along the DRC border, the control of illicit trafficking of arms and the infiltration of armed groups, the holding of a national dialogue, the need to address security concerns, and the establishment of a mechanism for disarming militias and armed groups. The agreement created a Joint Military Commission (JMC) composed of

two representatives from each part under a neutral chairman appointed by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and proposed an “appropriate force” to be constituted, facilitated, and deployed by the UN in collaboration with the OAU (MONUC 2005).

Based on the recommendations in the secretary-general’s report of July 15, 1999, the Security Council in Resolution 1258 (August 6, 1999) authorized the initial deployment of MONUC to the capital of the signatory states, the JMC headquarters, and the rear military headquarters of the main belligerents in the DRC and to other areas deemed necessary by the secretary-general. On February 24, 2000, Security Council Resolution 1291 authorized the expansion of MONUC to 5,537 military personnel, including 500 observers or more if the secretary-general determined there was a need. In the secretary-general’s special report of September 10, 2002, the secretary-general noted the withdrawal of 23,400 Rwandan troops from the DRC as well as withdrawals of Ugandan, Zimbabwean, and Angolan troops. With the secretary-general’s recommendation, the Security Council expanded the mission to 8,700 military on December 4, 2002, with Security Council Resolution 1445. In the secretary-general’s special report of May 27, 2003, the peace process moved beyond Lusaka; therefore, the mission was reconfigured to address the transition. Security Council Resolution 1493 raised troop levels to 10,800 and created an arms embargo of the eastern provinces where conflict still raged. On October 1, 2004, Security Council Resolution 1565 increased the force by 5,900 to a total of 16,700 while laying out its role in the transition. Despite receiving an increase, the secretary-general wanted 23,900 troops and 507 civilian police (MONUC 2005).

Conflict Management Efforts

Several international, regional, subregional, and internal peace initiatives failed during the civil war of 1996–1997 and the advance of the AFDL. Due to the strength of Kabila’s coalition and its patrons and the relative weakness of the Zairian

armed forces, Kabila continued his march on Kinshasa. Mobutu’s thirty-year reign of terror over the people of Zaire increased support for Kabila, the lesser of two evils. Although attempts at peace did not succeed, the study of these attempts warrants further discussion.

As the AFDL moved across the country, diplomatic initiatives occurred regularly, without success. Before the AFDL consolidated its military strength, the Zaire government believed it could end the rebellion through the use of military force and was unwilling to negotiate. After the fall of Kisangani, the center of the governments’ defenses, the government changed its position and began negotiating with the AFDL; however, the AFDL now possessed the advantage and refused to negotiate until Mobutu resigned. Nelson Mandela, the president of South Africa, attempted to broker an agreement that would avoid further bloodshed. He believed that bringing Kabila and Mobutu together would allow them to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the dispute. After several disagreements about the terms of the negotiation, the parties agreed to meet on a South African naval warship off the coast of Zaire. Mobutu demanded that the AFDL stop its advance on Kinshasa to allow him to step down for health reasons; however, Kabila was unwilling to negotiate unless Mobutu stepped down immediately.

On November 15, 1996, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1078 and later Resolution 1080, which outlined the mandate for a multinational force in Zaire. The United Nations discussed the refugee issue in Zaire within the context of the AFDL march across the country. The international community agreed on creating a multinational force (MNF). The United States offered to provide the logistics and troops, and Canada would lead the force. Other European countries also promised to contribute. The stated goal of the MNF was to repatriate the Rwandan refugees still in Zaire after the Rwanda genocide. However, before the bulk of the forces deployed, the AFDL surrounded the main refugee camps, disarmed the

leaders of the camps, and urged the remaining refugees to return to Rwanda. This unorthodox approach sent hundreds of thousands of refugees back to Rwanda and removed the main purpose of the multinational force, thereby leading to its dissolution. A meeting of African states was held in Nairobi, Kenya, to discuss the deteriorating situation in Zaire, but the sides did not reach an agreement.

During the second phase of the conflict, 1998–2004, peace negotiations took place throughout the conflict, without success. After a year of conflict, the parties to the dispute agreed to meet at Lusaka, Zambia, and negotiate peace. Although the parties formed an agreement, the conflict continued. Three distinct phases existed during this process: the Lusaka, Zambia, phase; the Sun City, South Africa, phase; and the Pretoria, South Africa, phase.

The Lusaka phase extended from the Lusaka cease-fire agreement initiated by the Zambian president on behalf of the South African Development Community (SADC). The DRC, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda, Zimbabwe, and Angola signed the agreement on July 10, 1999; the MLC signed on August 1, 1999; and the RCD signed on August 30, 1999. After the parties to the agreement signed the document, the inter-Congolese dialogue began. This dialogue was an attempt to solve the problems of the Congo in a deliberate, peaceful process where all sides address their concerns. The stated goal of the dialogue was to bring together a transitional authority to run the country while preparing for democratic elections. Four main issues were also included in the process: a new Congolese Army, new Congolese institutions, elections, and a new constitution.

The Sun City phase began after the failure to implement the Lusaka peace accords. South Africa took an active role in the peace initiatives after Zambia proved unable to garner the support of the parties to the dispute. As another member of the SADC, South Africa attempted to end the stalemate. On December 16, 2002, the parties to the dispute agreed to a Global and All-

Inclusive Agreement on the Transition. After several years of conflict, the parties to the dispute, the government of the DRC, the Congolese Rally for Democracy, the Movement for the Liberation of the Congo, the political opposition, civil society, the Democracy/Liberation Movement, the Congolese Rally for Democracy-National, and the Mai Mai, came to together and created the agreement. Despite high hopes for peace, prosperity, and development in the DRC, in the absence of conflict the full implementation of the agreement did not occur until 2004, when all main parties finally implemented the agreement.

On November 19–20, 2004, the heads of state and government met in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, for the International Conference on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the Great Lakes Region. The culmination of their discussions produced the Dar Es Salaam Declaration on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the Great Lakes Region. This document addresses four core areas: peace and security, democracy and good governance, economic development and regional integration, and humanitarian and social issues. The participants decided to set forth the principles for a follow-up mechanism and a vision for the future and agreed to meet again in 2005 to create an agreement on security in the Great Lakes Region (Relief Web 2005a, 2005b; United Nations Vienna 2005).

Conclusion

The tragic history of the DRC/Zaire represents the harsh realities of armed conflict in Africa. Despite a substantial resource endowment, an incredible hydroelectric potential, a superb natural infrastructure, and considerable foreign direct investment, the DRC/Zaire collapsed from a multitude of causes. The civil uprising of 1996–1997 sprang from the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and festered under the extreme nepotism of Mobutu Sese Seko. At the intersection of ethnic conflict and kleptocratic leadership, con-

ditions were formed for civil war in the DRC/Zaire. Millions of Congolese died, millions more suffered during the postcolonial period, and the suffering continues today.

After years of internal conflict, the DRC stands at the doorway of democracy, human rights, and freedom. The decision to walk through that doorway requires continued growth of the political space between the various groups in the transitional government. Each group holds the power to destroy the joint efforts to realize peace, prosperity, and sustainable development. As the country approaches the end of the transitional period and goes to the polls, the international community must expand its support for peace in the Great Lakes Region. The DRC, central to this goal, requires substantial financial, technical, logistical, and human resources from the international community. Despite support from the United Nations, the African Union, the Southern African Development Community, and the donor community, the country lies on the boundary between peace and war. To realize peace, the international community must maintain the political will to see the situation through to completion.

Kyle Wilson

Chronology

- August 1482 Diego Cao becomes the first European to visit the area.
- February 5, 1885 Colonized by King Leopold II of Belgium (Congo Free State).
- August 20, 1908 Colonized by Belgium (Belgian Congo).
- June 30, 1960 The Congo declares independence from Belgium.
- November 24, 1965 Mobutu Sese Seko becomes president.
- March 8, 1977 Shaba I (Katanga) invasion begins.
- May 3, 1978 Shaba II invasion begins.
- 1989 Zaire defaults on loans from Belgium.
- April 1992 Zaire national conference proclaims itself sovereign.
- April 6, 1994 Genocide in Rwanda begins with the assassination of Juvenal Habyarimana.
- October 1996 AFDL begins invasion to overthrow Mobutu.
- May 29, 1997 Laurent Kabila becomes president.
- August 2, 1998 Rebels begin invasion to overthrow Kabila.
- July 1999 Lusaka Cease-fire Accords take effect.
- August 31, 1999 United Nations begins deploying troops.
- January 16, 2001 Joseph Kabila becomes president.
- December 16, 2002 Global and All-Inclusive Agreement on the Transition agreed to.
- April 5, 2003 Joseph Kabila introduces new constitution.
- April 7, 2003 Joseph Kabila is sworn in as interim president.
- July 17, 2003 Four vice presidents are sworn in.
- November 19, 2004 International Conference on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the Great Lakes Region is held.
- January 7, 2005 President of Electoral Commission delays election.
- December 18, 2005 Nationwide referendum on draft constitution is held.
- July 30, 2006 National elections scheduled to be held.

List of Acronyms

- ADP: Alliance Democratique des Peuples (People's Democratic Alliance)
- AFDL: Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire
- AU: African Union
- CIA: Central Intelligence Agency
- CIAT: International Committee for Support of the Transition
- CNRD: Conseil National de Resistance pour la Democratie (National Council for Resistance and Democracy)
- DRC: Democratic Republic of the Congo
- JMC: Joint Military Commission
- MLC: Mouvement pour la libération du Congo (Movement for the Liberation of the Congo)
- MNF: multinational force
- MONUC: United Nations Observer Mission in the Congo
- MRLZ: Movement Revolutionnaire pour la Liberation du Zaire (Revolutionary Movement for the Liberation of Zaire)
- OAU: Organization of African Unity
- PPRD: Parti pour la réconciliation et le développement (Party for Reconciliation and Development)
- PRP: Parti de la Revolution Populaire (People's Revolutionary Party)

RCD-G: Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie-Goma (Congolesse Rally for Democracy [Goma])
 RCD-K/ML: Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie-Mouvement de libération (Congolesse Rally for Democracy [Liberation Movement])
 RPF: Rwandese Patriotic Front
 SADC: Southern African Development Community
 UDPS: Union pour la démocratie et le progrès social (Union for Democracy and Progress)
 UNITA: National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

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Croatia

(1991–1992 and 1995)

Introduction

The war in Croatia was one of the four civil wars that occurred in the territory that comprised the former Yugoslavia. Along with the Slovenian, the Bosnian, and the Kosovo wars, the war in Croatia was one of the most publicized civil wars of the post–Cold War period and became an example of one of the most serious humanitarian crises that Europe has ever seen. Croatia now exists as an independent state, but in the process of creating this state hundreds of thousands were displaced, thousands were killed, UN peacekeepers were called upon, and human rights violations horrified the world.

This article focuses on the Croatian war, which began with the June 1991 announcement of Croatian independence from Yugoslavia. Hostilities raged briefly in 1991, were quieted within a few months, and then emerged again in 1995. Over the last ten years, Croatia has been trying to rebound economically, to deal with war crimes committed during the civil war, and to gain entry into the European Union.

Country Background

The Croatian war must be understood in the context of the breakup of the country of Yugoslavia. Croatia did not exist as a sovereign state prior to 1991. It was a republic in Yugoslavia, and like many republics, it had a history as a distinct

land with an ethnically strong identity. Occupying the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, the state of Yugoslavia was an attempt to unite the southern Slavs into a multiethnic country. The idea of uniting the different Slavic populations, including Serbs, Croats, Bulgarians, and Slovenes, had been around for centuries, but so had the competing idea that each of these groups should have its own sovereign state. The tension between uniting these ethnic groups and allowing them independence has been a driving force in the history of the Balkan Peninsula and was central to the Croatian conflict.

Historically, the territory comprised by Yugoslavia was at the intersection of two empires. The Austrian Hapsburgs ruled the north from about the twelfth century onward, whereas the Ottomans ruled the south from the fifteenth century. During this time, nationalist and independence movements were common responses to the foreign rule and competition over land. The First and Second Balkan Wars, fought in 1912–1913, and the famed assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914 by Serbian extremists opposed to Austrian rule are prime examples of the kinds of nationalist and territorial conflicts that have been persistent in the region. Croatia, located in the northern and western portions of Yugoslavia, existed as an autonomous republic within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was conquered by the Ottomans, and then fell under the

control of the Austro-Hungarian Empire from the mid-1860s onward.

When both of the predominant ruling empires were defeated at the end of World War I, the idea of uniting the southern Slavs was reborn. The first alliance of national groups was formed in 1918. In 1929, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the first Yugoslav state, was formed. Both of these political units had to deal with the underlying hostility and rivalry between the Serbs and Croats. Croats were constantly concerned about the expansion of Serbian power and their control over territory, and Serbs were equally doubtful of Croats. The political structure of Yugoslavia attempted to deal with these problems by building a federal structure that would constitutionally minimize ethnic divisions between the groups (Bennett 1995, 36). Unfortunately, these divisions were hard to overcome.

The kingdom was conquered and dismantled by Nazi Germany in 1941. During the remainder of World War II, the fighting between German supporters and opponents was just part of the story; nationalist, monarchist and resistance groups all emerged and fought for control. Old hostilities were part and parcel of the fighting, and atrocities committed by one ethnic group against another would be remembered and used politically in the future. Perhaps the most infamous example of such hostilities was the death camps in Jasenovac. The Ustasha, a World War II-era Croat nationalist organization, controlled these camps. Between 1941 and 1945, an estimated 60,000–70,000 Serbs, Gypsies, and Jews were brutally killed in an attempt at “ethnic purification” (Cviic 1996, 203; Rogel 1998, 12). Most Croats were neither involved in the movement nor part of the operation of the death camps, but instead were targets of the Ustasha. This incident would become politically salient in the conflict in Croatia.

Toward the end of the war, a resistance group that embraced communism, led by Marshal Josip Broz Tito, emerged as the most successful anti-Axis force, received Allied support, and began to establish government representatives in

liberated territories (Rogel 1998, 12). This group established the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) in 1945. The SFRY was a socialist, one-party state with a constitution very similar to the structure of the Soviet Union. The constitution recognized six republics—Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia—and two autonomous units, Vojvodina and Kosovo. The boundaries of Croatia were based on historic boundaries with slight modifications, but they were not drawn to include only ethnic Croats in the territory. The republics were designed purposefully to suggest a sense of equality among all the nations in Yugoslavia, not to give ethnic groups their own land (Pavković 2000, 48–52). The federal structure created equal administrative autonomy for groups. Tito further created unity through his popularity and the one-party Communist governmental system (Bennett 1995, 51–62).

The history of the region suggests two enduring dynamics within the land that constituted Yugoslavia. First, the dynamic of unification—to unite the southern Slavs into a viable multiethnic state—was the goal of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the SFRY. Second, for centuries the belief has existed among the ethnic groups of Slavs, particularly Croatians, that they should have self-determination and sovereignty over the territory in which their ethnic group resided.

Tito successfully managed these dynamics during his rule, and Yugoslavia experienced both political and economic stability. After World War II, the SFRY followed a Soviet-style development plan that emphasized collectivization of agriculture, nationalization of industry, and central administration of the economy (Rogel 1998, 14). In 1948, after Tito’s split with Stalin, Yugoslavia received a significant amount of Western aid and better access to Western capital markets, which helped spur economic development. The early economic development of Yugoslavia was positive, and the country experienced rapid economic expansion, but indicators began to decline in the 1960s, and by the time of the oil shocks in the 1970s, the economy was in reces-

sion (Bojičić 1996, 30–35). Croatia was one of the more economically stable and prosperous republics. It had higher-than-national-average incomes, higher skill levels, and more industrialization. It was second only to Slovenia in economic development (Flakierski 1989).

In Croatia, nationalist sentiments abounded throughout Tito's rule. In the late 1960s, Croats led the movement to reinstitute official use and recognition of four regional languages, including Croat. Tito targeted this movement as nationalist and separatist and purged many Croats from the Communist Party. This increased the Croats' resentment of the Yugoslavian state as a whole (Cviic 1996, 203–204).

In 1974, Tito commissioned a new constitution with the goal of designing a political structure that would allow the country to function when he died. The constitution devolved more power to the federal units, including military power, and created a system where each of the republics shared presidential power on a rotating basis. The goal was to create equality among the republics to reduce the possibility of conflict; however, this structure weakened the federal government while strengthening the power of the republics. Bennett argues that in the constitution, "all Yugoslavia's republics were sovereign and independent . . . able to pursue their own, often conflicting, policies" (1995, 74). The only truly national institution was the armed forces: the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA).

When Tito died in 1980, Yugoslavia was struggling politically and economically. Disparity between the republics in terms of wealth and industrialization were evident. Croatia was one of the more successful republics, but the overall Yugoslav economy was highly fragmented, and nationally the economic picture was grim. Yugoslavia had more than \$20 billion in foreign debt and had high rates of unemployment; growth had slowed, and the standard of living had declined. The government's inability to service the debt led to International Monetary Fund intervention through stabilization and structural adjustment programs.

The problems in the economy were mirrored in the political system. After Tito's death, there was no unifying force in the country (save the JNA). Although the collective presidency successfully allowed each republic representation, the republics became less connected to a Yugoslavian state. The 1974 constitution had created functionally independent republics that were economically self-sufficient, had their own defense forces, schools, media and universities, and could exist without the national government (Ćuruvija and Torov 1995, 75). Nationalist movements, which had been thwarted and purged by Tito, grew in popularity throughout the republics. Croatia experienced a renewal of nationalist sentiment and gained more autonomy in this period.

Conflict Background

Many of the political and economic trends discussed above should serve as an introduction to the conflict as well as to the country of Croatia. The instability, the ethnic hostilities, its power as a republic, and the overarching attempt to create a viable multiethnic Yugoslav state are all part of the background to an understanding of why this war erupted. In addition, the global circumstances—particularly the end of the Cold War, accompanied by the global and domestic decline of communism in the late 1980s—contributed to the story.

The end of the Cold War created a problem in legitimacy for the Communist Party in Yugoslavia. With the one-party system in jeopardy, Tito's unified multiethnic Yugoslavia was subject to nationalist pressure that would tear it apart. Nationalist sentiments emerged all over Yugoslavia. In Serbia, the main story was the rise to power of a charismatic political leader from the Communist Party, Slobodan Milosevic. Although Milosevic was a Communist, it was his claims of Serb political dominance and his vision of a Greater Serbia that propelled him to power. Milosevic purged the Communist Party of non-Serbs and began to build an alliance with

the national Yugoslav People's Army while creating his own Serb paramilitary units. The JNA was to be an instrument of the party, designed as a force to hold the federation together. But when faced with the state's breakup into ethnic groups, the JNA had little ability to reunite the country. Slowly, the JNA became aligned with the Serbs and with Milosevic because both shared the vision of a single, united Yugoslavia. The difference was that the JNA saw it united under communism and Milosevic saw it united through Serb nationalism.

The rise of Serbian nationalism and dominance was a threat to Croatia, and the fear of Serb dominance was expressed clearly in the 1990 Croatian elections. These were the first multiparty elections in Croatia. Politically, both anticommunist and Croat nationalist parties had strong showings. The Croatian republic was particularly threatened by Serb nationalism because it was not an ethnically homogenous republic. Although Croats constituted more than three-quarters of the population, about 12 percent of the population was Serbian. Serbian politicians calling for the unification of Serb territory into a Greater Serbia threatened the Croats, and these politicians used the Ustasha-controlled death camps as a point to rally Serbs against Croats. Conversely, Croats feared the rhetoric of the Serbs, and this helped propel the Croatian Democratic Union (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica [HDZ]) to victory. This party was constructed around Croat nationalism, and its leader, Franjo Tudjman, used this tactic to gain his election (Bennett 1995, 123).

The election of Tudjman alienated the Serbian population that lived along the Bosnian border in an area that Serbs began calling *Krajina*. Skirmishes between the Croat forces and the Serbs began in 1990 after a Serbian boycott of the newly elected Tudjman government escalated into Serbian seizure of the city of Knin. This move effectively severed the railways and roadways between Dubrovnik and Zagreb, two major Croatian cities at opposite ends of the country. Serbs wanted their autonomy from

Croatia because they were afraid of another wave of ethnic hostilities, and the HDZ wanted to keep the republic territorially intact. Throughout 1990, acts of terrorism, such as shooting incidents and bombings, occurred throughout Croatia (Bennett 1995, 136). While all of this was going on, the republic of Slovenia decided to break with Yugoslavia and declare itself a sovereign state. On the same day, Croatia, too, announced its independence.

On June 25, 1991, Croatia declared its independence from Yugoslavia. Belgrade's response to the Slovenian declaration of independence was brief hostilities, which were settled within a few weeks with few deaths and an unimpressive response from the JNA. This gave hope to the Croats because they anticipated a similarly weak response. The Croatian situation was different, however, because it pitted Croat nationalism against the Serbian idea of the Greater Serbian state. Both Croat and Serb forces began to arm themselves. The Serbs received support from the JNA, and the Croats imported arms from abroad (Bartlett 2003, 38).

The actual start date of the war is not precise. After the 1990 election, Serbs took control of the town of Knin, disrupting communication and transportation lines in Croatia. Skirmishes around Knin were low-level but helped escalate the situation. The uprisings in eastern Croatia in 1991 were more significant. The pattern was similar in many uprisings. The fighting was mostly between Croatian police forces and Serbian militias. The militias were backed by the JNA, but the JNA was not directly involved in the fighting except to intervene between the parties, effectively halting Croatian offensives. The goal of the Croatian forces at this time was to quell the rebellion of the Serb territories that wanted to break away, and to reunite the territory under Croatian control. The uprisings became more frequent in 1991, and although there were attempts to negotiate cease-fires, by July 1991 the attempts were abandoned.

At this point, the conflict changed. Between August and December 1991, the JNA became

more directly involved in the fighting. Their goal was to retain Yugoslav control over strategically important areas and to regain Yugoslav forces and armaments that were subject to Croat control. The JNA was a well-equipped force, and in this time period it won many victories, including significant battles in the heavily Serb-populated cities of Vukovar and Osijek, both in eastern Croatia. The JNA blockaded Adriatic port cities and removed JNA vessels docked there. Finally, the JNA launched an offensive on Dubrovnik, which was an important city strategically for the operations of the Yugoslav navy. From July through December 1991, the fighting was serious. An estimated 7,000–10,000 were killed, 26,000–30,000 wounded, and nearly three-quarters of a million (Serbs and Croats) displaced from their homes (Cviic 1996; Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Rogel 1998). Tragic human rights violations were committed by both Serbs and Croats, and each side used policies of ethnic cleansing to remove, humiliate, or kill people of the other ethnic group. Although the statistics reflect the atrocities of the war, they do not reflect the trauma that each ethnic group experienced at the hands of the other.

The Croat forces were not nearly as well equipped as the JNA, nor were they backed by a stronger force, as were various Serbian groups supported by the JNA. With each battle, the underprepared Croatian forces lost territory to the JNA and Serbs. By December 1991, about one-third of the original Croatian republic was under JNA control or, effectively, Serb control.

The European Community (EC) tried to broker a peaceful settlement in Croatia during the summer of 1991. The attempt was largely unsuccessful, and fighting became more significant that fall. The United Nations placed an arms embargo on all Yugoslavian republics in September and became more involved in the peace process in the fall, when it took over the talks from the EC. By January 1992, a UN cease-fire was signed that established a UN peacekeeping force in Croatia called the United Nations Protective Force (UNPROFOR). The UN sent in 14,000

peacekeepers to maintain the truce. The details of the cease-fire maintained the status quo, which meant that 30 percent of the former Croatian republic would be controlled by Serbs and the Republic of Serbian Krajina. The territory declared itself to be the sovereign Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK).

The UN peacekeeping forces basically allowed the Croatian government to regroup without having to worry about being attacked by the more powerful, better-equipped Yugoslav army. For three years, Serbs and Croats had an uneasy peace. Several cease-fires, in 1993 and 1994, were negotiated and ultimately broken. In all cases, the desire of the Croats to regain what they had lost in the 1992 territorial settlement was the issue driving hostilities. Moreover, the humanitarian crisis worsened. Croats who had homes in the Serbian Krajina were targeted by the Serbs, as were Serbs who were left in Croatia. Those displaced by the fighting were not allowed to return, and those who had remained faced the looting or burning of their homes. In addition to the displacement of people, human rights violations were widely reported.

By 1995, the Croatian forces had regrouped, reorganized, and rearmed with help and training from the West and the United States. In May, the Croatian forces launched an attack called Operation Flash. This attack was focused on liberating the south central portion of the former Croatian territory, which had been the Serb Krajina since 1992. This attack overwhelmed the Serb resistance, and within forty-eight hours the territory was back under Croatian control. Serb forces attacked Zagreb with rockets in response, but this had little military effect (Bartlett 2003, 69). In August, the Croatian military launched an even more spectacular offensive, called Operation Storm, in Knin and approximately thirty other locations. In this offensive, nearly 200,000 Croat troops attacked Serb Krajina territory in the southern and central portions of Croatia. The issue was settled quickly, and Croat forces regained the territory within a few days. A mass exodus of Serbs from



Serbian refugees flee Krajina, Croatia, by truck for resettlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1995. Ethnic animosities flared as the Yugoslav Federal Republic collapsed. (David Turnley/Corbis)

the Krajina followed. Partially forced by the Croat troops, partially ordered by the Serb government, 120,000–180,000 people were forced to leave their homes. In the course of a few months in 1995, the Croats had regained the territory lost in 1992.

Since the events of 1995, many connections have been drawn between the success of the Croat forces and help by the West, especially the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The United States helped in the Croatian military buildup and the training of the Croatian army through military contractors and by supplying weapons in opposition to the UN embargo (Bartlett 2003, 68). NATO assisted in the process by directing air strikes on Knin and other areas that would face attack prior to the 1995 offensives (Pavković 2000, 154). Speculation also exists regarding possible secret deals between Tudjman, Milosevic, and the West, which would have allowed the easy retaking of

Krajina, in exchange for alleviating the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia (Bartlett 2003, 69–71; Cviic 1996, 209; Pavković 2000, 153–154). The possibility of a connection between the Croats and NATO is supported by the fact that Croatian forces continued to attack Serb targets, albeit in Bosnia, after the retaking of Krajina.

In 1995, a new set of agreements to end the Croatian and Bosnian War were negotiated. The Dayton Agreement was signed in November 1995. In it, a final cease-fire was negotiated, the terms of which stipulated that Croatia and the Serb-controlled Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia would acknowledge each other's existence, would stop supporting military operations across borders, and would work to repatriate displaced persons. Having completed its task of reclaiming Croatian territory and gaining independence, the Croatian government had no reasons for aggression. It signed the treaty and has respected its cease-fire provisions since then.

Table 1: Civil War in Croatia

War:	Former Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia vs. Croatia; Croatia vs. Serb resistance
Dates:	1991–1992 and 1995
Casualties:	40,000
Regime type prior to war:	Autocratic. Polity –9; score ranges from –10 (authoritarian) to 10 (democracy)*
Regime type after war:	Democratic. Polity 7; score ranges from –10 (authoritarian) to 10 (democracy)
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$4,282 (1991)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$5,003 (2000)
Insurgents:	Serbian militias supported by JNA
Issue:	Ethnic conflict; Nationalist movement for independent state
Rebel funding:	Krajina Serbs supported by Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbian-controlled Yugoslavia)
Role of geography:	Croatia's shape and long coastal region allowed portions to be cut off from the center of the country.
Role of resources:	None
Immediate outcome:	1992: independence for Croatia but one-third of territory taken by Serb forces 1995: reconquest of territory by Croatia
Outcome after 5 years:	Stable peace, elections, and association with EU
Role of UN:	14,000 peacekeeping forces (UNPROFOR); negotiated cease-fires, division of territory in 1992 and final Dayton Agreement settlement in 1995; war crimes tribunal
Role of regional organization:	EC attempts peace talks in 1992; NATO air strikes to loosen Serb-held targets
Refugees:	Approximately 700,000
Prospects for peace:	Favorable

Sources: Doyle and Sambanis 2000.

Notes: *Represents Polity score for Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Insurgents

The simple label *insurgents* or *rebels* can be difficult to assign in almost any war, but is particularly hard in the case of the Croatian war because it depends on who one considers to have been the “legitimate” government when the crisis began. Was it the Croatian government in Zagreb or the Yugoslav, predominantly Serb, government in Belgrade? The process to remove Croatia from the Yugoslav federation was democratic, with republic-wide elections that put nationalist Croats into power. This was followed by a referendum on independence from Yugoslavia prior to the announcement of Croatian sovereignty.

The initial conflicts of the war were attempts to stop Croatian succession and to extricate Yu-

goslav military equipment from Croatian control. This story is complicated by the hostile attacks by ethnic Serbs concerned about their role in a Croatian state, the assistance given by the JNA to ethnic Serbs, and the claim of Serbian Krajina as an autonomous region and then a state. The story is further complicated by Operation Flash and Operation Storm in 1995, in which the Croatian forces fought to regain territory from what they believed to be insurgents. Therefore, there are two levels of rebellion: The first level is the Croats against the Yugoslavian federation, a secessionist movement; the second is the rebellion of the Serbs against the rule of a democratically elected Croatian government. Both rebellions are considered in the following paragraphs.

At the beginning of the conflict in 1990 and 1991, the main issue was Croatian withdrawal from the Yugoslav federation. If one looks at the conflict as a Yugoslavian civil war, then the Croat forces opposing the JNA restoration of Yugoslavia were rebel forces. The problem with this interpretation is that most of the Croat battles for independence came through the political system, and although national rhetoric was designed to alienate Serbs, the process of alienation occurred through legislation, not through military action. Although Serbia declared itself an independent state, the actual rebellion came from the Serb population in Croatia.

The first skirmishes of the war were between Croat police forces attempting to keep peace in the newly formed republic and loosely formed Serb militias protesting the loss of rights. This dynamic changed in 1991, when the forces in conflict were the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and Serb militias and paramilitaries on one side and the Croatian army and paramilitary groups on the other. In the final part of the conflict in 1995, the forces in conflict were the Croatian army and the remaining Serb forces, which had been weakened and abandoned by the JNA (Pavković 2000, 142–147). An interesting relationship between the Serb resistance forces and the JNA developed, which strengthened the Serb resistance significantly and proved the connection between the political goals of the Milosevic government and the fight in Croatia. A brief discussion about the transformation of the JNA from a national force to a Serb force is necessary.

The JNA was created in 1941 as the National Liberation Army. This army was controlled by the Communist Party but designed to be a popular force to unite Nazi resistance from all national, political, and religious identities (Sikavica 1995, 124). In the years following World War II, the JNA remained closely tied to the Communist Party; it functioned as both the armed forces of Yugoslavia and the military wing of the party, and was under the tight control of President Tito. The JNA was a multiethnic force that had bases, military armaments, and soldiers sta-

tioned in each republic. In addition to the national army, each republic had a territorial defense force that was supplied and paid for by the individual republics but loosely connected to the JNA. These defense forces were not as multiethnic as the JNA and represented the population of the republic within which they were located.

Globally, as communism began to decline and the Communist Party lost support within Yugoslavia, the role of the JNA became uncertain, particularly in the republics that had elected noncommunist leaders. Although the JNA had a significant military presence in each republic, the mission of that force was put into question. Should the JNA serve as a defense force for the republic or for the federation?

In 1990, the Yugoslav government began to note that the territorial defense forces, particularly in Croatia, were being armed and controlled by the nationalist movements. To stop this, the JNA exerted more control over the units by replacing local officers with JNA officers and by disbanding armed forces that were not under the control of the Yugoslavian government (Sikavica 1995, 131–132). Fearing nationalist control of the JNA weaponry and forces, throughout 1990 the Croatian territorial defense forces were disarmed quietly and weakened by the removal of weaponry and personnel (Cviic 1996, 206). At the same time, the JNA was losing its independence, becoming the military force of Serbia and being co-opted by Milosevic.

In 1990, when Tudjman came into power, the Croatian territorial defense force was in disarray, but local and republic police units were still armed, and it was these units that were sent in to address the initial Serb uprisings. The Serb forces were at first local militias, but early in the conflict it was apparent that these militias were receiving assistance from the JNA. At first, that assistance came through the JNA interposing itself between the Serb militants and the Croat police force, but by the fall of 1991 the JNA had become more directly involved in the fight.

The Croatian military forces were at a serious disadvantage early in the conflict. This was a

Desperate for Weapons

When the war began in Croatia, the Croat forces had few weapons at their disposal because the JNA had removed most of the weaponry from the territorial defense force and from other military installations. Thus, although many Croats who fought in the war were well-trained soldiers who had left the JNA to serve in the Croat forces, there was a shortage of weapons. This was exacerbated by the UN arms embargo, which forbade states to sell weapons to the Croatian forces.

To arm themselves, Croat forces turned to museums and the Yugoslav film industry. Many American films, including *The Winds of War*, *The Dirty Dozen*, and *Sophie's Choice* were filmed in Croatian cities and towns to take advantage of their stunning European architecture. Vintage weapons were collected in museums and used on film sets. Thus, a large arsenal of World War II weapons left over from Tito's forces had been displayed or used in movies. The Croat forces were so desperate for weapons that they raided these stashes and used many vintage weapons at the beginning of the war in 1991 (Bennett 1995, 166).

manageable problem when most of the conflicts involved some sort of minor violence to which police units could respond, but it became more of a problem when the war began to escalate and the JNA used more heavy armaments and equipment. Prior to the outbreak of the war, the HDZ had started to expand its military in response to the removal of JNA weaponry and the weakening of the territorial defense force. The core of the military expansion was the creation of the United Popular Guard (ZNG), the official Croatian army, but the UN arms embargo made it difficult for the ZNG to arm, especially to the same degree as the JNA. The ZNG was thus forced to use weaponry that had been captured from the JNA.

The Serbs were supplied and funded mostly through the JNA and through the government in Belgrade. Thus, although this was a conflict in Croatia, it was still tied to the idea of a Greater Serbia held by Milosevic. The Croats were able to use their economic strength as a republic to begin their process of independence. UN economic sanctions and the arms embargo made it more difficult for the Croats to continue their campaign, but by 1993 there was evidence that the United States had begun to covertly arm the Croatian army and provide training support (Bartlett 2003, 68–70). This support was particularly important during the offensives in 1995.

Other irregular forces also emerged on both the Croatian and the Serbian sides of the fight.

While fighting for different sides, the nature of the irregular forces was similar—they were generally paramilitary units comprised of fanatics and criminals (Sikavica 1995, 138–39). Serb irregular forces were not comprised of Croatian Serbs but had ties to Serbs in Belgrade. Two well-known Serb forces were the Cetniks and Arkanovic, both of which became infamous for genocidal violence in Croatia and other parts of the country. The Croatian irregulars were equally distasteful. The best-known of this group was the military arm of the Croatian Party of Rights (Hrvatska Stranka Prava), called the Croatian Liberation Force (HOS). This force was approximately 15,000 strong and contained both foreign mercenaries and criminals. It is assumed that all the paramilitary and irregular forces fought “beyond the control of their governments,” but there are certainly suggestions that the governments in Belgrade and Zagreb had some knowledge of what these forces were doing, even if they couldn't control them. Overall, these irregular forces certainly contributed to the brutality of the war.

Geography

Geography played an important role in the Croatian conflict for two reasons. First, the shape of the Croatian republic allowed portions of it to be cut off from the main part of the country. The first Serb uprisings in Knin were in the long, protruding coastal portion of the country, and the Serbs were able to control a



large portion of territory because of the capture of a centrally located city in that region. Croatia was a C-shaped republic with a long coastline far from the capital city of Zagreb. By controlling Knin, the Serbs were able to disrupt rail and road traffic between the center and peripheral regions of the country.

The second reason geography played into this conflict had to do with the physical location of ethnic Croat and ethnic Serb populations. As some Serb populations lived along Croatia's borders with Serbia, it was easier for them to remain attached to the Yugoslav government in Belgrade. This also allowed Belgrade to more easily supply these regions and to want these regions incorporated into Yugoslavia, for it would extend the territory of that state.

Tactics

The Croatian tactics for fighting their war included two different sets of issues. The original

fighting was designed to expel the JNA as easily as possible and to quell the rebellions of Serbs. The Serb tactics leaned more toward guerrilla warfare, with protests, bombings and blockades. The first line of defense against this was the Croatian police forces, which were the best-prepared Croatian force when the fighting broke out.

After 1991 and the entry of the JNA on the side of the Serbs, the tactics became based more on traditional warfare, with heavy armaments and artillery used to attack Croatian cities. Croatia responded to this by continuing to use the sundry groups of police and the newly created Croatian Army.

The final set of tactics was the Croatian government's use of the 1992 cease-fire to arm, to regroup, and to secure international support for the offensive that was launched in 1995. The entry of UN peacekeeping forces protected the Croatian forces and gave them time to regroup

The Tree-Trunk Revolution

In the Serbian press, the Serb uprisings against the Croats were termed the “tree-trunk” revolution. The uprisings were given this name for two reasons. First, Serb insurgents felled trees and used them to block roads and rail lines. Thus, tree trunks were used to stop the Croat forces and disrupt the Croat supply lines. Second, the name implied that local, nonmilitary Serbs were using all their resources—which amounted to tree trunks—to fight off the Croat aggressors. This, of course, was a complete exaggeration, as the resources of the Serbian forces were far greater than those of the Croatian forces due to the fact that Serbs were supplied and supported by the JNA. The “tree-trunk” revolution captured the reality and created a perception that brought sympathy for the Serb forces and benefited the Serb government in Belgrade.

without worrying about attacks from the JNA. This tactic ultimately created a successful outcome in the 1995 offensives, in which the Croats overran Serb-controlled areas within a few days.

It is also important to note the more brutal tactics of the paramilitary forces, such as the Croatian Liberation Force, the Cetniks, and the Arkanovic. These forces, which were composed of ultranationalists and criminals, were responsible for most of the serious atrocities committed during the war, including the targeting of civilian populations, mass slaughter, rapes, and forced displacement of the population. These were not official tactics of either side, but they certainly influenced our perceptions of the war.

Causes of the War

The causes of the Croatian war are complicated. The war has been attributed to hundreds of years of ethnic hatred that erupted into a brutal ethnic conflict. This is an oversimplification at best and historically inaccurate at worst. Clearly, old ethnic rivalries have played a part in the his-

tory of the entire region, but these rivalries were neither primordial nor a result of hundreds of years of hatred. Rather, they were based more on political issues, such as self-determination and control of territory. Thus, two reasons for this war have been linked: ethnicity and control of territory. In addition, the timing of the Croatian war is significant in that it happened during the decline of communism within Yugoslavia and globally. This contributing factor helped create a unique situation in which nationalist movements could be easily politicized and manipulated in the cause of gaining territory and self-determination.

Although Serbs constituted only about 12 percent of the Croatian population, for the most part the Croat and Serb populations lived harmoniously in the post-World War II era. In cities such as Zagreb the populations were integrated with few cries of ethnic discrimination. Although Croats did at times express nationalist tendencies, they were not outwardly hostile to other ethnicities. Tito’s death and a power struggle at the national level caused things to change dramatically. With the decline of the one-party system, nationalism became a politically useful tool to gain votes. This tactic was used effectively by Serbs such as Milosevic and by Croats such as Tudjman. In addition, nationalism provided an alternate vision to the Communists, who had fallen out of favor by 1990.

The politicization of ethnic and nationalist conflict rested on the revival and retelling of atrocities committed by both ethnic groups in the past, which had the effect of creating fear and distrust between the Croats and Serbs. Historical examples such as the Jasenovac death camps allowed politicians to use such labels as *Ustasha* to demonize the opposition, even if the labels did not accurately represent the candidate. But the rhetoric of nationalism hid a more likely and deeper historic tendency demonstrated in the region: the desire for territorial autonomy. The political goals of controlling territory and gaining sovereignty have been part of the region for centuries, both in

reaction to the rule of empires and in opposition to the goal of unifying southern Slavs (Bozic-Roberson 2004; Powers 1996). Thus, nationalism masked the very practical political goal of control over territory.

Tito effectively moderated the desire for political independence in the SFRY by using his personal abilities as well as creating autonomy for the republics. But his Yugoslavia was tied together by the Communist one-party system. It is not surprising, then, that the republics began to talk of self-determination when communism began to crumble. It is also logical that the republics with the greatest economic advantages, Slovenia and Croatia, were the first to hold referenda on independence and succeed. The recognition by the EC, other states, and eventually the UN reinforced the belief that these territories were entitled to self-determination and sovereignty.

By seeing the Croatian conflict as more than just the revival of ethnic hatreds, we get a more accurate, fuller picture of the reasons for the conflict and, more important, the timing of the conflict. Also, by rejecting the assumption that the ethnic hatred was ingrained or primordial, some of the more important historical and political reasons for the conflict can be added to our explanation (Harvey 2000).

Outcome

The Dayton Agreement in 1995 effectively ended the hostilities in Croatia. Since then, Croatia has grown economically, has successfully conducted democratic elections, and is pursuing better relationships with the European Union (EU). But all is not perfect. The unfortunate reality of the settlement is that the war expelled hundreds of thousands of Croatian Serbs who have not been fully or easily repatriated to Croatia, nor have they received reparations for their losses. In addition, the Croatian government continues to face criticism due to its half-hearted pursuit of war criminals and its lackluster cooperation with the UN tribunal.

Conflict Status

In 1992, the UN cease-fires negotiated to end the Croatian war did little to stop the hostilities. Between 1992 and the negotiation of the Dayton Agreement in 1995, fighting emerged between Croats and Serb Krajina several times as the Croats attempted to get back the territory lost in the settlement. The Dayton Agreement of 1995 was different. The cease-fire provision of the Dayton Agreement has held, and there has been no government-sponsored military action within Croatia since the treaty was signed.

If a victory is to be claimed in this war, one must argue that Croatia's ability to end the war with basically the same territory that it claimed under the SFRY constitution makes it victorious. The goal of creating an independent, sovereign Croatian state has been realized, although at a significant human cost, most of which was paid by civilians.

The Croatian government pledged to four broad peace requirements in the Dayton Agreement. First, it pledged to end hostilities. Second, it pledged to recognize and respect the territorial integrity of both the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), which is essentially the Serb-dominated remnant of the Yugoslav state, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Third, it pledged to respect the human rights of Serbs within Croatia and to allow the repatriation of all expelled peoples along with compensation for losses. Fourth, it pledged to cooperate with the prosecution of war criminals through the UN tribunal for Yugoslavia.

Croatia has made some progress on all these issues but has done better in ending the hostilities than in resolving postconflict issues. The cease-fire and respect for territorial integrity of neighboring states have been upheld, although some border issues still exist between Croatia and Slovenia. The repatriation of displaced persons has been harder to accomplish, and many human rights organizations, such as Human Rights Watch, have criticized the Croatian government for not doing enough on this issue. A majority of displaced ethnic Croats have been

successfully repatriated, but ethnic Serbs have not been. In Croatia's membership negotiations with the European Union (EU), the EU has also been critical of Croatia's postwar efforts, but it has pledged to help Croatia repatriate displaced persons.

Croatia has also been widely criticized by human rights organizations and the EU for not cooperating with the UN war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. The issue has been that Croatia has not pursued, captured, or extradited several wanted war criminals. In March 2005, the EU postponed Croatia's membership talks until this issue was further addressed and Croatia cooperated more fully with the tribunal. In October 2005, the EU resumed membership negotiations, although it is unclear what changed in Croatia's policy to alter the EU's position. At best, the Croatian government has a spotty record of pursuing and extraditing suspected war criminals. Although hostilities have not been an issue since 1995, refugee and human rights concerns remain.

Duration Tactics

The war in Croatia was not a continuous fight. Instead, it was fought off and on, with periods of intense hostility as well as periods of low-level skirmishes and relative calm. This pattern may be the reason the conflict continued for several years and why it is sometimes seen as two different wars. The most important issues regarding the duration of the war revolve around the peace settlement at the beginning of 1992 and the final settlement in 1995. The timing of these agreements suggests that they were made when the Croatian government felt it had little to gain by continuing to fight. In addition, the length of the conflict was tied to other conflicts in the region, particularly the Bosnian war. As problems erupted in neighboring areas, it made peaceful resolution in Croatia more difficult, and the war dragged on.

Prior to the 1992 agreement, the Croatian forces were being soundly beaten by the JNA. Croatia had lost a significant amount of terri-

tory, and its forces were disorganized and poorly equipped. When the UN brokered a peace settlement in early 1992, the Croatian government had more to lose by continuing to fight than by agreeing to the peace. But this agreement did not stop the Croat forces from attempting to regain lost territory at moments when they believed their military capacity and ability for victory increased or when they believed that outside conflicts were inspiring the Serbian Krajina. This is why the Croat forces broke the 1992 cease-fire as well others negotiated in 1993 and 1994. When Croatia finally agreed to the Dayton Agreement in 1995, the country had reached its goal of regaining the lands it had lost in 1992.

The lower intensity of fighting between 1992 and the reemergence of hostilities in the form of Operations Flash and Storm in 1995, created an excellent tactical strategy for Croatia. The UN peacekeepers contributed to this strategy because the UN managed lower-level skirmishes in the most heavily populated Serb areas instead of Croat forces. Delaying the fighting and accepting a suboptimal territorial settlement allowed Croatian forces to get weapons, training, and Western support to prepare for more significant fights and regain the Serb Krajina. Early battles of the war were fought using Croatian police forces that were neither well equipped nor well trained. By delaying the fighting, the Croatian Army could mature and become more successful. The comparison between the coordinated attacks on thirty targets during Operation Storm and original fighting in the war, which can be characterized as management of sporadic widespread violent incidents, suggests that the army used this time successfully.

The Bosnian war, which occurred almost simultaneously, also played a part in the eventual Croatian victory. Because Serb forces had to deal with several conflicts at once, their military and priorities were split, and the independence of Serbs in the Croatian Krajina became a lower priority. Thus, by delaying the final battles until 1995, the Croatian forces gave themselves the best tactical advantage for winning, as the

enemy was preoccupied elsewhere, and Croatian forces were better prepared.

External Military Intervention

Two international organizations intervened militarily in the Croatian conflict: the United Nations and NATO. Both organizations conducted military operations in Croatia that affected the outcome of the conflict. The most substantial intervention was the use of UN peacekeepers. The 1992 UN-negotiated cease-fire agreement provided for 14,000 UN peacekeeping forces to be sent into Croatia. These forces were named the UN Protection Force. The UN created three United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs) in Croatia: Eastern Slavonia, Western Slavonia, and North Krajina. These UNPAs were demilitarized and were allowed to function with local control but under UN supervision. The demilitarization of the UNPAs meant the removal or disarming of the JNA, so the Croatian government was also less threatened, as the forces they had been fighting were removed or reduced (Pavković 2000, 152).

The goal of this intervention was to create areas, particularly ones with high Serb populations, in which people could be assured of safety from armed attack. UNPROFOR was to administer these regions and keep them free of hostility. UNPROFOR's mission was to ensure the nondiscriminatory protection of human rights. It monitored local authority, acted as military observer, collected and confiscated weapons, and administered the return of displaced persons. From 1992 to 1995, UNPROFOR's mandate was expanded to include more regions of Croatia as well as the monitoring of persons entering the UNPAs. Of course, the use of UNPROFOR was also expanded outside Croatia.

The UN forces' mandate included demilitarizing the areas, protecting the peace, and monitoring the situation, but not choosing sides or taking part in any fighting. It was only under these conditions that Serbs and Croats agreed to the presence of UN peacekeepers. Because the forces were not designed or ordered to engage in

conflict when conflict erupted, they were often unable to do anything about it. Thus, when the Croatian government attacked or captured portions of territory that were part of the protected areas, UNPROFOR was inactive. In fact, the demilitarization and removal of the JNA from the UNPAs made the eventual Croatian conquest of these areas easier.

The other significant military intervention in Croatia came from NATO. The role of NATO was far more important in the Bosnian war, but there were some effects on Croatia. The most significant was the assistance that NATO gave the Croat forces when they were planning the 1995 offensives against Serb Krajina. NATO artillery reportedly attacked areas that were important for Serb communication and command control. This advantaged the Croatian forces, who retook the land easily (Pavković 2000, 153–154).

Conflict Management Efforts

In addition to providing military intervention, the international community was heavily involved in negotiation and attempted peace settlements in the region. Croatian, Serbian, and Bosnian leaders attended many meetings and pledged support to many diplomatic efforts that in the end were abandoned. The European Community and the UN were the main actors in promoting conflict management through diplomacy.

In 1990, prior to the outbreak of serious hostilities, the European Community—as the organization was known before 1992—was already concerned about security in SFRY. Predictions about the potential violence that would accompany the breakup of the SFRY indicated that it could affect the security of Europe as a whole. When Croatia declared its independence in 1991, the EC was the first actor to respond to the situation. It did so by offering to mediate between Yugoslavia and Croatia. But it became clear by summer of 1991 that the problem had already escalated beyond the point where mediation could help. The EC discussed sending forces, but this proposal never amounted to anything (Woodward 1996, 166). Throughout the fall of

1991, the EC worked to bring the warring parties to the negotiating table and negotiated over a dozen cease-fires, all of which were broken.

Diplomatically, recognition of the new state of Croatia was another important intervention that did not yield the desired effect. The Germans became a vocal player in the EC by pushing for the official recognition of Croatia and Slovenia. The belief was that recognizing Croatia as a sovereign state would stop JNA aggression and thereby end hostilities. In previous statements, the EC had committed itself to trying to hold together Yugoslavia, but the EC reversed its position in the hope that early, immediate recognition would deter the aggressors. Unfortunately, much evidence supports the thesis that early recognition contributed to the conflict instead of resolving it.

The UN tried to manage the conflict through a series of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, the most important of which placed an arms embargo on the territory of the SFRY in September 1991. This embargo hurt the ability of the Croatian government to procure weapons and helped the Serb forces, as the JNA was already a well-supplied army. At the end of 1991, the peace negotiations started by the EC were handed over to the United Nations, and the Secretary General appointed Cyrus Vance special envoy to work on a peace plan for the former Yugoslavia. The UN created UNPAs and UNPROFOR in January of 1992 to manage the conflict.

The 1992 cease-fire was not the end of the conflict, and several cease-fires would be negotiated before the final Dayton Agreement was concluded in 1995, but throughout the process the UN and EC remained engaged and searched for a diplomatic solution. In the end, the Dayton Agreement was the official truce that ended the Croatian war.

Conclusion

This overview of the Croatian war captures the political and military events but spends less time

emphasizing the human toll of the war. Any recounting of the story must bring us back to the horrors that cannot be expressed simply by understanding the events. Neighbors became enemies and took up arms against each other. Hundreds of thousands lost their homes and possessions and were chased from their land. Thousands were beaten, raped, wounded, and killed. Dozens of mass graves have been located. War crimes associated with Croatia are still being investigated and prosecuted by the United Nations. More than just a civil war, this conflict represented one of the most horrific human tragedies that Europe has ever experienced.

Perhaps the historic dynamics of the region should have warned the international community that such a conflict was possible. Opposing desires—for the unity of Slavs on the one hand, and for each group, including Croats, to have its own territory and independence, on the other—have defined the region for centuries. Although Croatia has emerged from the conflict an economically growing, politically stable state that is working to expand its relationship with the EU, it is also a state with a violent civil war in its past that it must address as it continues to move forward.

Candace Archer

Chronology

- 1918 Croatia joins the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (renamed Yugoslavia in 1929).
- 1941 Germany invades Yugoslavia. Greater Croatia is formed and a fascist government installed.
- 1944 Under the direction of Tito, Yugoslavia is liberated from German rule.
- 1946 The Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) is formed. Croatia becomes one of six republics in Yugoslavia. The borders create a multiethnic republic.
- 1980 Tito dies.
- 1990 First multiparty election is held in Croatia. Franjo Tudjman, a Croat with a nationalist agenda from the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), is elected. Areas with large Serbian populations declare Serbian Krajina an autonomous region. Skirmishes between

- Serbs and Croats break out in Knin and western Croatia.
- June 25, 1991 Croatia and Slovenia declare their independence from Yugoslavia. Yugoslav army attempts to retain strategically important areas in Croatia.
- September 1991 United Nations imposes arms embargo on all the former Yugoslavian republics.
- August–December 1991 Heavy fighting in Vukovar and Dubrovnik. Serb forces backed by Yugoslav Army win significant victories and increase territory for Serbian Krajina.
- December 1991 Germany recognizes Croatia as a sovereign state. EU announces that it will recognize Croatia and Slovenia as sovereign states. Republic of Serbian Krajina declares itself a sovereign state but receives no international recognition.
- January 1992 EC officially recognizes the independent states of Croatia and Slovenia. United Nations brokers truce in Croatia, endorsing status quo, in which one-third of Croatian territory is under the control of Serbian Krajina.
- April 1992 UN Security Council creates the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and sends 14,000 peacekeepers to Croatia. United States recognizes Croatia.
- May 1992 United Nations admits Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and imposes sanctions on Yugoslavia.
- 1993 International Criminal Tribunal on the former Yugoslavia is created by the UN.
- May 1995 Croat forces attack Osijek and Vukovar and regain territory from Serbian Krajina. Serb forces retaliate with rocket attacks on Zagreb.
- August 1995 Operation Storm conducted by Croat forces. Croats recapture most Serb-held land in four days and restore borders of Croatia. Thousands of Serbs displaced from Knin region. U.S. and Western military support of Croats is suspected.
- December 1995 Dayton Agreement is signed.
- 1996 Dayton Peace accords are implemented.
- 2001 Croatia signs association agreement with the EU.
- 2005 The EU enters into membership negotiations with Croatia.

List of Acronyms

- EC: European Community
EU: European Union

- FRY: Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serb-controlled Yugoslavia)
HDZ: Croatian Democratic Union (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica)
HOS: Croatian Liberation Force (Hrvatska Stranka Prava)
JNA: Yugoslav People's Army
NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
RSK: Republic of Serb Krajina
SFRY: Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
UNPA: United Nations Protected Area
UNPROFOR: United Nations Protective Force
ZNG: United Popular Guard

Glossary

Dayton Agreement: The peace agreement that ended the wars in the former Yugoslavia, drawn up in 1995 in Dayton, Ohio. The peace settlement drew borders for the successor states of Yugoslavia and provided for disarmament, reconstruction, and ending hostilities. Signed in Paris by Presidents Tudjman and Milosevic on December 14, 1995.

ethnic cleansing: A policy to create ethnically pure territories or states whereby minority ethnic groups were forcibly removed from their homes and in many cases tortured, raped, or killed in order to achieve ethnic purity. Both Croat and Serb policies used ethnic cleansing as a way to remove the other ethnic group from their territory. Often ethnic cleansing is tied to genocide due to the systematic methods of removing people or by killing them.

Greater Serbia/Greater Serbia Project: A movement promoted by Serbs to unite all ethnic Serbs into one territory to be administered by one government. The existence of this project was considered a threat to all other ethnic groups, who saw it as an effort to take away their land and split their populations.

Krajina: Literally, “border land” or “frontier.” Originally, this region of Yugoslavia represented the historic border between the Ottoman and Hapsburg empires. It roughly corresponds to the border between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. During the Croatian war, this term designated predominantly Serbian territories in Croatia, even those not in the region historically known as the Krajina. When Serbs declared their independence from Croatia, they named their new state Serb Krajina.

Ustasha: A World War II Croat movement to achieve Croatian independence. This

movement perpetrated racist policies against Serbs and Jews and controlled concentration camps in which these minorities were housed and killed during World War II. During the Croatian war, the label *Ustasha* was used to discredit and condemn Croat nationalists, suggesting that the contemporary nationalist movement was tied to the atrocities of the past.

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El Salvador (1979–1992)

Introduction

To an unusually high degree, Salvadoran politics and economics have been dominated throughout the country's history by a small landowning aristocracy—the so-called fourteen families—in control of the country's agricultural exports, primarily indigo in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and coffee since that time. These families collaborated to establish basic political institutions in the late nineteenth century, but global economic shocks divided elites over the issue of free trade versus protectionism, ultimately leading to the emergence of a military regime in 1931. The military remained active in politics for the next sixty years but gradually reintroduced procedural democracy, allowing limited electoral competition beginning in 1948 and restricted participation by opposition parties beginning in 1964.

Country Background

Thanks to strong global coffee markets and the development of additional export crops (cotton, sugarcane), the postwar period was characterized by steady economic growth of more than 5 percent per year between 1950 and 1978, and real GDP per capita peaked (for the entire twentieth century) at US \$4,948 (1985 International Prices; Penn World Table 2006) in 1978. Yet the benefits of this growth were sharply re-

stricted, as the transition from a subsistence agricultural economy to one emphasizing cash crops for export contributed to further concentration of agricultural resources, falling real wages, and severe economic inequality (see sidebar, "Inequality and Land Reform in El Salvador"). These economic issues contributed to a political backlash, including increased electoral support for the reformist Christian Democratic Party (PDC) and occasionally violent peasant demands for land reform. Military leaders responded to peasant protests with harsh repression and relied on fraud and cancellation of elections in 1972 and 1977 to deny PDC electoral victories. Finally, a coup by young military officers in 1979 brought PDC members into the ruling junta, although hard-liners in the military and their political allies on the far right continued to block substantive land reform and other efforts at redistribution.

Economic conditions worsened during El Salvador's civil war (1979–1991), but the war also laid the groundwork for an economic transformation. On one hand, civil conflict interrupted normal coffee (and other) production and caused exports to fall from a high of US \$2.1 billion in 1979 to US \$970 million a decade later (World Bank 2001); and uncertainty associated with the civil war caused widespread capital flight and a decline in foreign investment. On the other hand, the war also stimulated new

Inequality and Land Reform in El Salvador

The most divisive issues in Salvadoran politics in the decades prior to its civil war were income inequality, uneven patterns of land ownership, and failed efforts at redistributive land reform. As Table 1 indicates, El Salvador had sharply unequal income distribution, with an average Gini coefficient of 50 since 1960. (The Gini coefficient is the standard measure of inequality in distribution of a resource, in this case income. Zero indicates perfect equality in income distribution, and 100 indicates perfect inequality.) Yet El Salvador's Gini coefficient is only marginally higher than other countries in Latin America and Africa during this period; and its 2004 Gini coefficient of 53.2 ranks as the seventeenth-highest score of the 122 countries in the UNDP's income database.

Inequality in El Salvador was aggravated by highly skewed patterns of land ownership. As of 1979, 41 percent of Salvadorans owned no land, up from just 12 percent in 1961; and 87 percent of those who did own land held plots of less than 5 hectares (12 acres). Meanwhile, a mere 0.7 percent of the population owned 39 percent of the country's arable land; and the richest 2 percent of the population owned 60 percent of arable land. Only 1.8 percent of El Salvador's families held more than 10 hectares (25 acres) of land, the minimum amount necessary to sustain commercial agriculture.

In an effort to undercut the guerrilla insurgency (and under pressure from the United States), the post-1979 military junta executed the first meaningful land reform in El Salvador's history. In executing phases one and two of the 1979 reforms, 296,000 hectares, or about 20 percent of the agricultural land in El Salvador, were redistributed to about 85,000 families. Although a third of the redistributed land was organized into cooperatives that largely maintained existing production patterns (and reserved profits for reimbursement of former owners), remaining land was allocated to individual title holders, mainly in plots of 2 hectares or less. Nonetheless, the Duarte and Cristiani administrations were deeply ambivalent about land reform, in part because coffee exports remained the primary source of hard currency; and many landowners circumvented the program's intent by subdividing their parcels among family members. As a result, fewer than half of eligible peasant families made claims during the second phase of the 1979 reforms, and phase three was never implemented at all.

Finally, the Chapultepec Accord called for additional land reform through its Land Transfer Program, aimed at former combatants. About 35,000 families, mainly former FMLN combatants and their supporters, eventually received plots of land through the program, which redistributed about 150,000 hectares, or 10 percent of the country's agricultural land. Both the 1979 and 1992 land reforms were underwritten by the United States, which provided the bulk of the funds to reimburse existing landowners (DeWalt and Bidegaray 1991; Foley 1997; Library of Congress 2005; Talentino 1999).

investment as war refugees became an important source of migrant remittances, most of which were targeted at nonagricultural export sectors (low-skilled manufacturing) favored by free trade agreements negotiated with the United States during the 1980s. Nontraditional exporters eventually played a central role in pressing the far-right ARENA party (the Nationalist Republican Alliance) to negotiate with leftist guerrillas beginning in 1989, and successful economic growth in the post-civil war period (average GDP per capita growth of 2.4 percent in the decade beginning 1991); Penn World

Table 2006 has relied heavily on the manufacturing sector, including the development of an extensive duty-free manufacturing area. Thus, while agriculture and manufacturing represented 39 and 18 percent of GDP, respectively, in 1979, by 1999 their relative importance had reversed itself, with agriculture accounting for just 10 percent of GDP and manufacturing 23 percent (World Bank 2001).

The war produced a similar result in terms of El Salvador's political development. First, the transition from scattered, largely uncoordinated peasant protests throughout the 1970s to a co-

herent guerrilla insurgency in the early 1980s provoked increasingly harsh responses from the military and from right-wing death squads with strong ties to the military and the coffee aristocracy. El Salvador was described as “not free,” based on its Freedom House civil rights score of 5 between 1981 and 1985, and “partly free” during the remaining years of the war, with a score of 3 in the 1988–1989 year and 4 in other wartime years. Moreover, these ratings almost surely reflect the pro–United States bias of Freedom House, and Amnesty International was even more critical of the Salvadoran regime: The Purdue Political Terror Scales give El Salvador an average human rights score of 4.6 (out of 5, with higher scores indicating worse humanitarian records) during the war.

Yet the visibility of these humanitarian abuses also caused the U.S. Congress to link continued military aid to democratic elections and humanitarian reforms. Although death squads remained active, and civilian authorities exercised imperfect control over the military, elections were held throughout the civil war, producing positive Polity scores beginning in 1982 (Polity IV Project 2006). Opposition candidates claimed a majority of parliamentary seats for the first time in El Salvador’s history in 1982, and Christian Democrat José Napoleon Duarte claimed the presidency in 1984. The persistence of elections eventually undermined support for the guerrilla insurgency, promoting their return to the bargaining table, and also facilitated the eventual incorporation of insurgents within the existing institutional framework, making a negotiated settlement more feasible. The years since 1992 have been marked by open electoral competition (Polity score of 7; Polity IV Project) and improved human rights (average PTS Amnesty International score of 2.5 in 1993–2003, including a perfect score of 1 in 2002; Purdue Political Terror Scales 2006).

Conflict Background

The Salvadoran civil war (1979–1992) was fundamentally the result of class conflict between

an aristocracy that relied on a coercive state to limit labor rights and protect agricultural profits, and a grassroots insurgency demanding land reform and wealth redistribution. Peasant protests had sparked violent repression in the past, most notably in the 1931–1932 case of La Matanza, a National Guard massacre of between 17,000 and 30,000 peasants (out of a total population of just 2 million) in response to a general strike led by the communist Agustín Farabundo Martí. Peasant and working-class mobilization accelerated during the 1970s, partly in response to international political and economic shocks; and harsh repression and restrictions on partisan competition contributed to the escalation of guerrilla violence to the point of full-scale insurrection beginning in 1979.

The start of El Salvador’s civil war coincided with the 1979 victory of the leftist Sandinistas in the Nicaraguan revolution and with the ongoing civil war in Guatemala (1961–1996), a smaller leftist insurgency in Honduras (1981–1990), and the subsequent Contra war in Nicaragua (1981–1990). Under the Reagan doctrine, the United States viewed these wars as a central front in the Cold War, and U.S. economic assistance supported expansion of the Salvadoran army from roughly 10,000 in 1979 to 43,000 in 1988. These forces were supplemented by 21,000 civil defense troops and between 50,000 and 100,000 members of the right-wing militia ORDEN (National Democratic Organization; AllRefer.com, n.d.). Formal Salvadoran military strength peaked at 60,000 personnel in 1991 (World Bank 2001), up from between 7,000 and 12,000 in 1979 (Blum 2004). At its peak in the early 1980s, the guerrilla army included approximately 10,000 combatants and 50,000 “committed supporters” (McClintock 1998, 74).

Fighting was most intense during the four years prior to Duarte’s election in 1984 and intensified again in 1989 as the rebel FMLN launched a nationwide offensive and an assault on the capital city, San Salvador. Roughly 80,000 Salvadorans were killed during the war—the vast majority civilians killed by military and allied

Table 1: Civil War in El Salvador

War:	FMLN vs. government + ORDEN (paramilitary group)
Dates:	November 1979–February 1992
Casualties:	80,000
Regime type prior to war:	–4 (Polity 2; score ranges from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	+7 (Polity 2; score ranges from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita 1979:	US \$1,837 (1995 dollars)
GDP per capita 1997:	US \$1,704 (1995 dollars)
Insurgents:	Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN)
Issue:	Land reform and wealth distribution; Cold War proxy war
Rebel funding:	Ransom from urban kidnappings; private support from Western supporters; Soviet bloc aid
Role of geography:	Rebels hid in mountains and across Honduran border.
Role of resources:	None
Immediate outcome:	Peace treaty with UN mediation and oversight of implementation
Outcome after 5 years:	Stable peace; functioning democracy
Role of UN:	Mediated peace talks; supervised troop demobilization
Role of regional organization:	Contadora group (Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua)
Refugees:	750,000 internally displaced; 1,000,000 fled to United States; 40,000 refugees in regional camps; 32,000 repatriated from regional refugee camps.
Prospects for peace:	Favorable

Sources: Gammage and Fernandez 2000; Call 2002; UNHCR 1994; OnWar 2000; World Bank 2001.

paramilitary forces operating in rural areas between 1980 and 1983—and another one million were displaced, including about 600,000 who migrated to the United States.

The Insurgents

The guerrilla army in El Salvador, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), consisted of five separate leftist movements and an associated political arm, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR). Three of the FMLN constituent groups were factions emerging out of the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCS). The first such group was the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), which split from the PCS in 1970 under the leadership of Salvador Cayetano Carpio, also called Marcial. Marcial and the FPL objected to the PCS's adherence to the Soviet Union's call for détente and for working within the existing political system, and the FPL called instead for a prolonged popular war of liberation, taking the Viet Cong insurrection

as a model. Marcial committed suicide in 1983, and Leonel Gonzalez took over leadership of the FPL.

A second splinter group also rejected the PCS's adherence to within-system change, and under the leadership of Joaquin Villalobos the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) also formed around 1970 with the goal of developing a Che Guevera–influenced cadre of rural revolutionary leaders. The ERP in turn split in 1974 when the the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN) departed under the leadership of Roque Dalton in order to place greater emphasis on nonmilitary political organizing. Following the assassinations of Dalton and his replacement, the FARN was led throughout the civil war by Ferman Cienfuegos.

A fourth faction emerged in 1976 in opposition to the PCS and its descendents: the Central American Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTC), which drew inspiration from Leon Trotsky's internationalist approach and sought to promote a regionwide revolutionary movement. The PRTC

was led by Francisco Jovel, who adopted the nom de guerre Roberto Roca.

Finally, following the 1979 Sandinista revolution, the PCS sponsored an armed faction of its own, the Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL). Led by PCS Secretary General Shafik Handal, the FAL was politically influential despite its modest military strength. The FPL under Marcial and Leonel Gonzalez were also politically influential among the guerrilla movements, but Villalobos's ERP and Jovel's PRTC proved to be the strongest military arms of the guerrilla movement.

In 1980, leaders of the five factions met in Havana, Cuba, where they agreed in October to form the FMLN with a unified governing structure consisting of a general command, made up of the top leaders of each faction, and the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU), a day-to-day decision-making body that included three representatives of each faction. During the same year, escalating state violence—including, in particular, the February assassination of popular PDC politician Mario Zamora and the March assassination of Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero—caused some nonviolent opposition politicians to ally themselves with the growing revolutionary cause. Led by Ruben Zamora, a group of PDC activists left the party (then participating in the military-controlled governing junta) and joined the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) party to form the Democratic Revolutionary Front, a nonviolent political movement that formally allied itself with the FMLN. By 1981, the FMLN-FDR operated as a coherent revolutionary movement, and in September of that year France and Mexico offered formal diplomatic recognition to the FMLN-FDR as a legitimate political actor and the appropriate negotiating partner for ending the conflict in El Salvador.

After relying on domestic terrorism to fund its activities during the 1970s, the FMLN-FDR also received crucial economic, military, and political support from a variety of international sources as El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua became key fronts in the Cold War.

Talentino (1999, 215) estimates that Soviet bloc states may have contributed roughly US \$1 billion to the FMLN during the conflict, and most analysts confirm U.S. allegations that small arms flowed freely to the FMLN from Cuba and Nicaragua throughout the civil war. In addition, the FMLN became a favorite among leftists within the Western democracies, assembling an international solidarity network that included more than 300 organizations spread across forty-two countries, including the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) in the United States (Waller 1991). Within the United States, solidarity groups raised an estimated \$US 8.5–18.5 million during the 1980s, and that this figure may have been matched by fundraising within other Western Democracies (Waller 1991, 210). FMLN front organizations also obtained limited funding from international development agencies and friendly Western governments.

Politically, CISPES and other solidarity groups within the United States supported FMLN-FDR lobbying efforts that sought to limit U.S. military and economic assistance to the Salvadoran government. These efforts were supported by congressional Democrats, and Congress passed legislation in 1981 (the International Security and Development Cooperation Act) tying U.S. economic and military assistance to a presidential certification that El Salvador was making “a concerted effort to comply with internationally recognized human rights” and that the Salvadoran government remained committed to elections and land reform. Nonetheless, the certification process depended on presidential reporting, and the Reagan administration was criticized for circumventing congressional oversight efforts (see sidebar, “U.S. Congress Fails to Check Presidential Discretion During El Salvador’s Civil War”).

Geography

With 297 persons per square kilometer (1999 data; World Bank 2001), El Salvador is easily the most densely populated nonisland nation in the Western Hemisphere. The country is bisected by

U.S. Congress Fails to Check Presidential Discretion during El Salvador's Civil War

U.S. involvement in the Salvadoran civil war (as well as the Nicaraguan Contra war) represented the first major tests of post-Vietnam interbranch foreign policy dynamics. In 1973, frustrated over the president's failure to seek a formal congressional declaration of war to justify U.S. involvement in Vietnam, Congress passed the War Powers Resolution (WPR) over Nixon's veto. The WPR required the president to inform Congress in writing within forty-eight hours of introducing troops into areas where they were likely to encounter hostilities; and it required the president to withdraw troops after sixty days unless Congress explicitly authorized their continued presence.

The WPR was supplemented in the Salvadoran case by the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1981, through which Congress made military assistance to El Salvador conditional on the president, certifying that the Salvadoran government was "making a concerted . . . effort to comply with internationally recognized human rights," was "achieving substantial control over all elements of its armed forces," and was committed to land reform and free elections.

Although it was well-intentioned, the 1981 legislation relied on the Reagan administration as the sole source of information about Salvadoran policies; and the White House systematically violated the spirit and letter of the law to ensure continued aid flow to El Salvador. In particular, even though U.S. officials were aware of military involvement (including by U.S.-trained troops) in civilian massacres in 1980–1982, the administration certified in 1981 and 1982 that the military was under control and that human rights were respected in El Salvador. In 1983, Reagan pocket-vetoed renewal of the 1981 bill, eliminating congressional oversight of the aid decision, while Congress was out of session. Finally in 1981, 1982, and 1984, the president used special emergency defense drawdown authority to fund the Salvadoran military, even though the funding applied to the military's normal operating expenses and was therefore not a legitimate use of this drawdown authority.

Thus, even though the Salvadoran government and military were deeply implicated in grotesque human rights violations throughout the early years of the war, U.S. aid continued to flow to the Salvadoran regime throughout this period. Following Duarte's election in 1984, human rights abuses decreased (but did not stop altogether), and Congress ceased even holding hearings on Salvadoran aid, approving budget requests between 1984 and 1989 without debate. Finally, after U.S.-trained troops were again implicated in the 1989 murder of six Jesuit priests, Congress withheld 50 percent of the country's 1990 military aid, only to be circumvented by the Bush administration, which pushed through emergency funding in 1991 and lobbied the IMF to offer new loans to El Salvador for the first time since 1982 (Chomsky 1991; Sharpe 1987).

a pair of mountain ranges running the length of the country from east to west, and 70 percent of the population lives in small mountain towns and rural areas (with most of the remainder in the nation's largest city, San Salvador). Although the five FMLN factions began as urban guerrilla movements, throughout the civil war the rebels were most active in mountain villages and rural areas in the northern and eastern third of the country, and government troops drawn from coffee-growing areas in the central part of the country had limited mobility and poor intelligence about rebel activities in these areas.

Tactics

Political violence was common in El Salvador throughout the prewar period, but most analysts identify the October 1979 proreform junior officer coup—in the wake of the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua—as a final, failed effort to avoid escalation to full-scale civil war. Yet the coup failed to accomplish its primary goals of initiating land reform and preventing human rights violations by the military and its paramilitary allies. Instead, hard-liners in the military and ORDEN responded to the reform efforts of junior officers by escalating their attacks on regime



opponents, including educators, clergy, and labor union officials.

The independent group Americas Watch confirmed the murder of forty employees of the agency charged with implementing land reform between March 1980 and September 1981; the murder of at least 100 striking workers in the week after the 1979 coup and of ninety-two members of the Salvadoran Communal Union between 1980 and 1981; the elimination through bombing, assassination, and arrest of all independent Salvadoran news media by 1981; and the murder of dozens of teachers, university officials, and university students in 1980 (Americas Watch 1991). The military and ORDEN also assassinated a number of the country's most prominent reformers in 1980, including PDC leader Mario Zamora in February, Archbishop Oscar Romero in 1980, six members of the FDR executive committee in November, and three North American nuns plus a lay church worker in December.

In addition to this assault on urban civil society, the military pursued a scorched-earth rural

campaign in an effort to “drain the pond” and isolate the guerrilla “fish.” As the United Nations Truth Commission summarized with respect to military and death squad activities during the first years of the war,

Any organization in a position to promote opposing ideas that questioned official policy was automatically labelled as working for the guerrillas. To belong to such an organization meant being branded a subversive. Counter-insurgency policy found its most extreme expression in a general practice of “cutting the guerrillas’ lifeline.” The inhabitants of areas where the guerrillas were active were automatically suspected of belonging to the guerrilla movement or collaborating with it and thus ran the risk of being eliminated. (United Nations Truth Commission 1995)

Stanley (1996, 222) estimates that right-wing forces committed close to 12,000 political murders in 1980 and more than 16,000 in 1981, mainly of individuals with no direct ties to the guerrilla movement. Over 75 percent of the acts



Violence erupts in San Salvador, El Salvador, following the funeral of Archbishop Oscar Romero on March 30, 1980. The popular cleric was a vocal critic of the authoritarian government. He was assassinated by the military on March 23, 1980. (Patrick Chauvel/Sygma/Corbis)

of violence reported to the UN Truth Commission occurred in 1980–1983, and more than half of reported acts occurred in 1980–1981. For the entire conflict, 85 percent of human rights violations reported to the UN Truth Commission were attributed to the military and military-backed ORDEN, whereas 5 percent were attributed to the FMLN.

Several particularly egregious acts of organized violence by the Salvadoran military against noncombatant peasants have been well documented. One large-scale massacre occurred in the northern Cuscatlán province in May 1980, when the Salvadoran military flushed several thousand peasants from their villages and pursued them to the Sumpul River, where Honduran military forces forbade them passage across the river into Honduras. On the morning of May 15 in the hamlet of La Arada, National Guard and

ORDEN forces backed up by two helicopters opened fire on the peasants, killing 600. The following year in October, 150 noncombatants, including forty-four children, were killed by the elite U.S.-trained Atlacatl Battalion while trying to cross the Lempa River under similar circumstances in Usulután Province. And an American graduate student testified before Congress to being trapped at the Lempa River in Cabañas Province for fourteen days in November 1981 along with 1,000 villagers and facing aerial bombardment, helicopter strafing, and artillery fire before finally crossing to safety once Honduran soldiers withdrew from the border. The most notorious civilian massacre occurred in December 1981 in the northeastern Morazán Province, when between 790 and 1,000 men, women, and children were murdered by the Atlacatl Battalion in and around the village of El Mozote (Americas

Watch 1991; Binford 1996; Danner 1994; UN Truth Commission 1995).

The guerrilla factions responded to the escalating violence—under the personal guidance of Cuba’s Fidel Castro—by setting aside internal divisions to form the FMLN in October 1980. Shortly thereafter, the FMLN responded to the November 1980 election of Ronald Reagan (who made Central American intervention a key campaign issue) by announcing a “final offensive” against the Salvadoran regime. The guerrillas captured several towns in the provinces of Chalatenango and Morazán, overran the military barracks in El Salvador’s second-largest city, Santa Ana, and engaged the army in sustained battles around the Guazapa volcano in San Salvador province. Yet the offensive failed to accomplish a decisive victory because the FMLN lacked the necessary national infrastructure to consolidate its gains and because the expected generalized peasant uprising failed to materialize. Nonetheless, in a sustained series of offensives between July 1981 and March 1983, the FMLN made steady territorial gains, and by 1982–1983 the FMLN was organized into a formal structure of brigades and battalions and was able to mount increasingly sophisticated attacks against larger towns and military bases (Barry, Vergara, and Castro 1988).

Targets of major attacks included the Ilopango air base on the outskirts of San Salvador (destroying 70 percent of El Salvador’s air force) in January 1982, the town of Ciudad Barrios in San Miguel province in August 1982, the city of Berlin in Usulután province in February 1983, the city of San Miguel (the nation’s third largest) in San Miguel province in September 1983; and the army barracks at El Paraíso in Chalatenango province in December 1983. Between June 1981 and June 1983, the Salvadoran army reported 3,300 troops killed and 6,400 wounded (with twice as many casualties during the second year), compared to an estimated 2,000 guerrillas killed during 1982 (Cody 1983). By the end of 1983, the FMLN effectively controlled one-third of Salvadoran territory, concentrated in the east-

ern, central, and northern provinces, and in early 1984 U.S. planners were sufficiently concerned about the military situation to draw up plans for emergency U.S. air strikes in the case of significant rebel gains during the expected 1984 offensive (LeoGrande 1991, 113).

Yet, rather than the beginning of the end for the Salvadoran regime, 1984 marked a political and military turning point. Politically, the relatively clean 1984 presidential election brought the Christian Democrat Napoleon Duarte to power in a runoff against right-wing ARENA candidate and death squad leader Roberto d’Aubuisson. Even with 360,000 individuals turned away because of registration and procedural flaws, turnout was relatively high at 1.4 million voters out of 2.5 million registered (Baloyra-Herp 1995). Many Salvadorans questioned Duarte’s democratic credentials following his participation in the governing junta in 1980, but the new president oversaw a substantial reduction in death squad activity and military attacks against civilians—perhaps aided by Vice President George Bush’s December 1983 trip to El Salvador, during which military officers were warned of a reduction in aid unless humanitarian conditions improved. Nonviolent political life resumed within San Salvador. Duarte also initiated negotiations with the FMLN-FDR in 1984, although talks broke down over the guerrillas’ insistence that they be included in an interim government prior to new elections and that the military be purged of human rights abusers (LeoGrande 1991, 116).

Nonetheless, the Duarte government was clearly perceived both inside and outside El Salvador as substantially more legitimate and democratic than its predecessor. This perception weakened popular support for the guerrilla insurgency within El Salvador. Perhaps more important, Duarte’s election bolstered the Reagan administration’s position of unconditional support for the Salvadoran government. Thus, whereas the years 1981–1984 were characterized by intense interbranch conflict within the United States over aid to El Salvador, between

1984 and 1989 Congress approved presidential requests for aid to the Salvadoran regime without debate (see sidebar, “U.S. Congress Fails to Check Presidential Discretion”).

The year 1984 also marked a military turning point in the Salvadoran civil war as the previous five years of U.S. aid and training began to pay dividends for the Salvadoran military. Although a majority of Salvadoran troops remained defensively arrayed around bridges, cities, and power plants, elite units became more effective in implementing nonconventional counterinsurgency operations with an emphasis on search-and-destroy missions and in using air power against guerrilla concentrations. In response, the FMLN dispersed throughout the northeastern third of the country and focused on rebuilding its urban and rural political bases while executing small-scale hit-and-run attacks and disrupting commerce rather than undertaking major new offensive actions. Thus, in contrast to the first years in which the guerrillas made steady gains, after 1984 it became clear that the war was at a stalemate, and each side made plans to outlast the other in a war of attrition.

By the late 1980s, political and military developments seemed to favor the right, forcing another tactical shift by the FMLN. Duarte’s failure to negotiate an end to the war or to revive El Salvador’s economy alienated many voters, and the ARENA party won a majority in the 1988 legislative elections, with fewer than 1 million voters participating out of 2 million registered. During the presidential campaign in the following year, the FDR broke with the FMLN to run a candidate. The FMLN then announced its own willingness (for the first time) to participate in elections supervised by the current regime, on the condition that elections be delayed six months to allow time for campaigning. Yet with ARENA candidate Alfredo Cristiani ahead in the polls, the military refused to delay the vote. The FMLN responded with election day attacks around the country, resulting in power outages in San Salvador and 80 percent of the country.

Nonetheless, Cristiani’s election seemed to signal a political turning point, and Salvadoran and U.S. strategists were more convinced than ever before that a military victory was at hand.

Thus, although Cristiani agreed to negotiate with the FMLN beginning in September 1989, he was unprepared to offer concessions, and negotiations quickly broke down over the FMLN’s demand that military officers be brought to justice for previous human rights abuses. At the same time, Cristiani sought to crack down on political dissent given voice under Duarte, proposing an antiterrorism law that criminalized providing information to international human rights monitors. And 1989 saw the first increase in death squad activity since the early 1980s, with the majority of attacks aimed at church, university, and labor officials involved in political organizing.

In this context, the guerrillas returned to their urban terror roots, launching hit-and-run attacks against a number of military and political targets within San Salvador, including the assassination of several ARENA officials and the kidnapping of Duarte’s daughter. Finally, in response to simultaneous right-wing bombings at the headquarters of a major trade union (FENASTRAS; the Federación Nacional Sindical de Trabajadores Salvadoreños, or federated national union of Salvadoran workers) and a major human rights organization (the Committee of the Mothers of the Disappeared), the FMLN withdrew from negotiations and in November 1989 launched its largest offensive of the war, with attacks at fifty different points around the country. For the first time, much of the fighting occurred within San Salvador itself, as roughly 3,500 guerrillas occupied the city, building barricades in poor neighborhoods and taking positions in apartment buildings and hotels in wealthy neighborhoods from which they fired at government soldiers and aircraft. The FMLN withdrew from San Salvador after two weeks of aerial bombardment and strafing of heavily civilian-occupied areas by regime forces; yet even in retreat, the guer-

rillas withdrew in an orderly manner, retaining the ability to strike again.

The battle of San Salvador was a final turning point, ultimately setting in motion the negotiating process that led to the end of the war. By taking the battle to the most elite neighborhoods of San Salvador, the guerrillas firmly established their continued military relevance, demonstrating again that the civil war remained at a stalemate with no military end in sight. Second, the national guerrilla offensive also reinforced concerns among economic elites that the civil war would continue to undermine El Salvador's economic growth, sparking renewed calls from the right for a negotiated settlement. Third, the tolerance of the Cristiani government for civilian losses in its assault on guerrilla positions also undermined its claim to democratic legitimacy and reinforced elite fears that military autonomy was spiraling out of control. For all these reasons, the battle of San Salvador is often described as El Salvador's "Tet offensive": The guerrillas lost the battle but won a negotiated settlement as a result (Baloyra 1996; LeoGrande 1991).

Causes of the War

The roots of El Salvador's civil war are found in its monoculture export economy, the polarized political system that emerged out of this economic pattern, and a series of short-term economic and demographic changes that created irresolvable crises during the 1970s. From the colonial period, a small group of Salvadoran elites (the so-called fourteen families) bought the best agricultural land and expanded their holdings through the successful cultivation of the region's first export crop, indigo. Independence from Spain in 1821 and Mexico in 1823 (and the breakup of the Central American Federation in 1839) coincided with a global boom in coffee prices (and with the development of synthetic dyes replacing indigo), and indigo growers easily transformed their existing estates into coffee plantations. By the late 1920s, coffee

represented 92 percent of the country's exports (Talentino 1999, 203).

Although El Salvador's climate and topography are well-suited to coffee cultivation, its nineteenth-century demographics were not; the region was scarcely populated, and coffee production is labor intensive. As a result, landowners collaborated during this early state-building period to create a strong centralized police force; they passed tenancy reforms to eliminate communal holdings and vagrancy laws to bind colonato workers to particular coffee estates. By the early nineteenth century, most Salvadoran peasants worked as sharecroppers indebted to their coffee-growing patrons or as squatters illegally growing a subsistence diet on someone else's property. These "uniquely repressive" land relations created the conditions for profitable coffee exports (Wood 2000, 28), but they also institutionalized state power as a nonmarket instrument of aristocratic control over the rural working class. As growers benefited from cheap credit and booming coffee prices in the late nineteenth century, an increasingly cohesive coffee oligarchy emerged by the 1920s, and landowners' dependence on nonmarket means of labor control deepened.

Thus, class conflict in El Salvador fundamentally was a function not of scarcity but rather of economic success. Strong coffee sales and the emergence of new export crops (cotton and beef) allowed large producers to consolidate ever-larger estates, whereas small growers accumulated debt and were often unable to weather short-term fluctuations owing to coffee's five-year crop cycle. At the same time, high profit margins during the 1940–1970 period caused elites to remain invested overwhelmingly in primary exports, and El Salvador failed to join other Latin American states in pursuing state-led industrialization, delaying the development of a significant urban middle class or industrial sector. Instead, the country relied heavily on trade, including within the Central American Common Market (CACM), founded in 1960. In this context, El Salvador never pursued land reform, and

the country retained a profoundly unequal distribution of resources. Conflict over access to land was thus a recurring theme, especially during the second half of the twentieth century, when El Salvador became one of the most densely populated countries in the world.

The emergence of a single dominant economic group naturally promoted polarized and exclusive politics. Following a tumultuous half-century of armed conflict between liberal and conservative elite factions after the country's independence, the 1871–1930 period was dominated by like-minded economic liberals who managed smooth political successions and implemented the progrower labor policies discussed above, putting down a series of peasant rebellions in the process. Yet the strength of the progrower consensus would ultimately prove a weakness, as the ability of the ruling clique to rule by consensus prevented the development of a competitive party system, and no mechanisms were in place to resolve conflicts that emerged during the Great Depression.

These institutional weaknesses came to a head during the global economic crisis of the 1930s, raising a number of problems that eventually contributed to the country's 1979–1992 civil war. First, falling prices sparked a 1931 military coup by General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez; the military remained in direct control of El Salvador until Duarte's election in 1984. The absence of an opposition party also denied rural workers the opportunity to peacefully protest deteriorating working conditions during the Depression, and when the communist Agustín Farabundo Martí led a peasant protest over falling wages, the army and National Guard murdered 30,000 peasants—apparently with little regard for whether or not they had directly participated in the protests—in a bloodletting known in El Salvador as *La Matanza*, or the massacre. Wood (2000) and others identify *La Matanza* as a formative polarizing event, contributing to the association of all peasant protest with communism on one hand and with a durable alliance between the landed

aristocracy and the military on the other. This alliance between growers and the military was further institutionalized in 1948, when the military began holding regular elections, and in 1961, when military leaders formed the National Conciliation Party (PCN). Yet even as military leaders continued to hold elections and even tolerated the emergence of the Christian Democrats and the National Revolutionary Movement as opposition parties in the 1960s, they continued to rely extensively on fraud and repression to prevent opposition party victories at the national level. In this way, rather than a channel for political dissent and economic restructuring, El Salvador's political system became a source of frustration for regime opponents denied access to power.

Polarized politics came to a head in the 1970s, in the aftermath of the week-long Soccer War between El Salvador and Honduras in July 1969. Although the immediate conflict leading to El Salvador's invasion of Honduras was the abuse of Honduran fans, players, and national symbols during a World Cup qualifying match between the two states, the tension underlying the conflict was Honduras's 1969 agrarian reform policies, which were designed to discourage Salvadoran immigration and to strip 300,000 Salvadoran immigrants in Honduras of their economic rights. The Salvadoran military won the Soccer War on the ground, but the country was forced by the threat of OAS sanctions to relinquish its territorial gains without gaining the compensation for Salvadorans in Honduras that had been sought. Moreover, 130,000 Salvadorans were forced to return from Honduras to El Salvador. On top of already rapid population growth—the population increased 78 percent between 1960 and 1980—this new influx of landless peasants was an insurmountable strain on the Salvadoran economy. Finally, the Soccer War also led to the downfall of the Central American Common Market just as the 1973 oil shocks threatened global demand for coffee; Salvadoran GDP growth stagnated while inflation climbed to 60 percent.

In this context, political support for the Christian Democrats reached an all-time high, and the PDC joined church and union officials in convening a national congress for agrarian reform. Proreform advocates rallied behind Duarte in the 1972 presidential race, but his apparent victory was preempted by the military's suspension of vote counting midway through the process. Junior officers refused to accept the electoral intervention, but senior military officers (with support from Guatemalan and Nicaraguan military allies) defeated their coup attempt and forced Duarte into exile. In the aftermath, the military sought to purge the country's schools and churches of PDC supporters and other activists. Fifty students were killed in 1975 when troops fired into a crowd of protestors angered over the country's outlay of US \$3 million to host that year's Miss Universe pageant; and roughly 200 teachers were killed or "disappeared" (mainly by the paramilitary ORDEN group) between 1972 and 1977 in retaliation for reform advocacy. Large-scale protest also erupted following fraudulent election outcomes in 1977, with troops killing at least 90 protestors (LaFeber 1993). Yet the military and paramilitary's use of violence during the decade did little to deter protest and instead reinforced recruitment efforts by the left, as an increasing number of reform-minded individuals adhered to the perception that armed insurrection represented the only path to progressive reform in El Salvador. Youth activists flocked to the urban guerrilla groups, which would later make up the FMLN, and guerrilla factions raised an estimated US \$50 million toward the purchase of weapons stockpiles, mainly through a campaign of elite kidnappings and bank robberies.

Moderate officers and their Christian Democratic allies overthrew hard-line President Carlos Romero in October 1979, seeing the coup as a final chance to create a political alternative to civil war. The initial postcoup junta included strongly reform-oriented civilians Guillermo Ungo (of the PDC) and Román Mayorga (of Catholic University). Once again, however, elites

drew the line at land reform, the one issue that most directly threatened their economic well-being, and military leaders resisted reformers' calls for investigations of previous human rights abuses. With support from the third civilian member of the junta (Mario Andino, whose Phelps Dodge copper company had strong ties to the military), the two military members of the junta blocked land reform and substantive human rights changes; and repression of leftist and working-class protestors continued unchecked. By January, the junta's three civilians had resigned and were replaced by a pair of PDC members more acceptable to the military, eventually including Duarte, who was then named president of the junta. Military and death squad attacks on peasants and civil society leaders accelerated in 1980, and by April the guerrilla factions had begun negotiations to create the FMLN. Although the Carter administration pressured the junta to implement limited land reform beginning in March 1980, the alliance between the PDC and the military on one hand and the creation of the FMLN-FDR on the other presented political activists with two polarized alternatives; the center in El Salvador was no longer politically viable. This pattern of polarized politics and politicized violence would prevail in El Salvador for the next decade.

Outcome

Conflict Status

If the Salvadoran civil war was fundamentally a function of economic conflict, its resolution likewise reflected changing economic realities. On one hand, traditional agricultural elites saw their fortunes plummet during the war as conflict disrupted coffee production, wartime casualties and war-induced emigration created labor shortages, and Salvadoran coffee was eventually boycotted by international opponents of the Salvadoran regime. At the same time, the inflow of migrant remittances and the scarcity of hard currency for the purchase of manufactured imports promoted the emergence of a Salvadoran

industrial sector centered in San Salvador. New manufacturing elites saw emerging free trade regimes, such as the NAFTA, as a model for future Salvadoran growth; and they feared that economic disruption and the international stigma associated with continued civil war threatened the country's economic opportunities. For these reasons, by the late 1980s economic elites were increasingly open to a negotiated settlement to the civil war, especially after the FMLN's 1989 offensive gave the lie to the idea of a purely military victory.

On the other side, members of the FMLN also became more open to a negotiated settlement over the course of the 1980s. Although it is likely that close to a majority of Salvadorans who followed politics were broadly supportive of the FMLN in 1979, support for the guerrillas eroded over the course of the 1980s as the regime consolidated its control over national media; elections in 1982, 1984, and 1989 conferred democratic legitimacy on resulting civilian governments; and the guerrillas relied on economic sabotage as a primary technique after 1984. Thus, by the time of the 1989 offensive, a majority of Salvadorans blamed the guerrillas for the economic problems and more general hardships associated with the civil war (McClintock 1998, 77).

Talks between Duarte and the FMLN broke down in 1984, but the election of Alfredo Cristiani of the conservative ARENA party as president in 1989, followed by the 1989 FMLN offensive, laid the groundwork for successful negotiations. International developments also supported a negotiated settlement, including the November 1989 collapse of the Berlin Wall and the February 1990 election of Sandinista opponent Violeta Chamorro in Nicaragua. Finally, the Bush administration abandoned earlier U.S. opposition to a negotiated settlement, especially following the high-profile December 1989 murder by U.S.-trained Salvadoran military personnel of six Jesuit priests and their housekeeper and her daughter.

The negotiated settlement occurred in phases, beginning in December 1989 when the Central

American presidential summit at San Isidro Coronado, Costa Rica, called on UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to mediate between the Salvadoran government and the FMLN. The 1989 summit agreement was the first time the so-called Esquipulas Process (named for the town in Guatemala where presidents from Nicaragua, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras first gathered to promote settlements to the region's civil conflicts) recognized the FMLN as a negotiating agent. Then, in April 1990, the Cristiani administration and the FMLN signed the Geneva Accord, establishing parameters for UN-mediated negotiations aimed at an end of armed conflict, protection of human rights, reunification of Salvadoran society, and integration of the FMLN into a democratic political system.

An agreement on human rights was signed the following July in San José, Costa Rica; and with this agreement a United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (UNOSAL) was created to verify compliance. Constitutional amendments were passed in April 1991 limiting internal activities of the armed forces and establishing a truth commission to investigate humanitarian claims. Negotiations broke down later that year over how to bring demobilized combatants back into the political system, leading to a temporary revival of armed conflict; but government and FMLN representatives accepted an invitation from the UN secretary-general to meet in New York and later signed the New York Accord of September 1991, in which the two sides agreed to complete negotiations in a single additional phase under the auspices of a Committee for the Consolidation of the Peace consisting of government, party, and FMLN officials, with officials of the Catholic Church and the United Nations participating as observers.

Finally, the Chapultepec Peace Accords were signed just four months later on January 16, 1992, in Mexico City. Under the agreement, the role of the armed forces was restricted to the protection of national sovereignty, and their size was reduced 70 percent by the dissolution of the

military's rapid reaction battalions, the National Guard, and the National Police and by the absorption of state intelligence agencies by the office of the president of the republic. Second, public security functions were placed under a newly created National Civil Police force under civilian control and overseen by an ombudsman for the defense of human rights. Third, electoral reforms were also adopted, including the creation of the independent Supreme Electoral Tribunal. Fourth, the UN Truth Commission was formed to investigate human rights abuses, and a separate ad hoc commission was formed to investigate the human rights records of military officers, with 102 officers ultimately dismissed as a result. An independent national judicial council and school for judicial training were also planned, to foster a fair and independent judiciary. Finally, reincorporation programs were created to provide employment opportunities—including through land distribution in a “land for arms” program—for former soldiers of the Armed Forces of El Salvador and the National Police as well as former guerrillas of the FMLN and the civil population most affected by the conflict (Whitfield 2001). These programs took effect as a nine-month cease-fire was declared on February 1, 1992. On December 15—the cease-fire never having been broken—the last armed element of the FMLN was demobilized, and peace was declared.

Duration Tactics

The Salvadoran civil war lasted more than twelve years, with the most intense periods of fighting between 1980 and 1983 and in 1988–1989, putting El Salvador roughly in the top 25 percent of long-lasting civil conflicts, based on Fearon's (2004) data. Although the Salvadoran case lacks the two characteristics Fearon finds most closely associated with long-lasting civil conflict—so-called “sons of the soil” movements and rebel access to valuable contraband—its longevity may be attributable to the characteristics that make it similar to the long-lived wars analyzed by Fearon. First, although neither side

in the Salvadoran conflict was able to exploit precious minerals or contraband to raise the revenues necessary to prolong civil conflict, the war's status as an important Cold War battleground provided both sides with access to extensive external sources of funding. Second, like “sons of the soil” conflicts, the civil war in El Salvador was largely based on conflict over land rights, with the oligarchy and its military allies deeply opposed to the land reform demanded by the disenfranchised peasantry. (Unlike “sons of the soil” conflicts, the Salvadoran case generally lacked an ethnic dimension, as El Salvador's indigenous population was almost completely exterminated during the colonial period.) Thus, throughout the 1980s both sides in the conflict saw little opportunity for a negotiated settlement, and it was only late in that decade, when elite economic interests diversified (making land reform less problematic), that a negotiated settlement became possible.

External Military Intervention

In 1981, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick famously described Central America as “the most important place in the world for the United States today.” Although many observers took issue with this description, El Salvador and the rest of Central America clearly became a central front in the U.S.–Soviet Cold War, and both sides in the conflict received extensive external economic, political, and logistic support. For the guerrillas, external support came in the form of arms from Cuba and Nicaragua, nonmilitary aid (uniforms, medicine) from East Germany, and an estimated US \$1 billion in economic assistance from Soviet bloc states.

In the U.S. case, aid to the Salvadoran regime was controversial throughout the civil war because of the military's and paramilitary's abysmal human rights records. Yet between 1979 and 1992, an average of seventy-four U.S. troops were stationed in El Salvador, peaking at 108 troops during 1985 and 1987. Although U.S. troops were never formally assigned to direct

combat roles, extensive anecdotal evidence exists that U.S. troops became directly involved in the Salvadoran conflict on a number of occasions, and Blum (2004) reports twenty American casualties within El Salvador during the war. Salvadoran forces, including the Atlacatl Battalion associated with some of the war's worst human rights violations, received extensive U.S. training and supervision.

Yet the most important U.S. role in El Salvador's civil war was its direct military and economic aid to the Salvadoran government. After briefly suspending such aid over humanitarian concerns in 1976–1977, the Carter administration resumed economic assistance in 1978 and military assistance following the 1979 coup (and the Sandinista revolution). Aid remained highly controversial, but the Reagan administration largely circumvented congressional efforts to tie assistance to improved human rights conditions (see sidebar, “U.S. Congress Fails to Check Presidential Discretion during El Salvador's Civil War”). Thus, a total of US \$4.5 billion in official government assistance flowed from the United States to El Salvador over the course of the war, including US \$1.1 billion in military loans and aid. Given that the far smaller, poorly supplied FMLN occupied much of El Salvador during the early years of the war and fought the Salvadoran military to a standstill for over a decade, this high level of aid—as well as diplomatic and logistic support throughout the conflict—was likely decisive in preventing a guerrilla victory. As McClintock (1998, 9) summarizes, “[S]cholars and political leaders agree virtually unanimously that U.S. aid to the Salvadoran government prevented a takeover by the FMLN.”

Conflict Management Efforts

The United Nations secretary-general played a crucial mediating role during peace negotiations, and the UN Observer Mission in El Salvador (UNOSAL) provided important monitoring to ease implementation of the peace accord. UNOSAL was first deployed in July 1991—prior to the cessation of hostilities—to verify compliance

with the San José agreement's human rights requirements. Observers credit the early deployment of UNOSAL with reducing human rights violations and building confidence in the peace process itself (e.g., Whitfield 2001). In addition to human rights monitoring, UNOSAL supervised much of the institution building mandated by the Chapultepec Accord, including the construction of a new civil police force and demobilization of combatants in the “land for arms” program. UNOSAL and UN Development Program (UNDP) officials also helped establish El Salvador's internal human rights ombudsman and supervised judicial and electoral reforms. Although Whitfield criticizes the UN mission for failing to arrange sufficient external funding to guarantee all aspects of El Salvador's postwar reforms and for failing to anticipate or prevent a postwar crime wave perpetrated by former combatants, the UN is widely recognized as having made an important contribution to El Salvador's negotiated transition from civil war to democracy; and El Salvador is seen by many as an exemplar to be emulated elsewhere.

Conclusion

More than thirteen years after the Treaty of Chapultepec ended hostilities between Salvadoran government forces and the FMLN, the peace has held, and El Salvador stands out among Central American states (along with Costa Rica) as a well-functioning democracy with a competitive political system consisting of two main parties (the FMLN and ARENA) and a handful of smaller actors. The FMLN won a plurality of seats (thirty-one out of eighty-four) in 2003 legislative elections, but the alliance of ARENA (twenty-seven seats) and the PCN (sixteen seats) continues to hold a coalitional majority. The centrist Christian Democrats and center-left Center Democratic Union (descended from the FDR and Democratic Convergence) hold five seats each. The FMLN and ARENA together won 94 percent of the votes for president in 2004, with ARENA winning an absolute majority (58 percent) on the first ballot. Most observers now

consider El Salvador's democracy to be institutionalized, and there seems to be little chance of a return to widespread political violence.

In this sense, El Salvador's civil war may be viewed as a success story. In contrast with other "third-wave" cases, democratization in El Salvador did not result from a split among regime elites or from a cross-class coalition including economic elites excluded from the nondemocratic equilibrium. Rather, the civil war in El Salvador pitted disenfranchised peasants and workers against a unified oligarchy with cohesive support from the military. Against these long odds, insurgents in El Salvador fought the regime to a standstill and successfully demanded a democratic opening. Thus, Wood (2000) argues that El Salvador is one of the few cases (along with South Africa and possibly Guatemala and Poland) in which democracy was "forged from below."

Yet it is difficult to overstate the costs of this political victory. Out of a prewar population of just 4.5 million people, 80,000 Salvadorans were killed—almost 2 percent of the population, making El Salvador's civil war bloodier than North America's nineteenth-century War between the States. One in four Salvadorans were driven from their homes during the war, and one in five Salvadorans now live outside the country, mostly within the United States. The war also destroyed El Salvador's economy, as investment ground to a halt and real per capita GDP growth averaged negative 2.7 percent for the entire civil war period. Although the economy has rebounded from this extreme low, GDP growth remains only 2 percent per year, less than the level needed to raise per capita income. Crime and urban violence also remain major problems.

Was such a destructive civil war the only way for El Salvador's popular classes to gain access to El Salvador's political system? The failure of Salvadoran elites to diversify the country's economy certainly delayed political modernization through more typical channels; and the alliance between the coffee aristocracy and the Salvado-

ran military was resistant to evolutionary political change. Elite resistance to reform was exacerbated in El Salvador's case by the country's own history of political violence (for example, the 1932 La Matanza) and by the tendency throughout Latin America during the Cold War to associate demands for reform with godless communism. The United States shares the blame for supporting repressive military regimes throughout the postwar period, for steadfastly opposing a negotiated settlement throughout the 1980s, and for its direct contribution to the violence in El Salvador in the form of economic and military aid during these years as well as active complicity in egregious human rights abuses by the Salvadoran military.

Finally, any analysis of El Salvador's civil war should warn analysts away from holding up the Salvadoran model as a positive example to be emulated by U.S. military planners in addressing conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan, or Colombia. Salvadoran death squads—with extensive support from U.S. allies in the Salvadoran military and right-wing parties—systematically murdered innocent civilians throughout the civil war, especially during 1980–1983. Not only were such tactics morally reprehensible, but there is little reason to believe that the Salvadoran strategy was particularly effective, as the state's assault on civilian populations did little to diminish guerrilla operations. Rather, peace in El Salvador came when both sides came to see their economic and political interests as better served by compromise than through continued bloodshed—a decision that might have been reached a decade—and tens of thousands of civilian lives—earlier, had it not been for the external context of the Cold War and U.S. opposition to a negotiated settlement.

Marc R. Rosenblum

Chronology

January 18–25, 1932 La Matanza—30,000 peasants are massacred in reprisal for uprising led by Communist Farabundo Martí.

- July 14–29, 1969 Soccer War is fought between El Salvador and Honduras; 130,000 Salvadorans are deported to El Salvador.
- February 20, 1972 Christian Democrat Napoleon Duarte wins presidential election, but military suspends vote count, defeats junior officer coup, and forces Duarte into exile.
- October 15, 1979 Junior officer coup deposes President Carlos Romero and establishes mixed military–civilian junta, but military hardliners force reformers out of governing coalition by January 1980, marking beginning of civil war.
- March 24, 1980 Archbishop of San Salvador Oscar Romero is assassinated by military while celebrating mass.
- May 15, 1980 Rio Sumpul Massacre—600 peasants are killed by National Guard and ORDEN forces in the small border town of La Arada, Cuscatlán province.
- October 10, 1980 Under guidance of Fidel Castro, five constituent guerrilla factions formally announce formation of the FMLN umbrella guerrilla army.
- December 2, 1980 Four American church women are murdered by members of Salvadoran National Guard.
- January 10, 1981 FMLN launches “final offensive,” timed to precede inauguration of U.S. President Ronald Reagan. Offensive fails to achieve its military objectives but establishes FMLN’s credibility as opposition army.
- September 19, 1981 Roberto d’Aubisson establishes ARENA paramilitary organization, notorious for death squad activities throughout civil war.
- October 20–29, 1981 Rio Lempa Massacre—150 peasants are killed by U.S.-trained Atlacatl Battalion in Usulután province.
- December 8–16, 1981 El Mozote Massacre—700–1,000 peasants are killed by U.S.-trained Atlacatl Battalion in and around El Mozote, Morazán province.
- March 28, 1982 Christian Democrats win majority in legislative elections; first time opposition party wins legislative majority in Salvadoran history.
- May 6, 1984 Christian Democratic candidate Napoleon Duarte is elected president of El Salvador, defeating ARENA candidate Roberto d’Aubisson.
- March 20, 1988 ARENA party wins majority in legislative elections.
- March 18, 1989 ARENA candidate Alfredo Cristiani is elected president of El Salvador.
- November 11–25, 1989 FMLN offensive and battle of San Salvador, largest FMLN offensive of the civil war.
- November 16, 1989 Six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper, and her daughter are murdered by members of Salvadoran Army Atlacatl Battalion.
- December 12, 1989 Presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua sign Esquipulas II Agreement calling for a negotiated settlement between the government of El Salvador and the FMLN as well as settlements of conflicts in Nicaragua and Guatemala.
- April 4, 1990 Government of El Salvador and FMLN sign Geneva Accord, establishing parameters for UN-mediated peace negotiations.
- July 26, 1990 Government of El Salvador and FMLN sign San Jose (Costa Rica) Agreement on Human Rights, calling on UN to monitor respect for human rights in El Salvador.
- May 20, 1991 UN Security Council 693 establishes United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (UNOSAL) to monitor compliance with San José Agreement and eventually oversee Salvadoran cease-fire.
- September 25, 1991 Government of El Salvador and FMLN sign New York Accord, establishing framework for final round of peace negotiations.
- January 16, 1992 Government of El Salvador and FMLN sign Chapultepec Peace Accord with timeline for ending civil war.
- February 1, 1992 Formal cease-fire between government of El Salvador and FMLN begins.
- December 15, 1992 Last elements of FMLN demobilize; peace is declared.

List of Acronyms

- ARENA: Nationalist Republican Alliance; far-right political party.
- CCAM: Central American Common Market.
- CISPES: Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; a leftist solidarity group in the United States.
- DRU: Unified Revolutionary Directorate; the day-to-day decision-making body of the FMLN.
- ERP: People’s Revolutionary Army; a branch of the FMLN, originally a faction of the Communist Party of El Salvador.

FAL: Armed Forces of Liberation; armed branch of the Communist Party of El Salvador, eventually joined FMLN.

FARN: Armed Forces of National Resistance; a branch of the FMLN, originally a faction of the People's Revolutionary Army.

FDR: Democratic Revolutionary Front; the nonviolent political coalition allied with the FMLN.

FENESTRAS: Federación Nacional Sindical de Trabajadores Salvadoreños; a major trade union.

FMLN: Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front; the umbrella coalition of guerrilla factions opposing the Salvadoran government during the civil war.

FPL: Popular Liberation Forces; a branch of the FMLN, originally a faction of the Communist Party of El Salvador.

IMF: International Monetary Fund.

MNR: National Revolutionary Movement; moderate reform party, joined dissenting PDC members to form FDR during civil war.

NAFTA: North American Free Trade Agreement.

ORDEN: National Democratic Organization; pro-regime paramilitary death squad organization.

PCN: National Conciliation Party.

PCS: Communist Party of El Salvador; factionalized during 1970s, with three separate factions eventually joining the FMLN.

PDC: Christian Democratic Party; moderate reform party that split during the civil war. Some members supported the governing regime and others joined the FDR.

PRTC: Central American Revolutionary Workers' Party; separate revolutionary faction eventually subsumed under the FMLN.

UNDP: United Nations Development Program.

UNOSAL: UN Observer Mission for El Salvador; monitored human rights during peace process.

WPR: War Powers Resolution.

Glossary

Christian Democratic Party (PDC): A liberal reform party founded in 1960 to compete with the restricted electoral process. The party remained active during the 1960s and 1970s, but the military blocked its access to power through electoral fraud. The PDC finally

gained a majority of congressional seats in 1982 legislative elections, and PDC candidate Napoleon Duarte won the presidency in 1984.

Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN): A coalition of five separate guerilla armies that joined forces as the FMLN in October 1980 to engage in armed struggle against the government of El Salvador. The FMLN joined the political process in 1992 and is currently the largest party in the Salvadoran congress, with thirty-one of eighty-four seats. In the 2004 presidential elections, the FMLN candidate Schafik Handal came in second with 36 percent of the vote.

land reform: Government-led redistribution of land to promote greater equity of land ownership. Large landowners are reimbursed for appropriated land, which is then given or sold to landless peasants, small owners, or rural cooperatives.

Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA): Founded by Roberto d'Aubisson in 1981 to participate in the armed struggle against the FMLN and its supporters and to participate in elections. ARENA was implicated in many of the most notorious death squad attacks against civilians during the civil war. In the 2004 presidential elections, the ARENA candidate, Elias Antonio Saca Gonzalez won with 57 percent of the vote, and in the 2003 legislative elections, ARENA captured twenty-eight of eighty-four seats in congress.

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Ethiopia (1976–1985)

Introduction

During the early morning hours of July 13, 1977, a Somali army of 34,000 soldiers in unmarked uniforms crossed the dry expanse of the eastern Ethiopian border. In a bid to “liberate” the indigenous clans of the Ogaden region and reclaim “unredeemed” territory, the Somali army deployed the largest contingent of mechanized infantry the African continent had seen since World War II. However, by March 1978, following months of brutal tank warfare, a combined force of Ethiopian and Cuban troops equipped with sophisticated Soviet weaponry repulsed an exhausted Somali army. In addition to the 25,000 casualties, hundreds of thousands were displaced from their homes, and the interstate power arrangement in the Horn of Africa was forever altered.

However, as significant as its impact was, this nine-month war was but one of many armed disputes in a bitter, 100-year conflict between the Ethiopian government and the nomadic Somali clans inhabiting the Ogaden. Since its occupation in the late nineteenth century, the Ogaden has been in an almost constant state of unrest as insurgents have harassed the Ethiopian authorities using a variety of tactics ranging from simple hit-and-run maneuvers to full-scale offensives.

On the surface, the Ogaden insurgency appears to be similar to many insurgencies taking

place in the third world during this time. First, the conflict displayed a mixture of irredentist fervor, with a “sons-of-the-soil” dynamic in which the primary combatants were the government regime and paramilitary groups representing minority populations. As we see in Ethiopia, a combination of nationalistic sentiments and repressive policies of taxation and land redistribution drove the Ogaden insurgents to rebel against the government in Addis Ababa. Second, a strong undertone of anticolonialism existed in some form or another in many of these third-world insurgencies; with the Ogaden conflict, Ethiopia is seen as a colonial aggressor conspiring with the West against the Somali people. In fact, Somalis have claimed that the British cession of the Ogaden to Ethiopia in 1948 was both illegal and illegitimate. Finally, most of these insurgencies occurred within the context of Cold War competition; that is, in jockeying for greater global influence, the Soviet Union and the United States each spent significant resources to provide military and financial aid to erect and influence friendly regimes. Although the U.S. presence in the Horn of Africa declined in the latter half of the Cold War, the USSR certainly played an important role in deciding the course of the Ogaden insurgency: Within a matter of months, the USSR airlifted into war-racked Ethiopia nearly \$1 billion in military hardware; following this, it was only a matter of months

before the Ethiopians were able to push the invading Somalis out.

And yet, even with all its similarities to other contemporary insurgencies, the Ogaden conflict was different in the particular nature of its rebel movement. What distinguished the rebel movements in the Ogaden from most other “. . . contemporary liberation movements was their lack of autonomy; both organizationally and logistically they were under the grip of a foreign authority” (Tareke 2000, 64). Since the establishment of the Somali Republic in 1960, the foreign policy of its governments had been driven by the doctrine of pan-Somalism; that is, the belief that it was the responsibility of the republic to reunite the various Somali clans scattered throughout the Horn of Africa into one Somali state. Its primary enemy in this effort was Ethiopia, which had actively engaged in its partition. Having few resources of their own, the Ogaden insurgents received all their training, equipment, and support exclusively from the Somali regime in Mogadishu; in exchange for such patronage, the insurgents ostensibly were to serve as auxiliary units of the Somali military. And yet, although such groups as the Western Somalia Liberation Front (WSLF) and the Somali and Abo Liberation Front (SALF) took their cues directly from Mogadishu in working toward Somali reunification, it would be inaccurate to say that they did not also have their own agendas and initiatives to follow. This is best illustrated by the continued efforts of the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) to engage Ethiopian authorities well into the 1990s, despite the absence of explicit Somali support.

In short, the Ogaden insurgency should not be considered a civil conflict in the traditional sense, for not only was the insurgency unable to sustain itself without large infusions of outside aid, but it also was firmly under the control of a foreign power. Then again, neither can it be said that the insurgency was entirely an extension of another state’s foreign policy. Instead, this conflict simultaneously occurs at both the interstate

and the intrastate levels of interaction: Harassed by Ethiopian authorities for almost seventy years, the Somali nomads living in the Ogaden perceived that they had no other recourse but to resist and fight back, even under the threat of death. Interpreting this as an opportunity to reclaim lost territory, Somalia provided full support to the insurgents so long as its own pan-Somalist interests took priority. For a period of time, the interests of the Ogadeni nomads and those of the Somali government intersected, thus forcing Ethiopia to defend itself at the risk of being torn apart from within. However, even when it was no longer in Somalia’s interest to pursue an irredentist policy, the insurgency still continued its hit-and-run tactics, eventually evolving into a potent political party.

Country Background

As the oldest independent country on the African continent, Ethiopia has been inhabited by humans longer than almost any other region in the world; in fact, *Homo sapiens sapiens* (modern man) is believed to have originated there. Since the midnineteenth century, however, Ethiopia has been an imperial state under the rule of a single individual. Although one could not consider the country to be a free, democratic society, under Emperor Haile Selassie (1930–1974), Ethiopia underwent a series of economic, social, and political reforms in an effort to modernize the state. In 1972, Ethiopia scored a –9 on the Polity scale and was classified as “not free” relative to the rest of the world by Freedom House; more specifically, Ethiopia scored 5 on the Freedom House Political Rights scale and 6 on the Civil Liberties scale. In other words, Ethiopians, ruled by an unelected autocrat, enjoyed few political rights and even fewer civil liberties (Freedom House 2004; Marshall and Jagers 2002). Among the more notable reforms was the adoption of a new constitution in 1955 expanding the powers of the parliament, the establishment of the University College of Addis Ababa in 1950, the creation of a modern



Western Somalia Liberation Front guerrillas display their weapons at a military training camp in Somalia in 1981. The rebels, funded by the Somali government, fought Ethiopia for control of the Ogaden territory. (Alain Nogues/Sygma/Corbis)

army, and the improvement of diplomatic relations with neighboring states via the emperor's involvement in the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 (Tiruneh 1993, 10; Haile-Selassie 1997, 55).

However, in the three years before the onset of Ogadeni hostilities in July 1977, the Ethiopian government in Addis Ababa had undergone a radical change in its composition and its ideological stance. Under pressure from a wide coalition of socialist activists, teachers, students, and the military protesting the poor state of affairs, Emperor Haile Selassie was deposed on September 12, 1974 (Haile-Selassie 1997, 127). The regime was initially replaced by a provisional administrative council of several hundred soldiers, known as the Derg; but by the early months of 1977 the government was firmly under the control of a military junta headed by Colonel Mengistu Haile Meriam. Mengistu ruled for the

next fourteen years, only to be run out of the country in 1991.

Conflict Background

Prior to the 1880s, the Ogaden region had had limited interaction with the Ethiopian territories to its north and west. A desert inhabited by Somali nomads and livestock, the region offered little economic benefit. However, as European powers pushed farther into the Horn of Africa, Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia initiated a large-scale thrust southward that included the barren Ogaden. As Andargachew Tiruneh argues, Menelik "was not going to be an independent spectator" to the Horn's partition (1993, 4).

Although some tension existed over Ethiopian dominion, there was initially relatively little resistance on the part of the Somali nomads; with very low levels of trade and a relative lack

of development, the Ogaden maintained a degree of autonomy, leaving indigenous social structures intact; that is, the chiefs and tribal elders remained the legitimate representatives of the Ogadeni people (Markakis 1987, 56). This is not to say that relations between the Ethiopians and the Somali clans of the Ogaden were entirely peaceful. Low-level violent encounters between the two have been recorded, such as the pillaging of herds of Ogadeni livestock by rogue Ethiopian officials (Markakis 1987, 172). It was not until the late 1940s, however, that signs of unrest began to manifest themselves; since the expulsion of the Italians from their Somali holdings during World War II, the indigenous people had been rather restive about the immediate establishment of their own independent Somali state. From this arose the pan-Somali movement, in which the aim was not only to bring together the former colonial holdings but also to unify into a sovereign state all territories throughout the Horn of Africa inhabited by Somali clans, irrespective of the current arrangement of borders.

Acknowledging the threat to the territorial integrity of Ethiopia, Emperor Selassie's government took preventive steps against pan-Somalism by promising schools and development projects; not only would this improve the living conditions of the Ogadeni, this would also place a more significant administrative and security presence in the region. When the first school opened in 1957, hopes for further integration were high in Addis Ababa (Markakis 1987, 173).

This all changed, however, when the Republic of Somalia was established in 1960; encouraged by pan-Somalist groups dominating the new government, the new republic now served as an excellent staging ground from which irredentists could launch attacks against countries such as Ethiopia. Emperor Selassie was thus forced to devote greater resources to integrating and defending the Ogaden, with several military bases established in the latter half of 1960 (de Waal 1991, 71). Although the increased presence of the Ethiopian military was not well received by

the inhabitants of the Ogaden, it was not until the systematic imposition of head taxes on the population that the nomads found a *casus belli* for engaging in the first round of violent rebellion. Requiring revenue to pay for the new developments in the region, the emperor could not rely on Ogaden trade and markets to supply the necessary funds and so levied on the nomads a head tax, in which each individual is taxed a fixed amount of money (Markakis 1987, 177). Such an exercise of government power, however, was diametrically opposed to the roaming lifestyle of the Ogadeni.

The rebellion was launched on June 16, 1963, at Hodayo, a watering hole just north of Warder, where 300 men picked Makhtal Dahir to lead the overall insurgency, later dubbed the Western Somalia Liberation Front. (The term *Western Somalia* refers to the claim that the Ogaden is merely a western extension of Greater Somalia, rather than a separate entity; this played into the hands of President Barre of Somalia as he exerted greater control over the insurgency in the 1970s.) A former public official, Makhtal Dahir was almost larger than life. Standing at a then-abnormal height of six feet four inches with a bright-red beard, he was near-fanatical in his intent, vowing to continue with the rebellion with or without Somali involvement. However, no permanent organizational structure to coordinate a widespread insurgent movement was ever established in the Ogaden; Makhtal was so noticeable a target that he was forced to flee to Mogadishu, capital of the Somali Republic, and lead the insurgency as best he could from afar (Markakis 1987, 178). As is described in more detail in the following paragraphs, Somalia helped to fund, equip, and train these first leaders of the insurgent movement, even though they were hundreds of miles from the battlefields of the rebellion.

Nevertheless, the insurgency carried on for another nine months as an estimated 12,000 insurgents, equipped and trained by the Somali government, fought against the Ethiopian army. At one point, nearly 70 percent of the region was

occupied by the WSLF. By August, however, the Ethiopians had regrouped and directed their assault against Somali border positions, a push that included an eight-week-long bombing campaign against targets in both the Ogaden and Somalia (*New York Times* 1963, 18). With one last major offensive in November 1963, the Ethiopians were able to secure a cease-fire with the Somalis by March 1964; negotiated by the newly-formed OAU, a demilitarized zone between six and ten miles deep on either side of the border was demarcated (Tiruneh 1993, 22).

Following this brief but destructive war, Somalia and Ethiopia began a process of détente: In 1967, the election of a moderate Somali government, headed by President Shemarle and Prime Minister Igal, lessened the importance of pan-Somalism and emphasized pan-Africanism. Détente between the two countries reached a high point with the official dissolution of the WSLF by President Siyaad Barre of Ethiopia in 1969; it is thus no surprise that support for the Ogaden insurgency was also at its lowest at this time (Tiruneh 1993, 23).

Although the cessation of hostilities meant the scaling back of Somali aid for the insurgents, this did not mean that the WSLF was inactive. Three months after the cease-fire, Makhtal Dahir was quoted as saying, "My people are under no one's jurisdiction and take orders from no one but me. We have no intention of observing any cease-fire. Our fight with Ethiopia has nothing to do with Somalia. We are indifferent to the government position, though we still expect and hope our movement will be recognized both by Somali and Ethiopia" (*New York Times* 1964, 4). This assertion that the Ogaden resistance is independent of any Somali intervention will continue for the next three decades, regardless of how accurate the claim may be.

As relations between Ethiopia and Somalia warmed, Emperor Selassie's government undertook harsh economic policies to punish the Ogaden nomads. In addition to the head taxes, the Ethiopian military actually began targeting livestock; in May and July 1964, more than

22,000 domestic animals were either killed or confiscated by troops, thus striking directly at the nomads' precious source of income. Furthermore, a new policy of land registration encouraged Amhara farmers from the north to resettle in the valuable pasturelands in and around the Ogaden that were used by nomads' herds as grazing areas. Under the new rules, the nomads had no recognized claim to this territory and were consequently harassed by the army. Anti-smuggling measures were also instituted, preventing the nomads from using age-old trade routes that necessarily crossed over from Ethiopia into Somalia. Last, existing water wells frequented by the nomads were poisoned, while new ones were dug for the incoming migration of northern farmers (de Waal 1991, 71–72). In short, such economic warfare aimed to deconstruct the nomads' way of life.

Between 1973 and 1974, the region experienced massive drought, in which more than 28,000 were affected; unfortunately, the nomads were particularly vulnerable to the disaster, as land regulations prevented them from using the fertile pastoral lands, and the restriction of movement by antimuggling measures prevented them from finding better locales. As such, the Ethiopian government established the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) to provide some famine relief and medical treatment. Ultimately, however, the RRC proved only to further strain the nomadic social structure and allow the government to increase its control over the region (de Waal 1991, 73). Not only was movement in and out of the relief shelters severely restricted, administrators also greatly limited the number of domestic animals each family could keep (de Waal 1991, 73). By 1975, approximately 80,000 Ogadenis lived in eighteen relief shelters. Although the northern Amhara farmers repopulated the Ogaden with loyal settlers, the RRC sought to recondition the nomads by converting these shelters into government-controlled permanent settlements. Though the WSLF insurgency was relatively inactive during this time period, the operation was renewed as

many Ogadeni men stayed away from the RRC relief camps. Believing this was a direct Ethiopian assault on their way of life, many turned back to armed opposition.

And yet, without Somali support, where would they go? Following the October revolution in Somalia, which saw the fall of the moderate Shemarke–Igal government, army commander Siyaad Barre rose to power and became president in late 1969. Concerned with consolidating his power base, Barre wanted to limit the possibility of an attack by a foreign power by seeking further rapprochement with Ethiopia; he did so by officially disbanding the WSLF in late 1969 and early 1970. However, in light of the domestic support his regime required, Barre was forced to reassess the utility of this Somali insurgency.

Although a multitude of clans held influence over the political landscape of the Somali republic, only a few needed to support him in order to maintain his hold over the national government. Among them was the Ogadeni clan, ethnic relatives of the same nomads that comprised much of the Ethiopian-held Ogaden region. In exchange for their support of his regime, President Barre would provide military and financial aid to the insurgents (de Waal 1991, 74). By 1975, Barre had begun to fulfill his promise by secretly opening three training camps near the Ethiopian border. Interestingly enough, no deal was made with any representatives of the Ogadeni people in Ethiopia; the decision was made entirely by the clan elite in Mogadishu.

Alongside the developments in Somalia, Ethiopia was also experiencing massive sociopolitical change. Beginning in February 1974, the Selassie regime was drawing fire from many sectors of society: Ranging from socialist activists and unions, teachers, and taxi drivers to the military, this wide coalition provided the momentum necessary to uproot the ancient regime of imperial Ethiopia. With the deposition of Emperor Selassie later that September and the subsequent creation of a socialist state under military rule, the strength to subdue in-

surgeries as had been done in 1964 was no longer certain. This is clearly illustrated by the rise of several insurgencies and liberation movements throughout the entire country. In the northern half of the country were the Afar, the Tigray, and the Eritrean rebels, whereas in the south was the Oromo movement and patches of Ogaden resistance, all of whom sought some degree of autonomous control over their respective regions. In addition to these separatist movements, the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) arose as a conservative counterforce to Mengistu's military junta. Backed by Arab states, the EDU represented the most viable challenger of the military's dominance of the Addis Ababa government.

By 1976, the Ethiopian government was in disarray, attacked from all sides by a variety of liberation and resistance groups; combine this with Barre's commitment to domestic supporters to provide aid for the various Somali insurgencies, and we find a situation primed for an encounter between not only the WSLF and the Ethiopian government but also between the two powers of the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia and Somalia.

In March 1976, the WSLF war against the Ethiopian government began in full earnest as guerrilla units struck targets in the Ogaden from their Somali positions; by early 1977, mixed units of Somali regulars and guerrillas were active in the region, harassing Ethiopian military positions. Achieving limited success with these mixed units, Addis Ababa finally authorized the full invasion of the Ogaden by the Somali army in July 1977.

The Insurgents

The nature of the insurgent movement distinguishes the Ogaden conflict from so many of its contemporaries. In most instances, the insurgency is the result of some domestic unrest; that is, the idea for rebellion, its organization, and its sources of aid were usually found initially within the country itself, precluding the need for for-

Table 1: Civil War in Ethiopia

War:	WSLF vs. government
Dates:	March 1976–January 1985
Casualties:	40,000
Regime type prior to war:	–7 (Polity 2 variable in polity 4 data, ranging from –10 to 10)
Regime type after war:	–8 (Polity 2 variable in polity 4 data, ranging from –10 to 10)
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$99.50 (constant 1995 US dollars)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$100 (constant 1995 US dollars)
Insurgents:	Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF)
Issue:	“Sons of the soil” dynamic; Somali irredentism
Rebel funding:	Somali aid and training
Role of geography:	Desert and sparse pasturelands left insurgents vulnerable to air and ground attacks by conventional Ethiopian forces.
Role of resources:	Large, undeveloped petroleum deposits increased the strategic and economic value of the region; however, the presence of these deposits did not directly benefit either side during the conflict.
Immediate outcome:	WSLF insurgents continued to harass Ethiopian military units following the Somali defeat in 1978 until the mid-1980s.
Outcome after 5 years:	Somalia renounced its claim to the Ogaden, with the Ethiopian government granting the region limited autonomy. Sporadic fighting between the WSLF/ONLF and the Ethiopian military, however, still occurs.
Role of UN:	Facilitated peace talks; provided humanitarian aid for refugees.
Role of regional organization:	OAU was active in both mediating peace talks and providing humanitarian aid.
Refugees:	800,000; 65 percent repatriated after 5 years
Prospects for peace:	Favorable, although a real possibility of future intermittent conflict exists.

Sources: De Waal 1991; Marshall and Jagers 2002; Sarkees 2000; World Bank 2001.

eign support. However, for the Western Somalia Liberation Front and its associated organizations, such as the SALF, it has proven difficult to separate out the Ogadeni insurgency from the military activities and sabotage of the Somali government (Tiruneh 1993, 24). And although the intersection of interests—the grievances of the Ogadeni nomads against the Ethiopian government and the pan-Somalist policies of Mogadishu—may have at times produced a mutual benefit for both parties, it was usually the case that they simply could not agree on the course of the insurgency. The rest of this section seeks to explain this.

The nomadic peoples of the Ogaden region have long viewed themselves as relatively independent of the bureaucratic rule of distant governments, regardless of whether that meant Addis Ababa or Mogadishu. As pastoralists, the nomads were primarily concerned with tending

to their herds of livestock; as noted earlier, they traded very little with those outside of the Ogaden, thus yielding little economic benefit for any overarching authority. When Ethiopian rule was established in the early twentieth century and reaffirmed in 1948, the nomads were by no means content with the situation; however, since the Ogadeni had had such little contact with Addis Ababa in the first place, there was not much reason for mass resistance. Certainly, there were conflicts between the two peoples, but these encounters did not usually extend beyond the jurisdiction of the local police force.

Begun in 1963, the WSLF was initially a response to a dual threat to the nomadic way of life: the imposition of head taxes and the redistribution of valuable pasturelands. Although it has been said that the insurgency was directed against the Ethiopians in the name of a Greater Somalia, this was initially not the case; before

considering secession and annexation to the Somali Republic, the insurgents were first interested in having the taxes and new land policies repealed. Before one can speak of nationalism and ethnic pride, one must first be able to acquire food and shelter. The nomads were obviously concerned with expelling the Ethiopians from the Ogaden, but given how little the two interacted, one could say the nomads would have been content at that point in the insurgency just to be left alone. In other words, rather than classifying the initial stages of the conflict as being a conflict over irredentist rights, one could instead liken it to one with a “sons of the soil,” dynamic in which a minority population of a certain region attempts to expel from their land migrants sponsored or encouraged to move there by the state government.

However, the irredentist message eventually began to take hold as pan-Somalists in Mogadishu eyed the Ogaden. Although there was certainly a lull in Somali aid following the 1963 insurgency, by the time Siyaad Barre was able to consolidate his power base in Mogadishu, the Ogaden groups, particularly the WSLF, were once again receiving significant support. As explained earlier, without the support of the Ogaden clan in Somalia, Barre would not have been able to assert himself as the undisputed leader of the country. Once he had secured that support, Barre was committed to aiding the insurgency in Ethiopia for as long as it was in the interest of the Somali state to do so. It is again worth noting that the initial agreement Barre made was with the Ogaden living *within* Somalia, not with the insurgents who would later engage in the actual fighting. They were excluded from these high-level discussions (de Waal 1991, 74). The Ogaden with whom Barre had allied had their own plans: To absorb a region inhabited by one million nomads, the majority of whom are part of the Ogaden clan itself, would greatly increase the strength of the clan in the Mogadishu regime; the concerns of the nomads were considered secondary to this political objective.

In exchange for Somali funding of the various irredentist movement—such as the construction of training camps and the provision of Soviet-made weapons—groups such as the WSLF could only operate if their initiatives did not interfere with Somali interests. Until March 1978, with the defeat of Somali forces by the Ethiopian and Cuban troops, Mogadishu was in complete control of the insurgency. The WSLF itself had been reorganized in 1976 and placed under the direct control of President Barre and his Ministry of Defense. When nomadic insurgents actively disagreed with him, Barre would simply have them imprisoned. Furthermore, following the Somali invasion in July 1977, Barre was intent on limiting the influence of the WSLF in the now Somali-held Ogaden. Behind the Somali front, Barre ordered the army to remove any apparatus the WSLF had for civil governance by having them sent back to Mogadishu and arrested. Barre wanted the WSLF to have as much authority in the region as possible. Given the rebellious history of the Ogaden region and the independent-minded nomads, to share power with the WSLF only would have opened the door to later pushes for greater autonomy. Barre further limited the influence of the WSLF by also prohibiting the Front’s leadership, the Central Committee, from entering the Ogaden; those leaders of the WSLF who were needed on the battlefield were scattered throughout the entire front of the war, intermixed with the military, and thus their command was diluted (Markakis 1987, 230). When it suited him, Barre would frequently purge the WSLF leadership to ensure that no one would acquire too much power (Markakis 1987, 232). Even relations within the fighting forces were strained; not only were the Somali regulars better equipped, they were also paid, unlike the WSLF fighters. This prompted many insurgents to abandon their positions and return home without permission.

This relationship between the Somalis and the insurgents continued on well into the 1980s. Though there was a steep dropoff in Somali aid following the Ethiopian victory in 1978, Mo-

gadishu continued to fund the low-level guerrilla attacks by the WSLF and other insurgent groups. It was not until April 1988 that Somalia finally agreed to stop funding these movements, although by then the WSLF had effectively run its course as a guerrilla force.

Although Somali aid had definitely helped the WSLF and the other Ogaden fighters to maintain a viable insurgency, such external involvement also seemed to have had a deleterious effect on the overall success of the insurgency. The 1977 Somali invasion had not been well received by the international community; since its creation in 1963, the OAU had been committed to preserving the borders of the colonial holdings. The rationale for such a policy was to prevent nationalist and secessionist forces from tearing apart the emerging African state system. It was widely believed that to disregard the agreed-upon borders of one state to satisfy the demands of a minority group would work against continental stability. This OAU commitment to the previous borders was echoed in the United Nations and among the Western powers. Thus, the perception of Somali expansionism and the complete identification of the Ogadeni cause with the Somali state precluded any further regional or international support for the insurgency (Markakis 1987, 231). Even with the cessation of Somali aid, the WSLF and others still suffered the stigma of association.

Geography

The Ogaden region has a total area of 125,000 square miles (200,000 square kilometers) and is mostly desert. Dominated by thorny vegetation, underground water is the main source of life. Except for the fertile belts along river basins where limited sedentary life exists, it is a barren and bleak landscape of flat-topped hills and sloping plains. It is in the Haud pastures along these river basins that the nomads are able to make their living. Directly to the northwest of the Ogaden lies the fertile Harargh plateau (Markakis 1987, 171). In addition to the major cities of Harar, Jigjiga, and Dire Dawa, the

Harargh is also home to “rolling plains and lush valleys that are watered by numerous rivers and ample seasonal rains; [it] is one of Ethiopia’s richest agricultural regions,” where some of the country’s staple crops (e.g., teff, barley, wheat, and coffee) are cultivated (Tareke 2000, 638).

Strategically speaking, the Ogaden was an important region to hold despite the fact that it is a barren desert. The region juts out into Somalia, effectively cutting the country in half. With an Ethiopian army occupying the region, Somali interaction between the northern and southern halves proved extremely difficult. Furthermore, the Ogaden allowed Ethiopia a buffer zone between the more prosperous regions of the Hararghe in the north and Somalia. Although maintaining the territorial integrity of the Ethiopian state was a major factor inciting the Ogaden conflict, it makes more economic sense to see the region as a way to protect more profitable areas of production.

Regarding the actual insurgency, the barren desert offered little cover for the WSLF fighters; this was especially the case when the Ethiopian Air Force, arguably the best in Africa at the time, was deployed to attack insurgent positions. The terrain also lent itself to the use of mechanized units in combat; with little impediment, tanks were used heavily by Somalis and Ethiopians alike during the 1977–1978 phase of the insurgency. What was of help to the insurgents was the lack of development in the region; with few roads and long distances between settlements, WSLF fighters were able to conduct an effective guerrilla war against Ethiopian positions for a significant amount of time. At one point during the months following the Somali retreat in March 1978, the insurgency controlled more than 70 percent of the region, with Ethiopian forces relegated to the major administrative centers. Overall, however, geography was not a crucial factor in determining the outcome of the conflict.

Tactics

As with many insurgencies, the WSLF and the other Ogaden fighters concentrated on using



guerrilla hit-and-run tactics against Ethiopian positions; this also included the mining of major roads, railways, and bridges (Kaufman 1978, A11). In addition, the insurgents used radio and other media to push forward anti-Ethiopian propaganda. As late as 1976, all this had been accomplished with little or no coordination between the various insurgent units; in fact, these units would actually compete with each other for territory, men, and booty, only to be kept in check by Mogadishu (de Waal 1991, 74). As

stated previously, all weapons were supplied by the Somali army and were used by as many as 20,000 insurgents.

In combating the insurgents directly, the Ethiopian government used several tactics. First, they were primarily concerned with defending the major administrative centers, such as Harar, Dire Dawa, and Jigjiga, to preserve some semblance of Ethiopian rule. By 1979, however, the Ethiopian army undertook a far more active campaign against the insurgents not only by at-

tacking the guerrillas themselves but also by directing their attacks at the populations' means of survival—for example, livestock, water wells, pasturelands, and trade routes. The approach was fourfold:

1. Much of the population was forcibly displaced into RRC shelters and protected villages.
2. Military offensives were directed at all people and assets remaining outside the shelters.
3. Settlers from other parts of Ethiopia were relocated to the region.
4. Addis Ababa itself helped fund several Somali insurgent groups that opposed the regime of President Barre (de Waal 1991, 94).

Although the first three approaches were certainly effective in curbing armed WSLF opposition, it was the fourth approach that effectively ended the civil conflict. The first three not only weakened the social structure of the Ogadeni nomads, they also created a major humanitarian disaster as nearly 800,000 refugees fled the region, many crossing into Somalia. It was not until the fall of the Barre regime and the ensuing conflicts between the Somali warlords that this refugee tide reversed its course.

Just as Ethiopia experienced civil unrest, so did Somalia. As mentioned earlier, President Barre relied mainly on the support of three major clans, effectively ignoring the rest. Dissatisfied with the amount of influence these three had, other clans such as the Isaaqs formed small paramilitary units to gain power. When Somalia suffered its major defeat in March 1978, these other clans, in conjunction with the some disgruntled members of the military, officially launched an insurgent movement directed against the Barre regime. The two most notable were the Somali National Movement (SNM), consisting of clans from northern and central Somalia, and the Somali Salvation Front, a separate group composed of former

soldiers. Eventually, the two would combine to form the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF). Just as the Somalis had begun to do in the 1960s and 1970s, the Ethiopians now used insurgent forces to combat the WSLF and Somali units (Darnton 1978). In conjunction with the Ethiopian military, the SSDF was able to drastically reduce the effectiveness of Ogaden fighters; by 1985, neither the WSLF nor any other insurgent group in the Ogaden posed a viable threat to Addis Ababa.

Causes of the War

Any conflict has a variety of causes. In the case of the Ogaden insurgency, the three main causes were these:

1. Ogadeni frustration with oppressive taxation and the redistribution of land created a “sons of the soil” dynamic.
2. The foreign policy of Somalia was driven by the idea of pan-Somalism, of which Somalia's involvement in the Ogaden was an application.
3. The weakened state of the Ethiopian government following the 1974 coup d'état and the subsequent insurrections in all parts of the country contributed to the perception that the Ogaden was open to further attacks from abroad.

However, it is the opinion of this analysis that the insurgency was driven primarily by the first cause.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

The Ogaden insurgency, as it was referred to until 1985, no longer exists. As Somali aid dried up in the 1980s, so did enthusiasm for the WSLF. Rightly interpreted as a puppet of Mogadishu, former leaders of the WSLF, most notably Makhtal Dahir, split off and formed the Ogaden National Liberation Front. Officially merging

with the WSLF in 1991, the ONLF was transformed from a paramilitary organization into a political one. With the Ogaden receiving some autonomy in 1987, the ONLF shifted its priorities and became much more involved in the political organization and mobilization of the Ogadeni people. Although the Ethiopian government has effectively eliminated the insurgency, sporadic attacks by the army against the ONLF have been reported.

Duration Tactics

There are several reasons why the Ogaden insurgency lasted so long. The first and most important is the extensive Somali aid. Without it, the Ogadenis would have had little chance against the Ethiopians, especially when Addis Ababa began to receive military aid from the Soviet Union in 1978. Another reason for the insurgency's long duration was the remoteness of the region. At the time, because the Ethiopian government in Addis Ababa was also involved in battling a number of other insurgent groups—such as the Oromo Liberation Front in the south, Afar rebels in the northeast, and the Tigray People's Liberation Front in the north—it could not devote the bulk of its military wholly to defeating the Ogadeni fighters. Finally, the fact that the nomads were fighting for their right to live in their ancestral home—that is, a “sons of the soil” dynamic—helps to explain in part why the Ogadeni were willing to fight for so long. As a matter of both survival and pride, the nomads were not going to allow themselves to be pushed off their ancestral lands.

External Military Intervention

Although the United States had little involvement with either Somalia or Ethiopia during the high point of the Ogaden insurgency, both the Soviet Union and Cuba were particularly active in the region. Prior to 1977, Somalia had been a client state of the Soviet Union, who supplied Somalia with large shipments of military equipment, training, and advisors. Located between the Red Sea and the Arabian Peninsula, the Horn

of Africa is an attractive location to control. In exchange for the support, the Soviet Union was guaranteed access to the Somali port of Berbera.

Yet despite these good relations, an uneasy relationship existed between President Barre/Somalia and the Soviet Union (Laitin 1979, 99). Barre assumed that the Soviet Union would be willing to support the irredentist policies of pan-Somalism; however, just as the rest of the international community had done, the Soviet Union also frowned upon the rewriting of African borders, especially when the instrument for doing so was invasion. Not receiving the support he required from the Soviet Union to undertake the massive offensive in 1977, Barre expelled all Soviet advisors and cut off all aid. Barre had wrongly calculated that if he cut his ties with the Soviet bloc, the West would be more willing to aid the Somalis' venture into the Ogaden. Given international opinion, it is not surprising that neither the United States nor any other Western power provided support.

After its expulsion from Somalia in the summer of 1977, the Soviet Union simply turned around and allied itself with Ethiopia. Not only was the regime in Ethiopia less demanding than that of President Barre, there were other considerations: Mengistu's regime in Addis Ababa, though a military junta, had demonstrated willingness to echo the rhetoric of the civilian left and act upon it. Ethiopia was also strategically significant, especially with the recent discovery of oil fields in the Ogaden. And Ethiopia was the second-largest nation in black Africa, with 26.5 million people (Tiruneh 1993, 222).

Because the Soviet Union made its switch in the middle of the war between the two African countries, it was able to heavily influence the outcome of the conflict. By August 1977, the Soviet Union had airlifted nearly \$1 billion in military hardware—MiG fighter planes, armored personnel carriers, and thousands of light and heavy arms. In addition to this massive infusion of weapons, the Soviets also provided the Ethiopian military with 1,500 advisors, many of

Oil in the Ogaden?

As early as 1948, many have suspected the existence of a large petroleum reserve beneath the Ogaden basin. However, it has taken nearly sixty years for any outside firms to properly investigate the matter. In June 2003, the Ethiopian government granted the Malaysian oil firm Petronas exclusive rights to conduct exploratory drills; the agreement was renewed in 2005.

whom had been stationed in Somalia only a few months previously; Cuba, under Soviet direction, also contributed by providing a force of 18,000 fully equipped Cuban troops.

Conflict Management Efforts

Although both the OAU and the United Nations tried to negotiate a settlement between the insurgents and the Ethiopian government, it was the OAU that was eventually able to secure the various cease-fires between the combatants. The UN was involved primarily with the humanitarian work with the Ogadeni refugees.

Conclusion

It is important to remember from this discussion that domestic forces are not always the most influential determinants of the course of a civil war. In fact, as can be seen from the Ogaden insurgency, one must also strongly consider how a state's external environment can shape internal processes of domestic unrest.

Clearly, the insurgency followed a "son of the soil" dynamic in which the WSLF initially responded to a harsh tax policy and an even more brutal redistribution of land that jeopardized the Ogadeni way of life. And yet, as motivated as the insurgents were by these threats to their livelihood, it was not enough to sustain a large-scale guerrilla campaign against the better-equipped, better-trained Ethiopian army. It was only when Somalia intervened on the side of the Ogadeni that the insurgency had a real possibility of becoming a viable and effective threat to

The Army That Grew

In 1976, prior to the onset of the Ogadeni war, the Ethiopian army was estimated to be at least 51,000 strong. Relative to other African states, this meant that Ethiopia had only the sixth largest army; in fact, a difference of over 180,000 troops separated the size of its army from the largest on the continent (Nigeria). Following the infusion of Soviet aid in late 1977, however, the Ethiopian army quickly rose in the ranking until in 1979 it reached a size of 220,000, the largest in Africa. Not only did it outnumber its closest competitor (Nigeria) by more than 30,000 troops, what is more impressive is that in a span of four years the Ethiopian army grew by almost 430 percent (Singer, Bremer, and Stuckey 1972)!

the Ethiopian grip on the region. Driven by a combination of irredentist tendencies and tribal politics, the Barre regime not only supplied and trained the insurgents for sustained combat but also enjoyed a virtual monopoly over the decision-making apparatus of the insurgency.

Although the Barre regime preached Somali solidarity, once it was obvious that it could not defeat the combined forces of the Ethiopian and Soviet militaries, the regime quickly folded on its commitment and left the insurgents to fend for themselves. Ultimately, the Ogadeni were able to continue fighting for a number of years following the 1976 war by using hit-and-run guerrilla tactics, but to say that they were still a credible force would be to greatly overstate their strength. The Ogadeni insurgency is a prime example of how actors, given that their interests coincide, can drive a domestic conflict regardless of national borders.

Raúl C. González

Chronology

April 1891 Menelik II, emperor of Ethiopia, conquers the Ogaden.

September 3, 1948 The British cede the majority of the Somali-dominated Ogaden region to Ethiopia.

- February 28, 1955 The last of the Ogaden is ceded by the British to Ethiopia.
- July 1, 1960 The Republic of Somalia is established.
- June 16, 1963 In response to unfair taxation, the Western Somalia Liberation Front is formed. Somalia is quickly and reluctantly drawn into the conflict.
- March 6, 1964 Ethiopia and Somalia agree to a cease-fire, ending the first round of organized insurgency in the Ogaden.
- Late 1969 Attempting to placate Ethiopia, President Siyaad Barre of Somalia officially disbands the WSLF; however, he does not renounce the Somali claim to the Ogaden.
- September 12, 1974 Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia is deposed, leading to three years of domestic unrest and military rule.
- January 1976 The WSLF is reestablished under the direct authority of the Somali regime in Mogadishu.
- February 1977 Colonel Mengistu Haile Meriam emerges as the undisputed leader of Ethiopia.
- July 13, 1977 With troops posing as WSLF guerrilla units, Somalia launches a massive military offensive into the Ogaden.
- November 1977 Soviet aid arrives in Ethiopia in the form of military advisors, weapons, and Cuban troops.
- March 1978 Following a successful Ethiopian-Cuban counteroffensive, the Somali military is ordered to evacuate the Ogaden and retreat behind its respective border.
- June 1978 The WSLF resumes its harassment of the Ethiopian military in the Ogaden using hit-and-run tactics.
- August 15, 1984 The Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) is formed by former members of the WSLF. Its aim is to limit Mogadishu's influence over the insurgency.
- January 1985 Unable to sustain attacks by both the Ethiopian military and the anti-Barre Somali National Movement (SNM), the WSLF ceases to have a significant insurgent presence in the Ogaden.
- September 10, 1987 A new constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) provides the Ogaden with limited autonomy, although some ambiguity exists on the matter of self-determination.
- April 3, 1988 Ethiopia and Somalia sign an accord to withdraw troops from the border,

- exchange prisoners, and end hostile propaganda and acts of destabilization. The accord effectively ends Somalia's official involvement with the Ogaden insurgency.
- May 8, 1991 President Mengistu flees Ethiopia and is granted asylum in Zimbabwe.
- July 21, 1991 The ONLF and WSLF officially announce their merger as a political organization.
- June 2005 Following unrest over alleged electoral fraud, police kill thirty-six Ogadeni as thousands are injured.

List of Acronyms

- EDU: Ethiopian Democratic Union
 OAU: Organization of African Unity
 ONLF: Ogaden National Liberation Front
 RRC: Relief and Rehabilitation Commission
 SALF: Somali and Abo Liberation Front
 SNM: Somali National Movement
 SSDF: Somali Salvation Democratic Front
 SSF: Somali Salvation Front
 WSLF: Western Somalia Liberation Front

Glossary

- Horn of Africa:** The East African peninsula, which contains Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia. Extending out into the Arabian Sea, the Horn lies just below the southern entrance of the Red Sea. Its strategic location near key shipping lanes made the region particularly attractive to the European powers before 1945 and to the USSR, the United States, and the Arab League during the cold war.
- irredentism:** The doctrine that one state can claim territories belonging to another state on the basis of common ethnicity and/or historical possession.
- pan-Somalism:** The movement to unify all territories populated by Somalis into one sovereign state.
- “sons of the soil”:** 1. A dynamic in which an insurgent band fights on behalf of an ethnic minority on the periphery of a state dominated by another ethnic group. 2. The insurgency fights against the state's military or paramilitary formations and members of the majority group who have settled as farmers in the minority groups' declared home area. 3. The conflict centers on land disputes with migrants from the dominant group or disputes profits and control of fuel and mineral resources in the minority's home area (Fearon 2004).

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Greece

(1944–1949)

Introduction

The Greek civil war of 1944–1949 is best understood as the product of two long processes, one external and one internal. The external process was the development of social conflicts in Western and Eastern Europe dating from the end of World War I, which set in motion both the Communist revolution in Russia—and the subsequent consolidation of the Soviet Union—and the expansion of fascism throughout most of Europe. These competing ideological pulls would have a great impact on the Greek civil war. Of equal effect was the internal process of the persistent division of Greek society known as the National Schism (*Ethnikos Dikhasmos*). The National Schism arose out of two questions: whether Greece should participate in World War I and on whose side it should participate. Originally, Greece devolved into two camps: Venizelists, who supported the provisional government of Eleftherios Venizelos, and anti-Venizelists, who supported King Constantine.

This division would later expand into many different areas of Greek social and political life, the constant being that the division of Europe into competing camps before, during, and after World War II, would be mirrored by the division of Greece into competing camps, eventually leading to a showdown in the Greek civil war between the restored government of Georgios Papandreou, with his British and (later) American

supporters, and the armed Communist resistance. The defeat of the Communists in 1949 and the establishment of a parliamentary government temporarily ended the division of Greece. However, the eventual descent into military government in 1967 exposed the continual division of Greek society into two camps: one that supported democracy and one that did not. Only in the 1970s would Greece put this division behind itself and move forward with stable, parliamentary democracy.

Country Background

We can divide Greek history before the Civil War into two periods: the preoccupation of Greece and the occupation of Greece. Preoccupation, or interwar, Greece dealt with problems similar to those of a large number of Eastern European countries. Greek independence from Ottoman Turkish rule occurred in 1822 with the proclamation of the constitution of an independent Greece. From that time until the end of the nineteenth century, Greece would move in fits and starts from a powerful monarchy to a dual system wherein both king and parliament would contribute to governance. The 1909 military coup led to the rise of the Liberal Party and its charismatic leader, Eleftherios Venizelos. Venizelos supported economic modernization, social reform, and the Great Idea, a larger, expanded

Greece. Venizelos and his supporters clashed with the royalists and other social conservatives, resulting in the eventual tug-of-war over foreign policy between King Constantine and Venizelos.

In the run-up to World War I, Greece displayed both social and economic underdevelopment relative to the larger Western European powers. The participation of Greece in the two Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 led to a massive territorial gain, mainly from the Turkish cession of Macedonia to Greece. Greece added “some 70 percent to her land area, while her population increased from approximately 2,800,000 to 4,800,000” (Clogg 1992, 83). Greece became a major power in the Ionian and Aegean seas and perhaps even in the Mediterranean. Yet Greece was mainly an agrarian country consisting mostly of small farm owners. A bourgeoisie did exist and formed most of the political class, although it was only a small fraction of the population. The agrarian society was maintained for decades; by the 1940s around 60 percent of the population engaged in agriculture, producing more than 50 percent of the gross domestic product (Svoronos 1981, 4). Thus, in the 1920s and 1930s, Greek national production was one-third that of Britain and the United States, half that of Austria, and only slightly better than that of Romania (Svoronos 1981, 4).

Returning to the 1910s, the beginning of World War I led to difficulties in Greek foreign policy. Prime Minister Venizelos supported the Entente powers of Britain and France, whereas King Constantine favored Germany. This division led to Greek neutrality at the start of the war and two dismissals of Venizelos from government by the king. In August of 1915, with British and French forces already in Salonica and Corfu, pro-Venizelist army officers launched a military coup against the royalist government. Venizelos established a provisional government in Crete, deepening the split between the two factions. In 1916, British and French forces invaded Athens to enforce Greek neutrality and collect war materials. The royalist Greeks resisted and pushed the Allies out of Athens while at

the same time purging supporters of Venizelos. The Allies consequently blockaded Greek ports and caused severe economic hardship in royalist areas.

The result of the Allied pressure was the June 1917 departure of Constantine, without abdication, and the succession of his second-oldest son, Alexander, to the throne. Venizelos became prime minister again, but Greece was still divided. Venizelos recalled the 1915 parliament, in which he held a firm majority, and sent seven divisions to the Macedonian front to help the British and French war effort. True to his aims of establishing the Great Idea, Venizelos used the end of World War I to push for more concessions to Greece from the declining Ottoman Empire. Chief among his demands were Smyrna, “a city with more Greek inhabitants than Athens” on the Turkish mainland, and the territory of Thrace (Clogg 1992, 93). Before Venizelos’s aims could be recognized, Italy landed troops in Asia Minor and started marching toward Smyrna. In May 1919, Britain, France, and the United States agreed to land Greek troops in Smyrna as a way to head off this Italian advance. Venizelos had now achieved his Greece of “the two continents and five seas” (Clogg 1992, 95).

But the deep division of Greek society would not allow Venizelos to enjoy this success. With the death of King Alexander, royalists won the 1919 elections, returning Constantine to power and purging Venizelists. Turkish nationalists waged a campaign against the Greek possessions in Asia Minor, while in 1921 all the allies of Greece declared their neutrality in the budding Greco-Turkish conflict. The massive Turkish offensive of August 1921 led to a rout of Greek forces, the hasty and incomplete evacuation of Smyrna, and the massacre of around 30,000 Greeks and Armenians. The Great Idea ended in catastrophe.

A military coup in 1922 led to government by a revolutionary committee. The court-martial known as the Trial of the Six ended in the execution of six of the eight defendants, mainly military officers who campaigned in Asia Minor and

pro-Venizelist politicians (Clogg 1992, 100–103). Further, more than a million refugees flooded into Greece, most of whom were firm supporters of Venizelos and his Great Idea. A military dictator, General Theodoros Pangalos, ruled Greece until 1926; in 1927 a two-chamber parliamentary system came into existence, and the monarchy was abolished. From 1928 to 1932, Venizelos returned to power as prime minister of Greece and leader of the revived Liberal Party. A parliamentary election led to legislative deadlock in 1933, followed by an election won by the People's Party.

Venizelist supporters launched a failed coup in March 1933 in an attempt to overturn the election results. With royalist sympathy gaining ground, Venizelists launched a second coup attempt in 1935, again resulting in failure as well as the eventual exile of Venizelos to France, the restoration of martial law, and the purging of Venizelists from the military and civil service. The People's Party, led by Prime Minister Panayis Tsaldaris, abolished the Senate (the upper house) and held elections under martial law. Under pressure from royalists to reestablish the monarchy, Tsaldaris resigned. Tsaldaris's successor, General Georgios Kondylis, abolished the republic and held a farcical referendum in favor of restoring the monarchy. King George II now sat on the throne of Greece.

By now, the social unrest in Europe was catching up to Greece. An election created a weak parliament split between the People's Party, with its royalist sympathizers, and the Liberal Party. The remaining seats were held by the new Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and the far-right Freethinkers' Party, led by General Ioannis Metaxas. In 1936, Metaxas replaced an ineffectual minister of war, and later the king appointed Metaxas caretaker prime minister. In August, Metaxas suspended key articles of the constitution and soon thereafter established his dictatorship (also called the Regime of the Fourth of August 1936) (Clogg 1992, 117–19). Metaxas ruled as a fascist dictator from 1936 to 1941 and neutralized all opposition.

Despite his profascist leanings, Metaxas maintained warm relations with Britain, a policy also supported by George II. In April 1939, after the Italian occupation of Albania, Britain and France guaranteed the integrity of Greece. When World War II started in September 1939, Metaxas hoped to keep Greece neutral. However, Mussolini had designs on Greece; within hours after a humiliating ultimatum of October 28, 1940, Italian forces crossed the border into Greece. Within days, the Greeks had stemmed the Italian advance and counterattacked into Albanian territory. After the death of Metaxas, and fearing a German invasion, Alexandros Koryziz asked for and received a British expeditionary force (composed mostly of New Zealand and Australian troops). But this did not deter the German invasion, which occurred on April 6, 1941. The Germans could not be stopped, and on August 20 General Tsolakoglou negotiated an armistice with Germany. On August 23, Athens fell to German troops. Britain evacuated its forces to Crete, along with King George II, most of the government, and some Greek forces. These elements would later be further evacuated to the Middle East once Crete fell to a German invasion.

Thus, the occupation of Greece by German, Italian, and Bulgarian forces began. In September 1941, the Communists established the National Liberation Front (EAM) as its political movement and the National People's Liberation Army (ELAS) as its military wing. The vacuum in political leadership created during the Metaxas dictatorship left the Communists to fill the void. A number of noncommunist resistance groups also emerged, of whom the National Republican Greek League (EDES) in northwest Greece became the most significant. The king and the exiled government, first in London and later in Cairo, had almost no contact with the resistance groups, and even opposed their use of sabotage because of reprisals against the civilian population. British support for the king led to a lack of British support for the resistance efforts.

A meeting in Cairo in August 1943 between the British military, the representatives of George II, and the guerrillas led to nothing. The guerrillas demanded some exercise of ministries in the exiled government and that the king not return until a referendum approved it. Britain and George II rejected these demands. The guerrillas, particularly EAM, became convinced that Britain wanted to restore the Greek monarchy. Fighting between ELAS and EDES in late 1943 led to British support of EDES. The establishment of a Communist “mountain” government in free Greece (that is, occupied territory under only nominal occupation but really under EAM control) led to the mutiny of EAM supporters in the Greek army in Egypt. The direct consequences of these developments were twofold: first, the establishment of Georgios Papandreou, a Venizelist and anticommunist, as prime minister in exile, and second, the Percentages Agreement between Churchill and Stalin in Moscow, in which Churchill demanded and received Stalin’s agreement that Greece would remain outside the Communist sphere.

At the Lebanon Conference of May 1944, EAM agreed to a unity government in which it retained only a small number of minor ministries. Another part of the agreement was that after the German withdrawal from Greece, which was only a matter of weeks or months at this time, all resistance groups would demobilize and disarm and a new national army would be formed from both the Communist and non-Communist elements. The Germans withdrew in October 1944, and the Papandreou government returned with the British to Athens on October 18, 1944. At its moment of liberation, tragically, Greece was now on the cusp of civil war.

Conflict Background

The Greek civil war of 1944–1949 began almost by accident. With liberation, the Papandreou government took control of major cities, mainly as a result of British occupation of them. But Papandreou’s “national unity” government was neither

Belgium: A Second Greek Civil War?

Remarkably, in December 1944 a memo in the British Foreign Office compared the situation in liberated Belgium with that in Greece. In the autumn of 1944, the Allies liberated Belgium, and the country descended into anarchy. In a scene reminiscent of Greece before World War I, there was a split between the Belgian government and the monarchy at the start of World War II. When the Germans invaded, the parliamentary government fled to France and later to London. King Leopold III remained in Belgium with his people and tried to reduce the suffering caused by the occupation. During the German occupation, numerous resistance groups emerged, some loyal to the monarch, some on the right, and, of course, some supported by the newly confident Communist Party.

When the Allies liberated Belgium, they installed the government-in-exile into temporary power. The resignation of Communist ministers led to a workers’ strike, then a demonstration, and then violence as the police fired on the demonstrators. The arrival of British tanks stopped the violence and signaled the end of the current government, which was replaced by a Socialist government. The parallels with Greece are quite striking and force one to think about the common social processes wracking Europe during the twentieth century, including but not limited to the rise of communism and the clash between monarchical and parliamentary government (Conway 2004).

effective nor unified. Moreover, it had no control whatsoever over territory that the British army did not occupy, including most of the mountainous terrain, which was occupied by ELAS and EDES. Less than one month after liberation, on November 8, 1944, Papandreou brought to the Greek mainland the Mountain Brigade, a unit formed in exile that had been purged of all pro-EAM elements. Following the Lebanon Agreement, all resistance units were to demobilize from December 1 to December 10. The British ordered all EDES and ELAS elements to comply.

But mistrust, misdeeds, and suspicion led to the December 2 resignation of the EAM ministers from the government, citing in particular the continued mobilization of the Mountain Brigade. EAM called for antigovernment demonstrations in Athens on the December 3 and a general strike on December 4. The December Crisis (also known as the Second Round) worsened as the government first approved of the demonstration and then banned it. Police units fired upon the demonstrators, leading to approximately fifteen deaths. As a result, ELAS units began to attack police and government offices in Athens; the Greek civil war had begun.

Fighting between Communist and non-Communist elements around Athens ended with the intervention of sizeable British ground and air support for the government forces. General Plastiras replaced the ineffectual Papandreou as prime minister. By January 10, the British had firm control of the city and the surrounding area. A cease-fire agreement between the government and EAM was negotiated and signed at Varkiza on February 12, 1945. ELAS agreed to disarm, and the government promised political amnesty for all EAM supporters. However, EDES and other right-wing elements used the cease-fire and the ELAS stand-down as an opportunity to take revenge on leftist elements. The government was either incapable of or unwilling to check these rightist elements and their campaign of terror and violence infuriated EAM.

A new government, under Themistoklis Sophoulis, a Liberal and pro-Venizelist, reneged on the Varkiza agreement. Sophoulis announced elections for March 1946, to be quickly followed by a plebiscite on the restoration of the monarchy, a reversal of the order to which EAM had agreed at Varkiza. The Communists abstained from participating in the election, as did some members of Sophoulis's government. The far-right People's Party won a majority of seats and formed a government under the leadership of Dino Tsaldaris. Tsaldaris advanced the plebiscite date from March 1948 to September 1946 and

held it under questionable circumstances and conditions. As a result, King George II returned to Greece. The Third Round of the Greek civil war began as violence between Communist and government forces escalated.

Any chance for a political solution had now passed. In August 1946, Tsaldaris claimed that ELAS was supported by Yugoslav and Bulgarian Communists. In October, the EAM declared the formation of the Democratic Army to resist the Greek government, and the establishment of the Provisional Democratic Government. In December 1947, Tsaldaris outlawed the Communists. Under these worsening conditions, Britain relinquished its position as sponsor of Greece to the United States and its new Truman Doctrine. American pressure led to the removal of Tsaldaris and a new Liberal-Populist coalition government headed by Sophoulis. Truman convinced the U.S. Congress to pour substantial military and economic aid into Greece as part of "emergency aid" to support free peoples. By 1948, American military aid (American forces did not directly participate in fighting) turned the tide, and government forces began to get the upper hand.

The decisive blow to the Communist insurgents came in late 1948. After the Communist International (Comintern) expelled Yugoslavia, EAM sided with Moscow in the decision. In retaliation, in early 1949 Yugoslavia closed the border to Greek guerrillas, forcing them to rely only on Albania as a safe haven. Moreover, Stalin was convinced that Greece was a lost cause and ended all aid to the rebels. With American aid creating a well-trained, well-equipped regular army, by the summer of 1949 the Greek government forces had pushed the Communist resistance over the Albanian border, effectively ending the Greek civil war. What had begun as a "largely spontaneous and defensive guerilla activity and ending up as a full-scale revolution directed by the Communist Party" would leave scars on Greece for decades (Iatrides 1981, 153).

The human cost of the war was high. Greek officials announced the killing of "nearly

Table 1: Civil War in Greece

War:	Communist resistance vs. installed government
Dates:	1944–1949
Casualties:	At least 50,000 combat deaths and at least 100,000 civilian deaths
Regime type prior to war:	Occupied by German, Italian, and Bulgarian forces
Regime type after war:	Restricted democracy
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$1,400
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$2,000
Insurgents:	EAM/ELAS
Issue:	Ideological and factional struggle for control of central government
Rebel funding:	Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, Soviet Union
Role of geography:	Rebels hid in mountains.
Role of resources:	No practical impact
Immediate outcome:	Government victory through British and American intervention
Outcome after 5 years:	Stable peace, elections, oppressive government
Role of UN:	UNSCOB activity
Role of regional organization:	None active
Refugees:	50,000
Prospects for peace:	Government declined into right-wing and military domination.

Sources: Close 2002, Doyle and Sambanis 2000.

50,000” insurgents, but the actual figure is probably closer to 37,000 (Wittner 1982, 253). The government also captured approximately 20,000 insurgents. Government losses numbered more than 14,000, with more than 30,000 wounded and more than 4,000 missing (Wittner 1982, 253). Civilian deaths are harder to estimate, but conservative figures estimate 100,000 and another 50,000 displaced (Close 2002).

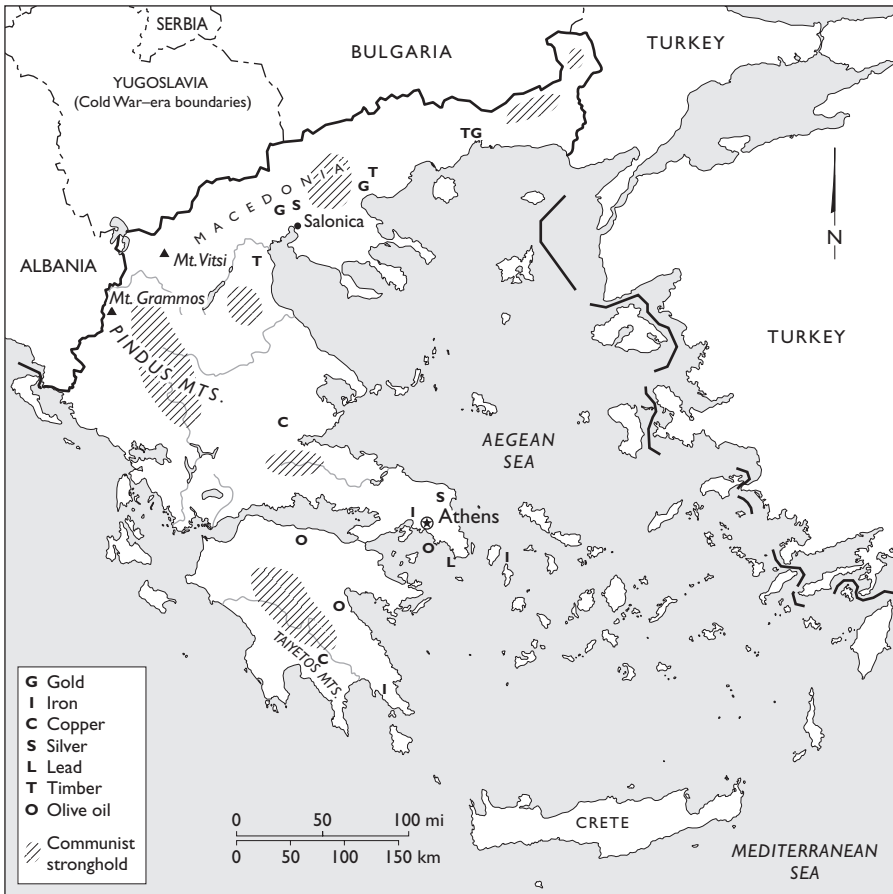
The Insurgents

The main opposition to the government was the broad-based National Liberation Front. Originally designed to oppose Axis occupation, EAM later became the opposition to the return of the Greek government in exile in 1944. EAM was organized under the larger aegis of the Greek Communist Party. Although a number of independent elements, some Republicans some Liberals, operated during Axis occupation, most had come under EAM control by 1946. Indeed, the early success of the EAM in organizing resistance displayed the ability of the left (Communists, Socialists, and Agrarians) to combine

their struggle for national liberation (Fleischer 1995, 50).

Estimates of EAM supporters at the time of liberation in 1944 range from 500,000 to 2 million (Clogg 1992, 128). EAM earned this support for two reasons: its resistance to Axis occupation and its programs to help rural communities (e.g., improving education, political involvement, women’s rights). As a consequence, peasants and women made up a sizeable proportion of the rebels. One estimate of the female contribution to EAM is that in May 1944 women constituted 35.4 percent of EAM’s entire membership (Fleischer 1995, 66).

By 1948, and with the slow decline of the popularity and fighting capacity of ELAS, around 40 percent of the Democratic Army were Slav Macedonians (Clogg 1992, 141). Thus, by 1949 the rebels had become more concentrated in the northern mountains, more Macedonian and nationalist, and more radically Communist. Once the EAM, and especially the ELAS, represented more Communist and narrower ethnic groups, its national popularity waned. By the end of the civil war, EAM and



ELAS numbered fewer than 100,000, probably only half that number.

Geography

The geography of Greece played three important roles in the conflict. The mountainous areas provided a safe haven for the insurgents throughout most of the civil war. ELAS was entrenched in the mountains during the Axis occupation and used these same bases to resist the government forces. The second role of geography was to render government forces unable to secure the Yugoslav and Albanian borders. Before the Yugoslav closing of the border in 1949, the rebels were able to receive supplies across the border and could even cross the borders to evade government harassment. The third role

had to do with the importance of Macedonia. The rise of Macedonian nationalism, and in particular the participation of Macedonia Slavs in the Communist resistance, led to Communist strength in Macedonia (particularly from 1948 to 1949). However, the Communist support of Macedonian nationalism alienated the main Greek nation and weakened the popular appeal of the Communist resistance.

Tactics

The tactics of the Communist resistance changed over time from that of guerrilla warfare to conventional military engagement. EAM used tactics of terror, sabotage, assassination, and clandestine action that it had learned and perfected during the Axis occupation. During the



A security train preceding a train carrying King Paul of Greece and General James Van Fleet of the United States lies on its side after a derailment in Tripolis, Greece, on April 17, 1948. The derailment was believed to be the work of saboteurs. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Axis occupation, EAM had enjoyed widespread popular support, especially in the mountains and countryside. However, this did not stop EAM (and ELAS) from using terror against its political rivals and their supporters. Such tactics were also used during the time of resistance to the Greek government (1944–1949). In fact, it is the use of terror by the Communists that infuriated the right and contributed to the White Terror of 1944–1946, in which right-wing groups retaliated.

More broadly, EAM initially called for a national unity and a nationally popular government comprised of more than just the left. During the German occupation, EAM was genuinely popular among the rural population, whatever each peasant's political persuasion. EAM followed a policy of resistance, first to German occupation and later to the returned Greek gov-

ernment, that concurrently sought to avoid civil war. EAM switched its tactics in 1946–1947, when the KKE demanded that EAM realign itself with the Communist Party and its ideology (Fleischer 1995, 68–82). The KKE met in the Third Plenum of the Central Committee in September 1947 and formalized the reorganization of EAM. The KKE was responding to the militant threats and attacks from the right. Thus, the left switched its tactics from avoiding civil war to a defense-oriented posture that contributed to civil war (Smith 1995).

The reasons for the defeat of the Communist insurgents are many. The main tactical disadvantage of the Democratic Army was that it never “developed a sufficiently strong popular base and the military force necessary for a reasonable chance of ultimate victory” (Iatrides 1981, 217). The transformation from a guerrilla

army to a regular army left it vulnerable to the superiority of the American-supported government forces in conventional warfare. The main strategic disadvantage is related to the tactical one: The Communists did not secure significant external support. The small amount of aid from Yugoslavia and Albania was not commensurate with the massive amount of aid the government received from Britain and later from the United States. Other reasons include the Stalin–Tito feud (which effectively eliminated Yugoslav support for Greece), the increased morale and effectiveness of government forces and recruitment, the KKE’s inability to commit to revolution before 1947, the KKE’s poor management of the Democratic Army, and alienation of the populace after 1947 (Iatrides 1981, 216–19).

Causes of the War

Iatrides suggests that although “the deeper causes of the civil war surely lie in the interwar period and the Metaxas dictatorship, the immediate origins are to be found in the years of enemy occupation, and the resistance movement” (1981, 199). The history of National Schism, the division into Venizelists and anti-Venezelists, the royalists versus liberals, support for or resistance to the Great Idea, and even divisions over foreign policy and British support all divided Greeks. The culmination of these divisions is that “the civil war was produced by the clashing objectives of two Greek camps, each determined to impose its will upon the nation, each believing in its own legitimacy, and each realizing that the success of its efforts ultimately depended upon external factors and upon the foreign assistance it could secure” (Iatrides 1981, 196).

Perhaps unlike a number of ethnic or religious civil wars, the Greek civil war was fought “between people most of whom shared a strong sense of ethnic identity, and often too of local community” (Close 2002, 39). The external causes—that is, World War II, which created the power vacuum, and international communism,

Colonel C. M. Woodhouse (Christopher Montague Woodhouse)

On September 29, 1942, a British Special Operations Executive (SOE) team flew out of North Africa and parachuted into Greece. The mission of the SOE was to act as a liaison between the Allies and the Greek resistance. Among the twelve members of the British team was Colonel C. M. Woodhouse, known as Monty to most and as Chris to the Greeks. One of the missions of the British team was to understand the complexities of the Greek resistance, as the British were not aware of much of what was occurring on the Greek mainland. Woodhouse performed many functions on behalf of the British government, including negotiating an armistice with a substantial number of Italian units on September 9, 1943.

On October 17, 1943, Woodhouse succeeded Brigadier Myers as the commander of the Allied Mission to the Greek Resistance (“allied” in the sense that the Americans had now provided a small contingent). As relations between the different resistance groups broke down, and as ELAS became more suspicious of British intentions, in February 1944 Woodhouse negotiated a truce between the warring groups known as the Plaka Agreement. Woodhouse continued to serve in various capacities in Greece until 1946, when he was demobilized. Woodhouse staunchly believed that British neglect of ELAS/EAM drove them further toward the Communist Party and a retrenching into Communist ideology, something that the British did not want. Woodhouse spent the next fifty years writing on modern Greek history and the events during the occupation and civil war, offering a unique, often personal account of these decisive years (Clogg 2002).

which inspired the KKE—contributed to the development of armed camps on the left and the right. But it is the breakdown of political consensus about the future of Greece that perhaps contributed even more to the civil war. The National Schism and all the many tendrils that extended from it were unanswered. As both the left

and the right envisioned a different future for Greece, neither could accommodate the other's solution. With each wave of violence, hatred contributed to a further round of civil war (Close 2002). The unfortunate product of all this division was violent confrontation.

Outcome

Conflict Status

The Greek civil war lasted for roughly five years (December 1944 to December 1949) and ended with the defeat of the Communist insurgency. Government forces eventually drove the Communists over the border into Albania. With the end of the war, the government established firm control over Greece, including the northern territories and mountainous regions. In January 1952, the government adopted a formal constitution establishing the Greek state. The Communists would not play a role in Greek society until their reestablishment as a legal party in 1974.

Duration Tactics

The nature of the Greek civil war changed over time. It occurred in two phases: a brief uprising in December 1944 in response to the failed Lebanon agreement, and a longer civil war from 1946 to 1949. During this time, the tactics of the government and the Communist rebels changed to meet the changing conditions of the conflict.

Iatrides (1981) categorizes the conflict into three phases primarily according to the tactics employed by the Communist resistance. The first phase is the unplanned insurrection, or Communist revulsion at the failed Varkiza Agreement of February 1945. This period lasted until February 1946 and the Second Plenum of the KKE Central Committee meeting, in which the Communists decided to boycott the elections. The second phase is the transition from 1946 to 1947, in which the Democratic Army was formed. The third phase is the planned insurrection, in which regular combat occurred between Communist and government forces (Iatrides 1981, 199–216).

During the unplanned insurrection, most of the Communist resistance formed into "small bands of ten to thirty, linked together by a makeshift network of messengers and contacts" (Iatrides 1981, 200–201). As such, their organization was not much different from what it had been during Axis occupation. Most resisted from distrust of the government's willingness to comply with the amnesty program, hatred of the rightist paramilitary groups, fear of reprisals from victims of past Communist actions, and anger at the government's betrayal of the Lebanon Agreement. Thus, during this first phase, the Communist resistance numbered probably about 10,000 and lacked centralized command and organization. The resistance did have contacts with Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, but neither of these nations involved itself directly in Greek affairs.

The second phase, transition, began with the second plenum of the KKE central committee in February 17, 1946. The KKE agreed to boycott elections. There is evidence that the Soviet Union advised the KKE to participate in elections, but Nikos Zakhariadis, the secretary-general, overruled such an action. This hardening of the Communist line toward the government, and the change in rhetoric from populist to revolutionary, signaled that the Communists no longer believed that democratic participation was a viable option. In November of 1946, the KKE established a general partisan headquarters to coordinate the bands of Communist resistance, primarily those in Macedonia. In December, the KKE renamed these bands the Democratic Army of Greece (DAG/DSE) and imposed strict ideological discipline on the groups. The Communists slowly modified the bands, organizing them into a more normal military formation. Likewise and in response, the government forces during this time consolidated and expanded, perhaps from 100,000 to 120,000. Although violence and conflict slowly escalated during this period, both forces were largely ineffectual in inflicting large-scale damage on each other.

The third phase, planned insurrection, represents the Communist insurgents' military confrontation of the government forces. In September 1947, the Third Plenum of the KKE Central Committee advocated direct overthrow of the government, starting in Macedonia and working all the way to Athens. The government immediately banned the KKE, whereas in December the Communists announced the Provisional Democratic Government, located at Pyli near the Albanian and Yugoslavian borders. Positional warfare became the norm. The Democratic Army numbered somewhere between 26,000 and 28,000 troops, but because of irregularities in participation and counting, the true number may be as high as 100,000 men and women (Iatrides 1981, 213).

According to American calculations at the start of 1948, the Communist insurgents held half the territory of Greece (mainly the north), and about one-third of the Greek population was under their dominion (Iatrides 1981, 213). Of course, the United States responded by "increasing its effort to improve the effectiveness of the government forces" (Iatrides 1981, 214). By the end of 1948, the Greek government forces numbered more than 150,000, which does include the number of armed civilians or rightist groups operating independently of the government (Iatrides 1981, 216). Thus, as Communist tactics increasingly shifted toward armed, militarized insurrection, the weaker their position became. Lacking any significant external support, the Communists could not defeat the externally funded government forces.

External Military Intervention

The two main military interventions were first by Britain and second by the United States. The British intervention was the direct result of the end of World War II. Britain had supported the Greek government in exile and also wanted to retain Greece as part of the Churchill–Stalin Percentages Agreement. Britain desired a hand in Greece for two reasons. First, Britain wanted to maintain its interest in the eastern Mediter-

anean, a policy that dated to the middle of the nineteenth century. Second, Britain did not want the Soviet troops, which by 1944 were advancing on the Balkans, to enter Greece (Baerentzen and Close 1993, 72–73). Britain saw three obstacles to its intended policy: securing an understanding with the Americans and the Soviets over British interests; occupying Greece when the Allies had no plans to do so; and defeating the largest resistance movement, the EAM/ELAS, which controlled most of the country and was allied with the Greek Communists (Baerentzen and Close 1993, 73).

The Percentages Agreement of October 9, 1944, in which Britain traded Romania for Greece, removed the Soviet obstacle. By August of that same year, Churchill and the war cabinet had agreed to send 10,000 British troops to occupy Athens, solving the second obstacle. It is noteworthy that a plan to send 80,000 troops with air support to occupy all of Greece was rejected as a bit impossible. Thus, the biggest difficulty was the presence of the Communist resistance. In October, as the Germans retreated and the Soviet Army entered Bulgaria, ELAS units attacked military garrisons in the hopes of securing them before British troops arrived. British troops arrived in Athens on October 14, with Papandreou returning from exile on October 18. As mentioned earlier, by December 2 fighting had broken out between progovernment and pro-KKE forces. The British did not desire a war with the KKE and as such were willing participants in the January peace negotiations. By early 1945, the British had secured the stability of the Greek government and thus began to look at options for a withdrawal of British forces (Baerentzen and Close 1993; Clive 1987). The British became aware that they were regarded as the prop holding up an illiberal Greek government, and Atlee's government began to look for ways to reduce British commitment and expand the U.S. commitment (Clive 1987, 222–23).

The British decision to turn over sponsorship of Greece to the United States is best summarized by the comments of Prime Minister

Clement Atlee. Atlee would say that “We [Britain] were holding the line in far too many places and the Americans in far too few” (Wittner 1981, 233). Fortunately, by October 15, 1945, the American ambassador had informed the British minister of defense that an American program of assistance to Greece was ready. Thereafter, British policy and initiative took a back seat to U.S. actions. Of course, it was not until 1947 that the British informed the United States of a planned British troop withdrawal, a slow departure that would end in 1950 (Frazier 1987, 249).

The decision of the United States to intervene in Greece in 1947 “was based on the belief that Greece had become the target of Communist aggression orchestrated by the Soviet Union” (Iatrides 1981, 154). U.S. policy was centered on the Truman Doctrine’s goal of anticommunism. On whether the king should be reinstated, American policy was not consistent; some favored restoration of the pro-British George II, and some preferred going with popular antimonarchical opinion as a way to stem Communist sympathy (Wittner 1981, 229).

After the December Crisis of 1944, American opinion supported supervised elections and the restoration of order. The U.S. ambassador Lincoln MacVeagh reported on the “growing official tendency [of the Greek government] (1) to consider all persons Communists unless Royalists, (2) to protect former Metaxists and collaborators, and (3) to accept armed assistance from disreputable elements professing royalism” (Wittner 1981, 232). Moreover, while assuming that the main threat to a free Greece remained the Communists, MacVeigh opined that the Greek right “actually approximates Fascism” (Wittner 1981, 232). Thus, American policy was not to encourage free government but merely to negate any possible Communist government. An American army commander reported in 1947 that “a government comparable to that formed by Metaxas . . . is needed in Greece today. A democratic form of government as we know it . . . is too mild” (Wittner 1981, 236). Moreover, George McGhee, the U.S. State Department official coordinating aid to

Greece supported “bringing about the creation of a more authoritarian government” in Greece than the Liberal-Populist coalition (Wittner 1981, 236). To be fair, the American government was torn between a “choice of two evils” (George 1982, 109–39).

On June 20, 1947, the United States and Greece signed an agreement to begin American military and economic aid (in the United States this was the Act to Provide for Assistance to Greece and Turkey). The agreement called for Greek administration of reconstruction aid and U.S. control of all expenditures of U.S. aid. In a September 1947 meeting, the U.S. State Department agreed to dramatically increase military assistance in an attempt to strengthen the Greek army (Roubatis 1987, 56–58). One of the main aims was to move U.S. military advisors into actual Greek field operations, which exceeded the current involvement level of training and operational advice. In October 1947, the United States created the Joint United States Military Advisory and Planning Group (JUSMAPG) to place advisors within Greek Army divisions. By January, the National Security Council (NSC) had moved further, authorizing “assistance to the Greek armed forces to the extent necessary to cope with the guerilla situation by reallocation of funds with the present aid program and by placing emphasis upon the military assistance in future programs” (Roubatis 1987, 66). Direct U.S. intervention was ruled out, primarily because of the objections of George Kennan, who opposed the introduction of American troops. Kennan argued that although it might be easy for the United States to go in, it might be difficult to determine when and how to get out. He also thought that the presence of a U.S. occupation or military government in Greece would not be beneficial to the American cause (Iatrides 1981, 215).

By the end of the civil war, the United States had sent Greece \$353.6 million worth of military aid, “including hundreds of warplanes and ships, 4,130 mortar and artillery pieces, 89,438 bombs

and rockets, 159,922 small arms weapons, 7.7 million artillery and mortar rounds, and 455 million small arms rounds” (Wittner 1982, 253). Although the exact impact of this aid on the progress of the war is debatable, the existence of massive American intervention is not.

Conflict Management Efforts

On January 21, 1946, the Soviet Union internationalized the Greek conflict by introducing the “Greek Question” at the United Nations. The Soviets complained that the British presence in Greece constituted interference in the domestic affairs of that nation. As most historians of the time comment, the Soviet action was in retaliation for the Iranian complaint against Soviet incursion into Iranian territory. After a couple of weeks of discussion in the Security Council, primarily between the USSR and Britain, no formal resolution occurred, and the question was dropped. In Greece, the government took notice of the Soviet interest, and this only confirmed their fears about the nature of the Communist rebellion (Coufoudakis 1981, 278–79).

In August of 1946, the Ukrainian government informed the United Nations that the Greek government’s actions in the Balkans (primarily in Macedonia) were a threat to international peace. This time, the United States rose to the defense of the Greek government, and the Soviet Union backed the Ukrainian complaint. Clearly, stances regarding the Greek Question were now parallel to the emerging Cold War divide. The United States and Soviet Union each rejected the other’s proposals, and in the end the United Nations took no action on the Ukrainian matter (Coufoudakis, 1981, 279–81).

In December 1946, it was time for the Greek government to go on the diplomatic offensive. The government filed a complaint against its northern neighbors (Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria) and their support of guerrilla raids emanating from across the border. The United States provided advice on both the proposal and the tactics of promoting it in the Security Council. This time, the United States and the Soviet

Union agreed on a commission of investigation to look into cross-border incursions. Each superpower hoped that the commission would find evidence to support its claims and reject those of the other. The majority opinion of the commission was that the east-west division was not the source of the civil war, whereas the minority opinion (supported by the Communist states) was that the actions of the Greek government were responsible. The two superpowers sponsored resolutions based on either the majority or minority report, and then each superpower vetoed the other’s resolution in September 1947 (Coufoudakis 1981, 281–85).

Ten days later, the United States introduced the Greek Question in the United Nations General Assembly, where the Soviet Union could not use a veto. On October 21, 1947, the General Assembly authorized the establishment of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB) (Coufoudakis 1981, 285). Under American guidance, UNSCOB operated only along the northern border. Other western states, particularly Australia, disagreed with this blatant use of UNSCOB as another weapon in the cold war and attempted to establish an independent committee or at least seek conciliation between East and West over the use of UNSCOB. From 1948 to 1951, UNSCOB recommended continued international vigilance at the northern border. A number of Soviet attempts to address other issues of the Greek Question (e.g., government imposed death sentences on rebels, abolition of concentration camps) were defeated by the United States and its allies (Coufoudakis 1981, 285–89).

Therefore, international action in the Greek Civil War was minimal. The United Nations was not used by the United States or the Soviet Union as a tool of reconciliation or peacekeeping but rather as another weapon in the emerging cold war.

Conclusion

Vergopoulos (1981) summarizes the changes in Greece brought out by the civil war. He argues

that the magnitude of the American assistance program and the role of government agencies in administering it resulted in a form of state capitalism and fostered the emergence of a new middle class built around the state bureaucracy. Tsoucalas (1981) expands upon this conclusion, saying that the government's anti-insurgency policies inflamed ethnocentrism, led to ideological rigidity, created a façade of democratic institutions, encouraged an underproductive economy, and led to the authoritarian mentality of a culturally sterile bourgeoisie. In short, the post-civil war regime looked like a modern democracy but acted strikingly like the pre-World War II Metaxas government.

Like all civil wars, the Greek Civil War exacerbated existing divisions and created new ones that would not heal quickly. Of particular note is how the authoritarian instruments used during the civil war by the government were institutionalized under a formal, democratic regime. In this way, the "democracy" of post-civil war Greece looked a bit more like the continuing authoritarian governments of Portugal and Spain than like the truly free countries of Western Europe. Of note was the large role of the state in society following the civil war. At the conclusion of the war, the civil service numbered 144,000, 69 percent more than in 1938. Also, the military employed another 65,000 permanent personnel, with another 40,000 employed in other security positions (Tsoucalas 1981, 322). The 1951 census estimates just over 1 million wage earners. Thus, the state employed close to 20 percent (or more) of the active workers. Figures from the Ministry of Labor suggest that only 548,000 wage earners existed, so this would put the number of government employees at close to 40 percent. Likewise, the 1949 government budget lists budgets, salaries, and pensions of government employees as 52.4 percent of total expenditures (Tsoucalas 1981, 322).

The ruling class established during the civil war dominated politics until the military coup of 1967. This class of bourgeois industrialists and capitalists sought only its own economic in-

terests. Its primary political objective "was the containment of communism . . . rather than any serious effort to reform or restructure society" (Clogg 1992, 146). It can be argued that the Greek Civil War did not end until 1974, when the military dictatorship was overthrown and the new democratic government legalized the Communist Party (Tsoucalas 1981, 319).

The international implications of the war were profound. The Greek government became allied with the West and a participant in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The United States considered Greece a compliant ally with staunch and irreproachable anti-communist policies. Regionally, tension between Greece and its Communist neighbors was minimal. Later, tension between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus would be the dominant concern of Greek foreign policy (and would almost lead to outright war between the two during the rule of the Greek military dictatorship).

Neal G. Jesse

Chronology

- April 13, 1939 Britain and France offer Greece guarantees of its territory in response to Italian occupation of Albania.
- September Greece remains neutral as World War II begins.
- October 28, 1940 Following an ultimatum, Italian forces in Albania attack Greece.
- November 8, 1940 Greek Army has pushed the Italian forces back into Albania.
- January 29, 1941 Dictator Ioannis Metaxas dies.
- February–March 1941 British and other Allied troops land in Greece to reinforce Greek forces.
- April 6, 1941 German forces attack Greek forces in Macedonia.
- April 21, 1941 Some Greek Army elements surrender, and the Greek government flees.
- April 27, 1941 German forces occupy Athens.
- May 1941 German forces occupy Crete, completing the occupation of Greece.
- September 1941 The KKE forms the EAM.
- October 1941 EDES is formed.
- May 1942 ELAS forms its first armed bands.
- September 29, 1942 A British Special Operations Executive (SOE) team parachutes into Greece

- to act as a liaison between the Allies and the Greek resistance.
- March 1943 Greek army units in Cairo mutiny.
- May 1943 ELAS attacks and eliminates a rival resistance group.
- July 4, 1943 King George in exile announces that six months after the future liberation of Greece a new constituent assembly will decide all major national issues.
- August 1943 Talks in Cairo attended by all major resistance groups collapse.
- October 1943 Italian army division in Albania surrenders. ELAS uses the captured weapons against the EDES.
- March 16, 1944 EAM announces the establishment of the Political Committee of National Liberation (PEEA) in opposition to the Tsouderos government.
- April 1944 British troops crush a pro-PEEA mutiny in the Greek armed forces in Egypt. The Third or Mountain Brigade forms in the Middle East.
- April 24, 1944 Liberal politician George Papandreou is named prime minister.
- May 17–20, 1944 Lebanon Conference is held.
- September 26, 1944 Caserta Agreement places ELAS and EDES units under command of a British officer.
- October 9, 1944 Churchill and Stalin conduct the “spheres of influence” agreement.
- October 18, 1944 Papandreou’s government and allied representatives arrive in Athens with a British military escort.
- November 9, 1944 Mountain Brigade arrives in Athens.
- December 2, 1944 EAM ministers resign from government to protest disarmament and demobilization plans.
- December 3, 1944 Police fire on an EAM demonstration; Athens descends into violence, and British troops eventually suppress the conflict.
- December 25, 1944 A truce is agreed to by both pro- and antigovernment forces.
- February 12, 1945 Varkiza Agreement formally ends the violence and provides a framework for political compromise.
- Summer 1945 Armed right-wing bands intensify attacks on leftist elements.
- September 19, 1945 Greek government agrees that elections will precede the plebiscite on the monarchy, thus reversing the temporal order of the Varkiza Agreement.
- February 17, 1946 Second Plenum of the KKE Central Committee warns that the pending elections will be neither free nor fair and that the left will abstain from the elections.
- February 21, 1946 KKE announces its abstention and accuses Britain of propping up a reactionary regime.
- March 31, 1946 Elections result in a clear victory for the conservative-monarchist Populist Party and its allies. Foreign observers pronounce the elections fair.
- April 18, 1946 Conservative government under Constantine Tsaldaris is established. Tsaldaris engages in punitive measures against the left, further polarizing society.
- August 27, 1946 Reversing his previous assessment, the U.S. ambassador, Lincoln McVeigh, reports that the KKE is secretly controlled by the Soviet Union. The Truman administration is now convinced that the Soviet Union is responsible for the Greek civil war.
- September 1, 1946 The plebiscite on the monarchy, from which the left abstains, results in a 68 percent vote in favor of the king’s return.
- September 27, 1946 King George arrives in Athens.
- October 28, 1946 The Democratic Army of Greece (DAG) is formed.
- January 12, 1947 The KKE appeals to Stalin for massive Soviet aid.
- February 1947 First heavy action between government forces and DAG.
- February 21, 1947 British inform the United States that British aid to Greece and Turkey will end on March 31.
- March 12, 1947 In the “Truman Doctrine” speech, President Harry S. Truman requests economic and military assistance for Greece and Turkey.
- June 20, 1947 Greece and the United States sign a formal agreement to begin American aid.
- December 24, 1947 The Provisional Democratic Government under General Markos forms in the mountains. Major DAG attacks on a series of towns are defeated.
- December 27, 1947 Under Emergency Law 509, the KKE and its affiliates are outlawed, and all “Communist activity” is punishable, including with the death penalty.
- February 8, 1948 Stalin berates Yugoslavia for supporting the Greek insurgents. This contributes to the Stalin–Tito split, the

- expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Comintern, and the closing of the Yugoslav border with Greece.
- May 31, 1948 Markos's government announces its intention to accept and encourage any initiatives that might end the civil war.
- November 1948 Martial law is proclaimed throughout the country.
- January 10, 1949 With American support, Marshal Alexander Papagos becomes commander of the armed forces and has the authority to bypass civilian authorities in prosecuting the war.
- Spring 1949 Government forces have defeated all but a small remnant of the insurgents, who are left in the Grammos and Vitsi mountain ranges.
- Summer 1949 Government forces defeat the main DAG units, some of which escape into Albania. Minor clashes continue for several months, but the main battles of the civil war are over.
- February 1950 Martial law is lifted.
- March 5, 1950 Elections take place, ushering in a new coalition government under Sophocles Venizelos.
- May 31, 1951 Supporters of Papagos attempt a coup, which is aborted.
- October 22, 1951 Greece and Turkey are invited to join NATO.
- January 1, 1952 The new constitution replaces the 1911 constitution. Although a democratic and liberal document, the new constitution allows emergency powers to stay in effect.
- November 16, 1952 National elections usher in Papago's government, a conservative and repressive administration.

List of Acronyms

- Comintern: Communist International
- DAG/DSE: Democratic Army of Greece (Demokratikos Stratos Ellados)
- EAM: National Liberation Front (Ethniko Apelevtherotiko Metopo)
- EDES: National Republican Greek League (Ethnikos Demokratikos Ellenikos Syndesmos)
- ELAS: National People's Liberation Army (Ethnikos Laikos Apelevtherotikos Stratos)
- JUSMAPG: Joint United States Military Advisory and Planning Group
- KKE: Communist Party of Greece (Kommounistiko Komma Ellados)
- NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

- NSC: National Security Council
- PEEA: Political Committee of National Liberation (Politike Epitrope Ethnikes Apelevtheroseos)
- SOE: Special Operations Executive
- UNSCOB: United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans

Glossary

- Caserta Agreement:** Signed on September 26, 1944. Arranged by the British government, it placed both EDES and ELAS under the authority of the Government of National Unity headed by George Papandreou and placed the armed resistance units under the command of a British office.
- First Round:** Series of clashes between ELAS and rival resistance groups during the fall and winter of 1943.
- George II:** King of Greece (1935–1941; 1941–1946 in exile, 1946–1947)
- Government of National Unity:** Formed by the Lebanon Conference. The government of George Papandreou, which sought to unify Greece once he and his supporters returned during liberation.
- Ioannidis, Yiannis:** Led the KKE during the German occupation.
- Lebanon Conference:** Meeting of political factions and resistance organizations May 17–20, 1944. This conference made possible the formation of George Papandreou's coalition Government of National Unity.
- MacVeagh, Lincoln:** American ambassador to Greece until 1947.
- Markos (actually Vafiadis, Markos):** Member of KKE and commander of ELAS. Formed Provisional Democratic Government in 1947.
- Metaxas, Ioannis:** Dictator of Greece, 1936–1941.
- Mountain Brigade (or Third Brigade):** A right-wing Greek army unit formed in the Middle East in spring 1944 after the mutiny and purging of leftists from the army.
- National Schism (Ethnikos Dikhasmos):** The division of Greece into persistent and opposed camps. Originally the product of division over foreign policy regarding World War II. Eventually led to division between conservatives and liberals.
- Papagos, General Alexandros:** Greek commander in chief, 1941–1949.
- Papandreou, Georgios:** Liberal prime minister 1944–1945 and leader of Greek government in exile.

Second Round: Fighting in Athens in December 1944 between ELAS and government troops. British forces eventually restored order.

Third Round: The civil war from 1946 to 1949, regarded by some as the third attempt by Communist forces to take power.

Varkiza Agreement: Signed on February 12, 1945. It brought to an end the fighting of the second round.

Venizelos, Eleftherios: Leader of the Liberal Party and prime minister of Greece (1910s, 1930s)

Sources: Iatrides (1981); Sfikas (1994)

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Guatemala

(1974–1994)

Country Background

The name *Guatemala* is derived from the Mayan for “land of many trees” (Ratnikas 2005, 1). Within its borders are mountains, jungles, volcanoes, plains, and a lake said to have been the inspiration for the landscape of Antoine de Saint-Exupéry’s *The Little Prince* (Pumpyansky 2005, 4). Woven textiles of brilliant colors in ancient geometric or bird-and-flower patterns enliven the marketplaces.

People who claim Mayan descent make up 53 percent of Guatemala’s population of about 14 million. Some sources, however, put the actual Mayan descent at over 90 percent due to the tendency of many to drop their indigenous heritage in favor of their preferred ladino classification (generally used to imply that a person is of Spanish or mixed Spanish-Indian descent). Common Mayan ancestry does not mean a common language. Multiple language groups exist within Guatemala’s indigenous communities.

Guatemala’s GDP per capita in 1974 (in constant 1996 international dollars) was I \$3,387.38. By 1994, it had barely increased to I \$3,862.80 (Heston, Summers, and Aten 2002). There is a substantial gap between municipal services available in the cities and those available in the mountainous areas inhabited mainly by indigenous groups; villagers in the mountain areas do not have general access to safe drinking water,

health services, or educational opportunities (LaRue 2003, 1). Marshall and Jagers (2003, 2) call Guatemala “one of the most unequal societies in the world.” That has not changed since a 1982 USAID report labeled the inequality “more serious than in any other country of Central or South America” (Manz 1988, 51). As is common in Latin American countries, indigenous peoples are heavily discriminated against and are exploited for their labor.

After a revolution in 1944 (still referred to by Guatemalans as “the” revolution), a progressive government was in place until 1954. The progressive initiatives included badly needed land reforms. Unfortunately, during the mid-twentieth century, anything progressive was viewed as Communist or at the very least Communist influenced. A United States–backed coup replaced that administration with a military one. Guatemala has long been considered the bellwether for Central American politics (LaFeber 1984, 257) because traditionally it has been the first of the five Central American countries to take a particular political direction. Communism in Guatemala, it was feared, would lead to communism in other Central American countries.

After a brief civilian administration, Guatemala was under military rule from 1963 to 1986, covering the period leading up to its 1974–1994 civil war and roughly half the war itself. A democratic constitution was put in place

in 1985, but the government—and therefore the country—continued to be strongly influenced by the military.

Conflict Background

Most sources (including CIA 2005, 1 and GlobalSecurity.org 2005, 1) group the 1974–1994 conflict with the 1966–1972 conflict, referring to one civil war lasting from 1960 to 1996. But in 1974, Guatemala's civil conflict took a new and deadlier turn, involving civilians in all walks of life and changing the face of the country to one of terror and unspoken violence. During the early 1980s, many villages in the rural highlands were destroyed, their inhabitants killed or driven away. Often, the stories of these events were not told outside the communities until years later. A central factor distinguishing the 1974–1994 conflict from the immediately previous one was the extensive involvement of indigenous Mayan communities—both as victims of mass violence and as mobilized militants.

During the summer of 1973, shortly before this particular period of conflict began, the National Teachers Union called a major strike in Guatemala City. The strike was followed by several others, and the movement spread to rural areas. Agricultural, manufacturing, and government employees were also mobilized as a result of the teachers' action.

In 1974, General Efraín Ríos Montt, a political moderate, was elected president. With the connivance of the incumbent president, Colonel Carlos Arana Osorio, the military powers brushed aside the election results and installed the conservative General Kjell Eugenio Laugerud García instead, sending Ríos Montt to Madrid as an attaché.

A major earthquake in February 1976 resulted in the deaths of more than 25,000 Guatemalans, most of them in the countryside. In Guatemala City, where the quake leveled some 60,000 homes in the slums on the edge of the city, the government not only failed to provide any significant aid but prevented foreign

missions from being effective. One journalist suggested (Riding 1976, 13) that this could have been due to the city's tendency to support left-wing causes, whereas the countryside at the time still largely supported the right-wing government.

Shortly thereafter, members of guerrilla movements decimated by the military during the 1966–1972 conflict combined to form the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres [EGP]). Around the same time, two other central groups, the Rebel Armed Forces (Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes [FAR]) and the Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms (Organización Revolucionaria del Pueblo en Armas [ORPA]), began to make themselves more visible. ORPA was largely composed of indigenous Mayas and was Maya led. The National Committee for Trade Union Unity (CNUS) was formed in April 1976. CNUS deliberately stayed free of the guerrilla movement and extreme politics.

The 1978 election, a fraudulent exercise, resulted in the inauguration of General Fernando Romeo Lucas García as president. Lucas García, a wealthy landowner (as more and more of the military elite were becoming), at first appeared supportive of a colonization program for peasants but did not follow through. Having promised to deal harshly with the guerrillas, he proceeded to step up military violence against civilians.

Late in 1978, the government allowed the bus companies to increase bus fares, an action that historically provoked protests. This particular increase doubled the standard fares. Demonstrations involving thousands of people took place in Guatemala City. This time, the government's response was to arrest 500 people, injure 200, and kill at least 12, all in the first five days (Handy 1984, 176). The increase was rolled back but not before the violence had escalated.

A national labor strike began, and a mass rally was held in the capital on October 20, 1978, the anniversary of the 1944 revolution. At the end of

the rally, a student leader who had been a principal speaker was killed by machine guns as the police watched. During the ensuing months, the Guatemalan military assassinated leaders of resistance movements. Right-wing death squads openly murdered educators, religious workers, attorneys, politicians, leaders of peasant groups and trade unions, students, and others thought to be influential in mobilizing the people to protest government oppression.

What started as a grassroots movement developed into organized resistance after encountering the inflexibility of the Guatemalan regime. One instance of this inflexibility, and a major factor in the mobilization of CNUS, was a massacre in the village of Panzós, in the department of Alta Verapaz, in May 1978. As told by an area anthropologist (Davis 1988, 17, 20), local Indian peasants of the Kekchi language group had marched to the town hall to pick up titles to the lands they occupied, after the National Institute of Agrarian Transformation (INTA) had agreed to grant the titles. CNUS attorneys had helped with the land title applications. Instead of titles, the Kekchi encountered soldiers' gunfire, resulting in the deaths of more than 100 Kekchi peasants. As told in a brief Associated Press story based on an announcement by the military, civilians "stirred up by guerrillas" had attacked a military post and were repelled. The news account went on to comment that "[i]nformation from Panzós was sketchy because of poor telephone communications." In other words, the

only clear information conveniently available to news sources at the time was from the military (Associated Press 1978, A10). For the military, CNUS was classified as a guerrilla organization because of its involvement in protest activity.

In December 1979, Amnesty International released a report that gave 2,000 as the number of political killings that had taken place in Guatemala during the previous eighteen months (Riding 1980a, 2). Early in 1980, the U.S. State Department named Guatemala as having one of the worst human rights records. After being condemned by the country that had previously supported a hard line against leftist movements and had bought into (if not generated) the "fight against communism" mentality, civilian and military factions in the Guatemalan administration became even further polarized, reflecting what was going on in the rest of the country.

The EGP had a strong base in Quiché province, and the Guatemalan military engaged in violently oppressive tactics against villagers in the area. On January 31, 1980, Indian peasants from that area took the Spanish ambassador and his staff hostage in the Spanish embassy in Guatemala City to reinforce their demand for a government investigative commission. The peasants may have been accompanied by sympathizers from a local university. Based on the ambassador's discussion with the Spanish foreign minister expressing the ambassador's belief that the situation could be resolved peacefully, the Spanish government asked Guatemala not to intervene. Despite that communication, despite the ambassador's personal pleading with the Guatemalan police to stay out, and in violation of international law, Guatemalan security forces cut the telephone lines, stormed the embassy, and forced open the locked door to the room to which the protesters had retreated with their hostages. Reports indicate that one of the protesters threw or knocked over a Molotov cocktail or other form of gasoline bomb. Thirty-four protesters, seven embassy employees, and two former Guatemalan officials died in the resulting fire. The only survivors were the Spanish

Civilian Resistance Tactics

Some of the methods the civilians used to defend their communities against the military during the violent military raids of the early 1980s are the same as those used by their ancestors to fight the conquering Spaniards. Traps set with stakes are one example. Many peasants saw themselves as reliving the lives of their Conquest-era heroes, using ideas from the Mayan *Popol Vuh* (Carmack 1988b).

ambassador and one of the peasants. The surviving peasant was kidnapped from his hospital bed and later found dead. The Spanish government severed diplomatic relations with Guatemala the next day. The response of the Guatemalan government was to claim that the protesters were not peasants but guerrilla impostors (Reuters 1980, 2).

The first labor organization in the country to be led by Indians and to connect ladino agricultural laborers with highland Indian peasants was the Committee of Peasant Unity (CUC), created in late 1979. The organization would later become involved with the guerrilla movement, but it began its show of power with several strikes. A February 1980 strike involving “70,000 cane-cutters and 40,000 cotton pickers” and a strike in September that year by coffee pickers led to an increase in the agricultural daily minimum wage from \$1.12 to \$3.20 (Davis 1988, 20).

During the spring of 1980, a Guatemala City businessman told a journalist (Riding 1980b, 2), “The left has its strategy, and so has the right. The left is working for an armed revolution and the right plans to stop it by murdering its leaders. It’s all quite simple.” Urban violence from both sides sharply increased; professors, labor leaders, and moderate and left-wing politicians were killed by right-wing death squads, and farm managers, landowners, and right-wing politicians were killed by guerrilla organizations. Schlesinger and Kinzer (1982, 251) point out that the military’s purpose in targeting educated persons and organizational leaders was “to destroy the political center. Anyone not supporting the regime was almost by definition a leftist, and therefore an enemy. The military apparently believed that eliminating the center precluded the possibility of a moderate government, therefore leaving the citizenry a sterile choice between a revolutionary Communist regime and the existing military dictatorship.”

At this time, the Guatemalan military consisted of roughly 20,000 personnel (English 1984, 266; Riding 1980a, 2); another 11,000 were

in two major police organizations that served as paramilitary forces. Although Guatemala had no defense industry of its own and relied instead on supplies and training from other countries, its military was the best trained and most efficient in Central America. Having no hope of physically overcoming the Guatemalan armed forces, the guerrilla organizations were apparently trying to make life difficult enough that the government would pay attention and make some meaningful changes in the socioeconomic system of the country. In early 1980, 1 percent of the families in Guatemala owned more than half the land worth cultivating. Roughly half the 6.5–7 million population at the time had a per capita income of less than US \$100 per year. Urban unemployment was over 30 percent (Riding 1980a, 2).

The counterinsurgency training received by Guatemalan military officers in the United States would have involved Mao Tse Tung’s sayings about guerrilla warfare, in which he used fish and water as a metaphor for guerrilla warriors acting from the midst of a population. The military’s chosen response was to “poison the water” (Wilkinson 2002, 298) or to “drain” it (Harbury 1997, 12). Toward the end of 1981, under the leadership of Ríos Montt, the military began to systematically annihilate guerrillas and civilians alike in areas populated largely by indigenous groups, namely the northern lowlands and the central and western parts of the highlands. “No distinction was made between combatants and civilians, no rules of war were followed, and there were no prisoners of war” (Manz 1988, 17). During the campaign, sacred symbols and places were desecrated, and community cornfields were destroyed. The purpose of this campaign was threefold: The military not only fought the guerrilla forces directly, it destroyed their civilian base of support and prevented future opposition. The second purpose was intended to be accomplished partly by pulling the rural Indians away from the guerrilla organizations’ influence. By 1983, the indigenous communities had lost their cohesiveness



Hundreds of crosses cover Constitution Square in Guatemala City, Guatemala, on October 30, 2003 during a symbolic burial ceremony commemorating the deaths of Mayans slaughtered by the army between 1980 and 1982. The decades-long civil war in Guatemala was rife with human rights violations, including the torture and killing of civilians. (Orlando Sierra/AFP/Getty Images)

and were kept in line by constant killings and incidents of torture.

Although the responsibility for the extreme violations of human rights has been found to belong to the military and the regimes that allowed, controlled, and supported such violations, the responsibility of the guerrilla organizations cannot be minimized. Although the guerrilla forces for the most part were not responsible for the types of civilian killings that were part of government tactics, they expected a brutal resistance. There is a certain indication that the civilians who chose to work with the insurgents expected it also and understood that they would pay a price, but neither the guerrilla organizations nor the civilians expected the level of devastation that was employed to crush the rebellion. The people of Guatemala were literally

a living and dying example of Michael Walzer's (1977, 176–96) explanation of the rules and traditions of war as exploited by insurgent groups. Guerrilla organizations hide behind the restraint normally accorded civilians in time of war and dare the government to be the barbarians and to kill, torture, and maim the civilians in the middle. “[W]henver ordinary soldiers become convinced that old men and women are their enemies it is unlikely that the war can be fought except by setting out systematically to kill civilians or to destroy their society and culture. The war cannot be won, because the only available strategy involves a war against civilians; and it should not be won, because the degree of civilian support that rules out alternative strategies also makes the guerrillas the legitimate rulers of the country” (Walzer 1977, 195–96). The Guatemalan military

was operating under a National Security Doctrine that dealt largely with eliminating the “internal enemy.” One of the conclusions of the Historical Clarification Commission was that “the state’s idea of the ‘internal enemy’ became increasingly inclusive” (CEH 1999, 3).

Peasant rebellions were not new to Guatemala. Latin American peasants have long been familiar with the use of the legal system and the use of protest activities (usually beginning peacefully but sometimes escalating to violence) to defend their rights. Peasant revolts were common in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Many of the insurgents participating in the 1974–1994 insurgency had parents and grandparents who had been involved in fighting the government in one way or another.

Displacing centuries-old community authority systems, military and other governmental authority structures were set up in small villages. A civil patrol system was instituted to enforce loyalty to the military and to assist in defense against the guerrilla forces. The requirement for men of military age to spend one day on guard duty out of every eight to fifteen days was nominally voluntary but was actually used to disrupt family and village loyalties, replacing not only the local authority systems but the use of the na-

tional judicial system by the rural population. Members were often coerced into executing villagers who had been labeled subversive; those who refused to do so were punished by the army. With the division of loyalties came the abuse of power by civil patrol members, who used the system to settle personal feuds by force. By 1985, more than 900,000 men were estimated to be members of the civil patrol (Davis 1988, 27).

Government municipal programs put in place in many rural villages, and interinstitutional coordinators were appointed to manage the programs and to communicate government policies. This system was dissolved by the Cerezo administration after it was named by human rights organizations as a cover for surveillance of civilians. In addition to the civil patrol, members of the armed forces were distributed among newly created bases in rural areas. The military became an integral part of rural life. After their bloody campaign of the early 1980s, the military continued to treat any organized movement as subversive.

Accounts vary as to the number of people displaced as a result of the 1974–1994 conflict. Manz (1988, 1) describes the displacement of 1 million people in the early 1980s alone, including 200,000 to other countries and 800,000 inter-

Different Views

One of the most interesting—and most frustrating—characteristics of any study involving the Guatemalan civil conflict is that there are so many differing viewpoints and experiences. Although some accounts confirm each other, some are openly contradictory. Wilkinson (2002) offers interviews with individuals ranging from owners and workers of the coffee plantations to the general in charge of village massacres during the early 1980s. Vargas Llosa gives us the public relations biography of Romero de Leon Carpio, human rights official and later president of Guatemala. Meyer Maldonado gives us the experience (in Spanish) of a university administrator during times of protest and oppression.

Bizarro Ujpán (edited by Sexton) provides the diary of a ladino family man of indigenous descent who is not as close to the violence and who considers the guerrillas “evil men.” It would be remiss to leave out the accounts of Rigoberta Menchú (edited by Burgos-Debray), daughter of one of the peasants who died in the Spanish embassy burning and sister to a revolutionary. Her story has been countered by David Stoll; their books together result in a challenging debate on truth. Harbury’s (1997) work describes the unique experience of a U.S. immigration attorney and human rights worker married to a Guatemalan guerrilla leader. Each of these accounts gives us a piece of the story in the words of people who lived it.

nally. The latest figures on the CIA *World Factbook* website (2005) list 250,000 “refugees and internally displaced persons” as a result of the “government’s scorched-earth offensive in 1980s against indigenous people” but include a total of only 1 million refugees for the period from 1960 to 1996. Doyle and Sambanis (2000, codebook) show the number of refugees and IDPs for the 1974–1994 conflict as 550,000. Although some refugee camps were set up in the western part of Huehuetenango province, many more camps were in the Chiapas region of Mexico. Refugees fleeing to Chiapas were blamed for inciting revolutionary action by indigenous peoples in that area.

International agency action during the earlier part of the civil war was extremely limited. UNICEF (the United Nations Children’s Emergency Fund) was the only agency with a respectable foothold in the country prior to the conflict. The Red Cross had no access in Guatemala, because it requires the consent of the parties in conflict in order to operate. As in other Central American countries, independent humanitarian agencies did not remain neutral. “In Guatemala . . . the myth of apolitical humanitarian assistance did not prevail, and the concept of noncombatant remained a difficult one to pin down. Religious groups and many NGOs [non-governmental organizations] with strong biases toward a particular population took great pains to organize and educate noncombatants. Their humanitarian efforts were undeniably political” (Weiss and Collins 1996, 157).

The Insurgents

The Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) began as a consolidation of four groups traditionally operating in different parts of the country: the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres [EGP]), the Rebel Armed Forces (Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes, [FAR]), the Organization of the People in Arms (Organización Revolucionaria del Pueblo en Armas, [ORPA]) and the Guatemalan Workers Party (Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo

[PGT]). By the time of the settlement ending the conflict, the PGT was no longer an active part of the group. Its exact role in the conflict is unclear. Some sources do not mention it as ever having been part of the URNG but rather classify it as a peaceful organization. It was rumored early in 1979 that leaders of one or more of these groups met with other Central American guerrilla leaders in Honduras to coordinate their strategy. Naturally, the rumor (whether true or false) contributed to the fear that communism was about to take over Central America.

ORPA was formed in mid-1971 by a group of people who had first thought to join FAR but decided to put together their own organization instead. Having set up a central base on Tajumulco Volcano in September 1971, ORPA spent seven years assembling a network that would make armed resistance possible before making its first public military move in September 1979 by occupying a plantation near Santa María.

The EGP, established in 1975, began by recruiting university students but very quickly turned to recruiting members from the indigenous peoples of Mayan descent who inhabit the highland areas of the country. Increasing numbers of highlanders had begun to migrate to the coastal plantations every year to work in unpleasant conditions as an alternative to trying to grow crops on their own insufficient plots of land. After spending several years assassinating political and military targets, the EGP began temporarily occupying villages (the first being Nebaj in February 1979) and explaining their purpose to the people of each community. Their next step was to mount a series of attacks on military bases.

In late 1979, the EGP kidnapped a relative of President Lucas García for an unusual ransom: an advertisement in several major newspapers. An example of the ad can be seen in the October 26, 1979, edition of the *New York Times*. It covers all four columns of page 14 and two of the four columns of page 15, with a brief explanatory article in the third column. The first line of the heading, in very large, bold type, is “Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres,” and the

Table 1: Civil War in Guatemala

War:	URNG vs. the government
Dates:	1974–1994
Casualties:	100,000–200,000 (CEH 1999 lists 200,000 for the period 1960–1996, most of which would have been in the 1974–1994 conflict.)
Regime type prior to war:	1 (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data— ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	3 (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data— ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	\$3,387.38 in 1974 (constant 1996 international dollars)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	\$3,862.80 in 1999 (constant 1996 international dollars)
Insurgents:	URNG
Issue:	Government repression, denial of peasant land rights
Rebel funding:	Sparse, with volunteers and donations, but some leader training provided in Cuba
Role of geography:	Mountainous, forested areas enabled guerrilla bases and radio broadcast station to stay well-hidden but impeded provision of refugee assistance.
Role of resources:	Resources belong to the wealthy and are part of the land issue; peasants are regularly resettled to allow access to oil or other resources.
Immediate outcome:	Formal settlement/treaty
Outcome after 5 years:	Human rights violations and military impunity still an issue; underlying ethnic prejudices are unresolved.
Role of UN:	Multidimensional (peacekeeping and peacebuilding, with military and civilian personnel and civilian fact finders), but only late in the conflict
Role of regional organization:	OAS does not seem to have been involved.
Refugees:	550,000–1,000,000
Prospects for peace:	Shaky; not likely to last if land reform is not accomplished or if military regains power

Sources: Doyle and Sambanis 2000; CEH 1999; Marshall and Jagers 2003; Heston, Summers, and Aten 2002; Manz 1988.

subheading is “International Declaration.” The EGP presents in detail its case against the Guatemalan establishment.

The FAR, which had separated from the PGT in January 1968, expressing its desire to engage in an armed revolution rather than the peaceful social revolution espoused by the PGT, gained new life in the late 1970s. During the early part of 1980, EGP and ORPA managed to gain a large number of members from the Indian groups in the western part of the country, an especially mountainous region. At the time, these two groups had not sustained many losses. The total number of trained rebels was estimated by Davis (1988, 24) to have been not more than 3,500; Handy (1984, 257) puts the total at 3,000–6,000. Their weapons consisted of rifles, machetes, and small explosives.

One or more groups were led by commanders trained in Cuba with literature supplied by Cuba. However, no funding appears to have been provided by Cuba or by any other Communist country. Rodrigo Asturias Amado, a guerrilla leader working under the name of Gaspar Ilom, attributes that lack of funding for their cause, in contrast to the plentiful funding for the military, to the state of the Cold War at the time. Asturias ran for president of Guatemala in November 2003 but received only a small percentage of the votes cast in that election (CNN 2006, 1). In an interview by Alexander Pumpysky (2005, 6), Asturias stated that the only support provided by Cuba during the conflict was “political and moral” and that Nicaragua never delivered on its repeated promises of aid. One of the most revealing findings of the Historical Clarifi-

cation Commission is that “at no time during the internal armed confrontation did the guerrilla groups have the military potential necessary to pose an imminent threat to the State. . . . [T]he State and the Army . . . were . . . well aware that the insurgents’ military capacity did not represent a real threat to Guatemala’s political order” (CEH 1999, 5).

Geography

The largest country in Central America, Guatemala spans the Central American land mass from the Pacific Ocean on the southwest to the Gulf of Mexico on the northeast, covering most

of the southern border of Mexico. As a comparison for U.S. readers, the shape of Guatemala somewhat resembles that of Texas with an oversized panhandle and with the far west corner cut off, and the country is similar in size to Kentucky or Tennessee.

Guatemala’s terrain is largely mountainous. During the conflict, this provided an advantage to guerrilla units but impeded the delivery of critical services to refugees. A particular portion of the central highlands of Guatemala, referred to by some as the Ixil region or the Ixil triangle, was very involved in the insurgency and counterinsurgency activities; the Ixcán (rain forest)



region was a critical area for land colonization and the area where ORPA, the largest insurgent group, was formed. Voz Popular, the ORPA radio broadcast station, was installed in Tajumulco Volcano and began broadcasting in 1987. The military bombed the area but did not succeed in destroying the station.

Tactics

For the most part, the insurgent groups relied on ambushes of military patrols and targeted assassinations. They occasionally occupied towns or stopped civilian buses to try to influence the people in their favor. Although there are some reports of violence against civilians having been part of the bus stops, this did not appear to have been the general pattern.

The military relied on bombing areas in which they thought the insurgents might be hiding. The military implemented a military-controlled local government system in the villages; tortured, killed, and mutilated civilians thought to be supporting the insurgents or to be connected to them; and razed whole villages and killed their inhabitants to destroy civilian support for the guerrilla organizations.

The goal of the government, under the National Security Doctrine, was “the eradication of subversion to enable conditions of security, peace and tranquility” (CEH 2000, 19, para. 767). Its activities included “counterinsurgency, ideological war, internal security and development” (CEH 2000, 20, para. 770). The counterinsurgency strategies employed by the Guatemalan military consisted of “scorched-earth operations; operations of displacement, punishment, control and annihilation of civilian population; undercover military action; intelligence and psychological operations” (CEH 2000, 21, para. 775).

Frank LaRue, a Guatemalan lawyer and the founder and executive director of the Center for Legal Action on Human Rights, cites the Guatemalan military’s lack of resources (after it was denied U.S. military aid) as one reason for the military’s strategy of terror (LaRue 2003, 2).

However, that point is debatable. Israel and other countries were supplying arms when the United States was not, and other sources indicate that the military engaged in many of its operations simply to use all that equipment.

Causes of the War

Guatemala’s civil war from 1974 to 1994 can be likened to a deadly collision at a badly designed intersection. Imagine, on one side, a four-lane highway marked as one way in the direction of the intersection, with the lanes filled by, respectively, monied families descended from the original conquering Spaniards or from later European immigrants, commercial interests owned by U.S. multinational corporations, a newly professionalized military, and a deep fear and loathing on the part of the United States of anything resembling communism. Imagine, on the other side, a two-lane road heading directly toward the intersection, carrying in one lane the indigenous population with a developing consciousness of its rightful place in society, and in the other lane a new urban middle class characterized by growing political dissatisfaction.

Smith (2001, 3) sums up the societal basis of the conflict: “Guatemala has never acknowledged itself for what it is—it has never . . . looked squarely at its reflection in the mirror of national identity. Its ruling elite, an oligarchy of a few dozen families, has instead determined that Guatemalans live according to deep divisions: between the countryside and the capital, rich and poor, men and women, educated and illiterate, propertied and landless, the Ladino (nonindigenous) minority and the Mayan majority. . . . Since the Spanish conquest . . . Guatemala has been a society of the included and excluded, and the lines between the two are as clear today as they were in the sixteenth century.” Davis (1988, 14) states, “With the exception of the agrarian reform program instituted by the government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán between 1952 and 1954 . . . no regime has attacked the agrarian roots of racial and cultural

discrimination in Guatemala. . . . [W]ell into the [twentieth] century Maya Indian communities remained localized and highly exploited ethnic enclaves within the larger social structure of the country.”

Davis (1998, 14–16) attributes the Indian involvement in the conflict and its surrounding political atmosphere largely to two factors. The first is the exacerbation of the already poor agrarian situation in peasant communities from 1950 to 1970 and the resulting increase in seasonal Indian migration to coastal plantations from 1960 to 1974, a period of economic boom for the plantation owners but subhuman working conditions for the peasants. The second is the sociopolitical mobilization of the Indian population based on the organizations created during the social reform period of 1945 to 1954 and built upon by the Catholic Action movement during the 1960s and early 1970s. He notes that opposition political parties increasingly were involving rural Indians during the early 1970s and argues (1988, 20) that “[u]nder different socioeconomic conditions . . . this mobilization would have naturally evolved into Indian participation in all aspects of Guatemalan society. The Guatemalan military and the wealthy agrarian and commercial elites . . . were not prepared to allow Indians to participate as independent actors in national politics. Nor were the recently reorganized revolutionary movements . . . ready to accept a nonviolent path to change. . . . [A]fter two decades of right-wing death squads and left-wing guerrilla movements it was not surprising that the country fell into widespread violence, chaos, and civil war.”

Economic factors played a large part in this collision. The 1973 energy crisis that had such a negative impact on the U.S. economy had a devastating effect on Guatemala and was one of several factors that exacerbated the existing socioeconomic cleavages within the country. It worsened the circumstances of the already growing number of farm families living on plots of land too small to sustain life. The con-

troversial U.S. program called the Alliance for Progress died a natural death around that time. The alliance had been paying for services that under another type of government would have been funded by taxes on the rich and on large commercial enterprises. Without the assistance of the Alliance for Progress, the Guatemalan government did not continue those services (LaFeber 1984, 167).

The reformist era of the 1940s to 1950s provided a background of attempts to redistribute land and the formation of early peasant groups, labor unions, and other activist organizations. Those progressive moves had given peasants hope, and subsequent military oppression had taken it away. The current conflict was made all the more inevitable by that sequence of events.

Revolutionary activity increased in the mid-1970s, and state repression increased accordingly. Manz (1988, 170) described the Guatemalan political environment halfway through the conflict as “a society in which the oligarchy and the military have blocked any social or economic reform, [based on] a confident, disdainful, ruthless, and fully autonomous military, an unyielding and intolerant plantation and business class, and their expectation of political passivity on the part of the overwhelmingly poor majority of the country.” According to one anthropologist, “Indians began joining with the guerrilla organizations [during the late 1970s] not because of a deep ideological understanding of or commitment to their cause but rather as a means of individual and community defense against the selective killings and acts of terror by the army and the death squads” (Davis 1988, 23). However, it might be more accurate to say that the indigenous groups took the guerrillas’ ideological cause and made it their own. Consider the 500-year rage of people who have watched personal subsistence land appropriated for commercial use, who find their children denied the basics of education and care, and who are considered outsiders in their own country. They understood all too well what had happened to them since the country’s aborted attempts at land reform

decades before. They had the nerve to raise their heads out of the dirt, and the boot came down. No ideology was needed to understand that impact.

The CEH concluded that “throughout Guatemala’s history . . . the violence was fundamentally directed by the State against the excluded, the poor and above all, the Mayan people, as well as against those who fought for justice and greater social equality. . . . [A] vicious circle was created in which social injustice led to protest and subsequently political instability, to which those were always only two responses: repression or military coups” (CEH 1999, 1–2).

Outcome *Conflict Status*

Refugees had been returning individually since 1985, but their organized return did not begin until 1993. The groundwork for this movement was an agreement signed in October 1992 between the Guatemalan government and Guatemalan refugees located in refugee camps in Mexico. However, the government still viewed refugees as the guilty ones and influenced the civil patrols to treat the refugees in a hostile manner. Returning refugees sometimes met with violence and often were forced to resettle in places other than their original community sites. An extensive treatment of this situation is found in a Human Rights Watch report dated January 1996. By 1995, 15,000 refugees had returned to Guatemala, and another 45,000 thousand were awaiting the outcome of the peace discussions (Weiss and Collins 1996, 73–74).

Early in 1994, the government and the URNG agreed to begin peace talks, and months of discussions ensued. When Alvaro Arzú Irigoyen came to power by a free election in 1996, he moved quickly to pull power away from the military. In December 1996, the Guatemalan government and the URNG signed the final document in a set of peace accords that provided for new human rights policies, resettlement of refugees and internally displaced persons, the es-

tablishment of a Historical Truth Commission to investigate the violence against civilians involved in the long-running civil war, and a statement of the rights of indigenous peoples. The process had been a rough one, with the talks often stalling for long periods of time and with mixed results. As an example, violence by death squads briefly increased just after the human rights accord was signed.

The restructuring of Guatemala’s military during 1996–1999, in compliance with the peace accords, has had an unfortunate backlash. Some of the officers who were forcibly retired have shifted their career focus to organized crime as a means of maintaining a hold on society. The cartels they have formed are involved in illegal drugs. Through these cartels, the former officers have engaged in violence against the same types of people as when they were military commanders—those involved in the legal system, the church, the press, and human rights organizations. One sign of how little the underlying sociopolitical structure of the country has changed is the repeated election of Ríos Montt to high-level government positions, including speaker of parliament. One writer has suggested that he is being voted in by people who enjoy the power that comes with membership in civilian patrol units (Pumpyansky 2005, 3).

In February 1999, the Historical Clarification Commission released a summary of its conclusions and recommendations (CEH 1999). In early 2000, the entire twelve-volume report, detailing incidents of violence from interviews around the country, was made available in electronic form (CEH 2000). Over the next several years, public apologies were made for various incidents of government aggression. As an example, on July 18, 2005, Guatemalan Vice President Eduardo Stein traveled to the highland village of Plan de Sánchez to extend the government’s apology for the massacre of 226 villagers exactly thirteen years before.

Duration Tactics

The length of this particular conflict can be attributed largely to the use of guerrilla tactics,

to the unwillingness of the government to seek a peaceful resolution until the war had already gone on for a number of years, to the readiness of other countries to feed the madness, and to the fact that the underlying issues had been unresolved for centuries. Fearon (2004, 277) classifies civil wars as “peripheral insurgencies” if they involve “rural guerrilla bands typically operating near the state’s borders” and concludes that this type of war is much more likely to be a long one. If we take some liberties with the word *borders*, letting it include the remote, mountainous areas throughout the country, his description is close to the Guatemalan experience. Fearon also concluded that the “sons of the soil” type of peripheral insurgency, one involving natural resource conflicts among ethnic groups, was especially lengthy. The recruitment of indigenous fighters, the fact that one of the guerrilla organizations was formed by an indigenous group, the historical division of class in Guatemala along ethnic lines, and, above all, the extent of government violence against indigenous groups made this conflict an ethnic war as much as or more than a class war.

External Military Intervention

For most of this period and for decades before it, the United States provided military aid to Guatemala in the form of weaponry and training. The estimated amount of military aid provided to the Guatemalan military by the United States from 1955 to 1977 was \$23 million. During the same period, more than 3,000 Guatemalan military officers were trained by the United States (English 1984, 266). For a few years in the late 1970s, when Guatemala rejected aid at the point at which the United States was about to withdraw that aid because of human rights violations, Israel stepped in and provided weapons and supplies. From all indications, the major impact of this assistance was to keep one oppressive regime after another, and the entrenched oligarchy supported by those regimes, in power.

Conflict Management Efforts

Working on groundwork laid by Guatemala’s President Marco Vinicio Cerezo in 1986, Costa Rican President Oscar Arias worked with other Central American leaders to develop a peace process for Central America. Although this process resulted in the Central American Peace Accords in 1987, it did not bring about measurable improvement in the Guatemalan situation (Moreno 1994, 1). To the contrary, Guatemala was “the Central American state least affected by the peace process” (Moreno 1994, 146). Ironically, both the summit led by Cerezo and that led by Arias were held in the Guatemalan border town of Esquipulas (Moreno 1994, 75–77).

The first steps toward a peaceful resolution to the long-running civil war in Guatemala were taken in 1987. Nine years of negotiations led to the signing of the Guatemalan Peace Accords in December 1996.

Probably the most valuable contribution of international agencies was their public advocacy for an end to the human rights violations in Guatemala. They consistently worked to focus media attention where established news organizations were reluctant to look. Although major newspapers, such as the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *New York Times*, reported many of the incidences of violence, they often did not encourage their reporters to delve deeper into the story. Television news coverage was skimpy and late, and many ordinary citizens of other countries went about their lives not knowing that a civil war was taking place in Guatemala, much less what the issues were. Human rights organizations brought the story to people who were in a position to work toward an end to the conflict.

Conclusion

Guatemala’s hold on its prospects for a lasting peace is tenuous, but peace is not out of the question. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have periodically reported new incidences of repression and violence like those that occurred during the civil conflict (e.g.,

Amnesty International 2005). Specific challenges to be overcome include extremist organizations on both sides, continued land exploitation by commercial interests to the disadvantage of indigenous groups, and the government's continued disregard for the well-being of individuals and communities.

Returning refugees have encountered violence at the hands of those who took over their homes and villages or those who believe the refugees to be tainted by the insurgents' influence. In her discussion of Guatemalan refugees, Beatriz Manz listed the central issues in Guatemala's prospects for successful repatriation of its refugees as "human rights; military power in civilian spheres; economic conditions; land; the 1985 elections; attitudes toward refugees; and dissent and resistance" (Manz 1988, 30). Her reference to the 1985 presidential elections was concerned with the new civilian administration's attitude of amnesty for military personnel involved in the killings of civilians. Not surprisingly, these issues are directly applicable to Guatemala's chances for a lasting peace.

One of the lessons of Guatemala is that international assistance cannot be limited to refugees but must be extended to internally displaced persons in order to be meaningful in a conflict such as this one. Long-term effects of the conflict include the dismantling of the rural cooperative system and the installation of military structures within the rural Indian communities. Davis (1988, 27) names the civil patrol system as "the dominant institutional legacy of the period of violence in rural Guatemala."

Part of the tragedy of violence during the 1974–1994 conflict is that we will never know what contributions to Guatemalan culture, politics, and society could have been made by those whose bodies now lie in mass graves. Marcie Mersky, coordinator for the CEH report, emphasizes that privatization of the violence has taken place to too great an extent—"as if those 200,000 lives didn't mean anything in terms of the country's potential toward the future, as leaders, as thinkers, as producers or as creators"

(Mersky 2003, 4). Although the violence was intensely personal, it also carries a great societal weight. The failure of the upper classes to recognize the potential of the peasant class is a sign of the great underlying contempt under which Indian peasants are thought to have no possible value except as cheap labor. As long as an environment of economic inbreeding is the norm, there will be little chance for meaningful participation by the rest of the country.

Probably the most tragic outcome, and one that in time may be ameliorated but can never be reversed, is the effect on the cohesiveness of Indian identity. Guatemalan Mayas, like any other indigenous group, were closely tied to land and community for centuries. "The community was the stronghold of indigenous culture, a refuge from national economic and political dominance, a reinforcing place where Indian identity was formed and maintained. Today, the pervasive military interference in the most isolated of communities has violated and at times shattered this sanctuary Not since the Spanish Conquest have the highlands seen such a general cultural breakdown" (Manz 1988, 11–12).

Faced with an indigenous population that increasingly refused to be bound by the unnatural labor and economic systems of the country, the Guatemalan government found a way to use the negative side of tribalism. They learned from the British and French, who used the native tribes of North America against each other and against American colonists, and went on to carry out similar control methods in Africa. They learned from African tribes, who sold each other into slavery. They built an army of terror out of the same indigenous peoples who were being recruited into the growing insurgency. In so doing, they ripped apart ancient bonds and exacerbated ancient rivalries. Old bonds must be rediscovered and new bonds formed in order for peace to be something more than the eye of the storm.

Sharon Lunsford

Chronology

- 1971 ORPA is formed.
- 1973 Guatemala City strike by National Teachers' Union spreads to outlying areas.
- 1974 CUC is formed.
- 1974 General Efraín Ríos Montt is elected president, but military installs Kjell Eugenio Laugerud García.
- 1975 EGP is formed.
- February 1976 Earthquake strikes Guatemala; government prevents aid workers from being effective.
- 1978 Fernando Romeo Lucas García is elected president.
- May 1978 Kekchi Indian peasants are massacred at Panzós over land issues.
- October 1978 Mass protests break out in Guatemala city over increases in bus fare; many protesters killed.
- January 1980 Spanish embassy is stormed; protesters die in fire.
- 1980–1981 Urban and rural violence increases.
- 1981–1982 Government carries out indiscriminate attacks against guerrillas and civilians (mostly indigenous) in highland areas, under military leadership of Ríos Montt. Many villages are destroyed. Examples include the March 13 massacre of Rio Negro, in which more than 100 women and children were killed, and the March 14 massacre of more than 300 people in Cuarto Pueblo.
- March 23, 1982 Ríos Montt leads government takeover and is elected as interim head of government; declares himself president.
- 1982 Civilian Patrol system is instituted. Violence continues, for example, in June more than 100 people are killed in Chacalte; on July 18, more than 200 are killed in Plan de Sanchez; on December 6–8, the village of Dos Erres is destroyed and around 300 killed.
- 1983 General Oscar Humberto Mejía Victores stages coup.
- 1985 Democratic constitution is adopted.
- 1986 Democratic elections are held; civilian Mario Vinicio Cerezo wins. In the last days of his administration, Mejía issues amnesty for actions under military rule.
- 1988 Cerezo issues a second amnesty.
- 1991 Jorge Serrano is elected president.
- 1993 Serrano's *autogolpe* ("self-coup") attempt fails; Ramiro de Leon Carpio is appointed head of transitional government.
- 1993–1995 Sporadic incidents of violence; peasants and returning refugees are killed by civil patrols.
- January 10, 1994 Government and URNG sign Framework Agreement to work toward peace (beginning of peace accords) in Mexico City.
- 1994–1996 Agreements are reached on human rights, timetable for negotiations, resettlement of displaced persons, establishment of commission to review acts of violence and other human rights violations, identity and rights of indigenous peoples, socioeconomic and agrarian matters, strengthening of civilian power, cease-fire, and constitutional reforms.
- September 1994: MINUGUA (United Nations Mission for the Verification of Human Rights and of Compliance with the Commitments of the Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights in Guatemala) begins its investigation.
- 1996 Alvaro Arzú Irigoyen is elected president. Civil patrols disband as part of peace accords.
- December 12, 1996 Agreement regarding integration of URNG (last of peace accords) is signed in Madrid.
- April 24, 1998 Report on human rights violations is released by Roman Catholic Church in Guatemala.
- April 26, 1998 Bishop Jose Gerardi, who oversaw the compilation of the Church's report on human rights violations, is murdered.
- February 25, 1999 Summary of Historical Clarification Commission's (CEH) report is released.
- 2000 The full CEH report is released.
- June 17, 2002 Former members of civil patrol groups stage a massive demonstration, demanding payment for their services.
- February 26, 2003 Teachers seize oil pipeline pumping station, demanding wage increases and better school facilities.
- September 7, 2004 Farmers seize hydroelectric dam to protest land confiscation.

List of Acronyms

- CEH: Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico (Historical Truth Commission)
- CNUS: National Committee for Trade Union Unity
- CUC: Committee for Peasant Unity
- EGP: Guerrilla Army of the Poor (Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres)
- FAR: Rebel Armed Forces (Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes)

MINUGUA: United Nations Mission for the Verification of Human Rights and of Compliance with the Commitments of the Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights in Guatemala

ORPA: Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms (Organización Revolucionaria del Pueblo en Armas)

PGT: Guatemalan Labor Party (Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo)

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Emergency Fund

URNG: Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca)

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

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India

(1946–1949)

Introduction

The civil conflict that tormented the subcontinent between 1946 and 1949 took two forms, internecine communal conflict and military conflict over borders in Kashmir. Both conflicts were intimately related in that both resulted from India's partition in 1947. The first and deadliest of the two was communal violence, which spread from Calcutta throughout the rest of the subcontinent to Punjab. Communal violence caused the displacement of millions of refugees in what amounted to the greatest transfer of population in world history. Furthermore, this conflict, essentially a sustained wave of riots and massacres, caused the deaths of untold numbers of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. Despite the massive suffering, the communal conflict received no support or encouragement from the states of India and Pakistan. Neither India nor Pakistan can be held accountable in the same way as Nazi Germany or Soviet Russia for the murders of millions of people (Lal 2005). Indeed, the leaders of both states were horrified and deeply ashamed of the mutually destructive slaughter that raged across the subcontinent. However, the incipient states of India and Pakistan vigorously pursued the second form of civil conflict, the undeclared war in Kashmir. Less horrifying in terms of casualties and refugees, the Kashmir conflict nevertheless created a legacy of mistrust and resentment that

contributed to three wars between India and Pakistan in the twentieth century.

Country Background

India was part of the British Empire, before being partitioned into the independent nations of India and Pakistan in 1947. The British Empire in India developed slowly and steadily as the East India Company skillfully and ruthlessly played Indian princes against one another. As it moved into India, the East India Company blended commercial activity with political control, combining outright conquest with a system of alliances. By the end of the 1700s, "most of India came in time to be ruled by the Company, directly or indirectly" (Lapping 1985, 24). The East India Company's rule, or "Company Raj," continued its steady, haphazard expansion until the rebellion of 1857 (variously referred to as the Sepoy Mutiny or Sepoy Rebellion), when Indian soldiers revolted against the British. After suppressing the rebellion, the British Parliament took over full political control of India and formally abolished Company Raj in 1858. From then until independence in 1947, the British Parliament officially governed India, establishing Crown Raj. However, the British kept in place the system of alliances with India's 565 princely states, which granted them internal autonomy but no freedom to make foreign policy.

This arrangement offered Britain the power of ruling the entire subcontinent but shared with the princes the responsibility of paying for administration (Lapping 1985, 24–28).

The Indian independence movement began with the formation of the Indian National Congress on December 28, 1885. Created by intellectuals and professionals, the Congress Party initially fashioned itself as a consultative body. The British soon viewed even this modest goal as intrusive. By the early twentieth century, the Congress Party had transformed itself into a party of protest and began to pressure the British for power-sharing reforms. Slowly and reluctantly, the British allowed Indians to stand for elections to administrative posts across India. Because Hindus significantly outnumbered Muslims, they tended to do better in the few elections held by the British. Although welcoming all Indians into its membership, the Congress Party remained predominantly Hindu. Many Muslims joined, but most Muslims feared that the party was devoted to establishing a Hindu Raj. In response, many Muslims joined the Muslim League as an alternative to the Congress Party. Acknowledging Muslim fears, Britain passed the Morley-Minto reforms in 1909, which created a system of reserved seats for Hindus and for Muslims and set a precedent for dividing the two communities (Wolpert 2000, 234–238, 277 ff.).

Convinced that their job was to educate Indians in the ways of democracy and liberalism, the British believed that the process of independence would take several generations. Such self-satisfaction eroded after World War I. In response to Muslim protests over British policy in the former Ottoman Empire, British police ordered the massacre of 400 people gathered at Jallianwallah Bagh in Amritsar on April 15, 1919. Challenging Britain's right to rule, Mohandas K. Gandhi took control of the Congress Party by turning the massacre into a national issue and winning broad popular support for the independence movement (Lapping 1985, 31; Wolpert 2000, 311).

During this period, religious communities frequently quarreled, but they agreed the British must go. As Indians demanded independence, they often found themselves bloodied along political, caste, ethnic, and particularly communal lines. Ironically, the British appeared to be the only force capable of containing the violence. Begrudgingly granting the necessity of independence, the British passed the India Act of 1935, creating a national legislative assembly and establishing autonomous provincial governments and legislatures. However, the princely states retained their semiautonomy, and this fact would have a direct and negative effect on Kashmir ten years later. On April 1, 1937, the subcontinent held its first nationwide elections. The Congress Party swept the elections, but the Muslim League fared badly. Rather than invite Muslim League participation in government, the Congress Party did not behave magnanimously and chose to ignore the League. This behavior probably would not have hurt Congress's position had not World War II intervened (Lapping 1985, 35; Wolpert 2000, 322).

In September 1939, Viceroy Linlithgow (1936–1943) declared war against Germany on behalf of India without consulting a single Indian. Enraged, the Congress Party resigned en masse from the positions they had held for barely two years. Because India would provide more than 2 million volunteers to serve in the British Army, many believed that Congress's mass resignation would cripple Britain's war effort. However, the British soon realized that, with the Congress Party out of power, the alienated Muslim League would be more than willing to cooperate. Congress charged the British with pursuing a "divide-and-rule" policy. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress Party president, warned that unless Britain offered a genuine power-sharing scheme, they would launch national protests. Fearing that chaos in India might hinder the war effort, Britain briefly entertained negotiations with the Congress Party in the spring of 1942. The failure of the negotiations led to Gandhi's Quit

India protest campaign on August 8, 1942. Before the campaign could throw India into chaos, the British swiftly threw several thousand members of the Congress Party into jail, where they remained imprisoned until the end of the war.

After World War II, events moved quickly. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, benefited greatly from cooperation with the British. Effectively marginalized in 1937, Jinnah found himself in a powerful position after the war. He promoted the idea of Pakistan, a separate homeland for Muslims, arguing that India was really two nations, one Hindu, one Muslim. Pakistan had always been a powerful idea, but now the Muslim League began to assert the notion as inevitable. The British now regarded the Muslim League as representing one of India's two nations. Congress Party leaders, claiming that their party represented all of India, were outraged at Jinnah's rehabilitation and contended that India was a unitary nation with different religions. In August 1946, Britain sent a cabinet mission to India in a final, half-hearted attempt to prevent India's division. In exchange for initial unity, the cabinet mission's plan allowed Muslim areas to "opt out" of the Indian union. The Congress Party rejected this formula, protesting that autonomy for Pakistan amounted to a "vivisection" of India. In response, Jinnah called for "Direct Action" to achieve a separate state of Pakistan on August 16, 1946. Congress and the Muslim League had reached an impasse. In February 1947, the British government announced that it would leave India, partition the subcontinent, and grant India and Pakistan their independence. Before Britain left, however, it was necessary to establish borders. In the summer of 1947, the British established the Boundary Commission, headed by Sir Cyril Radcliffe, to delineate the boundaries between India and Pakistan. India and Pakistan received independence on August 15, 1947, and the results of the Boundary Commission were announced the next day (Wolpert 2000, 341–342, 348).

Conflict Background

Many historians give the date of the Great Calcutta Killings of August 16–18 as the beginning of the communal conflict, but they are often vague about its end. After Indian police cracked down on rioting and the flow of refugees declined, the communal conflict wound down in the late winter and early spring of 1948. In contrast, the conflict in Kashmir can be dated precisely. There, hostilities began when Pathan paramilitary units moved into Kashmir on October 22, 1947, and ended with the brokering of a UN cease-fire on January 1, 1949. Taken together, these conflicts represented a combination of "secessionist" ethnic, and religious factors. The communal conflict represented a religious and ethnic war. Meanwhile, the conflict in Kashmir represented a war of accession rather than a war of secession, as the incipient states of India and Pakistan fought to decide whether Kashmir would belong to one or the other.

The number of dead in the communal conflict will never be known and, although estimates vary widely, all agree that the scale of death caused by partition's communal conflict was astounding, with estimates (discussed following) ranging from 250,000 to more than a million dead. Similarly, accurate figures for the number of refugees resulting from partition are notoriously difficult to determine, but estimates (discussed following) range from 12 million to 17 million people displaced from their homes between 1946 and 1948.

In Kashmir, the numbers are easier to determine. Of the roughly 8,000 people killed in the fighting between India and Pakistan, 1,500 can be considered Pakistani combatants, 1,500 Indian combatants, 3,500 counted as Pakistani civilians, and 1,500 counted as Indian civilians. In terms of refugees, the *International Review of the Red Cross* (Rey-Schirr 1998) estimates that fully half of Kashmir's population of four million people suffered internal displacement either to avoid combat or because they were forced from their homes by the combatants.

Polity IV data are unavailable for the period before India and Pakistan received independence from the British Empire. Whether in terms of communal conflict or Kashmir, the polity data in both countries would have changed dramatically because of decolonization. India's score of 9 in 1950 suggests a high degree of involvement with democratic institutions before decolonization. The year 1950 represents the year in which India formed its Constituent Assembly after taking three years to write a constitution. India maintained this score until 1975. On the other hand, Pakistan started out with a relatively low score of -4 in 1947. Initially, Pakistan showed signs of forming a democratic polity (Pakistan scored 2 in 1948, 4 in 1949, 5 in 1951, and 8 in 1956), but assassinations, disorder, and military intrusion into government saw Pakistan's score fall to -7 when General Ayub Khan established martial law in 1958.

The Insurgents

Using the strict sense of the word *insurgent*, India's communal conflict had no group or organized political party that revolted against an established political authority. On balance, the communal conflict occurred not as an antistate expression but as a manifestation of local animosities and mutual hatreds. In general, communal violence fell out along religious lines, with Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs engaged in internecine slaughter. Although it often lacked clearly identified leaders and formalized factions, the conflict nevertheless had more than its share of adversaries. The Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) and the Hindu Mahasabha, Hindu nationalist or patriotic groups, variously encouraged and organized communal violence against Muslims during the partition. Although led by Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar, who admired Germany's Nazi Party, the RSS should not be described as a "proto-fascist army, but rather as a patriotic community organization which defended the position of Hindus" (French 2003, 187). During partition, the RSS

established refugee camps for both Sikhs and Hindus, but it also coordinated vicious attacks on Muslims. Estimates place the formal membership of the RSS and the Hindu Mahasabha at 500,000 during partition. Sikh jathas (organized, armed groups of Sikhs) occasionally cooperated with these groups against Muslims. Jathas initially organized themselves around the issue of religious reform in the 1920s but operated as paramilitary units during partition. Many veterans of the Indian army who had fought for the British in World War II joined the jathas. Their military training and combat experience made them particularly deadly participants in the communal conflict. Muslims occasionally coordinated paramilitary actions through the Muslim League Guards or discharged veterans but tended to be less organized than either the Hindus or the Sikhs. They were more likely to conduct operations through loosely and temporarily organized gangs. In addition to organized religious violence, mobs of criminals, or goondas, used the communal conflict as a screen for criminal activities.

Each religious group suspected the Indian and Pakistani governments of supporting these paramilitary groups, but there is no evidence to suggest any such links. The communal conflict appears to have been fueled by religious rather than political considerations. However, it must be noted that religious groups occasionally contested with one another because of differences over political boundaries. Often, one religious group justified its violence against another group by arguing that it could not expect fair, or even humane, treatment in a land controlled by another group.

If the communal conflict did not appear to have a distinct political dimension, the undeclared civil war in Kashmir certainly did. The insurgents in the Kashmir conflict were essentially the nascent states of India and Pakistan, which, before independence and partition, were part of the same state. Because they formed the same nation as part of the British Empire, independence meant that they would have to partition the

Table 1: Civil War in India and Pakistan

War:	India vs. Pakistan
Dates:	October 1947–January 1, 1949
Casualties:	8,000 dead (3,000 Indians and 5,000 Pakistanis)
Regime type prior to war:	Data unavailable
Regime type after war:	9 India; 4 Pakistan (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data—ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	Less than \$700 (1996 dollars)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	Approximately \$775 (1996 dollars)
Insurgents:	Indian army vs. Pathan paramilitary units, supported by covert Pakistani military units
Issue:	Dispute between Pakistan and India over legality of Kashmir's accession to India
Rebel funding:	Foreign aid (principally Pakistani)
Role of geography:	Mountainous terrain made offensive operations difficult.
Role of resources:	No significant natural resources
Immediate outcome:	UN-brokered cease-fire and promised plebiscite to determine legal accession of Kashmir to either India or Pakistan
Outcome after 5 years:	Pakistan outraged that no plebiscite occurred; India declared Kashmir part of Indian Union; India and Pakistan each claim Kashmir.
Role of UN:	Failed mediation and peacekeeping mission
Role of regional organization:	None
Refugees:	Significant internal displacement of 4,000,000 people
Prospects for peace:	Continued tension

Table 2: Communal Conflict in India and Pakistan

War:	Hindus vs. Muslims vs. Sikhs
Dates:	August 1946–February 1948
Casualties:	250,000–more than 1,000,000
Regime type prior to war:	Data unavailable
Regime type after war:	9 India; 4 Pakistan (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data—ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	Less than \$700 (1996 prices)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	Approximately \$775 (1996 dollars)
Insurgents:	Semiorganized paramilitary units and unorganized groups engaged in internecine communal slaughter.
Issue:	Religious conflict among Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs
Rebel funding:	No significant state funding
Role of geography:	Conflict conducted over wide geographical area, including urban areas
Role of resources:	No significant natural resources
Immediate outcome:	Decreased numbers of refugees led to diminished violence; Indian security forces imposed martial law in disturbed areas.
Outcome after 5 years:	Communal conflict continued but diminished significantly.
Role of UN:	None
Role of regional organization:	None
Refugees:	Massive population transfers of 12,000,000–17,000,000
Prospects for peace:	Sectarian and communal violence continues in India and Pakistan

army as well as the territory. Because a majority of the Indian officers in the army were Muslim, almost all of them went to Pakistan. Meanwhile, the British officers, who held senior ranks in the army, were divided between the newly independent states of India and Pakistan.

Geography

The bulk of communal violence occurred in Punjab, the western province in India that would be partitioned between India and Pakistan. Millions of Sikhs found themselves isolated, Muslims fled west to Pakistan, and Hindus fled east to India. Significant sectarian violence,

however, occurred in all the major cities of northern India. As in the case of the Great Calcutta Killings, which marked the symbolic beginning of the communal conflict, a significant amount of killing took place on city streets. In Punjab, where the land is composed of a fertile alluvial plain bounded by desert in the south and mountains on the north, the flatlands became killing fields. Throughout history, the harshness of the north and south and the flatness of its interior often made Punjab an unavoidable corridor for invading the rest of India. During partition, Punjab's broad expanses facilitated mass killings: Victims frequently had no



forests or mountains in which to escape killing squads (Singh 1983, 418).

Kashmir's mountainous geography differs significantly from that of Punjab. Strategically important, Kashmir shares a border not only with India and Pakistan but also with China and Afghanistan. Surrounded by mountains, the Kashmir valley is the only substantial flat area in the region and generates the bulk of fertile Kashmir's agricultural produce. Because it quickly seized the Kashmir valley, India was able to exert control over two-thirds of the entire region. Kashmir's mountainous terrain prevented Pakistan from pushing out of its areas of control in the farthest northern mountains (the Northern Area) and the Poonch in the southwest. Kashmir's mountainous terrain makes offensive operations and gaining advantage over established positions in Kashmir quite difficult (Singh 1983, 447, 453).

Tactics

Because the communal conflict (Hindus vs. Muslims vs. Sikhs) represented hundreds of thousands of murders and millions of separate stories, the issue of strategy appears devoid of meaning in the mass slaughter. In this regard, it is difficult to discuss tactics in a systematic way. Nevertheless, a number of generalizations may be made about the manner of the communal conflict. Small arms were an absolutely indispensable aspect of the conflict. Weapons such as rifles, pistols, bayonets, and grenades were obtained variously through British military surplus and by looting police stations; often, the police themselves would participate in communal slaughter. Many more weapons, such as hand-made guns and grenades, were made in home workshops. In addition, much more prosaic weapons were used, such as knives, scythes, hoes, and sticks. Moreover, perpetrators of violence often tried to outdo themselves with extravagant means of murder—for example, torture, mutilation, drowning, and immolation.

In Kashmir, the states fought the war with weapons obtained primarily from the British,

either as hand-me-downs from the empire or as surplus after World War II. On balance, the Indians fared better than the Pakistanis because the Pakistanis lacked proper military coordination and support during the campaign in Kashmir. The conflict began in a rather haphazard manner. First, Muslim peasants revolted in Poonch, and then Pathans pushed into Kashmir from the North-West Frontier Province. Neither the Poonchi peasants nor the Pathans coordinated their actions. Moreover, the Pathan incursion into Kashmir resembled a tour of looting more than it did an assault on a military objective. Once the newly formed Indian army received orders to move into Kashmir, the Pathans were eventually routed. Because of restrictions imposed upon him by his British officer corps (discussed following), Jinnah did not mobilize the newly formed Pakistani army to fight in Kashmir.

Causes of the War

Referring to the beginning of the communal slaughter, the historian Stanley Wolpert wrote that the Great Calcutta Killing of August 16–18, 1946, “was only the beginning of the Civil War . . . which turned the final year of Britain's Crown Raj into an orgy of communal violence, terror, and slaughter” (Wolpert 2000, 344). The Great Calcutta Killings, as they subsequently became known, only hinted at the bloodshed that would convulse India in its move toward independence and partition. August 16 began as the Muslim League expressed frustration with the Congress Party's unwillingness to grant demands for a separate homeland for Muslims. An exasperated Jinnah called for Direct Action Day (that is, demanding direct action for the achievement of Pakistan). Whether intending to or not, Jinnah's call unleashed a wave of violence that spread across the subcontinent. What began as a hartal, a local protest or strike, in Calcutta soon became a massacre. Muslim mobs demanded Direct Action and attacked any Hindus they saw. In a move that surely exacerbated the

violence, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, Bengal's provincial chief minister and Calcutta's premier, ordered the city's mostly Muslim police force on vacation. Free of police interference, Muslims beat and killed many Hindus. However, with no order in the city, Hindu mobs soon took control of the violence. For the next two days, hastily organized killing squads of Hindus searched the streets for Muslims to murder. After a mere seventy-two hours, 6,000 Hindus and Muslims lay dead in the streets. Over the next several days, communal rioting and massacres spread throughout the province. In nearby Noakhali, Muslims slaughtered Hindus, and in Bihar province Hindus murdered Muslims. Though spurred by the Muslim League's political rhetoric, the violence ignited by the Great Calcutta Killings caused the deaths of more Muslims than it did Hindus. Not even the direct involvement of Gandhi himself could stop the sporadic yet vicious killing. For the next several months, most of India's major cities suffered from significant rioting that left thousands dead.

At the same time that Hindu-Muslim violence spread, India's roughly 6 million Sikhs suddenly began to appreciate their political impotence. Although Sikhs serving in the Indian Army made considerable contributions to the British war effort during World War II, the British government regarded the Sikhs as an unimportant minority group caught unfortunately between the major forces of Indian politics, the Hindus and the Muslims. With independence looming, Sikhs had diluted their political loyalties across several parties in India. Moreover, Sikhs had few leaders of substance. Perhaps the most significant leader was Master Tara Singh, a skillful orator but politically incompetent. Viewed by India's Viceroy Wavell (1943–1947) as "stupid and emotional," the elderly Tara Singh routinely found himself outmaneuvered by leaders of the Congress Party and the Muslim League (Wavell quoted in French 2003, 331).

To make matters worse, Sikhs were concentrated primarily in Punjab, the principal battle-

ground of the upcoming communal conflict. Generally antagonistic toward Muslims, most Sikhs lived in the part of Punjab that would eventually be partitioned into Pakistan. Many Sikhs feared that inclusion in the future Pakistan would leave them isolated and vulnerable. Sikhs were less antagonistic toward Hindus but could not join the newly partitioned part of India controlled by the Congress Party without uprooting millions of Sikhs from Punjab. The Sikh leadership complained that its concentration in Punjab was being ignored and that Muslims and Hindus were receiving all the attention. Tara Singh warned that the impending partition of India into Muslim and Hindu states would leave the Sikhs isolated and subordinate to the Muslims in Punjab. The Sikhs' fears of Muslims were particularly acute because relations between the two communities had deteriorated since the late 1920s, when conflicts erupted over the provenance of a religious site in Shahidganj: Sikhs claimed it as the site of a gurdwara and Muslims the site of a mosque. Even if the Sikhs' relations with Hindus were better than their relations with Muslims, Tara Singh was unwilling to cooperate with the Congress Party, which he regarded as little more than a front for Hindu interests.

After the Sikh leadership proposed to the Muslim League the idea of a semiautonomous Sikh province in Punjab, Jinnah was unpredictably accommodating. He offered full self-rule in exchange for Sikh support for Pakistan. Confounding his own success, Tara Singh responded by refusing to accept the creation of Pakistan. The broken deal with Jinnah only emphasized the Sikhs' political impotence. On one hand, they were unwilling to share power with either the Muslim League or the Congress Party; on the other, they realized that upon independence and partition they would not receive an autonomous Sikhistan or Khalistan (i.e., Land of the Sikhs).

Recognizing their political helplessness at the center, the Sikhs shifted their attention to the local level. Many Sikhs now reasoned that the

only way to protect themselves, politically or otherwise, was to take up arms against Muslims. In February 1947, riots between Muslims and Sikhs occurred throughout Punjab. Meanwhile, having boxed himself in politically, Tara Singh resorted to demagoguery. On March 11, he sought to mobilize Sikhs to “fight” for a homeland of “pure Sikhs” with the blood-chilling cry “Pakistan Murdabad” (“death to Pakistan”). In March, Muslim gangs turned Tara Singh’s words against him and massacred thousands of Sikhs in the Rawalpindi region. They argued that Tara Singh’s call for the rule of “pure Sikhs” and the destruction of the Muslim League justified the murder of several thousand Sikhs. Fearing further massacres, 80,000 Sikh refugees poured into east Punjab, the part eventually to be controlled by India. Despite their own local perspectives, many Sikhs believed that the Muslim League had organized paramilitary groups to harass Sikhs. In particular, they accused the Muslim League Guards of perpetrating the massacres. In addition, because the massacres had occurred under British rule, the Sikhs blamed the British for conspiring with the murderers. In turn, many Sikhs joined gangs organized with the help of Indian army veterans. As tensions rose between Muslims and Sikhs, the rhetoric of Tara Singh became increasingly incendiary. However, the more the leadership advocated violence against Muslims, the more Sikhs suffered (Collins and Lapierre 1975, 280–81, 296–97, 348–51, 377–78; French 2003, 333–35).

As if to emphasize the Sikhs’ powerlessness, neither the Muslim League nor the Congress Party paid much attention to the growing crisis in Punjab. Jinnah, for his part, simply threw up his hands, maintaining that, since Tara Singh had rejected a perfectly reasonable proposal, there was nothing more he could do. Similarly, the British and the Congress Party exerted no more effort. In the Congress Party, Defense Minister Baldev Singh, a Sikh, briefly became the Sikhs’ *de facto* representative. However, not even the presence of Baldev Singh, who appears to have been neither creative nor persuasive, did

anything to divert Viceroy Lord Mountbatten (1947) and the rest of the Congress politicians from their primary concern over Hindu–Muslim relations.

As internecine conflict raged across the subcontinent, and at almost the exact moment that they ceased to be the same nation, the nascent states of India and Pakistan went to war over what would constitute their national boundaries in Kashmir. Technically, India and Pakistan were not the only states in the subcontinent to receive independence and be partitioned. Indeed, here lay a precipitate cause of war between India and Pakistan. The princely states, which had operated as semiautonomous regions within the British Empire, were now to be divided between India and Pakistan. On July 25, 1947, Viceroy Mountbatten declared that the subcontinent’s roughly 565 princely states must accede to union with India or Pakistan, depending upon their proximity to the newly independent states. In general, the princely states assented to union peacefully. Those states ruled by Hindus tended to accede to India and those ruled by Muslims to Pakistan. In fact, the more general cause of the war between India and Pakistan revolved around the religious composition of the people living in these princely states. Vallabhbhai Patel, India’s home minister, negotiated accession agreements with the 550 princely states that either bordered or remained within the borders of the newly independent India, whereas Jinnah concluded accession agreements with the few princely states remaining within Pakistan. However, three princely states, Hyderabad, Junagadh, and Kashmir, presented “the new dominions [India and Pakistan] with their most thorny immediate causes of conflict” (Wolpert 2000, 349).

Because the Muslim princes ruled over populations that were overwhelmingly Hindu in Hyderabad and Junagadh, Patel and his secretary, V. P. Menon, argued that the needs of these states’ populations outweighed the desires of their antiquated rulers; therefore their accession to India would represent the fulfillment of democratic principles. Hyderabad’s ruler, the Nizam

Mir Osman Ali Khan, hoped to remain neutral and refused to accede to India. The Nizam's refusal, however, was pointless, for he failed to appreciate two key facts that militated against his holding out against India: one, that his Hindu population would not long tolerate the autocratic rule of a Muslim; and, two, that Hyderabad, in southern India, was completely surrounded by India. Hoping the Nizam would see reason, the Indian government tolerated his refusal for just over a year. On September 13, 1948, India launched Operation Polo into Hyderabad and, using two Indian army divisions, ended the Nizam's defiance in four days. The Pakistani government protested but received no international support. The Indian government simply ignored Pakistan's complaint.

On Gujarat's Kathiawar peninsula in western India, Shri Diwan Nawab of Junagadh was similarly recalcitrant. The Nawab refused to accede to India, not because he wanted neutrality but because he wanted to accede to Pakistan. Unfortunately for the Nawab, he lacked the ability to resist India. In particular, Junagadh shared no common border with Pakistan, and it was completely surrounded by the ocean and India. Moreover, it comprised a predominantly Hindu population. On August 15, 1947, the Nawab claimed accession to Pakistan, but his declaration carried little substance. Within two weeks of independence, India blockaded Junagadh and, on October 24, sent in the Indian army. By November 9, India had established administrative control over the state. Using the same justifications it had used in Hyderabad, the Indian government ignored Pakistan's protests that Indian military action in Junagadh had violated the basic accession agreement, namely that a princely state could choose the nation to which it would accede (indeed, Mountbatten had approved the Nawab's decision to accede to Pakistan). Unwilling and unable to go to war over distant Junagadh, Pakistan nevertheless regarded India's actions with bitterness and continues to claim Junagadh as Pakistani territory (Collins and Lapierre 1975,

142; French 2003, 369; Keay 2000, 510–11; Wolpert 2000, 352–53).

In principle, Kashmir posed almost exactly the same problem as Hyderabad or Junagadh, but India and Pakistan chose to regard many of the details in reverse. Located in the north of the subcontinent, Kashmir held a population of roughly 4 million people that lay between the states of India and West Pakistan. Because it shared large borders with both India and Pakistan, Kashmir could be claimed with equal merit by either country. However, the Pakistanis argued that Kashmir should accede to Pakistan because an all-weather road link connected Kashmir and Pakistan (no similar road connected Kashmir and India) and that Kashmir controlled the headwaters not only of the Indus but also of several other rivers in Punjab. So integral to its nation did many Pakistanis regard Kashmiri Muslims that they considered them as representing the letter *K* in the acronym

Violence in Kashmir

Ethnoreligious fervor has increased dramatically in Kashmir since 1989. According to Sumit Ganguly, the sudden rise of violence in India's only Muslim-majority state can be explained by two interconnected forces: political mobilization and institutional decay. In terms of political mobilization, Ganguly argues that the "activities of the Indian government gave rise to accelerated political mobilization in Kashmir, making a younger generation of Kashmiris more conscious of their political rights." Meanwhile, he observes, the Indian "government was also responsible for the deinstitutionalization of politics" in Kashmir. Because the Indian government has denied either state autonomy or a plebiscite in Kashmir, many young Muslim Kashmiris have turned to insurgency to express their discontent with India's policies. Ganguly discounts the idea that "ancient hatreds" account for the insurgency in Kashmir; rather, he contends that the insurgency has developed from a blend of political agitation and a denial of political alternatives to violence (Ganguly 1996).

Pakistan (see glossary). Indeed, more than 3 million of Kashmir's 4 million people were Muslim. No less passionate, India's claim to Kashmir was perhaps less convincing. Kashmir was the home of the Nehru family, and Nehru believed that, as such, Kashmir's separation from India was as significant a vivisection as Pakistan itself. In fact, Mountbatten viewed Kashmir "as the one subject on which he could not get Nehru to see sense" (Mountbatten quoted in French 2003, 372). Moreover, the Indian government concluded that the eventual decision of Maharaja Hari Singh to accede to India (explained in more detail following) was binding. In light of Indian behavior in Hyderabad and Junagadh, such a conclusion struck Pakistanis as self-serving in the extreme.

Before partition, however, the maharaja preferred an independent Kashmir to accession to either India or Pakistan and invoked the example of neutral Switzerland as justification. During the months leading up to partition, the maharaja negotiated a delaying agreement that allowed him to postpone making a formal decision until after independence with Pakistan, which accepted the agreement, fully expecting that the maharaja would accede to Pakistan. Events soon overtook the maharaja. In late August, Muslim peasants supported by Pakistani Muslims took up arms against Hindu landowners in Poonch, a region in southwestern Kashmir. On October 22, 1947, Pathan paramilitary units, not necessarily ordered but almost certainly backed by the Pakistani government, moved into Kashmir, seizing the Baramula Road that led to Srinagar, the state's capital. Believing that the violence represented the first waves of a Pakistani assault, the maharaja reconsidered his neutrality. Hoping that release of his political rival Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah would provide a veneer of popular support (in the years leading up to Britain's withdrawal, Sheikh Abdullah, a temperate and not particularly pro-Pakistani Muslim, had generated support among Kashmir's Sikhs and Hindus), the maharaja abandoned any hope of independence and re-

sentfully sent Sheikh Abdullah to Delhi, where he negotiated formal accession to India on October 26, 1947 (French 2003, 372–73; Keay 2000, 512–13; Wolpert 2000, 353).

Outcome *Conflict Status*

The agonizing communal conflict of 1946–1948 wound down in the early months of 1948 for two reasons. The first was that Gandhi's murder on January 30, 1948 (discussed following) by a Hindu extremist provided Prime Minister Nehru with justification for using the nation's police to crack down on Hindu-led violence. Before Gandhi's murder, Home Minister Patel was sympathetic to groups such as the RSS and the Hindu Mahasabha and had been unwilling to condemn them. Gandhi's death enabled Nehru to overrule his powerful yet lethargic home minister. Within several weeks of his death, "Gandhi came closer to achieving his goal of Hindu-Muslim unity than he ever did in his lifetime" (Wolpert 2000, 356). The second reason was that the flow of refugees across the borders of India and Pakistan had significantly diminished (despite continuing sporadically in Bengal until 1971). Although the refugee crisis certainly remained (thousands of enormous refugee camps could be found across India and Pakistan), fewer refugees meant that there were fewer provocative stories of atrocities against coreligionists.

It is impossible to give an accurate accounting of the number of refugees and dead resulting from partition. Before partition, Muslims represented 55.7 percent of Punjab's entire population. After partition and the resulting transfers of populations, the Muslim population in India's portion of Punjab was just over 1 percent of the total population, whereas the Hindu and Sikh population in Pakistan's portion of Punjab was just under 1 percent of the total population. The total number of refugees will never be known; estimates range from 12 million to 17 million people displaced from their homes between 1946 and 1948. Similarly, the number of dead will

never be known, and although estimates vary widely, all agree that the scale of death caused by partition's communal conflict was staggering. Collins and Lapierre (1975, drawing on several sources, arrive at a figure of 250,000 to 500,000 dead. Stanley Wolpert (2000) puts the figure at 1 million, and French suggests that the number could be even higher. French adds, however, that, offenses against Muslims "exceeded in scale and atrocity the outrages" committed against other groups (French 2003, 348–49).

Although numerically less staggering than the massive slaughter attending partition, communal violence continues to plague India. During the secularist Nehru years, sectarian riots occurred occasionally but never on a large scale. However, in the decades after his death in 1964, the frequency and intensity of communal violence increased. Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi (d. 1984), and his grandson, Rajiv Gandhi (d. 1989), were assassinated for reasons having to do with India's long-standing religious and ethnic grievances. In the 1980s, disputes related to Kashmir contributed to conflicts between Sikhs and the Indian government and to Hindu–Muslim antagonism. In 1992, Hindu activists destroyed Ayodhya Mosque, touching off Hindu–Muslim riots that killed more than 2,000 people. In 2002, riots in the state of Gujarat killed more than 1,000 people, mostly Muslims. As a testament to the tenacity of India's communal conflict, a bill introduced in the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of India's parliament, in December 2005 proposed to grant sweeping powers to the central and state governments to fight communal violence.

The undeclared war in Kashmir ended with the brokering of a United Nations cease-fire on January 1, 1949. The cease-fire line (known as the line of control since 1971) established by the UN subjected the subcontinent to yet another partition. Drawn closely along the lines of territory occupied by the Indian and Pakistani militaries, the cease-fire line became the *de facto*, though not *de jure*, border between the two. The cease-fire left Pakistan in control of a small portion of Kashmir, the mountainous area sur-

rounding Gilgit, and a narrow strip along Kashmir's extreme western border—together known as Azad Kashmir (Free Kashmir). India gained control of the rest of Kashmir, including the Kashmir valley, Jammu, and Ladakh. As part of the cease-fire, the United Nations also called for a plebiscite to determine the future status of Kashmir's Muslim majority population. However, despite UN sanction and Pakistani demands, a plebiscite in Kashmir has never been held. India has repeatedly brushed aside calls for a plebiscite, arguing that subsequent state elections in Kashmir and elections in India's democratic Constituent Assembly more than sufficiently demonstrated that Kashmir should properly be a part of India. In terms of battle deaths, one estimate (noted earlier) puts the number of Indians killed in the 1947–1949 Kashmir war at 3,000 and the number of Pakistanis killed at 5,000 (OnWar.com 2000).

No issue has caused more tension between India and Pakistan since independence and partition in 1947. With the exception of the 1971 Pakistani civil war, all major conflicts between India and Pakistan find their source in the dispute over Kashmir. Indeed, Matthew White, citing U.S. State Department figures, estimates that more than 23,000 people have been killed (10,727 militants, 10,600 civilians, and 2,000 security personnel) in Kashmir since 1989 (White 2005). Throughout the 1950s, India and Pakistan wrangled over the legitimacy of Kashmir's accession to India. In 1962, matters grew more tense as China became the next power to partition Kashmir. China and India not only fought a brief war over Ladakh, which India lost, but also China and Pakistan formed an alliance. In 1965, India and Pakistan again fought a war over Kashmir. Tension persisted for years but flared with special intensity in recent years. In 1998, India and Pakistan reciprocally tested nuclear weapons. In 1999, Pakistani troops tried unsuccessfully to occupy territory around Kargil. According to figures released by the Indian and Pakistani governments, the Indians suffered 1,887 casualties, and the Pakistanis suffered the

death of 696 soldiers and 40 civilians in a conflict that lasted from May to July. In 2002, tensions reached perhaps greater intensity as both countries deployed hundreds of thousands of troops along the India–Pakistan border and the line of control. Indian and Pakistani leaders averted direct conflict only through the concentrated diplomacy of the United States and the mutual realization that war between the two would pose incredible logistical obstacles.

Duration Tactics: Communal Violence

In the violence leading to and following partition, clashes between Muslims and Sikhs were particularly acute. The Muslim League and the

Congress Party’s willful ignorance of the Sikhs manifested dire consequences for both communities as paranoia and rage spread through Punjab. Throughout the summer of 1947, Sikh jathas raided Muslim villages, while Sikh militants openly trained with members of the RSS. Jathas planned train derailments, bomb plots, massacres, and even an attempt on Jinnah’s life. Violence intensified after August 9 with news of the Radcliffe Commission’s impending boundary decision. With Punjab on the verge of partition, Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims raced across “borders” to what they believed would be their new nations (French 2003, 336–47).

In the week leading up to independence and partition, more than 400 people were killed in



Communal rioters armed with lathis roam the streets of Calcutta, India in 1946. During a three-day period, from August 16 through August 18, more than six thousand people were killed in fighting between Hindus and Muslims. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

rioting in Amritsar and Lahore. The jathas developed an unexpected degree of coordination and support. Led by many former members of the Indian Army, the jathas probably received financial and military support from princely states such as Patiala and Faridkot, which bordered Punjab. Although there is dispute over whether jathas received supplies from princely states, there is no doubt they used their territory as bases of operations from which to launch deadly raids against Muslim villages and refugees. Meanwhile, less well-organized but no less murderous paramilitary bands of Muslims acquired weapons and ammunition through the Kahn of Mamdot from the North-West Frontier Province. In Amritsar and Lahore, Muslim mobs committed horrible atrocities, burning down gurdwaras with hundreds of people inside, raping women, and murdering children. Neither the local constabularies (made up mostly of Muslims) nor the hastily improvised Punjab Boundary Force (made of Baluchi, Dogra, Gurkha, and Rajput veterans) could bring an end to the slaughter (Collins and Lapierre 1975, 217; French 2003, 336–47).

On August 16, as the subcontinent was partitioned into the nascent states of India and Pakistan, the slaughter of a million people accompanied the migration of 14 million to 17 million people. Hindus moved from what was now Pakistan to India, Muslims from what was now India to Pakistan, and Sikhs found themselves caught in the middle. As millions of Indians fled to sanctuary, killing spread from Punjab throughout India. French observed that, as these refugees moved across northern India, “the reciprocal killing became ever more extravagant,” and that the “need for retribution came to exceed any communal, political or territorial logic, and bloodlust and revenge gained a momentum of their own” (French 2003, 347–48).

Only two weeks after partition, Punjab was in complete chaos. Violence and civil disorder prevailed throughout the province. Thousands died daily in a combination of organized and spontaneous massacres. Soldiers in the newly

forming Indian and Pakistani armies initially tried to keep the peace but soon came to regard the other side as setting off the violence. Soldiers in these units soon contributed to the slaughter. Even the relatively ineffective Punjab Boundary Force disbanded because of communal differences. In general, the internecine massacres were conducted not by formal soldiers in uniform but rather by roving paramilitary bands, Sikh jathas, Muslim mobs, and RSS-organized Hindu killing squads. Using a variety of weapons (e.g., surplus firearms or farm tools), the various groups humiliated, tortured, and mutilated their victims before murdering them (Collins and Lapierre 1975, 294 ff; French 2003, 336–47, 352).

The process of migration itself often sparked the violence. As refugees arrived in a city or village, they would recount stories of horrible atrocities back home or on the road. This in turn inspired local revenge against the community perceived to be connected to the perpetrators, even if the original perpetrators were hundreds or thousands of miles away. In addition to murder, many female victims suffered abduction or rape. By 1952, roughly 30,000 women who had been abducted and raped during partition were repatriated to India and Pakistan, but this number surely underestimates the true number of women and girls who suffered during this period. One of the most enduring images of the slaughter of partition in Punjab was that of the trains passing back and forth between India and Pakistan. Jathas and Hindu killing squads, frequently working together, murdered thousands of Muslims trying to escape the butchery. However, even those fortunate enough to escape the carnage were not guaranteed safety. The exodus of millions of refugees created enormous dislocations in both Pakistan and India, where refugee camps often became cesspools of depraved human behavior rather than respites from the maelstrom. Corruption, violence, and forced prostitution prevailed in these places that were supposed to have been sanctuaries for the dislocated (French 2003, 353–55).

Duration Tactics: Kashmir

Once the maharaja and sheikh negotiated formal accession to India, Kashmir was officially part of India. Upon formal accession, the Indian government immediately airlifted troops to Srinagar to fight the Pathan paramilitary units, who had seized the Baramula Road. Neither India nor Pakistan officially declared war, but the first of three wars fought between India and Pakistan in the twentieth century had thus begun. Jinnah apparently had not ordered the Pathans into Kashmir, but he certainly regarded the Indian airlift into Srinagar as an act of war. On the verge of ordering Pakistani military units into Kashmir on October 28, Jinnah received an ultimatum from Field Marshall Sir Claude John Auchinleck. Auchinleck warned Jinnah that if Pakistan attacked Kashmir (which had now formally acceded to India), then all British officers would be withdrawn from the Pakistani army. Though prevented from using its army to secure Kashmir, Pakistan vigorously supported the paramilitary units, now composed not only of Pathans but also of Muslim peasants from Poonch and irregulars from the North-West Frontier Province.

External Military Intervention Tactics: Communal Violence

In terms of the communal violence, there was no foreign intervention in the conflict. However, the conflict was almost certainly exacerbated by British noninvolvement. The British government had wildly underestimated the degree of chaos that would accompany independence and partition. More concerned about anti-British violence than about communal aggression, Lord Mountbatten advocated the earliest possible withdrawal of British troops. However, the British were not alone; neither the Congress Party nor the Muslim League predicted the mass dislocation and slaughter that followed Britain's departure from the subcontinent. Nehru reasoned that communal differences would vanish once the British quit India, whereas Jinnah

trusted that partition would eliminate the reasons for communal strife. Indeed, both the Congress Party and the Muslim League believed that calm would prevail following decolonization and that the British should leave at the earliest opportunity. British Prime Minister Clement Atlee, convinced by this reasoning, ordered the removal of all British troops by August 15, 1947. This, of course, meant that there would be no British troops in India to prevent civil disturbances. Strangely, it does not seem to have occurred to anyone in power that the British might serve as neutral peacekeepers in the event of violence between Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. Such an oversight seems particularly astounding given the significant communal divisions that persisted in India leading up to independence and the intense communal enmity that led to partition itself. Nevertheless, it must be noted that this was an oversight committed by nearly every important political actor at the time in India (French 2003, 345).

External Military Intervention Tactics: Kashmir

Like the communal violence, there was no foreign participation in the first Indo-Pakistani war over Kashmir. Auchinleck's refusal to allow British participation in Kashmir perhaps proved decisive in the military conflict as India took control of most of Kashmir. According to Collins and Lapierre, the success of the Indian Army in Kashmir was due less to Indian skill than to the indiscipline of the Muslim irregulars in Kashmir. For instance, rather than proceed to the lightly defended airfield in Srinagar, the Pathan irregulars stopped to loot and rape the sisters of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary at their convent in Baramula. Had they continued on instead to Srinagar, they would have easily swept aside the few Sikhs holding the airfield. Instead, the Sikhs provided the Indian army with the precious time it needed to consolidate its position in Kashmir. From the airport in Srinagar, the Indian air force supplied the Indian

army, which in turn pushed the irregulars out of the Kashmir valley (French 2003, 376; Keay 2000, 511; and Collins and Lapierre 1975, 366–68).

Conflict Management Efforts: Communal Violence

Although curiously surprised by the intensity of the communal butchery, the leaders of India and Pakistan reacted in very different ways to end the violence. Gandhi toured India, using his stature to appeal for an end to the killing. Although his presence often led to a decrease in the violence, Indians, Muslims and Hindus alike frequently jeered him as he tried to make peace: Muslims accused him of trying to impose a Hindu Raj, whereas Hindus regarded him as a turncoat. Indeed, Gandhi was murdered by Nathuram Godse, a Hindu nationalist and member of both the RSS and the Hindu Mahasabha. He believed that “Gandhi’s nonviolence has left the Hindus defenseless before their enemies” (Godse quoted in Collins and Lapierre 1975, 371).

Unable to prove a direct link between the RSS and Gandhi’s murder, Nehru nevertheless believed the organization had fomented anti-Muslim violence across India. This belief put Nehru at odds with Home Minister Patel. Nehru regarded the RSS as a protofascist group, whereas Patel saw it as patriotic. Before Gandhi’s death, Nehru and Patel clashed bitterly over the character of the RSS in Indian society. Indeed, though clearly horrified by Gandhi’s murder, Patel did nothing as home minister to suppress RSS activities. Gandhi’s murder, however, gave Nehru all the justification he needed to declare the group illegal (French 2003, 359; Jaffrelot 1996, 84–90).

Jinnah, too, was deeply saddened by the massacres and Gandhi’s death, but he did not have long to mourn. His attention was focused on building the new nation of Pakistan. Pakistan was free but broke. It received independence with only 200 million rupees in its treasury but nearly 400 million rupees in debt. Maintaining its armed forces cost newly independent Pakistan 50 million rupees a month, and the first budget anticipated that 75 percent of expendi-

tures would go to the military. To make matters worse, the nation lacked an administrative infrastructure and suffered from widespread civil disorder. Jinnah’s primary goal as Pakistan’s leader was to bring order to a nation that was wracked not only by communal strife but also by formidable obstacles that would render even a peaceful country difficult to govern (French 2003, 362–63; Jaffrelot 2002, 163 ff).

Conflict Management Efforts: Kashmir

On balance, India fared better than Pakistan in the war, gaining control of Kashmir with the exception of Azad Kashmir. Fighting in Kashmir lasted from the end of October 1947 until the UN cease-fire took effect on January 1, 1949. As noted previously, one of the conditions insisted upon by the United Nations was that a plebiscite be held to determine to which country Kashmir’s people would accede. However, no plebiscite was ever held. India regarded the matter as settled, arguing that subsequent state elections in Kashmir have rendered a formal plebiscite unnecessary and redundant. Despite the brokering of a UN cease-fire, UN personnel in Kashmir did not serve as peacekeepers; their job was and remains to record cease-fire line violations. In fact, UN observers have recorded several thousand violations of the line of control since 1999. India’s short-term military victory created a long-term diplomatic, ethnic, and religious crisis that has festered for over half a century (French 2003, 377; Keay 2000, 512–13).

Conclusion

The subcontinent’s communal problem, although it never approached the level of slaughter reached between 1946 and 1948, has nevertheless persisted throughout India’s history. Pakistan, too, has endured communal violence, but this has not reached the same level as India’s. The communal conflict dissipated in 1948 as the flow of refugees decreased, but it stopped when the state directly intervened to stop the violence. For

The Bharatiya Janata Party

India's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which governed India from 1999 to 2004, represents the political inheritance of the RSS and is associated with the group of organizations known as the RSS family. The RSS was founded in 1925 by Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, who regarded Gandhi's teachings of nonviolence as harmful to Hindu unity. The RSS, because of its connection to Gandhi's murder, was briefly banned by the Indian government. From 1951 to the late-1970s, the Jana Sangh represented the RSS perspective in national politics but did not achieve significant national support. In 1980, Atal Behari Vajpayee transformed the Jana Sangh (which had merged with the Janata Party in 1977) into a more effective organization, but the party remained unpopular. In the mid-1980s, the BJP combined its activities with the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP). After displacing Vajpayee, L. K. Advani pursued a more explicit program of Hindu nationalism. Indeed, the BJP and the VHP have won significant electoral support by destroying the Ayodhya Mosque and by agitating against conversions to Islam.

example, Indian security forces put a quick end to the violence during late winter 1948. After 1948, communal conflict remained muted until the Congress Party lost its virtual monopoly on Indian politics. Throughout its history, the Congress Party has pursued and enforced policies of strict secularism. Its political adversaries have been less able and willing to pursue secularist policies. Since the early 1990s, the success of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) can be significantly attributed to preying on communal differences. Indeed, much recent communal rioting has resulted either from political agitation or government indifference. The Congress Party's return to power in 2004 might mark an important transition in India's history of communal violence. Although quite controversial, the Congress Party proposed in December 2005 to increase the government's powers to fight communal violence.

Few believe that the bill will end communal violence, but many hope it will establish a precedent for government involvement in the communal conflict that will survive and succeed governments regardless of their party.

The Kashmir conflict has persisted regardless of the governments in power, whether democratic, autocratic, nationalist, or secularist. Because of the festering insurgency in Kashmir and the enduring nature of the conflict, individual policy choices, no matter how well intentioned, are unlikely to improve Indo-Pakistani relations over Kashmir. Significant sacrifice is required of both India and Pakistan to reduce tensions over Kashmir. Rather than argue over the historical merits of each other's claims to Kashmir, India and Pakistan must recognize that the status quo is unacceptable. To this end, India and Pakistan should accept Sumit Ganguly's (1996, 105–107) proposal that India and Pakistan forgo further claims to territory and accept the line of control as the permanent border between the two countries. Mutual recognition of the line of control would end territorial disputes between India and Pakistan. Moreover, by granting full recognition to Kashmir as an Indian state, Kashmiris will have more political alternatives and fewer reasons to engage in insurgent agitation.

Eric Pullin

Chronology

- May 8, 1857–July 8, 1858 Indian Rebellion leads to abolition of Company Raj and establishment of Crown Raj.
- December 28, 1885 Indian National Congress is formed.
- 1909 Morley-Minto reforms establish precedent of reserved seats for Hindus and Muslims.
- April 15, 1919 Amritsar massacre occurs.
- February 4, 1922 Twenty-two policemen are immolated at Chauri Chaura.
- 1929–1934 Muslims and Sikhs engage in legal dispute over religious status of a site in Shahidganj; Sikhs claim site as a gurdwara, Muslims claim it as a mosque.
- July 1935 India Act creates national legislative assembly and establishes autonomous provincial governments.

April 1, 1937 Subcontinent holds first nationwide elections.

Summer 1938 Shahidganj Mosque in Punjab is destroyed; rioting follows.

September 3, 1939 Viceroy Linlithgow declares war on Germany.

August 8, 1942 Gandhi launches Quit India campaign; British arrest Congress Party members for duration of World War II.

August 16, 1946 Jinnah and the Muslim League call for Direct Action Day.

August 16–18, 1946 Great Calcutta Killing begins communal conflict that convulses the subcontinent for two years.

August 1946–October 1948 Catastrophic riots between Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs occur throughout India, but especially in Punjab.

June 3, 1947 Viceroy Mountbatten announces partition plan.

July 25, 1947 Mountbatten declares that princely states must accede to either India or Pakistan.

August 15, 1947 India and Pakistan receive formal independence from the British Empire.

August 15, 1947 Nizam of Hyderabad declares neutrality.

August 15, 1947 Nawab of Junagadh claims accession to Pakistan.

August 16, 1947 Radcliffe boundaries of Pakistan and India are announced; subcontinent is partitioned.

August 1947 Poonch peasants revolt in Kashmir.

October 24–November 9, 1947 India takes control of Junagadh.

October 22, 1947 Pathan paramilitary units move into Kashmir.

October 26, 1947 Kashmir's Maharaja negotiates formal accession to India.

January 30, 1948 Gandhi is murdered.

September 13, 1948 India launches Operation Polo into Hyderabad.

January 1, 1949 United Nations imposes cease-fire in Kashmir.

October–November 1962 China wins Sino-Indian war in Kashmir.

September 1965 Second Indo-Pakistani war fought over Kashmir.

November–December 1971 Pakistani civil war leads to third Indo-Pakistani war; West and East Pakistan are partitioned into Pakistan (West) and Bangladesh (East).

May 18, 1974 India tests its first nuclear weapon.

October 31, 1984 Indira Gandhi is assassinated.

May 21, 1991 Rajiv Gandhi is assassinated.

December 6, 1992 Ayodhya Mosque is destroyed by Hindu nationalists; 2,000 people die in nationwide riots.

May 11–13, 1998 India conducts nuclear tests.

May 28–30, 1998 Pakistan conducts nuclear tests.

May 8–July 14, 1999 India and Pakistan fight limited war in Kargil, Kashmir.

February 2002 Communal riots occur in Gujarat, leaving mostly Muslims dead.

May 2002 India and Pakistan mobilize armies along their borders and the line of control.

December 5, 2005 India introduces anticommunal violence bill.

List of Acronyms

BJP: Bharatiya Janata Party

RSS: Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh

VHP: Vishwa Hindu Parishad

Glossary

Azad Kashmir: Literally, “Free Kashmir”; refers to the area of Pakistani-controlled Kashmir (the Northern Area and Poonch).

goonda: A criminal.

gurdwara: A Sikh temple.

hartal: A protest or strike.

jatha: An organized group of armed Sikhs.

Khalistan: Literally, “Land of the Pure”; depending upon context, refers to an independent land for the Sikhs in Punjab or Kashmir or both; the same as Sikhistan.

maharaja: The title of a Hindu prince; specifically, the title of Kashmir's prince.

mosque: A Muslim house of prayer.

Muslim League Guards: Loosely organized paramilitary groups.

nawab: The title of a Muslim prince; specifically, the title of Junagadh's prince.

nizam: The title of a Muslim prince; specifically, the title of Hyderabad's prince.

Pakistan: Literally, “Land of the Pure”; an acronym that combines Punjab, Afghanistan (i.e., the North-West Frontier Province), Kashmir, Sind, and the Persian suffix *stan*, meaning “land.”

Pakistan Murdabad: “Death to Pakistan”; a phrase used by Master Tara Singh and his followers.

Pathans: Muslim tribes from the North-West Frontier Province.

raj: Rule or reign.

viceroy: The title of Britain's ruler in India.

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Indonesia

(1975–1999)

Country Background

The Indonesian archipelago covers an ocean area the size of the continental United States. Of its 17,000 islands, 6,000 are inhabited. Its landmass is concentrated on four islands (Java, Sumatra, most of Borneo, and half of New Guinea); most Indonesians reside on Java. Its second most populous island, Sumatra, was the main site of the catastrophic December 2004 tsunami. Indonesia shares three islands with other governments. Borneo is shared with Malaysia and Brunei. New Guinea is shared with Papua New Guinea. The island of Timor is shared with newly independent East Timor. These islands—and many others—all have experienced civil strife. Indonesian land frontiers include Malaysia (1,100 miles of border), Papua New Guinea (500 miles), and East Timor (140 miles of frontier on an island only 250 miles by 50 miles). It is on Timor that Indonesia's most significant civil war occurred.

Geography plays a significant role in Indonesia's civil wars. Indonesia stretches 3,000 miles east to west and 1,000 miles north to south. Spread over 3 million square miles of ocean, the land area is 700,000 square miles. Of this land, 10 percent is cultivable, with another 7 percent under permanent crops. The remainder includes crowded Javanese cities and uninhabited steep mountains in eastern Papua. Mineral deposits (gold, copper) are found in the east, and oil and

natural gas are concentrated in the far west (Aceh), the east (Papua), and other peripheral areas. In the outer islands, insurgencies take the form of traditional guerrilla movements, using the Cuban-style *foco* (Spanish for “focus”). On densely crowded Java, where most Indonesians live, however, violence takes the form of classical terrorism, including bombings, abductions, and murders. This tendency toward terrorism and away from traditional guerrilla tactics also prevails on the smaller islands, such as Sulawesi and the south Malaccas.

Indonesia's economy is linked to the surrounding seas. This determines its cultural complexity as well as the integration of its local civil wars with wider regional movements and even global violent nonstate actors such as al-Qaeda. Seaborne trade has linked the archipelago with the world for 2,000 years. Consequently, the cultures of neighboring Asia have exercised influence on what would become Indonesia since antiquity. Although Buddhism prevailed in the area, by 1364 the Hindu kingdom of Java had conquered much of future Indonesia.

Java's rulers came into contact with Islam in the twelfth century. Islam as a cultural–political force predominated in Java and Sumatra by the late 1500s. Simultaneously, Christian proselytizing took place in the east with the arrival of Portuguese and Dutch elements. Modern sectarian

struggles on Indonesia's Outer Islands are simply the most recent manifestation of the coincidental arrival and subsequent clash of Islamic and Christian polities in the Indonesian archipelago in the 1500s.

Although most Indonesians profess Islam, earlier Buddhist and Hindu traditions still persist, and some ethnic groups retain their Catholic or Protestant traditions. Additionally, the folk culture of many nominally Islamic ethnic groups in Indonesia contains significant pre-Islamic elements. Many on the Outer Islands have retained their animist cultures in isolation from the earlier Buddhist–Hindu polities or later monotheistic missionaries.

The diversity of Indonesia has serious security consequences and is a source of its high number of intrastate wars. Ambon, central Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and East Timor illustrate this. All have been the site of recent clashes. The reinforcing cleavages of language, race, and religion in Indonesia today are partially ameliorated in many regions by the complex intermingling of belief systems in popular culture, as well as by the internal divisions of the otherwise predominant religion, Islam.

As religion is at the heart of many of Indonesia's civil wars, the nature of the country's religions must be explored. Indonesian Muslims have historically been identified as either *abangan* (a Javanese term for Muslims influenced by pre-Islamic folk cultures) or *santri* ("pure" or "white" Muslims—those committed to Islamic orthodoxy). In its extreme form, the *abangan* tradition shades into *kebatinan*—an amalgam of Hindu, Buddhist, and Sufi (mystical Muslim) traditions given official recognition in the 1945 constitution, which created a Department of Religious Affairs to oversee "legitimate" Indonesian religious traditions. Interestingly, the *kebatinan* tradition is not subject to the oversight of that department but is under the Department of Education and Culture.

Although Muslims on Indonesia's margins—those most likely to be living as minorities within non-Muslim communities, as on the

(historically) largely Christian Malaccan islands—are more likely to be *santri*, the dominance of *abangan* culture within Java's population and especially among its elites has meant that the Indonesia state has not been amenable to the imposition of stricter Islamic laws.

An exception to Indonesia's tolerant vision of Islam is on Sumatra, in the area called Aceh. Northern Sumatra has long been a hotbed of political tension between both *santri* and *abangan* Islam as well as between Muslims and non-Muslims. Almost immediately after achieving independence, the secularly inclined and nationalist–leftist Indonesian government faced an Islamist insurgency in Aceh (known as the Darul Islam movement). Prior to the 2004 tsunami, Aceh still presented one of Indonesia's most significant security threats.

Indonesia's demographic parameters are complex. Islam is professed by 88 percent of the population, but only 15 percent idealize an Islamic state. Only 2 to 4 percent of Indonesians are sympathetic to the most prominent radical Islamist group, *Jemaah Islamiyah* (Islamic Association [JI]), or to similar groups such as *Laskar Jihad* (Army of Jihad), the umbrella group *Front Pembela Islam* (Islamic Defenders Front), and *Hizbullah* ("Party of God"; not to be confused with the similarly named Lebanese group—*Hizbullah* was founded with Japanese support during World War II [Lapidus 1988, 770]).

Ethnic identity and religious affiliation are interwoven. Many intrastate conflicts could as easily and as accurately be described as racial, ethnic, or nationalist in structure as they could be confessional. Ethnically speaking, the single largest segment of the Indonesia population is Javanese, at 45 percent. The next largest group, Sundanese, constitutes less than 15 percent. No other group exceeds 10 percent of the population. Language is coterminous with ethnicity, with the official tongue, *Bahasa Indonesia*, serving as a *lingua franca*. *Bahasa Indonesia* was created as a simplified version of the Malay language. In their homes, most Indonesians continue to use their local dialect (most commonly Javanese).

Below the surface of the religious–communal and ethnic–linguistic contours of Indonesia’s civil wars, the impact of colonial history is clearly discerned. The history of Indonesia’s integration into a European-dominated global political system began in the 1500s with the arrival of Portuguese explorers. During the 1600s, the archipelago came under Dutch control, except for East Timor, which remained under Portugal’s authority until 1975. Under Dutch rule for three centuries, Indonesia was known as the Netherlands East Indies, or NEI. Originally colonized for its role in the spice trade, Indonesia evolved economically under colonialism to become a major supplier of coffee, sugar, tea, and other cash crops. Its role as a producer of petroleum emerged late in the colonial era.

This recent development has fueled Indonesia’s insurgencies in some cases. Major petroleum and gas deposits in northern Sumatra are at the heart of Acehese separatists’ objections to continued Javanese domination. Eastward, the harvest of timber and gold (along with exploration for fossil fuel deposits) has brought environmental degradation at the hands of outsiders (largely Javanese) to Papua and has helped to stoke local resistance to their continued control over the area. Petroleum deposits in the seas lying between Timor and Australia were reputed to be a motivator for Indonesia’s initial occupation of East Timor in 1975, as well as its reluctance to relinquish control of the territory.

The primary significance of Dutch colonial policy in Indonesia was the geopolitical impact of the creation of the NEI. Without the Dutch conceptualization of this archipelago as a single entity, the many conflicts engendered by separatist aspirations, transmigrating populations to the Outer Islands, and conflicts over resources would simply not exist. Prior to Dutch rule, no state had controlled the entire archipelago. At most, the Javanese managed to control their home island, the bulk of Sumatra, and a handful of Outer Islands. Dutch colonial rule gave final shape to what would become Indonesia, laying the foundations for cycles of separatism, mass

migrations, and violent economic struggles. The extent of the former NEI precisely defines the borders of Indonesia today.

In the late 1800s, an independence movement evolved in Indonesia. This group was composed mostly of Javanese-speaking middle classes. Although this initial movement stalled, World War II and the Japanese occupation of the NEI gave Indonesian nationalists an opportunity to push for independence. A group under Sukarno (many Javanese go by only one name) and Mohammad Hatta declared the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia in August 1945, three days after occupying Japanese forces surrendered to the Allies.

Holland struggled to regain control of Indonesia but encountered resistance from nationalists, now armed with abandoned Japanese weaponry. In 1949, the hostilities between the Netherlands and Indonesians ended, with sovereignty transferred to an Indonesian government. In 1950, Indonesia gained United Nations recognition. Indonesia was to have a violent relationship with both its neighbors and its own minorities. Although competitive political parties and sporadic elections have characterized the country’s governmental structures since independence, it has more often been seen as “not free” or “partly free” by the democratic evaluation systems employed by Freedom House. During East Timor’s insurgency, Indonesia was rated “partly free.” There was slight improvement in political rights and civil liberties scores from 1974 (the year before the war in East Timor) to 2004 (five years after East Timor’s UN occupation). Since 2000, the Indonesian government has been rated “partly free,” with scores of 3 on political rights and 4 on civil liberties. In the year preceding the Indonesian invasion of East Timor and the subsequent violent separatist struggle, the government was rated 5 on both political rights and civil liberties, giving it the same “partly free” designation from Freedom House (Freedom House 2005).

Economic growth in Indonesia has been remarkable. Although reliable data for the early

years of separatist movements and other insurgencies do not exist, for the longest running of the current struggles (Papua–Irian Jaya), Indonesia's real gross domestic product per capita has improved from \$902.74 (in constant 1996 US dollars) in 1965 to \$3,637.30 in 2000. This is fourfold growth over thirty-five years. Much expansion followed the 1973–1974 surge in oil prices, when per capita GDP jumped 25 percent in two years. Comparing Indonesia's performance in macroeconomic terms from the era just before the occupation of East Timor (1974) to Indonesia's departure in 2000, the growth is impressive: from \$1,349.50 per capita to \$3,637.30 per capita. That latter number masks the decline caused by the Asian financial "meltdown" of the late 1990s. Prior to the collapse of the value of the Indonesian rupiah, GDP per capita peaked at \$3,989.84 in 1997. Just one year later, it had dropped to \$3,525.65, a fall of almost \$500 per person, or 11.6 percent (Heston, Summers, and Aten 2002).

Oil is Indonesia's most valuable and exportable resource, and the country is unique among members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in its status as a net oil importer. In part, Indonesia became a victim of its own success. The massive economic growth of Indonesia in the late 1970s through mid-1990s led to increased domestic demand for oil. This was not the only factor shaping the country's loss of oil revenue. Indonesia's aging infrastructure and a lack of investment during the chaotic 1990s were contributing factors. With a surge in oil prices since 2003, investment may be increasing, leading to heightened production and a return to net petroleum exporter status. For Indonesia's poor (17 percent lived below the poverty line in 1998), the 1997–1998 decline was calamitous. This has implications for separatist sentiments in the Outer Islands, as poverty rates rise the farther one goes from Java. Papua, for example, has a poverty rate ten times that of Jakarta.

The financial meltdown of 1997–1998 spelled the end of over three decades of one-

man, one-party rule by President Suharto and his Golkar political movement. The weakness of the central state caused by this economic dislocation coincided with Jakarta's decision to bow to international pressure and allow a plebiscite on possible independence for East Timor. Whether the economic stabilization of Indonesia or the recent surge in oil prices can help the central authorities prevent the loss of further restive Outer Island provinces is an open question. Gains realized from post-2000 economic growth have been offset by massive destruction and death brought by the 2004 tsunami.

Ironically, it may have been the tsunami itself that extinguished any realistic Acehese separatist hopes of a Timor-like victory, as most of Indonesia's tsunami-related losses occurred in Sumatra's insurgent heartland. Banda Aceh, presumptive capital of a would-be independent Aceh, was leveled by the deadliest natural disaster in modern human history, which took the lives of 220,000 Sumatrans (127,000 confirmed, more than 93,000 missing). Those left homeless numbered 441,000, and \$4.5–\$5 billion in property was destroyed (CIA 2006b). The destruction of Aceh might weaken the central government sufficiently to embolden separatists in Papua province and eventually in Kalimantan as well. The economic dislocation of the country may also fuel an increase in support for radical political movements critical of the central government's inability to cope with the challenges of the tsunami. In particular, the radical Islamists of *Ji* hope to profit politically from the 2004 disaster.

Conflict Background

Using widely accepted conflict list calculations, Indonesia has seen six civil wars (Fearon and Laitin 2003). However, of Indonesia's many conflicts, only the Timorese struggle has resulted in a rebel victory. The remaining rebellions were either successfully quashed by Indonesian authorities or remain unresolved conflicts at this time.

2004 Tsunami

The tsunami in the Indian Ocean on December 26, 2004 (also known as the Boxing Day Tsunami), was by many measures the worst natural disaster in modern history. Total deaths are estimated at 275,000, of which roughly 220,000 occurred in Indonesia. Virtually all of Indonesia's loss of life took place in the province of Aceh. The irony is that this catastrophe has apparently put an end to the separatist/Islamist insurgency that had been dragging on in Aceh for decades.

The quake that generated the killer waves has been estimated at magnitude 9.15 on the Richter scale—the second-largest quake ever recorded on a seismograph. The loss of life was caused not by the shaking of the Earth but rather by the upheaval of the seabed just off the coast of Sumatra, which generated a series of enormous waves. The first surge of water that struck the provincial capital of Banda Aceh was estimated to be ten meters high. Property damage was greatest there, with an estimated 400,000 to 700,000 residents made homeless, slightly less than half of the total estimates of persons in need of emergency shelter (1.5 million) for the tsunami as a whole. The actual value of property loss has been difficult to calculate and remains highly controversial (BBC World Service 2005).

The other major civil wars of Indonesia must be understood if the full significance of the Timorese separatist struggle is to be grasped. In chronological order, these civil wars are the Republic of South Molucca movement (1950); Darul Islam I (1953); Darul Islam II (1958–1960); the Free Papua Movement, or Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) (1965–present); and the Free Aceh Movement, or Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) (1991–present). Additionally, widespread violence has beset the Indonesian archipelago from its independence. Among the more significant were the 1965 attempted coup and 1966 change in leadership from Sukarno to Suharto, which led to the violent suppression of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and alleged sympathizers of the Beijing-affiliated party.

The repression of PKI left at least 78,000 and perhaps as many as 2 million dead. Before Sukarno was driven from power, he promoted a series of violent actions against neighboring states, most notably the Konfrontasi (“confrontation”) against Malaysia on the island of Borneo. This struggle between ethnic Malays, indigenous Dayaks, and transmigrating Javanese and Madurese on Borneo evolved from a state-led proxy war between Indonesia and Malaysia into a cycle of civil strife that the authorities in Jakarta have struggled to defuse. Violence, largely along the Dayak-Madurese divide, remains intractable. Indonesian military forces have been repeatedly redeployed from other troubled areas of the archipelago to quell disturbances in Kalimantan.

Currently, the government is facing a nationwide radical Islamist challenge from a variety of groups. The most notable of these is the Jemaah Islamiyya. It is linked to Indonesia's worst single act of terrorism, the 2002 Bali bombing that killed more than 200, as well as to smaller acts of violence and campaigns of civil unrest on Java and the Outer Islands. Some Outer Islands violence is linked to another radical Islamist group, Laskar Jihad. Each of these five civil wars is examined to shed further light on the complexities of Timor's conflict.

The Republic of South Molucca (Maluku) Movement (1950)

Indonesia was beset by internal conflicts from its inception. During the period 1941–1945, Indonesia was under Japanese occupation. Japanese occupying forces, upon surrendering in 1945, allowed their weapons to be taken by Indonesian nationalists. Anglo-Australian troops were the first Allied units to arrive in the region. They soon found themselves at war with the locals. Dutch authorities tried to reimpose control but were only partially successful. By 1947, they had come to terms with the nationalists, creating a half-independent Indonesia. Java and Sumatra constituted an independent republic, whereas the Outer Islands joined the Netherlands-Indonesian

Union with joint Dutch, Outer Island, and republican (i.e., Javanese–Sumatran) affiliations.

This arrangement was dubbed the Republic of the United States of Indonesia (RUSI). It was doomed from the start. In its first months, there was an uprising in the Malacca islands (by a group of largely Christian separatists). The Republic of South Maluku (RMS) was proclaimed in Ambon in April 1950 by former members of the now-defunct Royal Netherlands Indies Army (KNIL). Malaccan Christians had formed an integral part of the colonial forces used to control Java, Sumatra, and other Muslim-majority areas of the Netherlands East Indies (NEI). These forces felt threatened by the new political order. Although this group of ex-soldiers and police had initial advantages in the rebellion, sheer force of numbers crushed the RMS, and thousands of South Malaccans went into exile. This clash was the opening salvo in an ongoing struggle between the forces of centralization of power in Jakarta and the demands of the geographic and ethnic peripheries of the country.

The Darul Islam Movement I (1953)

Shortly after the repression of the RMS, a group describing itself as the Darul Islam movement in western Java, northern Sumatra, and southern Sulawesi challenged state authority. The phrase *Darul Islam* refers to the Islamic conception of a properly constituted polity. In theory, the whole of the Muslim-majority world should be structured into a single entity under Islamic law. Such a state is the “abode of Islam”—in Arabic, Darul Islam. Everything else is Darul Harb—the “abode of war.” Several nationalists who had previously helped expel the Dutch now sought an Islamic state. Such attitudes were most prevalent in northern Sumatra but also existed among small santri Javanese Muslim communities. The Darul Islam movement’s founder, Dekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo, began his movement in earnest in West Java in 1948. In August 1949, he declared an Islamic State of Indonesia. He proclaimed himself imam (“leader”) of this new

political system and announced a state of jihad between Darul Islam and the Republic of Indonesia. His goal was clear: “God willing, this Holy War or Revolution will continue until . . . the laws of Islam apply perfectly throughout the Islamic State of Indonesia . . . At this time the National Independence Struggle, which has been attempted for almost four years, has broken down” (Riddell 2005, 162).

Kartosoewirjo argued that the secular ideology of Sukarno was failing in its efforts to oust Dutch colonial influence and that only a truly Islamic state could succeed. In fact, the Dutch were on the verge of defeat, and Sukarno was about to assume full control over the entire former NEI. Kartosoewirjo hoped to prevent the secularists from consolidating power. His movement succeeded in temporarily seizing West Java plus portions of Sumatra (especially Aceh). Many of Darul Islam’s leaders were from the original Indonesian armed forces, giving the first phase of the rebellion a peculiarly internecine aspect. Some of its military leaders were co-opted by the Indonesian state, and its original political base in West Java was quickly intimidated into submission. Pro-Darul Islam attitudes persisted in peripheral areas, especially in Aceh. After the initial suppression of the Darul Islam movement in 1953, it flared up again—this time with less Javanese participation and more Acehnese support—in 1958.

Darul Islam II (1958–1960)

Although the Army captured its main centers of operation in 1960, it continued to threaten the organs of state power at a lower level until its leader was captured in 1962 (Huxley 2002, 31). This second manifestation of Darul Islam was part of a countrywide uprising that was only partly Islamist. It was fueled by the increasing closeness of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and Javanese abangan syncretism to the rule of Sukarno, leading to a rapprochement between secular–nationalist Army elements and civilian Islamist political parties, along with eth-

nic minorities fearful of Javanese domination of the Outer Islands. These disparate forces (nationalist–secularist elements in the army, Islamists, and minorities) made common cause in their resistance to Sukarno and his Marxist and Javanese power bases.

The outcome was a complex uprising referred to as the second Darul Islam movement. A rival provisional state was established by an array of armed factions, including forces in locations as far apart as Ambon and Sumatra, while President Sukarno was on a trip to Thailand in 1958. Although it initially received covert aid from some U.S. elements (flying American-built aircraft out of the Philippines and Taiwan using Chinese, Filipino, and American pilots), its lack of success led to a shift in U.S. official attitudes, with Jakarta ultimately receiving U.S. backing. The combined Darul Islam rebellions and civil disorders produced roughly 40,000 fatalities and lasted fifteen years, counting from the emergence of the movement prior to Kartosoewirjo's first declaration of an Islamic state in 1948 to the capture and executive of the imam in 1962 (Riddell 2005, 162–63). Following these internal pseudo–civil wars, Sukarno turned his attention outward.

The Free Papua Movement, or Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) (1965–Present)

At the time of Indonesia's independence, the Dutch-ruled half of New Guinea remained under Dutch control. Colonial authorities permitted the region some autonomy to forestall support for liberation via Indonesian occupation. In reality, few indigenes would have welcomed Indonesian occupation. To gain control of the region, Indonesia's nationalistic rulers negotiated with the Netherlands but failed to achieve their aim, the unconditional annexation of what they then called Irian Barat. Conflict with Dutch authorities ensued in 1961. In August 1962, an agreement was reached for the Jakarta government to assume administrative responsibility for Irian Jaya by May 1963.

Papua's Diversity

The region of West Papua, formerly Irian Jaya and, before that, Irian Barat, is the most socially diverse in all of Indonesia, itself among the world's most ethnically complex and linguistically diverse of societies. There are 245 different tribes, each with its own distinct language and cultural practices. The mountainous topography helps fuel this diversity, and long-standing ritualized combat between the tribes has perpetuated the divisions into modern times. Both headhunting and cannibalism were not unknown on the island into the twentieth century.

In recognition of this diversity and complexity, and in an effort to undercut popular Papuan support for the OPM separatist movement, special autonomy legislation went into effect there on January 1, 2002. The legislation stipulates that West Papua will receive 70 percent of oil and gas revenues and 80 percent of revenue from natural resources, such as forestry, fisheries and mining, that are generated in the province. The world's largest gold mine, Grasberg, is located in central Papua and is operated by a U.S.-based mining concern. Grasberg is also currently the world's third-largest copper mine. Many Melanesians reject the legal reform, as their objections are to the loss of their way of life rather than to the endemic poverty that has always characterized this region (BBC World Service 2005).

In 1969, under UN supervision, the Indonesian government conducted an “Act of Free Choice” in Irian Jaya. A handpicked group of 1,025 Irianese representatives of local councils agreed to remain part of Indonesia. Then the UN General Assembly confirmed the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia. This was followed by sporadic guerrilla activity. Resistance was light, but with increasing immigration of non-Papuans, tensions with indigenes increased. This process was exacerbated by increased politicization of religious identity in Indonesia. Since the downfall of President Sukarno and his successor, B. J. Habibie, there have been more explicit (and militant) expressions within Irian

Jaya of its indigenes' desire for independence. The OPM (Organisasi Papua Merdeka, or Free Papua Movement), has been waging a low-intensity struggle for more than three decades. The OPM evolved out of the Papua Youth Movement, a group that had opposed Indonesian occupation since its inception in 1962. The power of the OPM is significantly constrained by the tribal nature of Papuan society. By the mid-1990s, immigrant non-Papuans constituted one-third of Irian Jaya's population—and the emerging importance of the Freeport mine (a gold and copper extraction establishment, founded in 1972) to the Indonesian economy—meant that prospects for Papuan secession were at perhaps their lowest point. The OPM was reduced to operating in two rival bands working from inside the territory of Papua New Guinea on Irian Jaya's eastern frontier (Huxley 2002, 43). One estimate had only 200 hardcore OPM warriors (Rabasa and Haseman 2002, 107). The government of Papua New Guinea was far more concerned with maintaining diplomatic ties with Indonesia than with promoting the welfare of its ethnic kin in Irian Jaya, so its support for OPM forces working from its remote western highlands has been limited.

OPM received a new lease on life when the long-standing Suharto regime, in power since 1966, began to falter under the strains induced by the Asian financial crisis of 1997–1998. As the Timorese independence movement gained momentum, as the Acehese insurgents became more active, and as the various Islamist militant organizations engaged in acts of violence against non-Muslim minorities and central authorities, the OPM and the broader Melanesian separatist community saw an opportunity to achieve greater autonomy or independence and escalated their activities. Even some traditional Melanesian tribal leaders who had been complicit in the pro-Jakarta Act of Free Choice signed onto the separatist cause (Huxley 2002, 43). Although the OPM had engaged in relatively small, symbolic acts of violence, with rare hostage takings designed to disrupt important

Indonesian economic functions and help secure funding for the group, a much larger group now emerged with the as-yet-unrealized potential to directly confront the police and armed forces in Papua.

This new Satgas Papua (Task Force Papua) was composed of traditional tribal militias and could field as many as 22,000 armed men. With insurgent forces confronting them on several fronts, authorities made several concessions to the Papuan separatists. The provincial name was changed to Papua, and the local Morning Star flag (previously outlawed) was allowed to be displayed under limited circumstances as long as the national Indonesian banner was flown alongside it. These concessions convinced locals of the declining fortunes of Indonesian authorities, encouraging their heightened defiance of Jakarta. In one of several similar incidents, when local police cut down a Morning Star flag in the highland Papuan village of Wamena and killed some Satgas Papua militiamen, the group retaliated by killing several local non-Papuan settlers. As part of this escalating cycle of violence, Indonesian military forces began to arm and raise local immigrant militias. They followed this pattern in other separatist insurgencies as well, notably East Timor. The most prominent of these army-abetted, pro-Jakarta militias in Papua is the East Merah Putih force. It is reputed to have received support from the largest Islamist militant group in the country, Laskar Jihad, including roughly 100 trained fighters. Some of these may have been trained in Afghan and Pakistani Jihad training camps affiliated with al-Qaeda (Riddell 2005, 170).

Between the onset of Indonesian pressure to control Irian Jaya and the UN's conferral of sovereignty over that area on Jakarta, President Sukarno tried unsuccessfully to expand Indonesia in the opposite geographic direction. This led to the country's one postindependence interstate war (although, notably, the Correlates of War project (Sarkees 2000). does not considerate it to be a true government-to-government military

confrontation, the historical evidence seems to sustain that characterization of the conflict).

Borneo (1962–Present)

The Konfrontasi (“confrontation”), as Sukarno styled his efforts at expansion, began with the movement of British Malaya toward independence in the late 1950s. Although the history of the conflict is complex, a simple outline of its parameters must suffice. Malaya (the peninsular component of modern Malaysia) achieved independence in 1957. It comprised only a few of the several British colonies in the region, which also included Singapore and three territories on the northern side of the island of Borneo—Sarawak, Sabah, and Brunei. It should also be noted that the Philippines laid claim to the northernmost extremities of Borneo. A Communist insurrection in the area in the late 1950s, led mostly by ethnic Chinese subjects of Britain’s Malay territories, had been supported by Jakarta, although it was ultimately suppressed by British imperial forces, including Australian and New Zealand troops as well as local Malay units. Anxious to validate his nationalist, anti-Western credentials, and perhaps with one eye on the oilfields of Brunei, Sukarno sought to build up a movement within both British-controlled Borneo and mainland Malaya for Indonesia annexation.

Sukarno formed the North Kalimantan National Army (TKNU). This group launched a rebellion in Brunei in December 1962. TKNU’s goals were to seize the Sultan of Brunei (he escaped), the oilfields, and as many European hostages as possible. Within a week of the rebellion, British-led forces, including Gurkhas flown in from Singapore, reestablished control, and by April 1963 the TKNU leadership had been captured. With no effective forces left, Indonesian (and Filipino) authorities acquiesced in the formation of a Malaysian federation, contingent upon the holding of a referendum.

Covertly, however, Sukarno pushed for the arming of approximately 24,000 ethnic Chinese Malaysians (who, although primarily pro-Beijing communists, shared Jakarta’s antipathy for

the new Malay state and its British mentors), and the Indonesian army infiltrated small units into Malaysian Borneo. Openly, Sukarno declared a Konfrontasi against the creation of a unified Malaysia state that included any portion of Borneo. Eventually, this activity escalated to include the employment of Indonesia army units within Sarawak and Sabah, as well as less frequent but well-documented small-scale operations on the Malay Peninsula, most notably in Johore.

In January 1965, two years into the Konfrontasi, Sukarno formally withdrew Indonesia from the United Nations in protest after Malaysia won a seat on the Security Council. By now, Sukarno had declared himself the champion of all emerging states that were struggling against the neocolonialists of the formerly British-led, and now U.S.-directed, West (which he saw as having created Malaysia as a means to encircle him and his greater Indonesian vision). He backed violent nonstate actors in pursuit of his foreign policy aims in the region. He created and deployed irregular militant groups across Borneo. He promoted the transmigration of Javanese and Madurese islanders to extend Jakarta’s control over peripheral areas in Borneo, Sulawesi, and elsewhere.

Finally, regular Indonesian army units served both in the Konfrontasi against Malaysia and Brunei and in the suppression of indigenous resistance by Dayak and Malay populations on Borneo to transmigration. Later, these forces were employed to keep the three warring populations apart. His successors pursued similar policies in Papua, Timor, and elsewhere. His ultimate failure to destabilize Malaysian Sabah and Sarawak can be attributed to several factors, including aggressive and proactive patrols of British, Australian, and New Zealand forces, who entered Kalimantan to ambush Indonesian forces before their infiltration into Malaysia. Additionally, domestic political developments in Java put a stop to Sukarno’s efforts to “crush Malaysia,” as he said in a July 1963 speech (Metcalf 2001, Appendix 4). For a variety of reasons,

Sukarno lost power in a complex coup during 1965–1966.

The Year of Living Dangerously (1965–1966)

For years, Sukarno had played off his two domestic rivals (and supporters), the Indonesian Communist Party and the army. Additionally, Sukarno had to cope with various Islamist factions, almost all of whom were usually opposed to him, as well as additional internal and external political forces. Most significantly, the latter group included the People’s Republic of China, which backed the PKI, and the United States, which naturally opposed the same group. Poised between all these contradictory forces, Sukarno remained “president for life” (a self-conferred title). He created and enforced his own ideology (*Pancasila*, the Sanskrit word for “the five principles”: monotheism; just and civilized humanitarianism; nationalism; popular sovereignty; and social justice). It did seem that, in many ways, he was politically indestructible, given the apparent unity he imposed upon a hopelessly complex Indonesia and the remarkable way in which he convinced his followers to adhere to his self-contradictory philosophy. Presciently, he described the increasing tension within Indonesia as part of a “Year of Living Dangerously” in a famous 1964 speech.

Eventually, his juggling act failed, as he put the Army in jeopardy of defeat and humiliation in Kalimantan. It was clear that the leadership of the armed forces was becoming increasingly uncomfortable with Sukarno’s confrontational style. Conversely, lower-ranking officers (and especially air force, marine, and naval officers) were being exposed to PKI proselytizing. When communist-sympathizing officers seized some of their superiors and killed them, a complex whirlwind of political events transpired that to this day remain obscure. The details upon which everyone is in agreement are the starting and ending points of the coup—from the kidnapping of the generals in September 1965 to the installation of Suharto as acting president in

March 1966. Everything in between those two events remains controversial. But in terms of political violence, the outcome was very clear: It led to the single largest loss of life in Indonesian political history with the possible exception of the subsequent East Timor independence struggle. Estimates of PKI members killed in the years after the coup attempt vary from 78,000 to 2 million (Metcalf 2001, 14–16).

From a regional security perspective, the upshot was that Suharto, now president, terminated the *Konfrontasi*—but he did not put an end to other long-cherished Indonesian nationalist goals. After all, it was he who finalized the Irian Jaya takeover in 1969, a year after he had been designated president, and a full three years after Sukarno had conferred upon him the title of acting president. Among his most significant acts of expansion was the absorption of East Timor.

East Timor (1975–1999)

Following the consolidation of Indonesian hegemony in Papua, Jakarta turned its attention to the last archipelagic European colony. East Timor had been a Portuguese colony from 1524 to 1975. Late in that year, an East Timorese independence movement with Marxist inclinations named Fretilin (the Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor) declared the island’s independence. Nine days later, the Indonesian army seized the territory.

In 1976, Indonesia declared East Timor its twenty-seventh province; following the declaration and military occupation by the Indonesian army, there were widespread political protests and small-scale but relatively deadly guerrilla activity in the region by opponents of Indonesian rule. Unlike the seizure of Irian Jaya, which was sanctioned by the UN, international recognition of East Timor was not forthcoming. Although major powers acquiesced in the *fait accompli*, political pressure on (and in some cases, by) Western capitals to undo the conquest was persistent. A war of secession raged from 1976 until the arrival of UN-authorized Australian military



Supporters greet Falintil leader Xanana Gusmao in Remexio, East Timor on October 24, 1999, shortly after his release from an Indonesian prison, where he had been incarcerated for seven years. Gusmao became the first president of East Timor when it was granted independence on May 20, 2002. (Reuters/Corbis)

forces in 1999. Even after that, the violence continued; pro- and anti-Jakarta militias within the Timorese population waged war on each other in refugee camps on the western (Indonesian) end of the island.

Like the OPM struggle in Papua, it was a secessionist war provoked by military occupation by an unwanted outside power on the heels of a European decolonization. Although the lead resistance group claimed a Marxist orientation and the population was overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, the struggle was neither ideological nor communal. Estimates of total casualties in the war vary widely. The largest, broadest estimates (such as the 100,000–250,000 cited by the CIA [2005b]) typically include direct battle deaths, political murders, disappearances, starvation, and disease. Narrower, more precise calculations are confined to battle deaths and publicly verified killings. Fearon and Laitin (2003)

give low, high, and best estimates of 17,493, 61,170, and 33,658 respectively. The initial Indonesian invasion came on the heels of an intra-Timorese struggle.

As Portugal prepared to decolonize the island, the rival Marxist Frente Revolucionaria de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste Independente (Fretilin) and non-Marxist Uniao Democratica Timorese (UDT) political movements fought. UDT called for union with Indonesia, and in response Fretilin declared an independent East Timorese state in November 1975. The UDT toppled this government by seizing control of the capital, Dili. In the midst of this chaos, the Indonesian military intervened with a force of 10,000 in December 1975. In the initial phase of the war, Falintil (the Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor; Fretilin's armed wing) fielded a force of indeterminate size that endeavored to directly confront the Indonesian

military. They sought refuge in the hills, unable to wage sustained combat at the same level as the government. By December 1978, the main Falintil logistics bases on Mount Matebian had been captured by Indonesian forces. The wholesale surrender of Falintil cadres ensued, with only a rump guerrilla force left in the field. By 1983, Fretilin was reputed to have agreed to a truce with Jakarta, and in 1984 it ceased to maintain the legal fiction of the existence of an independent East Timor under foreign occupation.

All this took place in the context of the Cold War. The United States and its regional ally, Australia, saw an anti-Marxist Indonesia as critical to their security interests. Although it never publicly endorsed the Indonesian seizure of East Timor, the U.S. government maintained relatively close ties with Jakarta throughout this era.

Australia's parliament recognized the occupation as legitimate. With the end of the Cold War, the need to maintain Western ties to unsavory regimes lessened—and pressure to force a reversal of the occupation of East Timor increased. Although the violence of the early years of Indonesian occupation abated, low-intensity guerrilla conflict and heavy-handed counterinsurgency operations continued into the early 1990s. About one-third of all fatalities associated with the East Timor conflict occurred in the first two years of military operations. In the ensuing two decades, most deaths came from grinding poverty, allegedly deliberately induced famines, and occasional security force firings on demonstrations, funeral processions, and acts of nationalist defiance. Down from perhaps thousands of soldiers in 1975, the Fretilin-linked

Table 1: Civil War in Indonesia

War:	East Timor (Fretilin vs. Republic of Indonesia)
Dates:	1975–1999
Casualties:	33,658 (estimates vary up to 250,000)
Regime type prior to war:	–7 (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data—ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	7 (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data—ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	\$1,349.50 (constant 1996 US dollars)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	\$3,500 (2004 estimate using 1996 constant dollars; 2004 East Timor income is \$400 per capita)
Insurgents:	Falintil, the armed wing of Fretilin; eventually, Fretilin forms umbrella group, CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance), which incorporates other rival insurgents such as the UDT.
Issue:	Separatist movement; end Indonesian occupation
Rebel funding:	Limited funds; Fretilin weapons come from Portuguese armories on Timor; UDT reputedly armed by Indonesia, at least initially.
Role of geography:	Rebels retreat to highlands; diasporas in Australia and elsewhere support movement.
Role of resources:	Offshore oil in Timor Sea may have driven Indonesian and Australian views on East Timor; Timor itself is resource poor.
Immediate outcome:	1999: UN-led occupation; Indonesian evacuation
Outcome after 5 years:	2002: East Timor independent; stable elections
Role of UN:	Broker truce; negotiate plebiscite; UN peacekeepers
Role of regional organization:	None in Timor; ASEAN oversees Aceh truce.
Refugees:	300,000 in initial stages of war; 200,000 in 1999
Prospects for peace:	Favorable with continued UN/Australian presence

Sources: Doyle and Sambinis 2000; Fearon and Laitin 2003; “State Failure”; CIA 2006a, 2006b.

guerrilla forces may have numbered no more than 200 active armed persons by the 1990s. Its leader, Xanana Gusmao, was captured in 1992.

At this point, international pressure began to build; in 1997, when the economic situation in Indonesia deteriorated significantly, East Timorese separatists saw the opportunity to pressure Jakarta by appealing to its main creditors and trading partners. This led to UN-sponsored talks between Portugal and Indonesia, which produced a plebiscite on independence or continued association with Indonesia. In an abortive effort to promote the latter, pro-Jakarta militias, aided covertly by the military, waged a campaign of violence and intimidation. That only hardened Timorese voters' resolve, precipitating a largely Australian intervention, with U.S. naval and air support, in 1999. On May 20, 2002, East Timor entered the United Nations as a sovereign state, theoretically bringing an end to the bloodiest of Indonesia's many separatist, autonomous, and revolutionary civil wars.

The Insurgents

Fretilin (Frente Revolucionaria de Timor-Leste Independente: The Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) was a Marxist party that came to prominence in East Timor in 1975 when the government of Portugal was toppled in a leftist coup. Officials in Lisbon wished to rid themselves of their colonial holdings and pushed for a quick transfer of power to like-minded political groups. A rival anti-Marxist party, the UDT (Uniao Democratica Timorese: Democratic Timorese Union) joined forces with a pro-Indonesia group to fight against Fretilin and its armed wing, Falintil (Forças Armadas De Libertação Nacional De Timor-Leste: The Armed Forces of National Liberation of East Timor). Falintil acquired its weapons from Portuguese arsenals, and had both a numerical and firepower advantage over its Timorese rivals. They hoped to acquire more material support from leftist governments around the world, but the relative isolation of East Timor and its prox-

imity to hostile Indonesian and Western (Australian) forces made this impossible. There were scant resources on Timor to support any groups—the colony was among the poorest places in the world and remains so today, with a \$400 per capita GDP.

Geography

Timor's mountainous interior has often played a role in resistance to outside forces. This was true of the early days of colonial occupation. This was also the case during World War II, when Australian and Dutch forces landed on the island to slow the Japanese advance through the South Pacific. Many local Timorese aided them and applied what they learned when they began to resist the reassertion of Portuguese colonial authority after the war. When Indonesian forces arrived, Fretilin supporters were very quickly driven into the hills. Ultimately, however, the relatively small size of the island and the massive size of the Indonesian military deployment (at one point more than 20,000 regulars plus thousands of "Brimob" troops [mobile paramilitary police forces]) meant that the most remote reaches of the island, including the supply bases on Mount Matebian, came under Indonesian control.

Tactics

Fretilin was quickly driven from populated areas by overwhelming force. Xanana Gusmao, who rose to the leadership of Falintil, called for a "protracted people's war" in May 1976. This meant limited hit-and-run tactics. The Indonesian government forcibly relocated 200,000 Timorese to limit guerrilla access to communications and outside support. A "fence-of-legs" offensive was launched by the army to sweep the island of Falintil forces—but their relatively small size, plus their willingness to melt back into the population and cease violent activities, rendered this operation comparatively unsuccessful. It did, however, produce a drop in the number of violent Falintil attacks on army and police targets. Armed largely with older Portuguese weapons



- Oil deposits
- Natural gas deposits



(including M-16 [AR-15] assault rifles, Belgian-produced FN assault rifles, and even obsolescent M-1 Garand rifles from World War II), Falintil was capable of only modest ambush attacks that occurred sporadically over the next twenty years. A typical tactic was to have a guerrilla dressed as a regular army soldier divert a truckload of Brimob police or Indonesian troops onto a roadside, where the vehicle would be attacked with grenades and the occupants gunned down. To avoid such attacks, the Indonesian army developed the policy of avoiding remote upland areas. These containment areas in rural Timor were cordoned off from the rest of the island while authorities tried to transform the civilian side of Timorese life. To this end, transmigration of non-Timorese to Dili and other areas on the island was undertaken.

The real success of Fretilin came with the development of an umbrella organization that embraced its former rivals, such as the UDT. The arrival of new, activist Bishop Belo, who would ultimately win the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts, along with an international propaganda campaign against Indonesian occupation, eventually bore fruit. A papal visit further heightened global awareness of Timor's problems, and although low-level violence continued to be perpetrated by Fretilin, the level of retaliatory violence by authorities lent further credibility to the Timorese cause. In the end, the separatists' victory would be as much a product of public relations as of violent resistance.

Causes of the War

The cause of the war in East Timor was the Indonesian occupation of a culturally distinct area a majority of whose residents did not wish to be occupied by Indonesia. The question of whether the war constitutes a "sons of the soil" type of struggle is difficult. The typical "sons of the soil" war involves a peripheral minority and state-supported migrants of a dominant ethnic group. At one level, this describes Timor precisely. However, the fact that East Timor is a detached

island limits the volume of majority migrants from the ethnic core of the state. This would lead one to expect it to be a lengthy war. Yet the absence of valuable contraband (a source of conflict prolongation) and the anticolonial nature of the struggle (East Timor shifted directly from Portuguese colony to Indonesian-occupied territory) should point in the direction of a speedy resolution to the conflict. What can be said with certainty, however, is that it is one of just a small handful of successful separatist insurgencies of the post-World War II era.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

The war has officially ended. Most of the 300,000 refugees generated by the most recent round of violence have been repatriated, although perhaps 20,000 remain in camps in Indonesian West Timor. Converting the various guerrilla factions into functioning members of society is difficult, and reconciling violently pro-Jakarta militiamen to the political reality of Timor has been even harder. An Australian-manned UN military mission will need to remain for the foreseeable future. None of these problems detract from the salient fact of East Timor: It is one of a mere handful of successful secessionist movements in the modern era.

Duration Tactics

Compared to other secessionist wars, the struggle in Timor was relatively short. After all, most secessionists never succeed. But the loss of life during the twenty-four-year occupation by Indonesia may have made it seem like a long-running war. The key element fueling Timorese determination to achieve independence may have been the harsh living conditions, severe poverty, and lack of alternative outlets for refugees that characterized life for the islanders. Unlike victims of similar aggression elsewhere, they had no alternatives. Unlike most people, they literally had nothing to lose but their lives. Given these dire conditions, it is not surprising that they

fought so hard with so little to achieve their independence.

External Military Intervention

Although Timorese nationalists claim that the United States authorized the Indonesian invasion and abetted it by maintaining military ties with Jakarta, the latter is the extent of American involvement. The most significant outside intervention element in the war prior to the UN–Australian occupation in 1999 was the Indonesian military’s decision to “outsource” the repression of separatists to local, covertly armed militia groups. These groups went on a rampage that destroyed 70 percent of Timorese buildings and economic assets during the August 1999 referendum. The absence of outside involvement may have encouraged Indonesian seizure of Timor, but the presence of superpower involvement in 1999 also brought that intervention to an end.

Conflict Management Efforts

The first mediation efforts related to East Timor preceded the Indonesian invasion. Portugal tried to convene a meeting of all anticolonial movements on the island in their colonial enclave of Macau. The effort failed because Fretilin refused to attend. The chaos that ensued in Dili precipitated Indonesian intervention. From that point, UN resolutions called repeatedly for Indonesia to relinquish control of East Timor, but to no avail. When, however, the UN called for Portugal and Indonesia to work out a resolution to the crisis in the late 1990s, the effort was almost immediately successful. One key element in this success was the severe economic crisis confronting Indonesia. Desperately in need of IMF and bilateral assistance, Jakarta authorities had to accede to the demands of the United States and other powers, who wished to see a peaceful resolution of the lingering crisis. Once Portugal and Indonesia had worked out the details of the plebiscite, army-sponsored covert militias embarked on a campaign of violent intimidation in East Timor. At least some of

the authorities in Jakarta were not reconciled to the loss of the territory. The violence of these militias was counterproductive—prompting more Timorese support for independence as well as provoking a UN Security Council–authorized military intervention by Australia, the United States, and others.

Conclusion

During the Asian financial crises of the late 1990s, Timorese separatists found additional international recognition in the form of a Nobel Peace Prize for their leaders, and finally Jakarta grudgingly succumbed to international pressure. After UN involvement in January of 1999, Indonesia agreed to allow the people of East Timor to choose between autonomy and independence by direct ballot. Efforts by state-enabled, if not centrally controlled, antiseccessionist militias, meant to intimidate the islanders into voting to remain part of Indonesia, backfired.

In August 1999, the East Timorese population voted overwhelmingly for independence, with 98.6 percent of eligible voters going to the polls and 78.5 percent of them casting a pro-independence vote in the midst of violence that killed thousands and left East Timor in ruins. Today, East Timor has most of the trappings of statehood, but it is only through continued UN-authorized military force that it retains its independence. Absent a significant (largely Australian) armed deterrent, it is highly likely that vengeance-minded, pro-Jakarta militias (such as the Red and White Iron Militia) would wreak havoc from their bases on the western end of Timor.

Peaceful elections, a new constitution, and economic reconstruction are only part of the story of East Timor. Its greater significance may lie in whether it is a harbinger of things to come in other outlying Indonesian regions. With ongoing insurgent activities in Papua, a nationwide low-level radical Islamist campaign across Indonesia, a tsunami-impacted Acehese separatist insurgency on the decline, and lingering in-

terethnic violence in Borneo, Sulawesi, Maluku, and elsewhere, the authorities in Jakarta have much to fear if an independent East Timor proves to be a notable success story. The success of Fretilin, Xanana Gusmao, and the forces for Timorese secession may have an impact far beyond their own statehood.

Kenneth Ray Glaudell

Chronology

- August 17, 1945 Sukarno declares Indonesia's independence three days after Japan's forces in NEI surrender.
- August 7, 1949 Islamic State of Indonesia proclaimed by leader of Darul Islam movement; evolves into an insurgency by 1953.
- April 25, 1950 Republic of South Maluku proclaimed at Ambon; repressed by Indonesia in November.
- September 20, 1953 Darul Islam I; rebels in Aceh side with Darul Islam in Java.
- March 7, 1957 Permesta rebellion, harbinger of Darul Islam II, begins in Sulawesi.
- February 15, 1958 Rebel PRRI government forms in Sumatra; joined by Permesta; linked to Darul Islam II in Aceh.
- December 7, 1959 Acehnese support for PRRI melts away; Aceh is made a separate "province and special area" for rejecting Darul Islam II, PRRI, etc.
- July 21, 1960 Sukarno begins militant opposition to Dutch in Papua.
- May 29, 1961 Permesta rebels surrender; by June, Sumatran and Javanese PRRI and Darul Islam supporters collapse.
- September 5, 1962 Darul Islam leader is executed.
- October 1, 1962 Papua placed under UN Temporary Executive Authority.
- May 1, 1963 Indonesia assumes control of western Papua.
- July 10, 1963 Sukarno becomes President for Life; announces Crush Malaysia konfrontasi.
- May 17, 1965 Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) forms in Papua.
- September 30, 1965 Marxist coup is aborted; Sukarno is dethroned and replaced by Suharto.
- October 18, 1965 Attacks on PKI; thousands die in anticommunist pogroms.
- September 17, 1969 Act of Free Choice; western Papua is incorporated as Indonesian province of West Irian, renamed Irian Jaya in 1973.
- November 27, 1975 Fretilin rebels declare East Timor's independence.
- December 7, 1975 Indonesia occupies East Timor.
- December 22, 1975 UN Security Council asks Indonesia to leave East Timor.
- July 17, 1976 East Timor is incorporated into Indonesia; not UN-recognized; more than 100,000 Timorese and 20,000 Indonesians die in subsequent war.
- June 25, 1983 Purported Indonesia-Fretilin cease-fire declared.
- October 12, 1989 Pope visits East Timor; separatists are detained and tortured.
- November 12, 1991 Massacre occurs at Dili Santa Cruz Cemetery massacre; 100-180 are killed.
- November 1992 Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao is captured.
- October 11, 1996 East Timor's Bishop Belo and independence movement spokesman Jose Ramos-Horta share Nobel Peace Prize.
- July 8, 1997 Asian financial crisis occurs.
- May 21, 1998 Suharto resigns; B. J. Habibie becomes president.
- June 9, 1998 Habibie offers East Timor special status.
- April 23, 1999 Indonesia-Portugal-UN-sponsored Timorese plebiscite is held.
- June 7, 1999 Indonesia holds first competitive parliamentary elections in forty-four years.
- August 30, 1999 East Timor plebiscite is held; 98.6 percent of voters turn out; 78.5 percent vote for independence.
- September 1, 1999 Anti-independence militias resume violent campaign in Dili.
- September 7, 1999 Xanana Gusmao is freed.
- September 20, 1999 UN-authorized East Timor force is formed.
- October 18, 1999 Indonesia voids 1976 East Timor annexation.
- October 20, 1999 Abdurrahman Wahid becomes president.
- October 25, 1999 UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) takes over.
- November 1, 1999 Indonesian troops leave East Timor.
- December 1, 2000 Papuan Morning Star flag is allowed to be flown one day; thirty-ninth

- anniversary of Papuans' declaration of independence (1961).
- December 24, 2000 Wave of JI church bombings occurs.
- July 23, 2001 Wahid is ousted by parliament and replaced by Megawati Sukarnoputri (Sukarno's daughter).
- August 30, 2001 First East Timorese parliamentary elections are held.
- May 20, 2002 East Timor (Timor-Leste) gains sovereignty, UN membership.
- October 12, 2002 Bali bombing kills 202; JI is accused.
- May 18, 2003: GAM–Indonesian talks collapse; martial law is reimposed; Indonesian Aceh offensive begins.
- August 5, 2003 JI bombs Jakarta Marriott Hotel, killing twelve.
- April 25, 2004 Three days of violence in Maluku begin; shootings, stabbings, and bombings kill two dozen in Ambon and elsewhere.
- September 9, 2004 Australian embassy is bombed; ten are killed. JI is accused.
- October 5, 2004 Ex-General Yudhoyono defeats President Megawati Sukarnoputri to become Indonesia's first directly elected president.
- December 26, 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami occurs. More than 200,000 are killed in Sumatra; Banda Aceh is destroyed.
- May 28, 2005 Bombs explode in Sulawesi; Christian–Muslim violence continues.
- August 15, 2005 GAM and Indonesian government representatives in Helsinki sign peace agreement; roughly 29,000 have died in the thirty-year insurgency.
- August 31, 2005 Indonesian authorities begin to release Acehese separatist detainees, a key step in the peace-building process.
- September 15, 2005 GAM rebels begin to disarm; EU and ASEAN oversee process.
- October 1, 2005: Series of three suicide bombings on Bali kill twenty-two, injure 130; JI suspected.

List of Acronyms

- ASEAN: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
 CNRM: National Council of Maubere Resistance
 EU: European Union
 Falintil: Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste (Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor) (Fretilin's army)
 Fretilin: Frente Revolucionária de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste Independente

- (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor)
 GAM: Gerakin Aceh Merdeka; Free Aceh Movement
 IMF: International Monetary Fund
 JI: Jemaah Islamiyah; radical Islamist group; foreign terrorist organization
 KNIL: Het Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger (Royal Netherlands Indonesian Army)
 NEI: Netherlands East Indies
 OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
 OPM: Organisasi Papua Merdeka; Free Papua Movement
 PKI: Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party)
 PRRI: Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia (Revolutionary Government of the Indonesian Republic, 1958 rebellion)
 RMS: Republic of South Maluku
 RUSI: Republic of the United States of Indonesia
 TKNU: North Kalimantan National Army
 UDT: Uniao Democratica Timorese
 UNTAET: United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor

Glossary

- abangan:** Syncretic form of Islam imbued with Javanese folk culture and mysticism
- Darul Islam:** "Abode of Islam"; Islamist political movement 1949–1962.
- Dayak:** Indigenous non-Muslim (animist and Christian) peoples of Borneo.
- Kalimantan:** Indonesian portion of the island of Borneo.
- Konfrontasi:** "Confrontation"; Sukarno's policy to destabilize Malaysia and Brunei.
- Laskar Jihad:** "Army of Jihad"; radical Islamist movement; operates in Outer Islands.
- Merah Putih:** "Red-White"; name of pro-Jakarta militias on Papua and Timor.
- Morning Star:** Flag of Papuan separatist movements.
- Pancasila:** The five principles in Sukarno's ideology: monotheism, humanitarianism, nationalism, popular sovereignty, and social justice.
- Permesta:** Rebel movement that began in the Outer Islands in 1957.
- santri:** A more orthodox form of Islam followed by minority of Indonesians.
- Satgas Papua:** Task Force Papua; 22,000-strong Melanesian militia in Papua.

Suharto: Indonesian military leader who topples Sukarno; rules from 1965 to 1998.
Sukarno: Indonesian nationalist leader; rules from 1945 to 1965.
Xanana: Nickname of Jose Alexandre Gusmao, Fretilin leader.

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**CIVIL
WARS
OF
THE WORLD**

CIVIL WARS OF THE WORLD

**MAJOR CONFLICTS
SINCE WORLD WAR II**

VOLUME II

**KARL DEROUEN JR
AND UK HEO, Editors**

A B C  C L I O

Santa Barbara, California Denver, Colorado Oxford, United Kingdom

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P R E F A C E

Fortunately, interstate war is becoming ever more rare. Civil wars, however, linger on in many parts of the world. Some lead to few deaths (as in various regional wars in Burma and India), but others have high casualty counts. The latter are the focus of this work.

The academic study of civil war onset, outcome, and duration has received great attention of late. Our goal is to provide a useful resource for scholars and the general public alike. These volumes contain a wealth of information and analysis.

The academic community will benefit from our approach, for our essays are organized along lines followed in current research. The general audience will appreciate the historical overviews we provide. The essays are written in a straightforward prose that does not sacrifice content.

The essays consider the onsets of the respective wars. Topics here range from the role of ethnicity to territoriality and economic grievances. Duration is another important consideration. Why are some wars very long and others relatively short? These are important questions because, as the World Bank observes, civil war is

the opposite of development. A variety of factors are thought to prolong war: contraband (e.g., diamonds, timber, drugs, gold), youth bulges, low opportunity costs for rebels, and the presence of external intervention.

The essays are concerned with the countries that have experienced the most severe civil wars since World War II. Each essay follows a similar format, making comparison across cases easier.

Several individuals helped make this possible: Scott Bennett, Ashley Leeds, Dave Mason, Terry Roehrig, and Mark Tessler helped us find some of our excellent essayists. We are grateful to Nicolas Sambanis, as we made extensive use of the online data set he provides to accompany his 2000 *American Political Science Review* article with Michael Doyle. Alex Mikaberidze of ABC-CLIO was also a tremendous help in assembling the final product.

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**CIVIL
WARS
OF
THE WORLD**

Iraq

(1961–1975 and 1988–1994)

Introduction

The history of many parts of the developing world has often been marred by violent conflict, but particularly intractable are those clashes that result from the arbitrary imposition of political boundaries over ethnically heterogeneous territories in the aftermath of colonialism or major power war. In some instances, the state forms that result essentially represent separate nations trapped within unitary polities. This condition neatly describes the perennial dispute between the Kurds and the minority Arab governments of Iraq. The para-state known as Kurdistan is home to roughly 25 million of the world's Kurdish population, and yet it has only very recently gained a semblance of a representative government. Thus, its existence has been immediately intertwined with that of a country that has experienced much violent contention over competing definitions of statehood. This article examines the past and recent dynamics of the ensuing struggle.

Country Background

The physical composition of the republic of Iraq is a direct consequence of the influence and prolonged involvement of foreign powers in the region. The political geography of the modern Middle East was largely constituted by the European consignment of the territories that were

left from the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire after World War I. The British Mandate of 1921 established a new state in the Persian Gulf through the artificial fusion of the three municipalities (vilayets) of Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul. These in turn contained separate ethnic and religious enclaves: the predominantly Sunni minority in the central region; the majority Shi'ite population in the south; and to the north, the territories inhabited by the stateless people known as the Kurds. Although their precise origins are debated, the Kurds are reportedly descended from the Medes, a Persian diaspora with Indo-European linguistic roots. The region commonly identified as Kurdistan is a historical entity that spans five countries, also occupying part of what is now Iran, Turkey, Syria, and the former Soviet Caucasus. Kurdistan's geographical origins can be traced to a province that was created under the Turkish Seljuk dynasty during the twelfth century (Chaliand 1994; Sim 1980, 3, 23). However, the concept of a Kurdish national identity is much more recent, dating to the nineteenth century, when the influence of European nationalism combined with periodic attempts to establish principalities separate from Ottoman control (Chaliand 1994, 26–27). As a result, the political organization of the Kurdish areas became increasingly dependent on the presence of influential sheikhs and tribal leaders (aghass). The 1920 Treaty of Sèvres,

which effectively dissolved the Ottoman protectorates, promised to secure an independent Kurdish state but was quickly annulled by a subsequent agreement that divided the remaining territories between France and Great Britain. The area thus separated that lies within the boundaries of Iraq, or Southern Kurdistan, is a highly mountainous region of roughly 80,000 square kilometers, with sparse subsistence farming at high elevations but also fertile plains in which wheat and tobacco are primary crops. Approximately 4–5 million Kurds populate this area, although there has been much migration in past decades due to conditions of instability and economic underdevelopment.

Conflict Background

From its beginnings, the crux of the Kurdish struggle in Iraq has been the popular assertion of a national identity that has never gained the status of an internationally recognized territorial unit. As one author proffers, “[T]he Kurdish people have the unfortunate distinction of being probably the only community of over 15 million persons who has not achieved some form of national statehood, despite a struggle extending back over several decades” (Chaliand 1994, 11). Thus, although the Kurdish–Iraqi conflict is here generically identified as a civil war, it might also be classified along with other, ostensibly intrastate conflicts that are more accurately conceived as warfare between separate political identities—in effect, nations—that occupy the same territorial space and are yet inherently incompatible (Snow 1997, 117).

Yet, in contrast with the ideologically driven policy implemented in Turkey until the early 1990s, that of suppressing or eliminating a separate Kurdish identity, Kurds have not been completely disenfranchised in modern Iraqi society. Citizens of Kurdish descent have occupied elite public offices and have been allowed to communicate and receive education in their own language. However, discrimination and segmentation were certainly prevalent within Iraqi

Kurdistan, as the central government sought to forcibly assimilate or suppress Kurdish practices in education and local government that suggested a discrete non-Arab polity.

The armed insurrection pursued by the Kurds in the twentieth century is therefore distinct among ethnic national liberation movements in that its goal was not actual secession but self-government within existing borders. One possible key to understanding this dispute is the manner in which the Ba’ath regime, which ruled Iraq for nearly forty years, understood the rights of the Kurdish nation as a people, not as a territory, because the notion of territory implied literal separation from Iraq. Further, these rights were privileges to be granted by the sovereign state rather than agreed upon by consensus and could thus be withdrawn if deemed necessary. At the same time, Ba’athists did not recognize the concept of a “Kurdistan” but instead saw it as a zone or region, whereas Kurds visualized Iraq as being made up of two polities: an Arab one and a Kurdish one (Gunter 2005, 76). Therefore, the conflict was not simply ethnic and political but also territorial, as it derived from a contested definition of the state and, from the regime’s perspective, the potential threat to its cohesion posed by the establishment of an autonomous national identity within the boundaries of Iraq.

The pattern of clashes between the forces of Kurdish opposition and the succession of governments in Baghdad was often cyclical, as the motivation of either side to engage in a war of attrition periodically broke down into efforts to suspend or ameliorate the conflict. This was likely a result of the essential constraints and limitations that affected both parties: Whereas Iraqi regimes have sought to remain in power and maintain control of the state, the primary objective of the Kurdish leadership was to win separate but equal status for the territories it occupied rather than to replace the existing political order as in a classical Maoist insurgency. In particular, Iraqi leaders often called for an end to war, declared amnesties, or falsely promoted the implementation of peace agreements for propa-

ganda purposes. At the same time, Baghdad recognized that although it possessed vastly superior forces and firepower, it could not successfully end the resistance. In contrast, the willingness and ability of the Kurds to continue fighting was affected by the continual shortage of arms and necessary supplies and by the fact that Iraqi counterinsurgency operations inflicted massive casualties among the civilian population.

The historical sequence of the Iraqi–Kurdish conflict can be separated into a series of minor wars or offensives, which include both the Kurdish campaigns initiated to seize territory occupied by national military and security personnel and the Iraqi retaliatory strikes that relied heavily upon aerial bombardment as well as ground forces. These Iraqi actions often occurred in tandem with mass arrests and deportations, massacres, and other scorched-earth activities that underscored the brutality typically associated with much third-world counterinsurgency warfare. The first such skirmish took place on September 11, 1961, when guerrillas led by Sheikh Mohammed and Mustafa Barzani attacked Iraqi convoys, army posts, and police stations, ultimately gaining control of a large section of mountainous area along the Turkish border. These actions precipitated an immediate response by the Qassem regime. The Iraqi air force conducted heavy bombings of villages in the north, leaving hundreds homeless and resulting in many dead and wounded. This action demonstrated to the Kurdish rebels that they would have difficulty withstanding such sustained attacks, as adequate medical provisions were in short supply. A sequel to the initial Kurdish campaign occurred in early spring 1962, when Barzani sought to recapture the positions lost during the Iraqi retaliation. Although the guerrillas were more accustomed to the harsh environment of the mountains during the winter months, these conditions often forced Iraqi troops to withdraw, giving the rebels an element of surprise in targeting bases and convoys.

The second major Iraqi offensive, which lasted from June to October 1963, began a comprehensive mobilization of ground forces (i.e., tanks and artillery) and air strikes to recapture the frontier areas occupied by Kurdish leaders while also suppressing Kurdish bases of support in the mountains. Despite concentrated attacks, Iraqi columns became bogged down by peshmerga resistance, and the offensive gradually lost its momentum. The tactical advantage provided the Kurdish rebels by the mountain environment was demonstrated most clearly on May 11–12, 1966, when troops led by Barzani ambushed and destroyed an entire army column at Mount Handrin, forcing an end to the Iraqi onslaught and deterring Baghdad from engaging in major operations in the far north for the next two years (O’Ballance 1996, 83–84). One of the largest military excursions into the Kurdish strongholds was launched in August 1969, in which all twelve divisions of the Iraqi army were deployed to secure several strategic cities along the northeastern border with Iran. This campaign was pursued in an attempt to conclusively conquer the domestic insurgency in lieu of an expected international confrontation with Tehran. The ultimate failure of the offensive to bring the peshmerga to heel would eventually lead to the secret negotiations that resulted in the historic March 11, 1970, agreement (see “Conflict Management Efforts”).

After the breakdown and abandonment of conciliation efforts in the early part of the decade, Baghdad initiated another major assault, which lasted from April to October 1974. With the support of long-range artillery provided covertly by Iran and the United States, the Kurdish forces were able to nearly match the capabilities of the Iraqi army for the first time, leading to a virtual stalemate in which the rebels essentially held their positions rather than making headway in the conflict (O’Ballance 1996, 96–97). The first era of the Kurdish war of resistance came to an end with the collapse of Barzani’s forces following the rapid withdrawal of Iranian reinforcements in March 1975 (Chaliand 1994, 62–64). Iraqi columns pen-

etrated far into the northern region of Kurdistan, recapturing territories that had been steadfastly occupied for nearly a decade. The resultant defeat and flight of Barzani and the surrender of his guerrilla forces was followed by a brief “hearts and minds” program, in which the Iraqi regime sought to rehabilitate Kurdistan by building homes, returning confiscated land, and incorporating Kurdish dissident figures into the central government.

Although the guerrilla resistance (albeit under different leadership) continued unabated throughout the remainder of the 1970s, the Kurdish–Iraqi struggle was surpassed by the brutal war that erupted between Iraq and Iran in the autumn of 1980. The Kurdish opposition, however, played an intimate role in a major interstate conflict because of the shared border areas and territories of Iran and Kurdistan, in which many decisive battles took place between Pasdaran (Iranian Revolutionary Guard) troops and Iraqi forces. The nature of the insurgency during this period motivated the formation of a *modus vivendi* between opposing Kurdish parties that established the Kurdish Front, also known as the Iraqi Kurdistan Front (IKF), with a series of smaller Kurdish political groups in 1987. The new Kurdish forces also received logistic and material support from the Khomeini regime and often fought in conjunction with the Pasdaran (Hyman 1988, 13), which led to the organization of a massive counterinsurgency campaign by the Ba’ath party in 1988 (see “Tactics”).

As is true of many aspects of the Iraqi civil war, the revival of the Kurdish insurrection that took place following the defeat of Saddam Hussein in the 1991 Persian Gulf War was fraught with ambiguity. During the Gulf conflict, some Kurdish factions, such as those led by Massoud Barzani, supported Baghdad against what was perceived as Kuwaiti deceit and Western aggression, whereas others, led by Jalal Talabani, saw the strong international opposition to the invasion as a means to rally against the Iraqi government (Rudd 2004, 22). The uprising against the

regime in Baghdad was therefore galvanized only in the period following the withdrawal of Republican Guard forces from Kuwait and was instigated primarily by the earlier Shi’ite uprising in the southern provinces. The revolt was composed of Kurdish civilians as well as those Kurdish conscripts who defected from the Iraqi armed forces (Rudd 2004, 29–30). It was also largely spontaneous and did not come under the direction of Kurdish political leaders in the IKF until after it had gained control of a significant portion of Iraqi Kurdistan. Improvised attacks against army and security forces were carried out with the aid of captured arms and equipment. Local administrations were set up, and electricity and services were restored. For the first time in its history, the Kurdish movement gained widespread exposure among the general Iraqi population, with dialogues between Kurdish representatives and civilian opponents of the Baghdad regime (U.S. Senate 1991, 3). Many buildings and facilities formerly operated by the security forces were occupied and their contents seized.

However, the initial strength possessed by the uprising gradually subsided as it became overextended owing to its lack of organization; the uprising was crushed in the ensuing weeks by the surviving Republican Guard forces in a series of ferocious tank and air assaults (Rudd 2004, 30; U.S. Senate 1991, 10). The forces of the American-led coalition that had expelled Iraq from Kuwait—adhering to a policy of abstention from penetrating further into Iraq and allowing the Saddam Hussein regime to remain in power—made no move to intervene in the suppression. Between March and April 1991, more than 2 million Kurds fled into the mountainous border regions between Iraq and Turkey in a desperate attempt to escape the retaliation.

What is perhaps most tragic (although not necessarily ironic, given past experience) is that the eventual deescalation of the decades-old conflict with Baghdad in the early 1990s was quickly replaced by internal civil strife within the newly established administration of Iraqi

Kurdistan. The legacy of splits and confrontations within the Kurdish movement came to the forefront in December 1993, when an attack by a pro-Iranian splinter group on a Kurdish Democratic Party base divided the leading Kurdish parties over who should lead a necessary response to the attack (Gunter 1999, 75–77). Criticism of the swift retaliation by militia attached to the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan incited a series of armed confrontations between the rival factions. Violence flared again on May 1, 1994, when a land dispute escalated into prolonged

battle between irregular troops allied with either wing of the Kurdish Government. Despite attempts at reconciliation through official meetings, these quarrels persisted through the end of 1994.

The Insurgents

One of the most significant concerns in identifying the combatants in the civil conflict in Iraq is the essential divisions that developed within the Kurdish opposition movement in the period

Table 1: Civil War in Iraq

War:	Kurdish opposition forces vs. Iraqi government
Dates:	September 1961–March 1975; February 1988–December 1994
Casualties:	Total battle deaths unknown; 60,000 civilian deaths from 1963–1975; 180,000–250,000 in 1988
Regime type prior to war:	Military dictatorship (Karim Abdel-Qassem) –5 in 1960 (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data— ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	Autocracy (Ba’ath Arab Socialist Party/Saddam Hussein al-Tikriti) –9 in 1995 (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data— ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	Unknown
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	\$2,700 (1999 est.)
Insurgents (combatants):	Kurdish Democratic Party, Kurdish Revolutionary Army (peshmerga), Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
Issue:	Ethnic difference, political autonomy, territory
Rebel funding:	Supported briefly by Iran and the United States, obtained arms and supplies from black market and expatriate Kurdish groups.
Role of geography:	Kurdish guerillas made use of mountain areas to employ hit-and-run tactics, which put Iraqi ground troops at a disadvantage in the early years of the war.
Role of resources:	Control of oil reserves at Kirkuk has been repeatedly contested by the Kurds and Iraqi regimes.
Immediate outcome:	Establishment of Kurdistan Regional Government and National Assembly in 1992, continued internal conflict between Kurdish parties
Outcome after 3 years:	Internal conflicts between Kurdish factions continued despite efforts at reconciliation.
Role of UN:	UN Security Council Resolution 688 adopted on April 5, 1991, condemned Iraqi repression of Kurds as a threat to international peace and security.
Role of regional organization:	Minimal. Regional intergovernmental organizations did not recognize the Kurdish movement and regarded the war as an internal affair.
Refugees:	2 million in 1991
Prospects for peace:	Uncertain. Improved relative to the past but dependent on the outcome of regime change after the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003

Sources: CIA 2006; Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Rudd 2004; estimates of civilian deaths are taken from Human Rights Watch/Middle East Watch 1995.

following the 1958 revolution. This separation would have a considerable impact on the goals and strategies pursued by opposition forces in later years. Ultimately, Kurdish political objectives were often obstructed by the lack of internal cohesion on political as well as ideological levels, which led to open armed conflict within the movement itself. The differences have their roots in the tribal affiliations that form the basis of Kurdish society. The first and most prominent of the groups that made up the Kurdish resistance were the affiliates of the Barzani tribe, led by Mullah Mustafa (known also by his surname, Barzani). Barzani formed the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) in 1946; this party would spearhead the resistance movement in Iraqi Kurdistan until Barzani's eventual defeat in the mid-1970s. Although the KDP became organized on a democratic centralist model with a central committee and a politburo, Barzani based his authority largely on personal influence and tribal loyalties. His subsequently and ofttime rival Jalal Talabani represented the more ideological and modernized wing of the Kurdish cause. Early differences over the direction and leadership of the KDP led to the formation of a rival coalition between minister Ibrahim Ahmad and Talabani, who eventually lent support and assistance to the Iraqi government in carrying out actions against the Barzani-led forces. The split between the Barzani and the Talabani factions also conditioned the relationship between the Kurdish movement and external governments such as Iran. Barzani's sons Idris and Massoud succeeded him in the leadership of the organization after his death in 1979. Talabani founded the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) in June 1975 as an alternative wing of the Kurdish opposition, which adopted a more recognizable leftist–Marxist orientation.

As has been the case in numerous insurgencies, some elements of the indigenous Kurdish population did not support the uprising or recognize its leadership, having been largely detribalized or having resided in urban areas where

they had been exposed to more modern forms of education and employment. These groups often found themselves caught between Iraqi security forces and the core Kurdish resistance movement. Mustafa Barzani was also ruthless in his policies toward hostile Kurdish tribes in the early years of the war, using isolation and terrorism to consolidate his political influence over local areas (O'Ballance 1996, 51–52). Furthermore, the Kurdish rebels had antagonistic relations with tribal affiliates of other ethnic groups, such as the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, and the Turkomen, who also populated areas of Iraqi Kurdistan.

From the beginnings of the modern Kurdish uprising in the midtwentieth century, the basic military force that carried out the armed resistance against the Iraqi state were the guerrilla fighters known by the term *peshmerga*, or “those willing to face death.” Later organized by the KDP central committee on a “political commissar” model, they became known officially as the Kurdish Revolutionary Army (KRA). However, the consolidation of these troops into professional battle formations was a difficult process. Although the increasing number of Kurdish deserters from the Iraqi national army eventually swelled the rebel ranks and introduced a greater degree of discipline, they were continually deprived of sufficient equipment, weapons, and ammunition, the greater part of which was obtained from captured government arsenals (O'Ballance 1973, 85–87; 1996, 55–57). In addition, they often lacked an effective means of transporting supplies in the field (i.e., logistics) or electronic communications, which hampered their ability to conduct battles across long distances. At the same time, the regular forces under the KDP were essentially held separate from the more tribal militias who answered directly to Barzani.

Iraqi counterinsurgency operations were originally the purview of the standard national armed forces, with the army high command directing ground troops, artillery, tanks, and bombers to advance on *peshmerga* and KDP po-

sitions. However, with the advent of the Ba'ath regime and the creation of elite units and special guards that accompanied the expansion of the security apparatus under Saddam Hussein, the suppression of the Kurdish rebellion became increasingly directed from within the Ba'ath Party itself. The various antiguerrilla campaigns pursued during the 1988–1991 period were carried out predominantly by the main Republican Guard divisions (i.e., the First and Fifth Corps) supported by auxiliary commandos and special forces troops (Human Rights Watch/Middle East 1995, 37–38).

Geography

The Kurdish region of Iraq, or Southern Kurdistan, features highly mountainous terrain with some wooded areas, as well as fertile plains fed by rivers at lower elevations. The peshmerga fighters often made use of the mountain areas to employ hit-and-run tactics, which put Iraqi ground troops at a disadvantage in the early years of the war (O'Ballance 1996, 59). However, the more mechanized, better-equipped Iraqi forces enjoyed tactical superiority in the low-lying regions.

Tactics

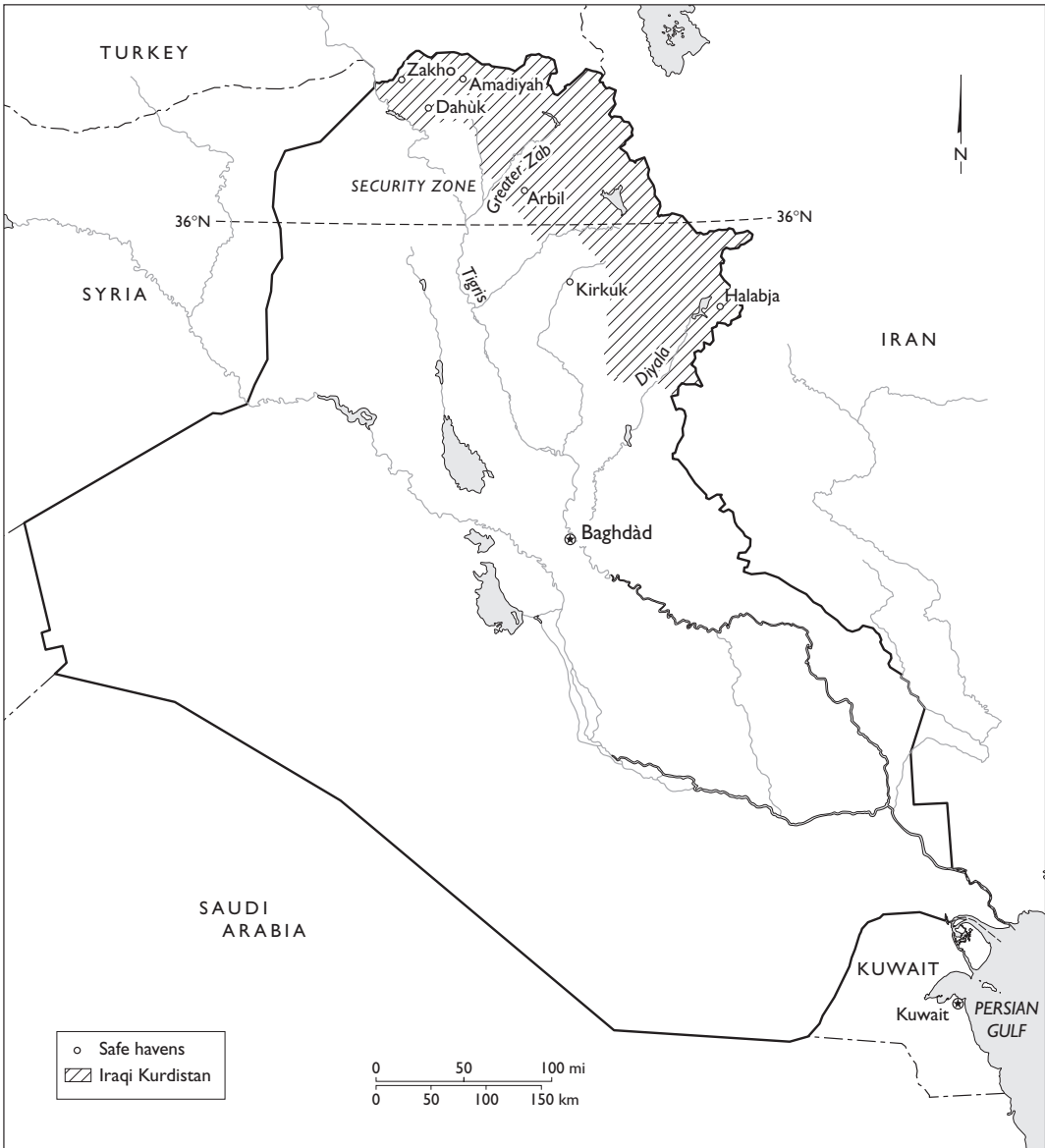
Initially, the Kurdish insurgency manifested itself largely in traditional forms of tribal warfare, carrying out attacks with loosely organized bands of fighters. However, the increasing number of Kurdish deserters from the Iraqi national army eventually swelled the rebel ranks (totaling about 20,000 troops in 1961–1963 and 40,000 in 1970), through which they gradually became more disciplined regular forces. The tactical approach pursued by Barzani's forces at this time emphasized disrupting Iraqi army command and control (that is, communications and intelligence) and lines of supply rather than mounting direct attacks on government-held positions (O'Ballance 1996, 51). After a brief period of abstention for fear of damaging vital assets, acts of sabotage and terrorism were eventually employed against oil pipelines as well as military

installations in Kirkuk and other cities occupied by Iraqi troops.

During the early phase of the war, the Baghdad regime relied heavily on aerial bombing directed specifically at tribal areas from which the KDP (Barzani) leadership derived its loyalty. These attacks were conducted separately from ground offensives and were intended to isolate the civilian populace from the guerrilla movement. However, repeated air assaults often had the opposite of their intended effect, as they tended to galvanize and provoke local populations to join and thus strengthen the resistance.

An alternate strategy of internal subversion pursued by Baghdad was the creation of anti-Barzani militias from immediately within the Kurdish areas. These were known as the Jash—paramilitaries recruited by the Iraqi armed forces, composed of Kurdish or non-Kurdish tribes hostile to the KDP leadership. However, these were not professional forces and remained under the control of tribal authorities rather than subject to the Iraqi high command. These militias engaged in traditional acts of terrorism, such as burning crops, damaging buildings, and slaughtering livestock. The Iraqi forces also conscripted a paramilitary unit called the Saladin Force, which was composed of a mixture of Arab and Kurdish troops and was similarly deployed to counter guerrilla actions.

In the late 1980s, the Iraqi regime chose to transfer one of its most fearsome assets—chemical weapons, which it had used against Iranian troops in its eight-year war with Tehran—to the counterinsurgency campaign against the Kurdish rebels. However, it was primarily the civilian population of Kurdistan that bore the brunt of this tactic. This concentration of both conventional and supraconventional military force to quell the resistance in the north during this period was significant in its scope and its level of brutality. The policy was carried out in a series of air attacks, forced relocations, and mass executions that became known as al-Anfal, or “the Spoils.” These consisted of eight separate campaigns against several strategic regions that



lasted from February to September 1988 (Human Rights Watch/Middle East 1995). Some of the most publicly recognized actions during this time were the air strikes at Halabja on March 16, 1988, in which cyanide, mustard gas, and nerve gas attacks, directed at villages suspected of serving as bases of support for recently expelled Iranian forces, killed as many as 5,000 civilians. In total, an estimated 200,000 Kurds died as a result of these operations.

The intensive effort undertaken systematically to annihilate the Kurdish opposition at this time was also significant in that it was promulgated from within the ruling Ba'ath Party rather than enacted solely by the military central command. Yet, at the same time, it is arguable that the use of chemical weapons by the Iraqi regime did not represent a fundamental shift in strategy in its war against the Kurds. Rather, the Iraqi leadership resorted to a tactical measure that

had already been employed in the context of a major interstate conflict. The willingness of the regime to use poison gas attacks against internal opposition to its rule brought an unprecedented halt to a thirty-year insurgency, as Kurdish forces were unable to retaliate in kind (U.S. Senate 1988, 38).

Causes of the War

The immediate background to the revolt that began in September 1961 was the burgeoning nationalist sentiment that had developed in the Kurdish territories during the period between the end of World War II, and the consolidation of Karim Abdel-Qassem's revolutionary regime in Baghdad. The periodic agitations and minor uprisings that had taken place since the nineteenth century and persisted under the British-installed Faisal monarchy gradually developed into a recognizable movement. At the same time, the Kurds had been allowed to retain an arsenal and relatively independent status. The July 14 revolution of 1958, which overthrew the monarchy of King Faisal and established an Iraqi republic, showed great initial promise for the prospect of Kurdish self-rule. The new government declared the unity of Arabs and Kurds and enshrined the recognition of Kurdish rights in the national constitution. However, as with all modern Iraqi leaders, a primary goal was to defeat internal opposition that endangered stability and threatened coup d'état. Such is exemplary of revolutionary regimes that face both domestic and external challenges to their ability to remain in power.

This condition motivated Qassem to eliminate any potential sources of opposition, which was carried out by banning all outside political parties and interest groups, suppressing independent media, and arresting and imprisoning Kurdish representatives. Further, the president sought to counter the growing political and military influence of Mustafah Barzani by providing support to hostile tribes in the Kurdish region. Thus, when Qassem's government reneged on

the promise of greater autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan, it set in motion a pattern that would repeat itself in decades to come. The precarious nature of Iraqi statehood recurrently forced leaders to impose unitary autocratic rule as a means of consolidating their tenuous political position.

Outcome

The outcome of the second era of the Kurdish-Iraqi conflict was also distinct from other civil wars in that it was resolved neither by means of the combatants reaching a mutually hurting stalemate that convinced both parties to negotiate a settlement nor by means of an externally administered arbitration process. Rather, it ended because the Saddam Hussein regime gradually abandoned its effort to forcibly assimilate Kurdistan into a unitary Iraqi polity, largely because of the constraints it faced from the UN and Allied restricted zones first imposed during the spring of 1991. The continued threat of external intervention that these containment policies posed may have convinced the Saddam Hussein regime that the possible costs of continuing its war against the Kurds far outweighed the value of the objective.

Conflict Status

In October 1991, in conjunction with an economic embargo of Kurdistan, the Iraqi central government withdrew all administration and public services from the Kurdish territories. Although this created an initial period of hardship, general elections were held in May 1992 that established the Kurdish Regional Government (KRG), based in the new capital of Arbil, and a unicameral legislature, the Kurdistan National Assembly (KNA), in July of the same year (Gunter 1999, 67–68). The international community deemed these elections relatively free and fair, although the Allies indicated that they would not extend recognition to a separate Kurdish state (Oftringer and Backer 1994, 42). A coalition government was then formed that

divided power equally between the KDP and the PUK, with each party occupying 50 percent of the 150 seats in parliament.

For the first time, Kurds had achieved the long-standing goal of establishing nominally independent and representative institutions. Yet, this arrangement gradually broke down over the next three years, as the legacy of rivalry and factionalism within the Kurdish movement caused it to degenerate into open combat. The leaders of both parties failed to join the new government, instead exercising power over separate political and territorial entities with adjoining systems of patron–client relations (Leezenburg 2003, 150–51). In December 1993 and May 1994, major battles were fought between militias with ties to the opposing wings of the KRG. As of the end of 1994, the parties had returned to a state of internal civil war, despite mutual efforts at reconciliation.

Duration Tactics

The perpetuation of the Kurdish–Iraqi civil conflict over several decades was the result of an interaction between the opposing agendas, interests, and strategies pursued by both actors, rather than simply the intransigence of either side. Although Iraqi leaders were preoccupied with remaining in power and keeping the Iraqi state intact, the Kurdish elites and insurgent forces maintained their goal of autonomy rather than secession. However, these positions were often incompatible, as they required concessions or compromises to which each party was unwilling or unable to commit. Further, at the level of military confrontation, Iraqi and Kurdish forces introduced no significant tactical innovations during the first decade of the war that would have allowed either side to gain an advantage, which resulted in an ongoing stalemate (O’Balance 1996, 91).

The second most prominent political activity that fueled the armed Kurdish opposition over several decades was the policy of internal colonialism pursued by the Ba’athist and Aref regimes in the years after the 1963 coup d’état.

This practice is known more generally in Middle East politics as Arabization, or the strategy (pursued by autocratic Arab regimes) of actively assimilating non-Arab ethnicities through tactics such as the forced migration and resettlement of minorities and the repopulation of those areas by members of the dominant ethnic group. In the context of Kurdistan, these policies were directed both at suppressing activities associated with independent governance and at relocating Kurdish populations to areas that were easier for the central government to administer. Thousands of villages and homes were destroyed in the process. Districts and boundaries between provinces were often altered or redrawn to accommodate these relocations as well as to eliminate Kurdish attempts at independent jurisdiction.

External Military Intervention

Until the early 1990s, the involvement of regional governments in the Kurdish insurrection against Baghdad was minimal, the primary concern being to contain the conflict and to prevent it from spilling across contiguous borders. A principal reason for this policy of benign neglect was that the “stateless” nature of the insurgency meant that it was closely linked to the relationship between Kurdish populations in Turkey, Iran, and Syria and their host governments, and threatened to stimulate similar uprisings among dissident Kurds within those countries. During the early Cold War era, Western official opinion was particularly wary of the potential for Iraqi Kurdistan to become a tool of Soviet influence through Moscow’s sponsorship of a radical nationalist movement in a key strategic area. Syria briefly provided air and troop support to Baghdad during the era of the United Arab Republic but no substantial backing thereafter. Although the Turkish government planned to mount a joint intervention alongside Iran and Iraq, dubbed Operation Tiger, after a brief uprising in Turkish Kurdistan in 1963, it was quickly aborted when the Soviet Union sent a communiqué that warned against any aggressive action

that would interfere in the internal affairs of one of its regional beneficiaries. However, as Tehran's relations with Baghdad began to sour in the mid-1960s, limited deliveries of arms were made available to the Barzani rebels, although without any public commitment to direct assistance.

One exception to this standard of noninterference was the covert military support for Barzani's forces arranged by the United States and Iran beginning in 1972. In that year, Washington pursued an intensive bilateral engagement with the government of Shah Reza Palahvi, to foster a strong conservative bulwark against radical Arab states such as Egypt, Iraq, and Syria. The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation concluded between Iraq and the Soviet Union in April 1972 guaranteed increased access to military assistance from Moscow and opened a possible door to greater Soviet influence in the Persian Gulf.

President Richard Nixon and National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger therefore sought to take advantage of a burgeoning revolt against the Iraqi regime to weaken an apparent Eastern bloc ally in the region. In the period from 1973 to 1975, a total of \$16 million in U.S. military aid was transmitted to Kurdish forces via Iran through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), with some additional assistance from Israel. This arrangement was an obvious artifact of Cold War diplomacy, in which alignments of convenience were often established between state governments as means of "balancing" against the influence of one or another superpower and its allies. Thus, when the shah observed that the Kurdish-Iraqi conflict had reached a virtual stalemate, and that military aid only allowed them to sustain their resistance rather than gain a decisive advantage, the incentives for continued support dwindled. On March 5, 1975, the



An Iraqi Kurd father carries the body of his dead child in a Turkish refugee camp in May 1991. Ethnic Kurds fled their homes in Iraq to the relative safety of the mountains along the Turkish-Iraqi border when fighting intensified between Saddam Hussein's army and the Kurdish peshmerga guerrillas. (Joel Robine/AFP/Getty Images)

governments of Iraq and Iran signed the Algiers Agreement, negotiated with the assistance of Kissinger and Algerian President Houari Boumediene, which temporarily resolved the simmering dispute regarding the Shatt-al-Arab waterway and abruptly ended covert sponsorship of the Kurdish insurgency.

The primary effort at humanitarian intervention in the Kurdish–Iraqi conflict came during the crisis that unfolded during the months following the American cease-fire in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. This was known officially as Operation Provide Comfort (OPC). Following the impetus of UN Security Council Resolution (UNSC) 688, which condemned Iraqi repression in the Kurdish areas, OPC deployed a multinational force of 13,000 troops to establish “safe havens” for the refugees who had fled the massive retaliation against Kurdish towns prosecuted by Republican Guard troops and the Iraqi air force.

It is estimated that as many as 13,000 Kurdish refugees died in the attempted exodus into southern Turkey and Iran. Rather than engage Iraqi forces in combat, these troops were commissioned to delineate a security zone within which civilians and refugees in the Iraqi–Turkish border areas would be protected and provided with food, shelter, and medical support. This zone occupied a triangular, 10,000-square-kilometer space that stretched from the frontier city of Zakho in the north to Amadiyah and Dohuk in the south, and also declared a no-fly zone north of the thirty-sixth parallel, beyond which Iraqi aircraft were forbidden to pass. The refugees who had been trapped in the mountain ranges were gradually resettled within this area. The transfer of responsibility to a UN peacekeeping force was delayed both by Iraqi resistance and by the deployment of a “rapid reaction force” in southern Turkey to intervene in the case of further Iraqi attacks. These forces were eventually withdrawn by the end of October 1991.

At the same time, however, it is a common misperception that UNSC Resolution 688 provided direct authorization for Allied military in-

Zakho

Zakho, a city on the Iraqi-Turkish frontier, was the northernmost point of the triangular “security zone” established by Operation Provide Comfort in April 1991. The deployment of the Joint Task Force, which organized the delivery of aid to resettled refugees, relied upon Zakho as a primary base of operations. The logistics of the humanitarian effort in the following months were heavily dependent upon the availability of strategic transportation and the effectiveness of supply depots established at Zakho in the early weeks of the crisis.

tervention in northern Iraq in the name of protecting human rights. During the spring of 1991, there was significant resistance on the part of representatives of the UNSC permanent member states, particularly the United States, China, and the Soviet Union, who feared that such a ruling would invite future violations of state sovereignty. In fact, the eventual passing of 688 was largely in response to activism on the floor of the General Assembly on behalf of the Kurds by delegates of France, Iran, and Turkey (Malanczuk 1991, 119–20). The text of the resolution therefore makes no reference to Chapter VII of the UN Charter regarding the legitimate use of force or intervention in the internal affairs of a state where human rights violations present a threat to international peace and stability (Malanczuk 1991, 128).

Conflict Management Efforts

The Kurdish–Iraqi civil wars that persisted from 1961 to 1975 were interspersed with a series of cease-fires, negotiated agreements, and false guarantees of Kurdish political autonomy that also influenced the course and intensity of the conflict. These often reflected the recurrent instability in the Iraqi leadership and were therefore linked to efforts to consolidate new regimes. Although provisions that asserted the recognition of Kurdish autonomy were established in writing, the Iraqi government often failed to implement them, as the regime was unable to hon-

estly adhere to these concessions without forfeiting the dominance of the Arab Ba'athist state. In the period after the 1963 coup that overthrew Karim Abdel-Qassem, both the Ba'athist and Aref regimes were weakly institutionalized and lacked broad popular legitimacy.

Thus, these leaderships sought to mobilize indigenous support in an effort to face off the threat to stability posed by a full-blown Kurdish insurgency. One of the earliest such efforts took place on February 12, 1964, when Colonel Aref extended a formal cease-fire after meeting with Kurdish leaders and announced that a provisional national constitution was to be introduced that would decentralize political authority in Kurdistan, although without actual reference to autonomous status. However, the new constitution promulgated on May 3, 1964, declared a pan-Arabist ideal of unity with Nasser's Egypt, which was directly at odds with the Kurdish objective. As no actual amnesties or demobilization of forces had taken place, minor skirmishes between Iraqi troops and peshmerga continued, and open fighting had resumed by the spring of the following year.

On June 29, 1968, the civilian prime minister of the second Aref regime, Abdul Rahman al-Bazzaz, extended the Twelve Point Programme, which essentially reiterated earlier positions on implementing autonomous status for the areas of Kurdistan represented by the KDP (O'Ballance 1973, 129; 1996, 84). Although the plan did not literally introduce a cease-fire, cessation of full-fledged armed conflict prevailed for a brief period. However, any sincere or direct implementation of the agreement was nullified when Marshal Aref was deposed in the second successful Ba'athist coup on July 26, 1968.

The March 11 agreement of 1970 (known also as the Armistice Agreement) was perhaps the most significant attempt at conflict resolution pursued during the first period of the Iraqi civil war. The provisions of this agreement were distinctive in that, despite the manner of their public presentation, they were the result of a long and arduous bargaining process between

representatives of the KDP and Iraqi leaders, rather than a stopgap proposal extended by the regime in an effort to reduce the pressures created by an ongoing Kurdish armed opposition. In addition, both sides showed substantial commitment to concluding a peace agreement, as both Iraqi elites and the Kurdish leadership recognized the significant political and human costs of continuing the conflict.

Most importantly, it publicly affirmed, for the first time, the existence of an autonomous Kurdish region. The resulting contract would thus serve as a standard for the extension of concessions by Iraqi leaders in the years to come. The actual peace process was concluded between the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) of the Ba'ath regime, led by President Hassan al-Bakr and then Vice President Saddam Hussein, and a reorganized KDP central committee. The fifteen articles listed in the document accompanied an amendment of the Iraqi national constitution recognizing the separate and equal status of the Kurds, and most significantly, detailed the administrative structure and function of an independent Kurdistan government, including the delegation of responsibility to members of the legislature. In addition, the final communiqué set a deadline for a complete transition to full Kurdish autonomy by March 1974.

At the same time, however, the agreement failed to resolve several fundamental issues that limited the feasibility and validity of the negotiated provisions. First, it did not establish exactly how the territorial and administrative boundaries of Kurdistan would be drawn. Second, it did not clarify the issue of Kurdish control over budget expenditure and access to government funds. Most important, it intentionally excluded the oil-rich city of Kirkuk from Kurdish jurisdiction, which implicitly demonstrated the intention of the Iraqi government to manage the parameters of the accord in its own favor (Chaliand 1994, 3; O'Ballance 1996, 92).

The gradual breakdown of cooperation that followed in the coming years proved that the treaty had provided only a temporary respite in

Kirkuk

Kirkuk is a city in northern Iraq roughly 250 kilometers north of Baghdad in the foothills of the Zagros Mountains. It is both the center of national oil production (as much as 1 million barrels per day, half of total Iraqi oil exports) and, until the 1980s, was identified by both leading Kurdish parties as the regional capital of Iraqi Kurdistan. Therefore, it has often been the focus of the conflict between successive Iraqi regimes and the Kurdish movement, for both lay claim to its environs as a vital economic and political asset. The campaign of Arabization pursued by the national government since the early 1960s was especially concentrated in the areas adjacent to the city, as they were under the influence of the Kurdish opposition leadership. Kirkuk was also the site of tensions between Allied and Iraqi forces after the 1991 Persian Gulf War, for it lies just south of the “security zone” that was established to prevent further Republican Guard attacks on Kurdish refugees.

an intractable war. Assassination attempts directed at Barzani and other KDP officials, originally suspected of being perpetrated by opposing tribes, were later attributed to the Iraqi regime. The Law on Autonomy (no. 33), which was extended on March 11, 1974, made a unilateral declaration of Kurdish political independence, which largely negated the contents of the 1970 agreement by reneging on the promise to conduct a new population census, by establishing a legislature whose members were directly appointed by Baghdad, and by continuing Arabization policies in the Kurdish region.

The second era of the Iraqi civil conflict saw similar efforts at negotiation, which largely resulted in a period of “neither war nor peace,” although the time frame was much smaller. The dialogues that took place between the Kurdish leaders and Saddam Hussein during the spring and summer of 1991 largely reiterated old positions on granting autonomous status (Laizer 1996, 31–32; O’Ballance 1996, 194–95). Yet, both the KDP and PUK leaders took a decidedly prag-

matic route by publicly embracing the terms extended by the Iraqi leadership. It is plausible that they sought to take advantage of any possible deal while Hussein was seriously weakened following his defeat in the Persian Gulf War. Furthermore, they recognized that the protection provided by the Allied troops stationed in the UN-sponsored security zone would not be available indefinitely. By May 1992, these talks had reached a deadlock, and the Kurdish leadership proceeded to hold elections for a new regional government (Offeringer and Backer 1994, 42).

The final resolution process engaged in by Kurdish leaders during the 1988–1994 period was directed at ameliorating the internal conflict between the main parties that had destabilized the new Kurdistan Regional Government. The Paris Agreement of July 22 1994 was produced by representatives of the KDP and PUK and was overseen by observers from the French government and Kurdish expatriate organizations (Gunter 1999, 77–78). The document was intended to strengthen the institutions and ministerial authority of the government while limiting the power and influence of the old opposition forces. Further, it established an agenda for the pursuit of necessary administrative reforms and restructuring civil–military relations, and it set a date for a new population census and parliamentary elections to be held by May 1995. However, the agreement was not signed as intended, owing to continued fighting in Kurdistan as well as an objection extended by the Turkish government that the establishment of an independent Kurdish regime within Iraq would incite full-scale insurgency in the Anatolia region of Turkey. Although a final strategic agreement was concluded on November 21, 1994, that formally ratified the treaty, the provisions were never implemented, for the rival factions slipped into a renewed Kurdish civil war.

Conclusion

The ultimate resolution of the Kurdish–Iraqi struggle and the status of the Kurdish auto-

nomous regime will lie in the impact of its epilogue—the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq, which took place in March 2003—on the future of the Iraqi political system. The Kurdish leadership has extended a proposal to make Kurdistan part of a federated Iraqi republic, thus preserving self-rule while maintaining the cohesion of the present administrative units (Gunter 2005, 74–75). The physical integrity of Iraq as a nation of diverse identities and interests is also of serious concern to the governments of neighboring countries. In particular, Turkey and Iran have long expressed steadfast opposition to the establishment of Kurdish autonomy for fear of disrupting the existing state system in the region (Gunter 1999, 111–26). Although the Iraq war eliminated a regime that had inflicted the most intense suffering on the Kurdish population, it also introduced great uncertainty and ongoing violence in the form of a complex and resilient insurgency, this time against a Shi'ite-dominated transitional government. Thus, although the Iraqi Kurds may have entered a new era of political independence, the country of Iraq continues to be torn by internal conflict.

Jason E. Strakes

Chronology

- September 11, 1961 Kurdish revolt begins. Qassem launches first Iraqi offensive in Kurdistan.
- February 8, 1963 Qassem regime is overthrown in coup d'état organized by the Free Officers. Ba'ath Party takes power.
- November 18, 1963 Ba'athists removed from power in coup led by Colonel Abel Salam Aref.
- February 12, 1964 Cease-fire declared by President Aref after negotiations with Kurdish representatives.
- May 11, 1966 Ambush by Kurdish rebels at Mount Handrin ends major Iraqi offensives for next two years.
- June 29, 1968 Second Aref regime presents Twelve Point Programme for resolution of Kurdish dispute.
- July 30, 1968 Aref is overthrown in third Iraqi coup d'état. Ba'ath Party resumes power in Baghdad.
- April 1, 1969 Fourth Kurdistan war begins. Major battles in Arbil plain and expulsion and massacre of civilians at Kirkuk.
- March 11, 1970 Armistice agreement contains fifteen articles negotiated between Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council and KDP. Promises full autonomy for Kurdish region within four years.
- March 11, 1974 Law on Autonomy decreed, which reduces concessions offered in original agreement, imposes provisions that serve the interests of the Ba'ath regime.
- March 6, 1975 Algiers Agreement establishes diplomatic rapprochement between governments of Iraq and Iran. Iranian support for KDP ends abruptly.
- March 15, 1975 Kurdish resistance collapses. Barzani surrenders to Baghdad and flees to Iran, later seeks asylum in United States.
- June 1, 1975 Jalal Talabani inaugurates the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan as an alternative to the KDP.
- February 23, 1988 First Anfal campaign begins. Iraqi forces lay siege to PUK headquarters at Segalou.
- March 16, 1988 Poison gas attacks at Halabjah kill 5,000 civilian Kurds.
- March 5, 1991 Uprisings against the Saddam Hussein regime spread across Iraqi Kurdistan.
- April 5, 1991 United Nations Security Council adopts Resolution 688 condemning repression in Kurdish provinces of Iraq.
- April 17, 1991 Allied forces begin establishing "safe havens" for refugees and provide food, medical care, and temporary shelter.
- May 19, 1992 Kurdish Regional Government is established by general election.
- June 4, 1992 One-hundred-fifty-seat Kurdistan National Assembly is established.
- December 21, 1993 Outbreak of internal conflict between rival factions within Kurdistan government.
- May 1, 1994 Land dispute leads to open civil war between KDP and PUK forces.
- July 21, 1994 Paris Agreement is signed by representatives of KDP and PUK but is not implemented. Sporadic fighting continues through end of year.

List of Acronyms

- CIA: Central Intelligence Agency
 IKF: Iraqi Kurdistan Front
 KDP: Kurdish Democratic Party

KNA: Kurdistan National Assembly
 KRG: Kurdish Regional Government
 KRA: Kurdish Revolutionary Army
 OPC: Operation Provide Comfort
 PUK: Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
 RCC: Revolutionary Command Council
 UNSC: United Nations Security Council

Glossary

al-Anfal: “The Spoils,” popular title given to a series of genocidal chemical warfare campaigns carried out by the Saddam Hussein regime in Kurdish areas in 1988.

Jash: Paramilitaries made up of Kurds from tribes hostile to the KDP leadership. These were recruited by the Iraqi armed forces to combat the insurgency from within Kurdish areas.

pershmergas: Kurdish guerilla fighters whose name means “those who face death.” The main Kurdish forces were made up of pershmergas organized into a regular army by the KDP.

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Korea

(1950–1953)

Country Background

The Korean War (1950–1953) resulted from the division of Korea into South Korea and North Korea following the end of World War II in 1945. Immediately following this segregation, efforts to reunify the peninsula were attempted. However, when those efforts ended in failure in 1948, the South declared itself the Republic of Korea (ROK), and the North established the People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). In 1949, fighting broke out on the border between the two newly created countries. On June 25, 1950, North Korean forces crossed the divide and invaded the South. An armistice was reached in July 1953. To understand the Korean War, we need also to appreciate how the separation of Korea evolved.

Before 1948 and the subdivision into two political entities, the entire Korean peninsula was one unified country ruled by the Chosun Dynasty. Born in 1392 before dying out in 1910, the dynasty's reign lasted more than half a millennium. In the second half of the nineteenth century, foreign empires sought to increase their influence within the Korean peninsula. Their presence and hopes were met with resistance. South Korea refused to open itself to the world because governing elites, including the king and his immediate subordinates, believed that the society they had achieved through Confucianism needed little or nothing

from foreigners outside China. However, when Japan modernized and opened itself to the Western world, to some extent it inspired Korea and influenced Korean politics. In 1876, the Japanese urged Korea to allow diplomatic relations, thereby opening trade between the two countries. This fledgling relationship with Japan weakened Korea's traditionally close ties to China.

To counter the increasing Japanese influence in Korea, China sought to neutralize its rival by urging Korea to open to the Western countries, which led to the Korea–United States treaty of 1882. But this maneuver failed to slow Japan's impact and growing power in Asia. Even militarily, the Japanese were becoming the dominant players. In 1895, Japan defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War; ten years later, Japan overcame Russia in the Russo-Japanese War. These victories solidified Japan's dominant influence on the Korean peninsula: Korea became a Japanese protectorate in 1895 and in 1910 was formally annexed, marking the end of the Chosun Dynasty.

After thirty-five years under harsh Japanese rule, Korea regained its independence on August 15, 1945, after Japan surrendered to the Allies. This surrender, together with the Soviet Union's landing on the Korean peninsula, would utterly transform Korea. Another important historical incident that shaped Korea's fate occurred in

1943, at the Cairo Conference. The Allies, including the United States, China, and Britain, agreed to strip Japan of all its territories acquired since 1894. In August 1945, on the eve of the collapse of Japan, the Soviet Union (which had joined the fight against Japan in the northern part of Korea a week earlier) agreed to the U.S. proposal that Korea should be divided into two zones across the thirty-eighth parallel for the purpose of acceptance of military surrender.

The intent was merely to ensure that the Japanese north of the line would surrender to the Soviet Union and those south of the line to the United States. In its declaration of war on Japan, the Soviets agreed to this principle. Yet, no precise formula had been agreed to between Roosevelt and Stalin for governing the newly independent Korea. As Blair (1994) notes, Korea was not much known to the world. No one really knew what to do with it, nor did anyone much care. Consequently, the idea of segregating Korea was chosen hastily and casually. On August 15, 1945, fearing Soviet control of the entire Korean peninsula, U.S. President Harry Truman proposed the division of Korea to Joseph Stalin, who agreed the next day. The thirty-eighth parallel was not intended as a permanent dividing line but was simply a practical solution to the vacuum created in Korea by Japan's sudden collapse (Chull Baum Kim 1994). As Gupta puts it, in the context of the developing Cold War, "the 38th Parallel turned into a rigid frontier between two Korean client-states under the influence of the United States and the Soviet Union respectively" (Gupta 1972, 701).

Both great powers used their occupational presence to promote governments friendly to their ideologies and interests. The occupation of Korea by the United States and the Soviet Union was arranged without precise definitions of its nature and duration, thereby greatly reducing Korea's prospects for a smooth transition toward independence and unity (Stueck 1995, 19). The Soviet Union suppressed the moderate nationalists in the north and gave its support to Kim Il Sung, a Communist who had led anti-Japanese

guerrillas in Manchuria. In the south, the leftist movement was opposed by various groups of right-wing nationalists. This resistance was due mainly to the U.S. presence, which set up an administration based on the former Japanese colonial structure, in which conservatives held power. Thus, any movements related to socialism or communism were seen as threatening and were suffocated (MacDonald 1996, 47).

The United States found an ally in Syngman Rhee, a nationalist who opposed the Japanese and lived in exile in the United States, and began to support him. During this time, political activity became increasingly polarized between left and right. As Savada and Shaw note, the fate of South Korea was dominated not only by the Cold War antagonism of the two great powers but also by "seemingly irreconcilable political differences among Koreans themselves" (Savada and Shaw 2002, 153).

In May 1948, elections were held in South Korea under the auspices of the United Nations. A national assembly was established according to the outcome of the elections, and this new body elected Syngman Rhee as the first president of the Republic of Korea (South Korea). In the north, a separate regime, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), led by Kim Il Sung, was established in December. It is necessary to remember that the United Nations declared the South Korean government to be the only lawful government on the Korean peninsula.

Conflict Background

Tension escalated in Korea between the formation of the two Korean states in 1948 and the outbreak of the war in June 1950. Each government, North and South, insisted that it was the only rightful government in Korea. Kaufman (1999) contends that the Korean War was part of a continuing civil conflict in Korea that began with the end of World War II, and not merely an isolated event in history. Thus, the development of the ideological struggle among Koreans must

South Korea's Military

South Korea ranked eleventh worldwide in military expenditure in 1999. South Korea's military expenditure in 1999 was \$11.6 billion, whereas North Korea spent \$4.26 billion. However, if we compare the ratio of military expenditure to gross national product (GNP), North Korea ranked third, spending 18.8 percent of its GNP on its military, whereas South Korea ranked fifty-seventh, spending 2.9 percent of its GNO on its military ("World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers" 2003).

be further understood. This internal battle over ideas, combined with the Cold War atmosphere, provided the basis for the Korean War.

Socialist and revolutionary ideas had become increasingly popular in Korean intellectual circles in the early 1920s owing to the efforts of certain Koreans who had studied and become radicalized in Japan (Hart-Landsberg 1998). Despite Japan's harsh intervention in and oppression of Korean political life, Communist-inspired resistance continued. Externally, a regional Communist-led resistance movement arose in response to Japanese imperialism in Manchuria and northern China. This continued to influence political consciousness and commitments in Korea. Although Chinese Communists organized and led the main opposition to Japan in Manchuria, Korean Communists also played an important role in the armed struggles there. Some Koreans served as division commanders, Kim Il Sung among them. It was during this conflict that he established his reputation as a liberation fighter in the Second Army. This socialist and Communist movement survived Japan's harsh oppression. It also strengthened and expanded its network in Korea predominantly by creating close ties with farmers, the working class, and student opposition groups upset with Japanese rule.

However, this growing leftist ideology did not reveal serious social problems until the collapse of Japan became obvious. But when collapse became apparent, clashes broke out between the

opposing groups, as worker and peasant unions flourished and Communist strength grew. The conservatives (e.g., landowners, businessmen, and manufacturers) who had enjoyed a privileged status under the Japanese rule sought to retain their status after the liberation. Conversely, political leftists, including large numbers of peasants and workers, sought a radical upheaval in the social and political structure of Korea. This political divide and class struggle provided a base of popular support for the regime in the north and, concurrently, political instability in the south.

During the two years following the establishment of a South Korean government, the domestic political conditions were volatile. The UN General Assembly, influenced by the United States, adopted a resolution in November 1947, hoping to resolve the problem of Korea's discord by establishing a new national government to govern all of Korea. The resolution recommended that elections be held no later than March 31, 1948. The Soviet Union, however, refused to cooperate with the United Nations. Despite the Soviet balking, the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK) was created in 1947 to sponsor and observe the election of a Korean legislative body, which would be authorized to form a Korean government. The United Nations adopted another resolution on February 26, 1948, to proceed with an election in the South. On May 10, 1948, the UN-sponsored general election was held.

Although it faced strong opposition from the Soviet Union, the United States, given its overwhelming influence in the UN, had little trouble winning approval of its motion. UNTCOK's decision to observe an election in the South alone indicated that their objective was not necessarily a reunification of Korea. Yet, Syngman Rhee and his followers welcomed this resolution, a view not shared by all. In fact, an overwhelming majority of Koreans, including leftists, disputed the election because they feared it would make the separation permanent. Despite the unpopularity of the vote, Syngman Rhee was elected president

by the National Assembly on July 20, 1948. U.S. foreign policy had succeeded in dividing Korea and establishing a right-wing government in the South. Yet the violence that continued to spread throughout South Korea undermined the regime's stability. With support from the North, growing numbers joined guerrilla groups fighting to overthrow the Rhee regime and reunite the country. The guerrilla war in the South began on Jeju Island; it is remembered and referred to as 4.3 because it commenced on April 3, 1948. Discontent with the American occupation and with the troops from the central South Korean regime (still in its early stages of formation under Rhee) precipitated the violent outbreak. The South Korean right-wing government was conducting nationwide campaigns to root out Communists and their sympathizers.

As well as being horrified by this brutality, Jeju residents were also upset with the United Nations, which had abandoned its intent to hold elections that would unify the countries; the election of a South Korean government was to take place in May. Many Koreans saw the elections as merely a smokescreen of legitimacy behind which Rhee would be placed in power and kept beholden to the American occupiers (Thompson 2004). Demonstrations against the election were held on March 1, 1948, and many of the protesters were arrested. On April 3, after brutal treatment by police, the people of Jeju struck back. A guerrilla army of nearly 4,000 took control of most of the villages in Jeju (Hart-Landsberg 1998). The South Korean government sent its military forces to the island to suppress the swelling rebellion. Thompson (2004) reports that estimates of the numbers of civilians killed on Jeju during the 4.3 uprisings range from 10,000 to 80,000 (depending on the agency or reporter). Another rebellion broke out in October 1948, this time in the southern port city of Yosŭ. South Korean soldiers ordered to quell it refused to fight and even turned against the government.

Although the guerrilla war was being fought in the South, tensions between the North and

South states were increasing. When a series of Communist-led rebellions in South Korea were suppressed by the South Korean government, the option of unification by insurgency appeared unviable to the Communists (Rees 1988, 93). So Pyongyang was forced to consider more drastic means of achieving its goal. This explains Macdonald's contention that "the Korean War should probably be understood as encompassing an era from 1947 to 1955, with the period of 1950–1953 as its hot phase" (MacDonald 1996, 50).

Incidents along the thirty-eighth parallel began to increase. One of the first major battles between the North and the South took place on May 4, 1949. This skirmishing, initiated by the South, lasted four days and left hundreds dead. Another clash occurred in August, when North Korean forces attacked the ROK units. Starting in September 1949, the military balance of power began to shift in favor of North Korea as additional military supplies began to arrive from the Soviet Union and as North Korean troops returned from China (Hart-Landsberg 1998). As their resources grew, so did their boldness; thereafter, the DPRK frequently initiated the fighting.

The Insurgents

The Korean People's Army of the DPRK crossed the thirty-eighth parallel on June 25, 1950. In the 1970s, however, revisionists began to argue that the war was caused just as much by Western and South Korean provocation (Catchpole 2000, 7). Despite the argument of the revisionists, war-related documents provided by Soviet President Boris Yeltsin in 1994 make it clear that North Korea, operating with major Soviet assistance, was responsible for the invasion (Myers 2001).

Although the Soviet Union and China played an important role in reinforcing the strength of the North Korean People's Army, it appears that they neither ordered nor encouraged Kim Il Sung to initiate a war in Korea (Gye-Dong Kim 1989, 33). Rather, Kim Il Sung was dedicated to

Table 1: Civil War in Korea

War:	South Korea vs. North Korea
Dates:	June 25, 1950, to July 27, 1953
Casualties (KIA):	South Korea: 137,899; North Korea: 520,000; United Nations: 40,670; China: 148,600
Regime type prior to war:	South Korea: Republic (presidential system); North Korea: Communist government
Regime type after war:	Republic (presidential system)
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$1,103 in 2002 value for South Korea; no data available for North Korea
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$1,509 in 2002 value for South Korea; no data available for North Korea
Insurgents:	North Korea
Issue:	Reunification of Korea, ideological differences
Rebel funding:	Support from Soviet Union, China
Role of geography:	Not applicable
Role of resources:	Not applicable
Immediate outcome:	Stalemate, continued partition of Korea
Outcome after 5 years:	Hostile relationship
Role of UN:	Sent combatants under UNC
Role of regional organization:	Not applicable
Refugees:	More than 7 million separated families
Prospects for peace:	Uncertain in the near future

Sources: Korea Institute for Military History Compilation (n.d.); Groningen Growth and Development Centre (n.d.).

the reunification of Korea and believed that this could only be achieved by the military defeat of the South.

After the Soviet Union agreed to the U.S. proposal—to accept the surrender of remaining Japanese troops north of the thirty-eighth parallel—the Soviets continued to exert influence on the northern part of Korea. Just as the United States did in the South, Soviet forces sought to ensure a political environment in Korea that was favorable to the interests of their country. In this regard, the Soviet occupation favored groups of people strongly inclined to the political left. There were also a number of Korean Communists in the Soviet Far East who were anxious to return to Korea, whose exodus the Soviets encouraged in hopes of building a Communist regime in the North. One of the most famous of these returning Koreans was Kim Il Sung.

There were several differences between U.S. and Soviet policies dealing with the Korean situation at that time. Although the Soviets moved quickly to erase the Japanese presence, the U.S. occupation was based on the structure and per-

sonnel of the Japanese colonial government. Although the Soviets supported the work of the Provisional People's Committee, the U.S. occupation had declared their activities illegal throughout the South. This gained popular support for the North Korean regime, at least during its inception. From the Northern perspective, the United States was deliberately destroying the foundation for Korean unity. The North Korean regime also claimed that it held more legitimacy than the regime in the South. As the North moved ahead with its political reforms, the gap between the two Koreas widened.

The North began to implement its land reform program and to nationalize its major industries and firms. Through this process, the Communists gathered popular support; with support from the Soviet command, they built a formidable political and military structure. They expanded and consolidated their party's strength in August 1946 by merging all the left-wing groups into the North Korean Workers' Party. In the same year, the armed forces were organized and reinforced. By June 1950, North

Korean troops numbered between 150,000 and 200,000 and were organized into ten infantry divisions, one tank division, and one air force division. Soviet equipment, including automatic weapons of various types, T-34 tanks, and Yak fighter planes, were provided in early 1950.

With this newfound might, Kim Il Sung made plans to invade South Korea. He had been allowed to build such a force because Moscow viewed North Korea as part of a “security blanket” around its borders (Kaufman 1999, 7). In the spring of 1950, Kim visited Moscow and Peking, where he tried to persuade Soviet leader Joseph Stalin and Chinese leader Mao Zedong to approve his plans for an invasion. Both leaders were reluctant; they feared that an attack on South Korea could lead to an American response. Moreover, the Soviet Union was preoccupied with the West, and China did not want to divert its attention from Taiwan.

Today, there exist different views on who was responsible for the Korean War, even though it is now clear who initiated it. But some maintain that Syngman Rhee was also responsible to some extent. His preparations and announcements of a plan to march toward Pyongyang were probably a determining factor in the outbreak of the war because they hastened reinforcement and strengthening of the North Korean People’s Army, as well as advancing the actual invasion date (Gye-Dong Kim 1989, 44). Thus does Gye-Dong Kim (1989) contend that, in fact, both sides in Korea prepared for invasion, although it was the North Koreans who took the initiative.

Geography

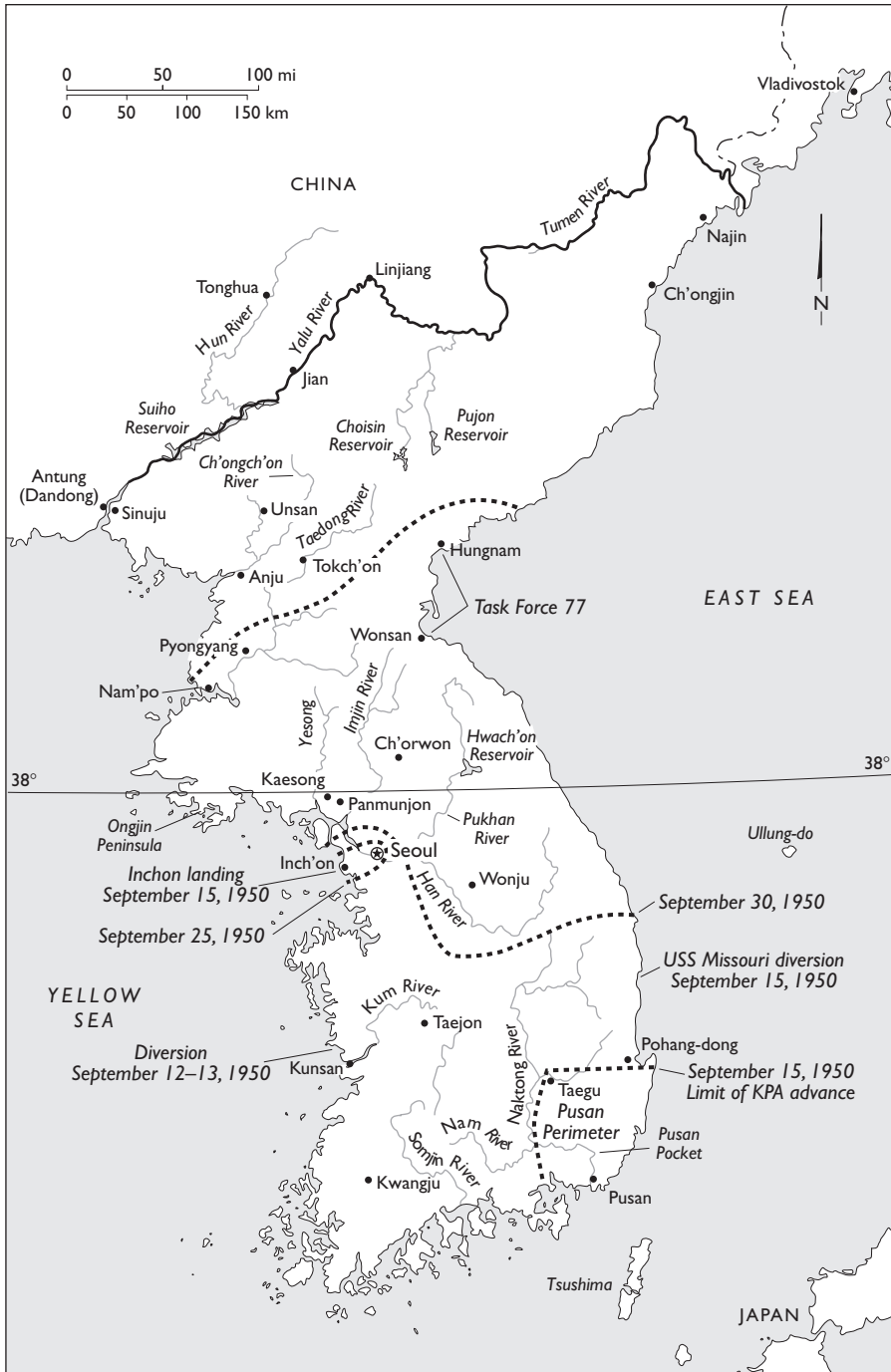
Although North Korea’s geography did not have strategic importance in the Korean War, an understanding of the land and region is helpful in putting the events in perspective. North Korea is extremely mountainous and marked by deep, narrow valleys. A complex system of ranges and spurs extends across the country in a generally northeast to southwest direction. Most of the soils in the mountainous regions lack organic material and are relatively infertile. Only 18 per-

cent of the land is arable. Nearly all the major rivers arise in the mountains and flow west to the Yellow Sea. Korea’s 636-mile boundary with China is formed by two rivers, the Yalu to the west and the Tumen to the east. This abutment of the two countries almost ensured eventual Chinese intervention in the conflict, which China did join in October 1950. The last eleven miles of the Tumen’s course separate Korea from Russia. The boundary between the two Korean states is known as the Military Demarcation Line, so designated by the Armistice Agreement of 1953; it replaced the division at the thirty-eighth parallel agreed upon by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1945. The total area of North and South Korea is about 85,300 square miles. North Korea has approximately 47,300 miles, about 55 percent of the total land area, and South Korea has roughly 38,000 square miles.

Tactics

Advised and equipped by the Soviets and with huge reserves of manpower, the North Korean surprise attack was a smashing success. With more than 1,400 artillery pieces and 126 modern tanks from the Soviet Union, the North Korean force of 110,000 soldiers quickly drove through the ill-equipped, outnumbered South Korean forces. By the third day of the invasion, the Northern forces had captured the South Korean capital, Seoul. In contrast to the Soviets’ equipping of their North Korean ally with military supplies, the United States refused to aid South Korea in a similar way because it feared that South Korea might use its military strength to invade North Korea, which could lead to a major conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union.

It is believed that Soviet staff officers proffered advice in the drawing of the overall plan for an invasion and conquest of South Korea (Catchpole 2000, 11). The plan’s objective was to occupy all of South Korea within fourteen to fifteen days of the invasion and to unify the peninsula under Communist control. Following



Stalin's advice, the North Koreans significantly reduced their activity along the thirty-eighth parallel to lull the South Koreans into a false sense of security. Moreover, the attack was timed for Sunday morning, a time when many South Korean officials and their American advisers were away from their units on weekend passes. This also contributed to the success of the North Korean surprise attack.

Causes of the War

The war cannot be attributed solely to Kim Il Sung's desire to reunify Korea under the Communist regime and the ideological disparity between the two Koreans instigated by the surrounding major powers. The war was also the result of an imbalance of power: The United States failed to study the strategic importance of the peninsula and balance the military strength of the two sides. In this sense, the war was in many aspects a result of the failure of deterrence (Gye-Dong Kim 1989, 45). As Hyung-Kook Kim (1995) points out, the origins and nature of the Korean War are best understood when looked at as two different wars fought in one theater at the same time.

The Korean War has major characteristics of civil war and can be considered as a domestic power struggle between Syngman Rhee and Kim Il Sung. The North Korean leader may well have had aspirations like those of Syngman Rhee—to unify the Korean peninsula immediately (by force if necessary) and then to assume leadership of all Korea—ever since the establishment of his separate regime. Kim Il Sung and Syngman Rhee were fiercely nationalistic, and each was determined to reunite the country under his own rule (Stueck 2002, 69).

Ideological and historical circumstances also contributed to some of the Communists' miscalculations. Kim Il Sung overestimated the prospects for internal disruption in South Korea because his leftist ideology led him to see widespread popular discontent as omnipresent in the capitalist world (Stueck 1995, 355). Re-

cent Communist success in China reinforced this misperception.

The policy of the United States toward Korea also played a role in encouraging Kim's invasion. Had the United States made clear its intention to defend South Korea, the war could probably have been avoided. Despite the instability of the Rhee regime and considerable opposition from the State Department in Washington, which was concerned about the military threat to South Korea from North Korea, the United States hoped to withdraw from Korea as soon as possible. Kaufman (1999) notes that military leaders at that time believed that Korea lacked military and strategic value in a potential war in Asia (Kaufman 1999, 6). They were reluctant to make a military commitment in Asia after the Communist victory in China. Owing to a general manpower shortage in the United States armed forces, the military was reluctant to expand responsibilities. Moreover, they viewed that Europe would be the main area of confrontation with the Soviet Union. They believed that the greatest danger from the Soviet Union would come from a Communist takeover of the economically devastated nations of Western Europe. Prior to 1950, as Kaufman (1999) notes, U.S. officials in Washington perceived the immediate Soviet menace as directed primarily against Western Europe and, to a lesser extent, against the northern tier of Near East countries that included Greece, Turkey, and Iran.

In their view, Moscow sought to achieve its ambitions not through acts of overt military aggression but through subversion of economically destitute governments. Accordingly, the United States planned to protect Western Europe from Soviet expansion by economic assistance (as provided by the Marshall Plan of 1948) and collective security (as embodied in the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] in 1949). During the preceding periods, Korea had been a low priority. The military's desire for an early withdrawal stemmed from this low strategic standing and from limited U.S. military resources (Chull

Baum Kim 1994). The withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea, combined with the speech by Secretary of State Dean Acheson, encouraged the North Korean leader to pursue his invasion plan (Rees 1988).

In that speech at the National Press Club in Washington in January 1950, Acheson stressed UN protection for places beyond the U.S. “defensive perimeter.” The intent of this speech was to alert mainland Communist China that the United States would not act militarily to prevent an invasion of Taiwan and that there was no need to launch an attack on Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist government there. However, the speech also seemed to indicate that the United States would not act to protect South Korea from attack by its northern neighbor and that the country was outside the sphere of American concern in the Pacific. This omission, albeit unintentional, encouraged North Korea and the Soviets. Combined with the 1948 South Korean elections and the 1949 U.S. military withdrawal from the peninsula, American policy indicated a lack of desire to repel an invasion by North Korea. It was viewed within the United States as unlikely that the Soviet Union would allow such an attack to take place. When the invasion did occur, it dumbfounded the United States.

Outcome ***Conflict Status***

Early Sunday morning on June 25, 1950, at 4 a.m., North Korea crossed the thirty-eighth parallel and attempted to unify the peninsula using quick and decisive force, believing that a response from the United States and its allies would be delayed or nonexistent. According to MacDonald (1996), Kim Il-Sung seemed oblivious to the possibility that the United States would defend South Korea, that the United States would not tolerate losing South Korea to communism. But this presumption, or failure to presume, proved false: By the end of June, the United Nations had created an international

force under the command of U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur to defend South Korea.

After the UN forces defeated North Korea, the UN General Assembly supported a U.S. proposal to occupy the North until elections could be held for a unified government. But this proposal would not be carried out. The Chinese, alarmed at the UN forces’ drive north across the parallel and toward their frontier, intervened. They deployed a large force of the Chinese People’s Volunteer Army as support for the North. The combined North Korean and Chinese forces pushed the UN back south of Seoul before a UN counteroffensive finally moved the front lines back to the thirty-eighth parallel in March 1951.

In June, the Soviet representative to the United Nations proposed cease-fire talks. These negotiations went on for two years while Korea continued fighting. The armistice between the UN commander and the combined forces of the North Korean People’s Army and the Chinese People’s Volunteers would not ultimately be reached until July 1953. South Korean President Rhee disagreed with this move; he insisted on Korea’s unification and objected to returning to a policy of containment. In his letter to President Dwight Eisenhower of May 30, 1953, he stated that the Korean question should be solved by punishing the aggressor and by reuniting the country. He even unilaterally released 28,000 prisoners in an attempt to prevent the agreement from being finalized. The United States responded to Rhee’s obstinacy by offering a mutual defense treaty: US \$1 billion in economic aid over three years and equipment for a twenty-division army. Rhee acquiesced, but South Korea never signed the armistice.

The cease-fire was signed by China and North Korea on the one side and the United States on the other. The armistice agreement was effective without the signature of the South Korean government because international law authorized military commanders to conclude an armistice (Kleiner 2001). This cease-fire has not been converted into any permanent peace settlement. Therefore, the Korean War is not technically

over—which makes the Armistice Agreement of 1953 the longest cease-fire in history. The new Military Demarcation Line agreed on by the two sides in the truce was based on natural defenses of water and terrain. To the north and south of the four-kilometer-wide Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) stand North Korean troops on one side and South Korean and American troops on the other. The DMZ is still defended today.

The Korean War, having resolved nothing and ending in a stalemate, left an estimated 1.3 million to 2.4 million Koreans dead. Nearly 37,000 U.S. troops were killed and another 103,000 wounded. An estimated 900,000 Chinese troops were killed and wounded. Turkey, Britain, Canada, France, Australia, Greece, and other UN countries lost between 2,000 and 3,000 troops (Clark 2000).

Duration Tactics

Although more than three years separated the outbreak of the military conflict and the armistice agreement, this superfluous length of time cannot be considered any side's tactic to prolong the war. The reasons for the painful prolongation of the war are twofold: the intervention of China in October 1950 and the lengthy armistice negotiation. The most heated period of the Korean War was from June 1950 through March 1951; the rest of the war involved minor territory change and laborious peace negotiations.

At the end of September 1950, after a successful amphibious landing at Inchon, most South Korean territory was in the hands of UN troops. At this juncture, there was a discrepancy between South Korea's and America's objectives. When the war first broke out, Secretary of State Acheson stated that the fighting had the sole aim "of restoring the Republic of Korea to its status prior to the invasion from the North" (Spanier 1959, 88). As this objective had been achieved, there was no reason for the UN forces to cross the thirty-eighth parallel. However, the South Korean government, which had dreamed of reunification, could not be satisfied with restora-

tion of the status quo that existed before the war. Syngman Rhee felt that the war would remain unresolved unless unity was achieved. The United States eventually converted to Rhee's opinion in the hopes of reducing the Soviet's influence. The United States changed its policy from one of containment to one of rollback (Kleiner 2001), a decision that would profoundly change and greatly prolong the course of the war in Korea.

From April 1951 until the end of the war in July 1953, the war's front remained near the thirty-eighth parallel. In the spring and summer of 1951, the Chinese and North Korean forces tried to retake Seoul. But the front was almost impassable. After this failure, in the spring of 1951, China and North Korea started to reconsider the negotiations (Kleiner 2001). On June 23, the Soviet ambassador to the United Nations revealed a willingness to compromise on a cease-fire and truce. The first negotiation meeting was held on July 8, 1951. But this bargaining proved to be a much more involved process than either side expected. Three main issues in the negotiations were determination of a demarcation line for the cease-fire, establishment of a framework for supervising the armistice, and repatriation of the prisoners of war. Had it not been for the issue of repatriation, an end to the hostilities might have been achieved as early as 1951, two years before the final agreement was reached.

The cause of delay was President Truman's opposition to the repatriation of POWs (prisoners of war) against their will, even though the Geneva Conference of 1949 specifically required all POWs to be repatriated regardless of their consent (Kaufman 1999). On July 8, 1953, it was agreed that those POWs who did not insist on being repatriated would become civilians six months after the conclusion of the armistice agreement. On July 27, 1953, the armistice agreement was finally signed.

External Military Intervention

The invasion of South Korea came as a shock to the United States. Dean Acheson of the State De-

partment had told the U.S. Congress on June 20 that war was unlikely. It was also explicit in his testimony, in 1951, that all agencies of the American government were in accord: An invasion from by North Korea did not appear imminent. However, the CIA reported in early March that such an action was likely and could happen as early as June.

On hearing of the invasion, the United Nations and the American government reacted quickly and decisively. On June 25, the UN Security Council passed the first of three resolutions on Korea that would place the world organization's full authority behind South Korea. During these resolutions, the Soviet delegate to the Security Council was absent in protest of the UN's refusal to recognize the new Communist regime

in China. Without the USSR's veto, the motions passed easily. The first Security Council resolution called for a cease-fire, the withdrawal of North Korea forces to the thirty-eighth parallel, and an understanding that all UN members would render every assistance to the UN in the implementation of its decision. On June 27, the Security Council met again and called on the UN members to furnish such assistance. The Republic of Korea needed help to repel the armed attack, and the UN would need assistance to restore international peace and security in the area. With the Soviet's absence and with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abstaining, on June 27 the UN voted to aid South Korea.

Meanwhile, the Soviets claimed that the Korean conflict was an internal affair and therefore



U.S. soldiers pass a line of South Korean refugees near the Naktong River on August 11, 1950. U.S. military intervention reversed North Korean dominance in the Korean War. (Bettmann/Corbis)

outside the Security Council's jurisdiction. They contended, moreover, that because the ruling had been decided in the absence of their delegate, any action taken by the UN would be illegal. Despite the Soviets' accusations, President Truman authorized the use of U.S. naval and air assistance to South Korea. On another front, he also ordered Seventh Fleet to protect Taiwan, both to deter any Communist Chinese aggression toward the island and to dissuade the Chinese Nationalists from military actions toward the mainland. The United States still had substantial forces in Japan, which allowed for such quick intervention. General Douglas MacArthur, in charge of overseeing Japan as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers and head of American forces in the Pacific, made a trip to Korea to understand the situation there. Following the visit, he asked permission from Washington to use American ground forces from Japan to stop the North Koreans. Truman gave the go-ahead. American combat troops would be sent from Japan to the southeast side of Korea to defend the Pusan area. The first American combat troops from the 24th Infantry Division in Japan arrived at Pusan on July 1, 1950.

The third major policy resolution concerning Korea was made on July 7, 1950. In this, the UN Security Council recommended that UN members providing military assistance under the previous resolutions should make their forces available to a Unified Command (UC) under the United States. The Security Council also authorized the Unified Command to use the United Nations flag concurrently with the flags of the nations participating, in the course of operations against North Korean forces. The United States, asked to designate a commander of the UC, quickly named General MacArthur. Sixteen nations were to send forces to the UNC, another five would send medical units, and forty members would offer aid. Eventually, U.S. forces were joined by troops from fifteen other UN member countries: Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, France, South Africa, Turkey, Thailand, Greece, the Netherlands, Ethiopia, Colombia, the Philippines, Belgium, and Luxembourg.

After a successful landing at Inchon, the United Nations troops drove the North Koreans back past the thirty-eighth parallel. The goal of restoring the original border between the two Koreas had been achieved, but because of the heady success and the tempting possibility of uniting all of Korea under the government of Syngman Rhee, the Americans decided to continue their drive into North Korea.

This move greatly concerned the Chinese, who worried that the UN forces would not stop at the Yalu River, the effective border between the PRK and Manchuria. Their concern was not without reason, as many in the West, including General MacArthur, thought that spreading the war into China would be necessary. Truman and the other world leaders disagreed. So MacArthur was ordered to be extremely cautious when approaching the Chinese border. Amphibious and airborne operations north of the thirty-eighth parallel could be conducted only if there were no entry or threat of entry by Chinese or Soviet forces. South Korean troops only were to be used near the Soviet or Chinese borders.

The People's Republic of China had issued warnings that if this mandate was not observed, they would intervene. On October 2, 1950, the Chinese Foreign Minister, Chou En-lai, told the Indian ambassador in unambiguous language that although South Korean entry into the North was not significant, American intrusion would be resisted by China. Truman regarded the warnings as a bluff—or worse, blackmail. So, disregarding the threat, U.S. troops crossed the parallel and moved into North Korea.

On October 8, 1950, the day after American troops crossed the thirty-eighth parallel and the UN passed its resolution on Korean unification, Chairman Mao ordered large-scale Chinese military intervention. He issued orders for the deployment of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army to be moved to the Yalu River and to be prepared to cross. On October 15, Truman went to Wake Island to discuss the likelihood of Chinese intervention and his desire to limit the scope of the Korean conflict. MacArthur reas-

sured his commander that there was very little chance of Chinese intervention and that, in any case, his air force was capable of inflicting sufficient destruction on any Chinese ground troops entering Korea.

MacArthur's assurances were misinformed. The Chinese assault began on October 19, just four days after the general's bravado, and was led by General Peng Dehuai in command of 300,000 CPVA troops. The Chinese assault caught the UN troops by surprise, as war between the PRC and the United Nations had not been declared. The Battle of Chosin Reservoir (November 26–December 13) forced the UN deployment to withdraw from the northern part of Korea. The United States X Corps retreat was the longest retreat of an American unit in history. At the end of December 1950, North Korea was back in Communist hands. On January 4, 1951, Seoul was retaken by Communist Chinese and North Korean forces. Both the Eighth Army and the X Corps were forced to retreat.

On April 11, 1951, President Truman relieved MacArthur of his command. The general was seen as having overstepped the bounds of his military responsibilities (Kleiner 2001). These missteps include his meeting with ROC President Chiang Kai-shek in the role of a U.S. diplomat. He had also shown poor foresight at Wake Island when President Truman asked him specifically about Chinese troop buildup near the Korean border. Furthermore, MacArthur had openly demanded the authority to use a nuclear attack on China. He felt it was high time to counter Communism in an offensive, aggressive way. His view, although in perfect agreement with the Republicans, proved his undoing. His successor was General Matthew Ridgway, who managed to regroup the UN forces for an effective counteroffense that slowly but steadily drove back the opposing forces.

Conflict Management Efforts

In imposing military sanctions against North Korea, the United Nations had taken an extraordinary step. The UN also promoted efforts to-

ward a cease-fire to end the Korean conflict and later negotiated a solution to the POW issues. To facilitate the implementation of the armistice, shortly after the agreement to a truce a new Joint Security Area (JSA) was set up in the Demilitarized Zone at Panmunjom. Both parties agreed that a permanent detail of joint duty officers from the United Nations Command and the Communist side would be stationed in the JSA.

Three commissions were created to supervise this cease-fire. The Military Armistice Commission (MAC), which consisted of senior representatives of both sides, would exercise overall supervision of the truce via joint observer teams in the DMZ. The main work of the MAC was to hear the accusations and counteraccusations launched over truce violations in the DMZ.

The second agency created by the armistice was the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (NNSC). The NNSC was originally created to inspect for and ensure armistice compliance at locations outside the DMZ. Under the armistice agreement, it originally consisted of delegations from four nations: Sweden and Switzerland (nominated by the United Nations Command and Czechoslovakia and Poland (appointed by the Communists). North Korea declared this body defunct in April 1991 and began boycotting their events. The grounds for this accusation were that the countries they nominated were no longer Communist. When Czechoslovakia split in two in 1993, North Korea refused to accept the Czech Republic as the replacement and forced the withdrawal of their delegation. In February 1995, North Korea forcibly ejected the Polish delegation from North Korea. Today, only the Swedish and Swiss delegations play this role on a full-time basis; the Polish delegation, which never accepted its dismissal, occasionally returns to Panmunjom to participate in NNSC functions.

The third agency was the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission (NNRC). This agency was to supervise the exchange of POWs, their repatriation, and the eventual disposition of

Mobile Phones in South Korea

It was in 1896 that the first telephones in Korea were installed in the royal palace compound. Public telephone service was introduced in 1902. As of the end of 1979, there were only some 240,000 telephone subscribers, about 6.3 telephones per 100 people (Office of Prime Minister 2006). In 2004, South Korea had more than 33.5 million mobile phone subscribers out of a population of 48.5 million, a mobile phone penetration rate of about 69 percent (Ericsson Market Update: South Korea 2004).

prisoners in neither category. After its initial work on POWs was complete, the NNRC voted to dissolve itself in February 1954.

Conclusion

The border between North and South Korea remains highly armed and tense half a century after the start of the bitter war that divided the peninsula. The Korean War had a profound impact on the fate of Koreans residing in their native land. The war left almost 3 million of their countrymen dead or wounded and millions of others homeless and separated from their families. Globally, the current crisis of North Korea's nuclear threat is also a by-product of the division of the Korean peninsula and therefore a result of the Korean War.

But the debate on the origins of this war continues. Understanding the interplay of domestic and foreign forces is the key to understanding the Korean War (Lone and McCormack 1993). Hyung-Kook Kim (1995) argues that the Korean War must be understood in a wider theoretical framework, not just as a civil war or as American intervention against Communist aggression. As these scholars argue, the origins of the war must be understood in the context of events both inside and outside Korea.

Jung-Yeop Woo

Chronology

- August 22, 1910 Japan annexes Korea.
- December 1, 1943 Cairo Conference; U.S., U.K., and China state that Korea should become free and independent.
- August 15, 1945 Japan surrenders, ending World War II.
- September 8, 1945 American occupation forces land in Korea.
- September 17, 1947 The U.S. refers issue of Korean reunion and independence to United Nations.
- October 1947 The U.S. presents a resolution at UN calling for separate elections in U.S. and Soviet zones. A United Nations Treaty Commission (UNTCOK) would be established to supervise elections for a Korean government.
- January 1948 Soviet Union refuses to allow UNTCOK to enter its zone in Korea.
- February 1948 UN approves U.S. resolution giving UNTCOK authority to supervise elections in South Korea.
- May 10, 1948 National Assembly elected in South Korea.
- August 15, 1948 Republic of Korea is officially established.
- September 9, 1948 Democratic People's Republic of Korea established in north.
- November 1948 President Rhee imposes martial law over most of South Korea after a series of rebellions.
- March 1949 National Security Council of UN recommends withdrawal of all American forces by June 30, 1949.
- April 8, 1949 Soviet Union vetoes South Korean membership in UN.
- January 12, 1950 Secretary of State Acheson delivers speech placing Korea outside the U.S. defense perimeter.
- June 25, 1950 North Korea invades South Korea.
- June 27, 1950 UN calls for military sanction against North Korea.
- June 30, 1950 Seoul falls to North Korean forces. Truman authorizes the use of American ground forces in Korea under the UN command.
- July 1, 1950 American task force arrives in Korea from Japan.
- July 3, 1950 U.S. troops engage North Koreans for the first time.
- September 7, 1950 UN forces successfully defend Pusan perimeter.

- September 15, 1950 Amphibious landing at Inchon.
- September 27, 1950 Seoul recaptured: Truman approves directive ordering UN forces to cross thirty-eighth parallel.
- September 28, 1950 Communist China warns intervention if North Korea is invaded.
- October 7, 1950 UN adopts resolution authorizing UN forces to cross into North Korea.
- October 19, 1950 North Korean capital of Pyongyang falls to UN forces.
- October 27, 1950 South Korean forces reach Yalu River.
- November 20, 1950 U.S. forces reach Manchurian border.
- November 25, 1950 More than 300,000 Chinese combat troops intervene.
- November 26, 1950 Eighth Army is in full retreat.
- January 1, 1951 Communist forces advance below thirty-eighth parallel.
- January 4, 1951 UN forces abandon Seoul to the Communists.
- March 14, 1951 Seoul is reclaimed by UN forces for the second time.
- April 11, 1951 Truman relieves MacArthur of his command.
- June 23, 1951 Soviet Union calls for cease-fire in Korea.
- July 2, 1951 Communists agree to begin armistice negotiations.
- July 10, 1951 UN and Communists begin truce talks.
- November 25, 1951 Tentative agreement is reached on truce line.
- May 7, 1952 Armistice negotiations stall over repatriation of POWs.
- May 23, 1953 President Rhee threatens to remove ROK army from United Nations Command in protest over armistice terms.
- July 27, 1953 Armistice is signed, ending Korean War.

List of Acronyms

- CPVA: Chinese People's Volunteer Army
 DMZ: Demilitarized Zone
 DPRK: People's Republic of Korea
 GNP: gross national product
 JSA: Joint Security Area
 MAC: Military Armistice Commission
 NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 NNRC: Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission
 NNSC: Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission

- POW: prisoner of war
 PRK: People's Republic of Korea
 ROC: Republic of China
 ROK: Republic of Korea
 UC: Unified Command
 UNTCOK: United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea

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Lebanon

(1975–1978)

Introduction

Although Lebanon gained its independence in 1941 (Rabinovich 1985), “the people of Lebanon have a long and distinctive history” (Bannerman 2002, 197). The Islamic empires of the Umayyad (660–750), the Abbasid (750–1258), and later on the Fatimids, Ayubids, and Memluks of Egypt dominated the area for centuries. From the early sixteenth century, the Sunni Ottoman Turks controlled the whole area, until the dissolution of the empire at the end of World War I (Bannerman 2002).

Through a wartime agreement between Britain and France, Lebanon became a French mandate. France created modern Lebanon on August 31, 1920, by expanding its boundaries to establish a more viable state (Rabinovich 1985). As a result, the northern city of Tripoli, which is a Sunni Muslim center, the southern Shi’ite Muslim centers of Sidon and Tyre, and the Bekaa Valley in the east were added to the Lebanese state. Beirut, the home of all different sects—Maronites and Greek Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Armenians, Sunnis, Shi’ites, and Druze—became the capital city of modern Lebanon. The French mandate came to an end in 1943 as a result of the French political and military decline during World War II and the rise of Syrian and Arab nationalism in the Middle East (Bannerman 2002).

The oral agreement between Christians and Muslims that was reached in 1943 marked the

foundations of modern Lebanon. The distribution of power was based upon each community’s numerical strength (Rabinovich 1985). As a result, “Christian supremacy” (Rabinovich 1985, 24) in the modern Lebanon was established in the decision that the “president of the republic was to be a Maronite Christian; the president of the Chamber of deputies, a Shi’ite Muslim; the prime minister a Sunni Muslim. The Greek orthodox were to have the vice-prime minister and the vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies” (Deeb 1980, 5). Moreover, “a ratio of six Christian deputies to every five Muslim deputies in parliament” was agreed upon (Rabinovich 1985, 24).

Country Background

Lebanon became one of the most democratic and most stable states in the Middle East after it gained independence. The Lebanese political and economic system attracted deposits and trusts from the oil-rich Arab countries, and “this capital helped fuel the remarkable development during the period of 1955–1975” (Held 2000, 266). The Lebanese economy diversified after independence, and the “manufacturing sector surpassed agriculture in the economic hierarchy” (Held 2000, 267). The share of industry in the gross domestic product (GDP) reached 20 percent in 1974 (Nasr 1990). Lebanon attracted

more than 1.5 million tourists before 1975 (Held 2000). Lebanon, with a democratic and highly urban and educated society, was labeled the “Switzerland of the Middle East” before the outbreak of the 1975 civil war (Goldschmidt 2000).

Besides the domestic improvements in the economy, the Lebanese economy took advantage of the regional economic boom, “especially of the growing wealth of the Arab oil states. Beirut supplied a source of entertainment and investment as well as transit points for goods and services” (Bannerman 2002, 206). Nasr (1990, 5) reports that “the average yearly rate of growth was around six percent; the national income per capita increased from \$400 in 1965 and \$647 in 1970 to \$1415 in 1974.” The GDP per capita did not decline during the 1975–1978 war. GDP per capita was \$3,429 (constant 1985 US dollars) in 1975 (Fearon and Laitin 2003). Parliamentary elections were held with no serious restrictions until the outbreak of the war in 1975. Lebanon received a 5 on the Polity IV scale, which ranges from –10 (least democratic) to +10 (most democratic) in 1975 (Fearon and Laitin 2003).

Conflict Background

The Lebanese 1975–1978 civil war was a resumption of the conflict that took place between the same parties in 1958. The political turmoil in Lebanon during these years was closely related to regional developments. The primary factor that led to the outbreak of conflict between the two major groups, the Christians and the Muslims, was systemic. The Arab-Israeli conflict and Egyptian leader Nasser’s nationalistic policies fueled the Muslims’ resentment in Lebanon (Rabinovich 1985). The Muslims believed that the political system needed to be altered in such a way that Christians were no longer the dominant element of the system. The conflict broke out between President Chamoun’s supporters, Maronite Christians, and the Muslims in February 1958. The Lebanese army remained neutral, and the conflict subsided with U.S. military intervention. The status quo was preserved, yet the 1958

war revealed the shortcomings inherent in the Lebanese political system, on the one hand, and how Lebanese politics is closely related to and affected by regional developments, on the other.

The primary factor underlying the onset of the 1958 and 1975–1978 civil wars should not be characterized as the Christians against the Muslims (Rabinovich 1985). Lebanese society is too complex to be divided into such a binomial dichotomy. Although the sectarian divisions among the groups were the most crucial factor leading to the outbreak of the conflict, “political leaders were the secular heads of prominent families, rather than clerics” (Abu-Hamad 1995, 237). Religious cleavages were used by the leaders to mobilize their communities and differentiate themselves from other groups. Thus, the traditional classification of civil wars as ethnic or religious may not capture the complexity of the Lebanese civil wars.

The first serious indications of impending civil war were the clashes between Palestinians and the Lebanese army in 1969. The conflict over the Palestinian issue served as a catalyst in the 1975 Lebanese civil war. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Lebanese government signed the Cairo agreement in November 1969 (Rabinovich 1985; O’Ballance 1998). This agreement involved ambiguous terms and indeed showed the weakness of the Lebanese government in controlling its own territory.

Events in the late 1960s and early 1970s precipitated the outbreak of the second civil war in modern Lebanon. The war started in April 1975 under the pressure from internal and external forces (Rabinovich 1985). It is common to divide the Lebanese civil war into several phases. For instance, Rabinovich (1985) divides the second civil war into four phases. Similarly, Rasler (1983), based on Hudson (1978), argues that the second Lebanese civil war experienced four distinct phases. Deeb (1980), on the other hand, divides the war into seven phases. These studies conclude that the war started in April 1975 and ended in October 1976 with the Riyadh Conference. Nevertheless, as O’Ballance (1998) argues,

the war continued, with severe complications. Although there is no consensus among scholars as to the end date of the second war, this article considers the war to have ended in 1978, when the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) arrived in March 1978, and a six-point national accord was endorsed by the Lebanese parliament and agreed upon by the communities' leaders in April 1978 (O'Ballance 1998; Deeb 1980). Doyle and Sambanis (2000) report that the second civil war in Lebanon lasted thirty-six months, which indicates that the war ended in April 1978.

Therefore, the second Lebanese civil war is divided into five phases. The first four phases are in accordance with Rabinovich's (1985) and Rasler's (1983) classification and analyze the period between the outbreak of the war in April 1975 and the Riyadh Conference in October 1976, at which the fighting parties negotiated a peace settlement. The fifth phase analyzes the post-Riyadh Conference period until the deployment of the UNIFIL and the endorsement of a six-point national accord by the parliament (April 1978). This phase is heavily based on O'Ballance (1998).

The first phase of the war (April–June 1975) was dominated by the clashes between radical Palestinians and the Phalangist militias in Beirut. O'Ballance (1998, 1) reports the incident that marked the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon:

... on April 13 1975 in the mainly Christian district of Rumaniyeh, outside the Church of St Maron. Pierre Gamayel, leader of Falange (Phalange) Party, sometimes referred to as Kataib, was attending a consecration service. Outside, members of his armed and uniformed militia were diverting traffic away from the front of the church when a vehicle carrying half a dozen Palestinian militiamen—firing their rifles into the air in the customary "*baroud*"—came on to the scene. The Palestinians refused to be diverted from their route, so the Falangists halted their progress and attacked them. In the scuffle the Palestinian driver was killed, as were three Falangists.

The underlying factor, however, was the tension that had been growing within Lebanon. By that time, the Lebanese government had become so weak that each group, both Muslims and Christians, established their own militias to protect their members and to enhance their power. Following the incidents in Beirut, clashes occurred in Tripoli, a Sunni Muslim center, between the supporters of President Franjiyya and ex-prime minister Karami, a Sunni political leader. These incidents resulted in a cabinet crisis. The Muslim members of the Sulh's cabinet, including the prominent Druze leader Junblat, blamed the Phalangists for the clashes and resigned from their posts (O'Ballance 1998; Rabinovich 1985). As Deeb (1980, 1–2) argues, prime minister Sulh's resignation "demonstrated the precariousness and weakness of the prime minister as compared with the president of the republic. Rashid Karami, an ex-prime minister and prominent Sunni leader, reiterated his intention of running in the next presidential elections and maintained that the position of the prime minister in Lebanon had become ineffective and devoid of any real power in decision making."

The second phase (June 1975–January 1976) was characterized by the spread of the war and coalition building among the politically powerful groups. Clashes between mainly Christian and Muslim groups occurred in several large cities, including Beirut, Zahle, Tripoli, and Akkar (Rabinovich 1985). This phase also witnessed the formation of a Shi'ite armed militia—Amal—by the Shi'a leader al-Sadr. Moreover, the Muslims made it clear that they want a revision of the political system. During this period, the Lebanese army disintegrated, and Christian leaders started to discuss the partition of the Christian community.

The third phase (January–May 1976) was marked by Syrian military intervention in the Lebanese conflict. A partition of Lebanon would be consequential for the Syrian regime because it would result in a small Christian state that would make an alliance with Israel and a radical

Arab state that would be supported by Iraq, a bitter rival of Syria. With the consent of the United States and the tacit agreement of Israel, Syria intervened to obstruct a possible partition (Rabinovich 1985). The Syrian direct intervention was expected to stop the violence between the groups. However, the attempts by the Syrian regime to bring about peace and control the fighting groups did not go as planned. The Palestinians, on the one hand, were weary of the Syrian intentions, for Syria was seeking a Greater Syria that would include Palestine land (Rabinovich 1985). On the other hand, Kamal Junblat, a charismatic Druze leader who founded the Progressive Socialist Party, accused the Syrian regime of being corrupt and not genuine in the establishment of “democracy and socialism” (Rabinovich 1985, 52). This resulted in a conflict between the Syrian troops and Muslim groups, primarily the Palestinians and the Lebanese left.

The fourth phase (May–October 1976) was marked by the Riyadh Conference and its consequences. The six parties—Saudi Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, the PLO, and Kuwait—convened in Riyadh on October 16, 1976 (Rabinovich 1985). The most important decision made during the conference was to stop the fighting and send an Arab Deterrent Force (ADF) to supervise the normalization process. The ADF, mainly composed of Syrian troops, would be assisted financially by the oil-producing Arab states, primarily Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Palestinians agreed to retain their pre-1975 positions and restrict their activities in the south. Thus, the Riyadh Conference not only endorsed the right of the PLO to operate in Lebanon, albeit limited to south Lebanon, but also gave Syria the opportunity to establish a political and military hegemony over Lebanese politics (O’Ballance 1998). The fundamental issues between the Muslims and the Christians over the power sharing remained unsolved, however.

The fifth phase of the war was characterized by a decline in violence in Beirut between Mus-

lims and Christians and an increasingly important Syrian direct role (O’Ballance 1998). The ADF failed to disarm the Christian and Muslim militias. The PLO moved back to south Lebanon. However, this caused confrontations with the South Lebanon Army (SLA), Haddad’s Christian militia, which was supported by Israel. The relative stability and reduced violence in Beirut, however, were seriously undermined by the assassination of Druze leader Kamal Junblat on March 16, 1977. Junblat was not in favor of the Syrian presence and influence in Lebanon (O’Ballance 1998). In early 1978, Syrian ADF troops clashed with the Christian National Liberal Party (NLP), led by Chamoun. The PLO raids into Israel from south Lebanon finally led to an Israeli invasion of south Lebanon in March 1978. Israel announced that the goal of the operation was to destroy the PLO bases and establish a security zone. Israeli forces, aided by the SLA, did not confront the ADF and did not advance north of the red line, which lay slightly north of the Litani River (O’Ballance 1998). In the same month, the UN authorized the establishment of a UN peace-keeping force to be deployed in south Lebanon. The first UNIFIL troops arrived on March 22, 1978 (O’Ballance 1998). The fifth phase and the civil war ended in April 1978 with a national accord by the groups’ leaders that aimed at banning all private militias and reestablishing the Lebanese army.

The 1975–1978 civil war severely impacted the sociopolitical and economic life of the Lebanese. As a result of the war, Lebanon lost its functions “as a financial, cultural, and communication center” in the Middle East (Rabinovich 1985, 57). Thousands of people, mostly Christians, had to emigrate. Sambanis (2004) reports that 285,000 people were displaced during the war period (1975–1990). The war also led to a high number of casualties, 125,892 (Doyle and Sambanis 2000). The war ended in a negotiated settlement (Doyle and Sambanis 2000), yet the country became “divided among external forces and local baronies” (Rabinovich 1985, 57).

Table 1: Civil War in Lebanon

War:	Sectarian conflict among Christian and Muslim groups
Dates:	April 1975–April 1978
Casualties:	125,892
Regime type prior to war:	5 (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data— ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	Not available
GDP per capita year war began:	\$3,429 (constant 1985 US dollars)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	\$3,299 (constant 1985 US dollars)
Insurgents:	Christian and Muslim militias
Issue:	Identity and control of the central government
Rebel funding:	Domestic and external sources
Role of geography:	High levels of ethnic and religious concentration in different parts of the country
Role of resources:	None
Immediate outcome:	Negotiated settlement with treaty facilitated by Saudi Arabia
Outcome after 5 years:	War recurred in 1982.
Role of UN:*	Sent peacekeepers into southern Lebanon.
Role of regional organization:	Arab Deterrence Force was active.
Refugees:**	285,000
Prospects:	Contingent on regional political stability

Sources: Doyle and Sambanis 2000, Fearon and Laitin 2003, Nasr 1990, O'Ballance 1998, Rabinovich (1985), Sambanis 2004.

Notes: *Doyle and Sambanis (2000) do not report any UN role in this war. The UNIFIL was primarily deployed in south Lebanon to prevent clashes between the Palestinian groups and Israel.

**These data are for the 1975–1990 period. Abu-Hamad (1995, 241) reports that “750,000 [people] were internally displaced and 930,000 were forced to emigrate.” The huge gap between the numbers may be a result of sources they used. Sambanis (2004) data are based on Maksidi and Sadaka (2002), “The Issue of Displaced in Lebanon, 1975–1990: The Movements and Regions of the Displaced.” Abu-Hamad’s figures are from a 1992 unpublished UN study.

Some features of the war are summarized in Table 1.

The Insurgents

There is no easy way to classify the rebels in the Lebanese civil war. The primary reason for this is that the governmental structure and state apparatus became useless, as it was principally controlled by one group, the Christian Maronites. Although in general the conflict occurred between Muslims and Christians, the temptation to classify the rebels or the fighting parties as Muslims versus Christians should be resisted (Rabinovich 1985). Several clashes occurred among Christians as well as among Muslims during the course of the war; for instance, Syrian troops cooperated with the Christian groups against the Palestinians and the leftists

groups in the early years of the war (O'Ballance 1998). Thus, the question of who fought whom is quite complicated in the Lebanese context (O'Ballance 1998).

Despite the fact that the central government almost collapsed, and no central authority was accepted as legitimate by most of the fighting groups, the warring factions could be classified as status quo and revisionist. Generally speaking, Muslim groups sought a fundamental change in the political system, whereas the Christian groups fought to preserve the status quo, in which they were the dominant power (Deeb 1980; Rabinovich 1985).

In the status quo coalition, two groups were most effective. The Phalangist Party was the single most important group in this coalition. The party was founded in the 1930s and became quite influential in Lebanese politics in later

decades. In the 1958 civil war, the Phalangists supported President Chamoun (Deeb 1980). The second influential group was the NLP, led by Camille Chamoun. It lacked a coherent doctrine and was primarily based on Chamoun's pragmatic and charismatic personality (Deeb 1980). In the south, the SLA, led by Major Haddad and supported by Israel, was the only effective non-Muslim organization. Despite differences among the Christian groups, they managed to form alliances against the Muslim militias during the 1975–1978 period (Deeb 1980).

Although the government army was composed of both Muslims and Christians, the latter group was in the majority. According to the Doyle and Sambanis (2000) data set, the army size was 55,000. O'Ballance (1998, 14), on the other hand, reports that the government army consisted of somewhere between 15,000 and 18,000 troops. Nevertheless, the Lebanese national army disintegrated in 1976 after the clashes started between Muslim and Christian militias. Hence, the primary combatant force was not the Lebanese national army but rather the militias. The Phalangist Maronites had the largest Christian militia, which was estimated to exceed 10,000 members by the end of 1975. Chamoun's NLP had 2,000 armed militiamen when the war started. In the south, the SLA, led by Major Haddad, had about 2,000 armed militiamen (O'Ballance 1998).

The revisionist coalition was larger and more heterogeneous than the status quo coalition (Rabinovich 1985). The most influential actors were the Palestinian organizations and the leftist militias. Of the leftist organizations and parties, the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), led by the Druze Kamal Junblat, was the most influential (Deeb 1980; Rabinovich 1985). Fath, led by Yassir Arafat, was the most powerful group among the Palestinian organizations. Syrian intervention produced several pro-Syrian groups during the civil war. The most influential was a Shi'ite organization, Amal, led by al-Sadr. Amal had close ties with Syria and was actively fighting against Israeli forces and their local allies. Of the

Muslim groups, Kamal Junblat's Progressive Socialist Party and the PLO were the most effective. According to O'Ballance (1998), the former group had about 3,000 whereas the latter had about 8,000 well-armed and well-trained men in the late 1970s.

Several scholars (e.g., Collier and Hoeffler 1998; Fearon 2004; Ross 2004) have argued that natural resource wealth has substantial impact on the onset and duration of civil war. However, the debate over the relationship between natural resource wealth and civil wars is not applicable to Lebanese case, for Lebanon has no mineral resources. Nasr (1990) provides a good discussion of the fighting groups' revenue sources in the Lebanese civil war. The Lebanese warring factions benefited from a domestic and regional economic boom in the early and mid-1970s. Consequently, Lebanese expatriates contributed to the Lebanese economy and the continuation of the war. Nasr (1990, 5) reports that "transfers and remittances (wages, savings, benefits) rose . . . from \$250 million in 1970 to \$910 million in 1975 and 2,254 in 1980. This means that the weight of these remittances in the Lebanese national income rose from 18 percent in 1970 to 35.4 percent in 1980." The external monies received by the PLO contributed to the Lebanese national economy as well. The "Palestine economy" in the late 1970s, as Nasr puts it, "was probably larger than that of the Lebanese state itself" (Nasr 1990, 5). Finally, the Lebanese economy was redistributed among the warring factions. Most of the fighting groups established a de facto rule over some parts of the country and, accordingly, those areas' economic activities. The percent of custom revenues collected by the central government, for instance, declined from 97.4 percent in 1980 to 10 percent in 1986 (Nasr 1990). This gap indicates the increasing power of the locally dominant armed groups and how they were funded throughout the war.

Geography

Geography is a determining factor in the onset and duration of a civil war. Fearon and Laitin



(2003) find that rough terrain increases the probability of a civil war onset. A rugged landscape can provide incentives to the rebel leaders to initiate a conflict with their governments, for mountainous geography makes it harder for the government forces to locate the rebels. Lebanon, unlike other Middle Eastern countries, is mountainous. According to the Doyle and Sambanis's (2000) measure of mountainousness, which ranges from 0 (least mountainous) to 81 (most

mountainous), Lebanon receives a score of 57.1. Nevertheless, the effect of such ragged geography is complicated in the Lebanese case. Geography did not serve to hide rebels or warring parties, but it did enable them to carve out small pockets of land in which they became the dominant power. The Christians, for instance, were able to isolate themselves from the rest of the population owing to their geographic location in Mount Lebanon. However, the level of violence was

much higher in parts where no sect was dominant. The conflict started in Beirut, a city in which almost all ethnic and religious groups lived and in which the highest number of casualties occurred during the war.

Tactics

The violence between warring factions during the 1975–1978 period took several forms. Because each faction was dominant in some specific areas of the country, most of the violence and killing occurred in areas where members of those sects and groups lived together. Beirut was the most violent place, for almost all sects and groups lived there. Communal violence was the most common form during the first years of the war. The Palestinian refugee camps were among the most common targets of the Christian militias (O'Ballance 1998).

In the following years, car bombs, assassinations, and abductions became widely used by the fighting groups. Abu-Hamad (1995, 241 fn) reports that “17,415 were reported missing and ‘presumed dead,’ including 13,968 abducted by various factions. During the same period [1975–1990] 3,461 car bombs exploded resulting in 4,386 deaths and 6,784 injuries.” The terrorist acts were not confined to the Lebanese borders. The PLO, for instance, was held responsible for several terrorist acts against Israelis during these years in various countries. The Israeli response, however, was mainly to attack the PLO bases in Lebanon, which severely damaged the political and economic infrastructure of the country.

Causes of the War

The causes of the Lebanese civil war are quite complex and numerous. However, the factors that led to the onset of the war can be divided into two broad groups: domestic and external. The domestic factors are closely related to the ethnic and religious composition of Lebanese society. Abu-Hamad (1995) makes a strong argument for the role of local leaders in the onset

of the conflict. The ethnic and religious cleavages within Lebanese society were manipulated and exploited by the community leaders. A sectarian political system helped not only to isolate each sect from the others but also provided the community leaders with a pool of resources that could be manipulated to advance their personal interests. The shift in the numerical strength of the sects, primarily “due to the higher rates of Christian emigration and Muslim birth rates” (Abu-Hamad 1995, 239) over time raised demands for revision of the decision-making process. By 1968, for instance, it was widely acknowledged that Muslims outnumbered the Christians (Abu-Hamad 1995). For political reasons, no official census had been conducted since 1932. However, Gilmour (1983) reports that official estimates of the population divided the sects as follows in 1956: Maronite Catholics, 423,000; Greek Orthodox, 149,000; Greek Catholics, 91,000; Sunni Muslims, 286,000; Shi'a Muslims, 250,000; and Druze, 88,000. Gilmour (1983) also concludes that by 1975 it was widely acknowledged that the Christians were not in the majority and the Shi'a and possibly the Sunni Muslims were more numerous than the Maronite Christians.

The struggle over the Lebanese polity was, however, hastened and worsened by regional developments. The Arab–Israeli conflict was probably the most crucial development that fueled the conflict among the various groups, primarily revisionist Muslims and pro-status quo Christians. The 1948 and 1967 Arab–Israeli wars forced thousands of Palestinians to seek refuge in neighboring countries. A substantial portion of the Palestinians moved to southern Lebanon, Beirut, Baalbak in the Bekaa Valley, and Jordan (Held 2000). After the fighting between Palestinians and Jordan in 1970, the PLO moved its base from Jordan to Beirut, accompanied by another wave of Palestinian refugees.

The rise of Arab nationalism and of Nasserism in particular gave momentum to the conflict between revisionists and status quo groups. The rise of Arabism and Islam as a po-

litical alternative, accompanied by the shifting power balances in the Lebanese political system, contributed to the onset of the war. The Muslim community, despite their growing power in terms of population size, was underrepresented in the Lebanese sectarian-based political system. The internal tension among the sects in Lebanon was used by foreign powers, particularly Egypt, Syria, and Israel, to enhance their power either through building alliances with various Lebanese groups or by direct intervention in Lebanese politics. In short, the problems associated with the Lebanese sectarian-based political system were exaggerated by regional developments.

Outcome

The primary conflict between the Christian and Muslim militias ended with a peace settlement signed by the warring factions under the supervision of Saudi Arabia in October 1976. This agreement, although it did not resolve the primary conflict issues among the Muslims and Christians, brought relative stability and peace to Beirut. However, as O'Ballance (1998) reports, the post-Riyadh Conference period was characterized by several important events that led to another wave of violence. The conflict between the Syrian regime and Christian militias, the clash between the Druze and Palestinian militias and Syrian troops, the assassination of the Druze leader Junblat in 1977, the failure of the ADF to bring about order and end violence in Beirut, and the Israeli invasion of south Lebanon in response to the Palestinians' raids into Israel in 1978 worsened the fragile situation in Lebanon. After the UN Security Council's decision to send peacekeepers into south Lebanon, the warring factions agreed on another peace settlement in Beirut in April 1978.

Conflict Status

Several scholars argue that the war did not end in 1978 (e.g., Abu-Hamad 1995; Fearon and Laitin 2003; Nasr 1990; O'Ballance 1998; Samba-

nis 2004). It is not easy to determine when the war ended, mainly because of the number of actors involved. The civil war in Lebanon was fought not only between domestic groups but also between several foreign actors, such as the Palestinians, Syria, and Israel, and to a certain extent the United States, Libya, Iraq, Iran, and several other actors (O'Ballance 1998).

Nevertheless, the fighting between the local groups, mainly Christian militias and Muslim groups, substantially declined after the Riyadh Conference in 1976. After this, the violence continued between Syrian troops and Lebanese groups, between Muslims (PSP and PLO) and Christians in Beirut, and between Israeli forces and Palestinians in the south. Israel's invasion of South Lebanon, as well as Syria's direct control of north and east Lebanon and, to a lesser degree, of Beirut marked the period between the Riyadh Conference and the arrival of UNIFIL in south Lebanon in 1978 (O'Ballance 1998). The conflict, however, continued until 1990s. Following is a brief summary of the events that have occurred since the end of the 1975–1978 war.

The 1978–1980 period witnessed confrontations among the Christian groups. The division between expresident Faranjiyyah, a supporter of Syria, and the other two powerful Christian groups, the Phalangist militia and the NLP, resulted in the killing of several members of the Faranjiyya family, including Suleiman Faranjiyya's son, Tony, and his wife and daughter in May 1978 (O'Ballance 1998). In the following months, Bashir Gamayel, the leader of the Phalangist militia, sought to create a United Maronite Army and clashed with the NLP forces. Meanwhile, the situation in the south was explosive owing to the conflict between Shi'a and PLO militias and Israel. In June 1982, Israel invaded Beirut, and under pressure from the Israeli forces, Bashir Gamayel was elected president. However, on September 14, 1982, he was killed by a bomb. This was followed by Israeli and Phalangist militia forces' attacks on Sabra and Shatila, the Palestinian refugee camps in West

Beirut, which resulted in thousands of deaths. In April 1983, international peacekeeping forces composed mainly of U.S. and French troops deployed to prevent further conflict between the Palestinians and Israeli forces withdrew from Beirut after a huge explosion at the U.S. Embassy (O'Ballance 1998).

The Lebanese civil war became a proxy war between several regional and global forces during the 1978–1990 period. Syria formed alliances with the PLO and other Muslim groups during this period in its fight against Israel. Israel, on the other hand, supported the hard-line Christian militia against Syria and other Muslim groups, primarily the PLO. Hezbollah, supported by the Iranian Islamic regime, became the single most influential Shi'a organization since the early 1980s and remains one of the most powerful groups in Lebanese politics.

The war finally came to an end with a peace settlement signed in Ta'if, Saudi Arabia, in October 1989. The clashes between the supporters of the Ta'if Accord and Syrian forces and the militia of Aoun, a Maronite Christian and an opponent of Syrian involvement in Lebanese politics, came to an end in October 1990, when Aoun sought political asylum in the French embassy (Norton 1991). In August 1991, the Lebanese parliament approved the constitutional reforms laid out in the agreement. The Ta'if agreement discarded the National Pact and called for the disarmament of militias and Syrian withdrawal to positions in Bekaa (Norton 1991). The political dominance of the Maronite Christians came to an end, and the principle of Christian–Muslim equity was accepted (O'Ballance 1998; Norton 1991).

The Ta'if agreement implicitly endorsed the congressional divisions laid out in the National



A woman cries in shock minutes after a car bomb exploded in a crowded Muslim neighborhood in West Beirut, Lebanon, on August 8, 1986, killing thirteen people and injuring at least ninety-two. (Khalil DeHaini/AFP/Getty Images)

Pact. The Maronites' power was reduced in the system, and the Shi'a Muslims, despite their large number, gained only two seats in the parliament. In addition, the Alawis, an offshoot of Shi'a Islam with a close relationship to the Syrian regime, gained two seats in the parliament (Norton 1991).

Duration Tactics

The primary reason for the long duration of the Lebanese civil war was foreign intervention. The war between the domestic groups came to an end in October 1976. But the presence of the foreign powers, especially Syria and Israel, not only internationalized the war but also provided support to the warring factions to continue fighting. The Lebanese civil war became the war for Lebanon among the competing regional states. This is true especially of the post-Riyadh Conference period. From the late 1970s, Syria came to dominate Lebanese politics.

External Military Intervention

The impact of external powers on the Lebanese civil war was immense. The presence of external powers worsened the already delicate balance between the Muslim and Christian groups. After the war began, external powers became involved more directly.

Several countries intervened at one point of the war. Nevertheless, the Syrian and Israeli military interventions were consequential. Syria not only controlled and supported some groups against others but also directly controlled the east and north of Lebanon from 1976 on. Israel invaded South Lebanon and Beirut in 1978 and 1982. Israel withdrew its forces from Beirut in early 1985 but remained in South Lebanon until 2000 (O'Ballance 1998). Syria, through several peace agreements, preserved its influence in Lebanon. Syria withdrew its forces only after strong pressure from the United States and the international community following the killing of former Lebanese prime minister Hurriri in February 2005. In short, external military support and intervention not only gave incentives

to the domestic groups to start the war in 1975 but also provided them with financial and military resources to keep fighting.

Conflict Management Efforts

During the 1975–1978 period, conflict management efforts were conducted primarily by Saudi Arabia. A peace agreement was signed by the warring factions in 1976 in Riyadh. This agreement not only endorsed Syria's role in Lebanon but also provided Syria the financial assistance to bring about order in Lebanon. The ADF was mainly composed of the Syrian troops and financed by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

UN involvement and mediation efforts came only after Israel became directly involved in Lebanon in 1978. Israel's invasion of the south led the UN Security Council to call for a cease-fire and to establish a peacekeeping force in South Lebanon. Following Israel's invasion of Beirut and increasing violence, the United States pressured Israel to pull back its forces, end the siege in West Beirut, and evacuate the Palestinian militias (O'Ballance 1998). The peacekeeping forces, consisting of U.S., French, and Italian troops, failed to restore order in Beirut and withdrew in 1983 (O'Ballance 1998).

In January 1989, the Arab League delegated the task of finding a solution to the Lebanese crisis to the king of Saudi Arabia, the king of Morocco, and the president of Algeria (Norton 1991). These efforts resulted in the Ta'if Accord, which ended the war and altered the balance of power among the local groups in Lebanon.

Conclusion

Several factors account for the Lebanese civil war. However, the sectarian-based political system and regional factors are the most important. The congressional political system based on the numerical strengths of each community not only exacerbated the divisions among the confessional groups but also hindered the development of cross-sectional political parties. The emergence of cross-sectional parties is more

likely in areas where no group is dominant. Beirut, a city that contains roughly 50 percent of the total population, can provide the ground for the emergence of national parties.

One should avoid the common fallacy that the war in Lebanon was a war between Christians and Muslims. Sectarian and religious elements were only markers that differentiated one group from another. Although in the Lebanese context, the Druze and Alawi groups are considered Muslim, these groups are offshoots of Shi'a Islam and are quite secular. Druze, Alawi, and, to a certain extent, Shi'a communities, are considered to be heterodox in the Muslim world; they have been subjected to discrimination and persecution throughout history. Hence, although each group is defined in religious terms, political leaders are not clerics but rather secular heads of prominent families (Abu-Hamad 1995). In a secular, democratic Lebanon, a coalition of Druze and Alawi with Christians would not be surprising. Moreover, O'Ballance (1998, xi) reports that "in a recent brief visit to Lebanon I saw old enemies amicably drinking coffee together and chatting to each other as though little had happened." Hence, Lebanese civil society has persisted, and the probability of reconciliation is high.

Nonetheless, there still remain some problems that are closely related to the probability of war recurrence. The first one is regional. The probability of a sustainable peace in postwar Lebanon is closely related to political developments in the region. The withdrawal of Israel and Syria from Lebanon is good news, but the conflict between these two countries is likely to affect the peace in Lebanon. Moreover, Palestinians account for 9 percent of the Lebanese society (Held 2000), and most of them are still not Lebanese citizens. Hezbollah has close ties to the Iranian Islamic regime and was supported by the Iranian regime during its fight against Israel. Thus, U.S.–Iran relations can also substantially impact the future of Lebanon.

The second and more important problem is systemic. The Ta'if agreement that ended the war

in Lebanon implicitly endorsed sectarian divisions and power allocations in Lebanon. As argued earlier, one of the main reasons for the onset of the war in 1975 was the belief that Muslims were underrepresented in the political system. After more than a decade of conflict, the altered system still remains problematic. The single most populous sect, the Shi'a, is still underrepresented. Held (2000, 262) reports the estimated percentage of each sect in postwar Lebanon as follows: Shi'ite Muslim, 34 percent; Sunni Muslim, 20 percent; Maronite Christian, 19 percent; Greek Orthodox, 6 percent; Druze, 8 percent; Greek Catholic, 5 percent; Armenian Christian, 6 percent; and other, 2 percent. Despite the overwhelming numerical strength of the Shi'a community (34 percent), they have 22 seats, equal to the Sunni Muslims with 20 percent of the population and fewer than the Maronite Christians' 30 seats with only 19 percent of population (Norton 1991). Therefore, despite their large population, Shi'a Muslims are the most disadvantaged group.

Hezbollah, a militant and fundamentalist Islamic group, has been successful in articulating Shi'a Muslims' demands. Hezbollah is now a political party and represented in the parliament. The incorporation of Hezbollah into the political system is of vital importance. It can provide a guideline for policy makers and especially for the United States in dealing with the rising Islamic movement in the Middle East. The exclusion of Hezbollah or the failure to incorporate it into a democratic political system, however, can be consequential.

Mehmet Gurses

Chronology

- August 31, 1920 Modern Lebanon is created by France.
- 1941 Independence is formally declared.
- 1943 National Pact, which lays out the basis of power sharing in modern Lebanon, is agreed upon by Maronite Christians and Sunni Muslims.
- February 1958 First civil war in modern Lebanon occurs.

- November 1969 Cairo agreement is reached between the PLO and Lebanese government after clashes between these two groups.
- 1970 The PLO transfers its main base from Jordan to Beirut.
- April 1975 The second civil war starts.
- June 1975–January 1976 The war spreads to other cities.
- October 16, 1976 Riyadh Conference is held; warring parties agree to end the conflict; Arab Deterrence Force (ADF) is sent to Lebanon; Syrian role is endorsed.
- March 16, 1977 Druze leader Kamal Junblat is assassinated.
- March 1978 Israel invades south Lebanon; the UN Security Council authorizes deployment of peacekeepers (UNIFIL) in south Lebanon.
- March 22, 1978 UNIFIL arrives in south Lebanon.
- April 1978 National accord to end the war is signed by the warring factions' leaders and approved by the Lebanese parliament.
- June 1982 Israel invades Beirut.
- September 1982 Massacre occurs at Sabra and Shatila camps.
- July 1982 International peacekeeping force is deployed in Beirut, consisting of U.S., French, and Italian troops.
- April 1983 International peacekeeping force withdraws from Beirut.
- January–March 1985 Israel withdraws from Beirut.
- October 1989 Ta'if Accord ends the war.
- October 1990 General Michel Aoun's militias are defeated; Aoun seeks political asylum in the French embassy.
- August 1991 Lebanese parliament approves the Ta'if Accord.

List of Acronyms

- ADF: Arab Deterrent Force; mainly composed of Syrian troops and deployed to end the civil war in Lebanon after the Riyadh Conference on October 16, 1976
- NLP: National Liberal Party, led by Maronite Christian Chamoun
- PLO: Palestine Liberation Organization
- PSP: Progressive Socialist Party, led by Kamal Junblat
- SLA: South Lebanon Army; General Haddad's Christian militia, supported by Israel in south Lebanon
- UNIFIL: United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon

Glossary

- Alawi:** An offshoot of Shi'a Islam. Most live in Syria.
- Amal:** A Shi'a political movement that developed in the early 1970s in southern Lebanon.
- Druze:** An offshoot of Shi'a Islam.
- Hezbollah:** A militant and fundamentalist Shi'a group and political party. Hezbollah has a strong support from the Shi'a community in Lebanon and is represented in the Lebanese parliament.
- Maronites:** Members of the largest Christian community in the Middle East.
- Phalangist:** The most influential Christian–Maronite party in Lebanon.
- Shi'a:** Literally, "faction"; originates from the clash within the early Muslim community over the right to succeed the Prophet Muhammad. Those who advocated Ali as the rightful successor are known as Shi'a. Today, large populations of Shi'a live in Iran, Iraq, and Lebanon (Godlas 2006).

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Liberia

(1989–1997)

Country Background

The Republic of Liberia is located on the west coast of Africa; it is bordered by Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Côte d'Ivoire, and its capital is Monrovia. Liberia is a multiparty republic in which the legislative and judicial branches of government counterbalance the executive branch. It is headed by a president, who is elected at regular six-year intervals. The bicameral legislature is modeled on that of the United States and is composed of a twenty-six-seat senate and a sixty-four-seat house of representatives.

A slow process of political freedom and democratic change has characterized Liberia during the last decade. Based on a scale of 1 to 7 (in which 1 is the most free), the 2005 Freedom House scale gives Liberia a score of 5 on political rights and a 4 on civil rights. Liberia has transformed itself from “not free” to “partly free,” developing much more political freedom after the civil war through the establishment of proportional representative government (Freedom House 2005). In addition, in terms of regime type and authority characteristics, Polity IV data (2003) allot Liberia a score of 3 on a scale of –10 to 10 (in which –10 represents the most autocratic regime).

Liberia is below the average level of world development in various categories. According to World Bank indicators of 2004, it was ranked as 210th in the world in terms of purchasing power

parity (PPP; World Bank 2004b). Among Liberia's population of 3,482,211, 46 percent are below the poverty line, compared to 37 percent for the rest of sub-Saharan Africa. Liberia's education indicator is below world and developing country averages, with a literacy rate of 44 percent (World Bank 2005). The country has recently suffered two civil wars (1989–1997 and 1999–2003) in which the economic and administrative infrastructures were destroyed and law and order ceased to exist. These civil wars devastated the economy. A report released by the World Bank estimates that by the end of the first war in 1996, real gross domestic product was as low as 10 percent of its prewar level. Most multinational corporations (MNCs) left the country during the civil war. Official exports through the government fell from \$44 million in 1988 to \$25 million in 1997 because of the unrestrained illegal exploitation of natural resources such as iron ore, minerals, and rubber. Real income per capita remained at about one-third of prewar levels (World Bank 2004b). The impact of civil wars on civilians was drastic as well. It was estimated that out of an estimated population of 2.8 million, 150,000 were killed, 750,000 fled the country, and more than 1.2 million were internally displaced (U.S. State Department, 1995). Liberia is currently in the process of recovering from civil wars that have inflicted massive

human trauma and caused the collapse of its economic infrastructure.

Conflict Background

The violence in Liberia had its origins in Nimba County, in the December 1989 attack by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) from their bases in the Ivory Coast. The NPFL was led by Charles Taylor, a former official of President Samuel Doe's government. The revolt aimed to topple Doe's government, which was infamous for mass ethnic repression and human rights violations. The attack marked the beginning of eight years of civil war, in which 20,000 people would die and which would make refugees of almost half of the country's population of 2.5 million.

The NPFL's force was made up of the Gios and the Manos, the principal tribes in Nimba County. Both of these groups (constituting about 15 percent of the Liberian population) were motivated by a powerful desire to overthrow Doe's rule because they were suppressed by the Krahn and the Mandingo tribes, which the Doe regime supported. The NPFL insurgents also contained "mercenaries from Burkina Faso and internationalist revolutionaries from Gambia and Sierra Leone" (Ellis 1995). All these groups fought bravely, and by the end of July 1990, Charles Taylor's force had approached the capital and was threatening to overthrow Doe's government. At this time, a new insurgency, the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), emerged from the conflict. This splinter group, led by an ally of Taylor, Prince Johnson, broke away from the NPFL. With 500 soldiers, Johnson successfully captured large parts of Monrovia in July 1990 and posed a major challenge to Doe's regime.

From the outbreak of the war, the internal strife in Liberia was characterized by widespread abuse of human rights. The NPFL invaded Krahn Gedeh County and committed atrocities against innocent citizens in revenge for the raid by the Krahn-dominant Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) of Doe's regime on the Gio and Mano

people after the abortive Quiwonkpa coup of 1985 (Alao 1998). In response to the insurgency, the AFL launched a counterattack on civilians in Nimba County. According to reports of the international community, by 1990 at least 200 people, the majority from the Mano and Gio ethnic groups, had been killed by AFL troops in the course of the ruthless campaign (Global Security 2005).

To face the challenge imposed by the overthrow of the legitimate government, and in response to evidence of atrocities committed by the warring factions, a number of West African countries decided to intervene under the leadership of Nigeria. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) prepared a military intervention force under the command of Ghana's Lieutenant-General Arnold Qainoo. In September 1990, the Economic Community Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) established itself in Monrovia. The situation continued to deteriorate after Doe was captured and mutilated by INPFL's force.

In October 1990, backed by the ECOMOG, the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) was established to weaken Taylor's position. It was headed by Amos Sawyer, the former leader of the Association for Constitutional Democracy in Liberia (ACDL). Both INPFL and AFL chose to support Sawyer's regime. However, the NPFL refused to acknowledge IGNU and regarded it as a puppet of the ECOMOG. Taylor's reaction was to establish National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government (NPRAG) in Gbanga. At this time, the NPFL maintained control of large portions of country, in which abundant natural resources such as timber and rubber were exploited and trafficked by Taylor to advance his military and political ambitions.

In November 1990, in response to military and political pressure from the international community, all warlords involved in the conflict met at Bamako, Mali, to discuss the peace process. However, peace talks ended because of disagreement among ECOMOG's member countries over the objective of the intervention.



Charles Taylor, leader of a rebel army during the fighting in Liberia, celebrates a military victory with his troops on July 21, 1990. The Liberian civil war, fueled by the corrupt exploitation of natural resources, ended when Taylor was elected president on July 24, 1997. (Pascal Guyot/AFP/Getty Images)

Consequently, warring factions splintered and proliferated. Seven warring parties emerged from the internal conflict: the NPFL, led by Taylor; the United Liberation Movement of Liberia (ULIMO-J and ULIMO-K), splintered from ULIMO; the Liberia Peace Council; NPFL-Central Revolutionary Council (NPFL-CRC); the Lofa Defense Force; and the remaining forces of the AFL, who were faithful to President Doe. At this time, it became clear that Liberia had devolved into a failed state, in which a legitimate government could not effectively exert its political power within its territory.

From 1993 to 1995, several attempts to impose peace were made by external actors. These efforts involved the signing and implementing a series of peace accords sponsored and monitored by the ECOMOG and the United Nations. However, Liberian warlords continued to fight each other because of the disagreement that ex-

isted between Liberian factions and peacekeepers over the composition of a council of state. In September 1995, with the efforts of international community, a Liberian council of state, made up of leaders of the major warring factions, was formed within the framework of the Abuja Peace Accord, accepted in principle by major warring factions. This peace plan led to the final political and military settlement of the civil war.

In accordance with provisions of the Abuja Accord, the disarmament and demobilization of warring factions in January 1997 were followed by democratic presidential and parliamentary elections. The elections were widely monitored and endorsed by international and regional organizations. In July 1997, the National Patriotic Party (NPP) led by Taylor won the election with 75 percent of the vote. This event signified the end of the first civil war in Liberia.

Although in his inaugural address President Taylor promised to devote his efforts to reconciliation, the rule of law, and economic development, his regime was characterized by a “by government militia and security agencies” (United Nations 2003a). In 2001, following an unstable transition period, Liberia engaged in another armed conflict.

Two opposing groups had emerged which together controlled more than two-thirds of the country and which attempted to overthrow Taylor. The Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), a rebel group supported by the government of neighboring Guinea, emerged in 1999 in northern Liberia. It was composed of excombatants who had been forced into exile as early as 1998, nearly a year after the postwar elections. In 2003, a second rebel group, the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) formed in southeastern Liberia. It claimed to “protect the safety and security of all within the borders of Liberia, respect and promote individual human rights” (PBS 2004). In summer 2003, these two rebel groups attacked the capital, Monrovia, and demanded that Taylor resign within three days. President Taylor asked the international community to intervene by way of a peacekeeping force.

In response to the threat posed by the Liberian situation to regional peace and security, the UN Security Council issued a resolution establishing a multinational force to be sent into Liberia to stabilize the situation and to secure the environment for the delivery of humanitarian assistance (United Nations 2003). In addition, at the request of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, the United States deployed combat-equipped forces off the coast of Liberia to support Nigerian-led ECOWAS forces entering Liberia.

With the assistance of the international community, Liberia made substantial progress toward peace. In July 2003, peace talks in Akosombo, Ghana, were arranged by the special mediator of the ECOMOG in July 2003. These

were followed by several bilateral meetings of delegations—chiefly the Liberian government, the rebel LURD, MODEL, and eighteen political parties. One important agreement was that a sustainable peace would be achieved in Liberia only if Taylor relinquished the presidency and that his removal from power would ease the path to restoring stability in Liberia and its West African neighbors.

At this time, Nigeria played an important role in resolving the civil strife in Liberia. In particular, it offered an asylum to President Taylor on the condition that he relinquish his power. On August 11, 2003, Gyude Bryant took power as chairman of the Liberia transition authority, with the support of the United Nations and West Africa leaders. The role of the interim government was to create an environment conducive to free and fair elections. On November 11, 2005, after two decades of internal strife, Liberia successfully held presidential elections. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf became Africa’s first elected woman president.

During his exile in Nigeria, Taylor was charged with war crimes by the Special Court, a UN-backed tribunal in Sierra Leone, for his involvement in human rights abuses committed during the civil war in Sierra Leone. The court alleges that “he is among those who bear the greatest responsibility for widespread and systematic rape, murder, physical violence, including mutilation and amputation and other atrocities in Sierra Leone through his support and guidance of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebel movement” (New America Media 2003). In Nigeria, Taylor continued to destabilize the regional peace. More specifically, he was still able to “work through the personal networks of business contacts and ‘shadow’ market channels of exchange to mobilize mercenaries, influence former allies in the Liberian government and undermine the efforts of other nations and organizations in the region” (Global Witness 2005a). Faced with this situation, the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution empowering the United Nations Ob-

server Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) to arrest, detain, and transfer Taylor to the UN court in Sierra Leone. According to the resolution, the UN Security Council “decides that the mandate of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) shall include the following additional element: to apprehend and detain former President Charles Taylor in the event of a return to Liberia and to transfer him or facilitate his transfer to Sierra Leone for prosecution before the Special Court for Sierra Leone and to keep the Liberian Government, the Sierra Leonean Government and the Council fully informed” (United Nations 2005).

In March 2006, President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf submitted a letter formally requesting the extradition of Charles Taylor from Nigeria to face justice. The Nigerian government reacted by stating that Liberia was free to collect Taylor so that he could face war crimes charges in the Liberian courts. Consequently, in April 2006, Charles Taylor was arrested in Nigeria and physically transferred to the UN-backed war crimes court in Sierra Leone. Taylor will face trial in the Special Court for Sierra Leone, where he was indicted on seventeen counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

The internal violence in Liberia has destabilized the West African subregion by spilling into neighboring countries such as Sierra Leone and Guinea. During the 1990s, the rebel NPFL stole diamonds in Sierra Leone and attempted to punish its government for sending forces to join ECOMOG units in Liberia to weaken Taylor’s position. Specifically, the NPFL became actively involved in the Sierra Leone’s civil war by helping the Revolutionary United Front, one of “West Africa’s most notorious spoilers” (Adebajo 2004), to destabilize the legitimate government led by President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah. The RUF was infamous for committing atrocities such as cutting off the heads, arms, and legs of defenseless women and children.

Taylor played a major role in supporting the RUF rebels and their leader, Foday Sankoh, with whom he had a close personal relationship that

The Support of the RUF from Liberia

The RUF has received regular training in Liberia, at Gbatata near Gbanga and elsewhere. RUF soldiers have been trained alongside Liberia’s Anti-Terrorist Unit (ATU), and President Taylor has frequently used RUF combatants for his own personal security details. Liberian officers and men are also actively assisting the RUF in Sierra Leone, serving as combats, trainers, and liaison officers. Early in 1999, a significant improvement in tactics and use of weapons by RUF rebels was noted in Sierra Leone. Their main base is Camp Najma, where Liberian RUF are trained.

High-level RUF meetings with President Taylor have been noted, along with RUF travel to Monrovia, RUF strategy meetings at the executive mansion, RUF travel on Liberian helicopters, and RUF staging bases at Camp Schefflein, Voionjama, and Foyakama. Liberia has provided the families of many senior RUF officials with a safe haven. Eyewitness accounts speak of RUF fighters treated in Monrovia hospitals, (United Nations Security Council 2000).

can be traced back to their training in Libya, in one of the biggest terrorist training camps in Africa. This relationship can also be traced to Sankoh’s support of Taylor’s effort to topple Doe’s regime in the 1990s (United Nations Security Council 2000).

With the comprehensive support provided by the NPFL of Liberia, the RUF used several international arms brokers to obtain large quantities of weapons imported from Eastern Europe. According to a report of the UN Panel of Experts in 2000, these weapons and supplies included mortars, rifles, rocket propelled grenades (RPGs), satellite phones, computers, vehicles, and batteries (United Nations Security Council 2000). Most of the supplies were sent by road or helicopter to Foyakama, a few miles from the border between Sierra Leone and Liberia, and then transported across the border into RUF territory for onward distribution to the region controlled by the RUF (United Nations Security Council

2000). With considerable logistical support from Liberia's NPFL, RUF evolved from a guerrilla group into a quasi-conventional army, thus leading to Sierra Leone's internal crisis.

In March 1991, backed by Taylor's NPFL, the RUF rebel group launched its first attack on the Sierra Leone government and seized some of the country's territory, beginning one of Africa's most brutal civil wars. During the course of the civil war, the ill-equipped, poorly trained, and logistically deficient Sierra Leone Army (SLA) was unable to defeat the rebels. In later campaigns, RUF firmly controlled large parts of the Sierra Leone countryside.

By 1995, the RUF had gained control of Kono and Tongo, the two most diamond-rich areas in Sierra Leone, and it exploited these resources to sustain its rebellion. During the 1990s, the war in Sierra Leone became a complex conflict with major humanitarian and political disasters. Between 1991 and 1996, the civil war claimed more than 75,000 lives, created half a million refugees, and displaced 2.4 million of the country's 4.5 million people, most of whom were forced into neighboring Guinea and Liberia (Smillie, Gberie, and Hazleton 2000). In 2001, with the efforts of the UN peacekeeping force and other international organizations, the civil war in Sierra Leone ended. National elections were held in May 2002, and the government began to reestablish its authority. At this time, the Liberian government planned to destabilize Sierra Leone by plotting a two-pronged attack, activating cells of well-armed, Liberian-paid operatives already within Sierra Leone, which were later joined by an external force of Anti-Terrorist Unit (ATU) fighters attacking from Liberia. The attack also involved disrupting the UN Special Court's proceedings by releasing ex-RUF leader Sankoh and regaining full access to Sierra Leone's lucrative diamond resources (Global Witness 2003). In sum, by providing support and leadership to RUF, Taylor was directly responsible for fueling and complicating the internal strife and atrocious violations of human rights committed in Sierra Leone.

Civil war in Liberia also spilled over into the neighboring country of Guinea. Since September 2000, the southwest region of Guinea, which is close to the Sierra Leone–Liberia border, had been threatened by a series of border attacks aimed at the Guinean civilians and Sierra Leone and Liberian refugees by the RUF, which was sponsored by the government of Liberia. According to a report by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR 2000), Guinea has Africa's second-largest refugee population, including 130,000 Liberians and 330,000 Sierra Leoneans. Until recently, Guinea's relative stability offered some protection for these refugees; however, these attacks in Guinea caused a major humanitarian crisis (UNHCR 2000). It was estimated that the attacks caused the displacement of 250,000 people from their shelter in Guinea, as well as the deaths of 2,000 people. The United Nations High Commissioners for Refugees, Ruud Lubbers, described the situation as the "world's worst refugee crisis" (Gberie 2001).

Two factors accounted for these attacks. First, the attacks were caused by Liberian President Taylor to retaliate against Guinea for giving refuge to members of the Liberian opposition. In 2003, Taylor argued that "the government of Guinea facilitated the establishment of Liberians United for a Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) by permitting the recruitment, training and arming of Liberian refugees living in refugee camps in the territory of Guinea" (AllAfrica 2003). The second factor was Taylor's pursuit of abundant natural resources. Guinea has diamond reserves estimated at 25 million carats, worth well over \$2 billion dollars (Gberie 2001). This was significant motivation for Taylor to plot a series of border attacks in an attempt to acquire diamonds.

In September 2001, when confronted with this dangerous situation, Guinea's prime minister, Lamine Sidime, accused Liberia of destabilizing Guinea by means of the recent attacks, stating that "[e]verything points to the fact that it is an external aggression from Liberia which

has, for years, been preparing to engage in war with Guinea” (Afrol 2001). Furthermore, the Guinean government asked for international help to avoid becoming yet another victim of internal chaos caused by Liberia.

In September 2001, members of the United Nations Security Council demonstrated their serious concern over the cross-border attacks on refugees and civilians in southwest Guinea. The council also reconfirmed the military embargo against Liberia. A UN statement made it clear that Liberian-supported Sierra Leonean RUF terrorists and rebels would be held responsible for the attacks. In addition, it called for all states, “particularly Liberia—to abide by its earlier statement, which had called for all UN member States to stop providing military support to the rebels carrying out the attacks” (Afrol 2001). Eventually, with the help of the international community, the sociopolitical crisis in Liberia was solved, and political stability has been restored. In sum, the substantial spillover effects of the Liberian civil war led to the internal turmoil

and the decline of economic development of its neighboring countries.

The Insurgents

The ability of insurgents to fuel armed conflict depends on their capacity to secure access to resources, to procure weapons and materials, and to pay soldiers. In Liberia, the control and exploitation of diamonds, timber, and other raw materials were some of the principal objectives of Taylor’s NPFL, which was the main insurgent group in the Liberian civil war. From 1990 to 1994, Liberia exported \$300 million worth of diamonds annually, followed by timber at \$53 million, rubber at \$27 million, iron ore at \$43 million, and gold at \$1 million. Taylor received approximately \$75 million annually from these resources (Cain 1999) to finance the NPFL and gave it the means to sustain the civil war.

Owing to the relatively stable price of diamonds in the global market and the fact that they can be easily seized by individuals or small

Table 1: Civil War in Liberia

War:	NPFL and IPPFL vs. government
Dates:	December 1989–July 1997
Casualties:	150,000
Regime type prior to war:	–4 (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data— ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	3 (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data— ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	\$395 (in constant 1990 US dollars)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	\$700 (in constant 2005 US dollars)
Insurgents:	NPFL (National Patriotic Front of Liberia)
Issue:	Ethnic repression, human rights violations, corruption
Rebel funding:	Exploitation of natural resources (diamonds, timber, rubber)
Role of geography:	Rebels hid in rain forest and mountains.
Role of resources:	Diamonds, timber, etc. sold to provide funding for war.
Immediate outcome:	Revolt was victorious; election facilitated by UN and ECOMOG.
Outcome after 5 years:	No fighting
Role of UN:	Facilitated peace talks; sent peacekeeping force.
Role of regional organization:	ECOWAS was active.
Refugees:	779,900
Prospects for peace:	Favorable

Sources: CIA 1990; CIA 2005; Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Polity IV 2004.

What Are Conflict Diamonds?

Conflict diamonds are diamonds that originate from areas controlled by forces or factions opposed to legitimate and internationally recognized governments. They are used to fund military action in opposition to those governments or in contravention of the decisions of the Security Council (United Nations Department of Public Information 2001).

groups of unskilled workers (Ross 2004), diamonds have played an important role in sustaining and advancing Taylor's military and political ambitions and contributed to the prolongation of the civil war in Liberia.

Taylor was attracted to Sierra Leone's diamonds for their high quality and abundance. Diamond reservations were located in the districts of Kenema, Kono, and Bo in the central and eastern parts of Sierra Leone. It was estimated by De Beers in 1998 that diamond production in Sierra Leone was 300,000 carats (worth \$100 to \$300 per carat) (Global Witness 2000). Official exports through the government of Sierra Leone were estimated at 114,438 carats, whereas in 1999 this figure fell to 9,320 carats (Global Witness 2000). The dropoff in diamond production in 1999 by the government of Sierra Leone could be attributed to the fact that diamond production had fallen under the control of the RUF, which had several diamond mines and was known for producing of gem-quality diamonds (American University 2001).

To sustain the civil war in Liberia with the proceeds from smuggled Sierra Leonean diamonds, Taylor offered comprehensive support to the RUF to increase its control of the diamond fields. With the NPFL's help, the RUF launched its first campaign from Liberia and attacked major diamond mining centers. By 1995, almost all major diamond mining areas had fallen under the control of the RUF in Sierra Leone, giving Taylor a conduit for diamond exports to fuel Liberia's conflict and advance his

own personal ambitions. With the combined efforts of Taylor and the RUF, there was a well-established route for diamond production, trading, and smuggling of diamonds in exchange for guns and military hardware. The network originally operated along the long, open border between Sierra Leone and Liberia, which provided a geographic opportunity for Taylor to smuggle diamonds mined by the RUF in Sierra Leone. Millions of dollars worth of diamonds from Sierra Leone were transported from the northern and western areas of Liberia to such ports as Monrovia and Buchanan, where they were shipped to Belgium, Lebanon, and the Netherlands. Weapons, such as AK-47 assault rifles and rocket-propelled grenades, were transported from ex-Soviet and eastern bloc countries, China, and the Balkans into Liberia and Sierra Leone to fuel the civil war. According to an estimate by the Diamond High Council, between 1994 and 1999 Belgium recorded \$2.2 billion worth of rough diamond imports from Liberia (Smillie 2002). In addition, the United Nations estimated that the "blood diamonds" that left Liberia in 1999 were worth about \$75 million on the open market. Taylor received a commission on each transaction, and Ibrahim Bah Bath, who was a key figure of terrorism in Africa and the Middle East, received the rest (Farah 2001). Thus, an illegal diamonds trade center was established, in which proceeds from diamonds could be used to purchase large amounts of military equipment to fuel the civil war in Liberia.

To combat the illicit traffic in diamonds and to disconnect the link between the illegal diamond trade and internal strife in Liberia, Resolution 1343 of the United Nations Security Council was adopted. It banned the production and transportation of diamonds in the conflict region, and it also banned the Liberian importation of weapons (United Nations 2001b). In addition, the General Assembly would continue an embargo on Liberian diamonds until it could be demonstrated that diamonds no longer led to conflict and that government control met the requirements for lifting sanctions as prescribed in

Security Council Resolution 1521 (United Nations 2003c).

Despite sanctions imposed on the illegal diamond trade, the illegal trading of weapons for diamonds in Liberia has steadily increased. For example, some companies in the diamond business with Liberia have continued to promote illegal arms trade, such as Mano River Resources (MRR) and American Mining Associates (AMA). According to a report by the UN panel of experts in 2005, illegal domestic diamond production generated approximately 350,000 carats per month in 2003 (Global Witness 2005a), and the scale of AMA's operations were "excessive for exploration activity" (Global Witness 2005b). All income from the trade of diamonds was used to buy guns and other military equipment and to prolong the civil strife and destabilize Liberia.

Revenue from the production and trafficking of timber from major timber-producing areas enabled the NPFL to remain militarily active and thus dismiss all efforts toward peace on the part of the United Nations and ECOMOG. Most parts of Liberia were under Taylor's control in 1990. Taylor began to make large profits from timber to sustain his insurgents in Greater Liberia, which included 70 percent of Liberian territory and parts of Guinea and Sierra Leone (Reno 1997).

Millions of tons of timber were produced and transported from Greater Liberia to China, France, and Italy through four ports along the Atlantic Ocean: Monrovia, Buchanan, Greenville, and Cape Palmas. In these ports, logging ships arrived, offloaded arms, and took on loads of logs.

Many multinational corporations involved in timber extraction were associated with smuggling timber from Liberia's resource-rich region and delivering weapons to the NPFL. In the employ of these companies was Gus Van Kouwenhoven, manager of the Oriental Timber Company (OTC), the largest logging operation in Liberia. He had been identified in a series of UN reports as being "involved with the logistical as-

pects of many of the arms deals" (Global Policy 2001). Specifically, this company controlled 43 percent of what remains of the Upper Guinean Forest ecosystem in Liberia, and was estimated to have paid Taylor \$3 million to \$5 million for control of the 1.6-million-hectare area (United Nations 2001a). In addition, Leonid Minin, a notorious Ukrainian crime figure, was also involved in obtaining logging concessions and providing arms to Liberia. It was reported that in 2000, Minin arranged an import of 10,500 AK 47 rifles, and RPG-26 rocket-launchers and sniper rifles (United Nations 2001). These weapons were used by Taylor to sustain the internal armed conflict.

To cut off Taylor's source of timber, in May 2003 the UN Security Council imposed a ban on all Liberian timber, effective July 7, 2003. In addition, the requirements for lifting of sanctions as set forth in Resolution 1521 reconfirmed that the Liberian government must exercise control over its territory and must have in place the proper accounting and governance mechanisms to ensure that the revenue is not used to fuel conflict (United Nations 2003d). Although measures were taken to this end, Taylor continued to exploit timber to purchase weapons by finding an alternative approach. In 2002, he sold timber concessions inside Sapo National Park, one of West Africa's main woodland reserves. Concession agreements involved a number of stipulations that covered the size and location of the area to be logged, the duration of the agreement, the minimum diameter of trees to be felled, species that can or cannot be taken, environmental safeguards such as maintaining buffer strips along streams, and royalty rates and other fees (Barden 1994). With this alternative, Taylor continued to receive several million dollars from the Oriental Timber Company of Hong Kong. The sum allowed him to buy back, at least temporarily, the loyalty of his senior commanders and arm his troops (Farah 2002). It was obvious that Taylor was still violating the UN arms embargo. Thus, by illegal access to natural resources such as diamonds and timber,

How Is Timber Smuggled?

Containerized Timber

The recent sighting of sawn timber being loaded into a forty-foot shipping container is a new and potentially worrisome development in the handling of sawn timber. The most common form of transporting timber to Monrovia for sale is through large, open-air trucks. Given the increasingly secretive nature of shipments of timber, any moves toward potentially surreptitious means of transporting or even exporting timber deserve further investigation. This particular shipment, spotted near Jenemama in Gbarpolu County, was destined for sale near the Monrovia Freeport, according to workers loading the container.

Although it is not clear that this particular shipment was exported, the use of a sealable container, its transport to Monrovia in the middle of the night, and the lack of adequate customs controls at the port means that similar containers of sawn or raw timber could be exported in violation of the UN timber embargo.

Late-Night Deliveries

From its investigation in October 2004 and before, Global Witness noted that timber deliveries from outlying areas were being made to Monrovia in broad daylight. However, perhaps owing to the increased awareness of the problem of illegally sourced timber, as well as the vigilance of monitors at key entry points to Monrovia, timber transporters have started delivering their loads very late at night or early in the morning, driving up from Buchanan, Tubmanburg, and other sourcing areas to offload their shipments at Freeport and elsewhere, usually before sunrise. This shift in delivery strategy is worrisome if its intent is to evade FDA and independent oversight. Combined with the generally poor oversight of the industry and the potential use of containerized transport, the mechanisms to avoid both Liberian national law and international sanctions are readily exploitable (Global Witness 2005a).

Taylor sustained the civil war in Liberia and played a major role in the destabilization of the region.

Causes of the War

The civil war in Liberia was a product of ethnic hatred and the violation of human rights and systematic corruption of Doe's government. First, internal strife in Liberia can be traced to the country's origins. Historically, Liberia has been divided by two opposing ethnic groups. One group, known as Americo-Liberians, were descended from repatriated slaves who migrated to West Africa from the United States in the nineteenth century under the aegis of the American Colonization Society (ACS). The other group was made up of indigenous tribal Africans. They had a government ruled by kings and village elders. People were bound by "institutional moral rules and laws, and stability was achieved through kinship"

(Nmoma 1997). Americo-Liberians regarded this ethnic group as "primitive and uncivilized" and treated them as little more than an abundant source of forced labor (Wippman 1993).

From the founding of the Republic of Liberia in 1847, Americo-Liberians controlled the administrative, fiscal, legal, and military resources of the economy and the government, and the indigenous people became targets of repression. The Americo-Liberians established a "settler oligarchy," which dominated the indigenous people through extreme economic exploitation, including forced labor and brutal repression (Ofuately-Kodjoe 1993). More specifically, the Americo-Liberians used a policy of "divide and rule" and the practice of recruiting armed forces along ethnic lines and deploying them to brutalize other ethnic groups (Ofuately-Kodjoe 1993). The Americo-Liberians prevented the indigenous population from receiving education and deprived them of their right to vote by making



property ownership a prerequisite for education and voting. There was an enormous disparity in the distribution of wealth; the Americo-Liberians heavily taxed the indigenous inhabitants and imposed forced labor for public work projects. Thus, over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, through control of land and other measures, Americo-Liberians wielded “a monopoly of power over a majority of indigenous peoples” (Khafre 1978).

In the 1970s, the deterioration of the economy caused by the global oil crisis further intensified ethnic repression. During President William Tolbert’s reign, various activist groups were formed to demonstrate their concern about the injustices confronted by many Liberians. On April 12, 1980, a group of lower-rank soldiers headed by Master Sergeant Samuel Doe, an indigenous Liberian, seized power through a coup that toppled President William Tolbert’s

administration. This coup signified the collapse of the political dominance of the Americo-Liberian elite. Initially, Doe tried to present his coup as a victory over an oppressive system. He also promised to curb corruption with effective measures and to realize the equitable distribution of the nation's natural resources and the full participation of all ethnic groups in the political process (Dunn 1998). However, after establishing representation favorable to him, Doe decided to further stabilize his power by continuing the practices of the previous regime. By 1984, a popular slogan justly summarized Doe's Liberia as "Same Taxi, New Driver" (Outram 1997).

Liberia's return to a dictatorial government began with Doe's rapid elevation of members of his own group, Krahn, to high posts in the administration, such as the National Bank and the Department of Defense. Doe filled his administration with Krahn officials, even though Krahn made up only about 5 percent of the Liberian population. Furthermore, Doe offered economic and educational opportunities to the Krahn at the expense of other ethnic groups. This resulted in a disproportionate representation of the Krahn in government. The Krahn dominance was so well established that postcoup Liberia witnessed the emergence of a Krahn–non-Krahn ethnic divide. Many Americo-Liberians felt alienated by the brutal murder of their former leaders, and Gios and Manos felt victimized and marginalized. The deep separation between Krahn and other ethnic groups became wider, and tensions exploded in the wake of the coup attempt during Doe's regime. On November 12, 1985, General Thomas Quiwonkpa, a former officer of Doe in the 1980 coup, invaded Liberia through Nimba County to launch a coup that aimed at toppling Doe's government. The coup failed, and Quiwonkpa was beaten beyond recognition, castrated, and dismembered. The failed coup engendered massive reprisals against the Gio and Mano ethnic groups in Nimba County, the hometown of General Quiwonkpa (Ellis 1999). In sum, the ethnic violence caused by the exclusion of the indigenous majority of

the population, along with the imbalance in the distribution of wealth that favored the powerful ethnic groups in the Doe regime, escalated the intergroup tension in Liberia and thus contributed to the outbreak of the civil war.

Apart from ethnic tensions, another underlying cause of the Liberian civil war was the violation and abuse of fundamental human rights during Doe's regime. The killing of President Tolbert and the public execution of thirteen senior officials in 1980 demonstrated the brutality of Doe's regime. During the 1980s, Doe frequently suppressed independent political activities; he charged opponents with treason and often had them executed after summary trials (Human Right Watch 2005). The imprisonment for treason of Gabriel Kpolleh and Caephar Mabande, both leaders of a banned political party, illustrate Doe's efforts to crush all opposition and to impose a de facto one-party state (Human Rights Watch 2005). In October 1989, two people arrested for yet another alleged coup attempt died in custody (Human Rights Watch 2005). The government explained their deaths as a result of natural causes but held no inquest to substantiate this claim.

Furthermore, the Doe government's violation of human rights was demonstrated by its crackdown on the press. In June 1982, the Ministry of Information revoked the license of Radio ELCM, a Catholic station, for reporting a story about several people who were crushed to death at a football stadium. The revocation was done without an administrative hearing as required by the ministry's guidelines (Human Right Watch 1989). Repressive measures included "the closure of newspapers, such as the shutdown of the *Daily Observer* in 1982, summary imprisonment of journalists, harassment of journalists, regulatory edicts, judicial actions, and an actual and unprecedented presidential sanctioning of the murder of a journalist" (Rogers 1996).

Human rights abuses were also committed against students who challenged Doe's rule. When Liberian students became aware of Doe's repressive rule, they began to express their dis-

satisfaction. The students of the National University of Liberia demanded a return to constitutional civilian rule and became the voice of a disaffected population. On August 22, 1984, 200 soldiers attacked students on the university campus who were protecting a popular professor, Amos Sawyer, from arrest on suspicion of treason. The soldiers arrested, detained, and beat hundreds of students and reportedly raped female students, transforming the University of Liberia into a breeding ground for political agitation and conflict. However, the Doe government denied that any killings had taken place and acknowledged only one case of sexual abuse (Human Rights Watch 2005).

In the late 1980s, as resistance to Doe's government grew, human rights violations became widespread. Torture, disappearances, extrajudicial executions, imprisonment of opposition leaders, and restriction of freedom of expression were all commonplace violations of human rights under Doe's government (Amnesty International 1997). In short, the widespread and organized conflict in Liberia was an expression of dissatisfaction with the violation of human rights committed by the government. The seeds of hate sown by the abuse of human rights took root all over the country, ripened, and bore fruit: the outbreak of civil war in 1989.

Furthermore, the outbreak of civil conflict in Liberia can be explained by examining the widespread corruption in Doe's government of the People's Redemption Council (PRC). Under the dictatorship of Doe, there were no legislative and administrative safeguards to prevent, detect, punish, or eradicate the corruption of public officials. Allegations of high-level corruption among government officials in Doe's administration were frequent. For example, it was alleged that on the day of the coup, the plotters withdrew \$200,000 from the national Bank of Liberia; a few days later, \$100,000 was stolen from the National Housing Bank, and a further \$26,000 was taken from the safe in the executive mansion (Dunn and Tarr 1988). Other corruption was associated with the use of foreign aid.

For example, from 1980 to 1985, the United States gave Liberia nearly \$500 million, making Liberia the largest per capita aid recipient in sub-Saharan Africa. The aid money amounted to one-third of Liberia's annual budget. However, the administration and distribution of this aid was under little scrutiny (Adebajo 2002). Corruption became rampant, with much of the aid disappearing into the personal accounts of Doe and other elites in the PRC. By the end of his rule, Doe and his cronies had stolen a reported \$300 million in public funds (Berkeley 1992). Adebajo offered this perspective on the corruption: "Doe and his officials illegally acquired wealth and land as blatantly as the True Whigs once did. Revenue from logging concessions and fuel went straight to Doe's private funds; even U.S. food assistance was diverted into private pockets" (Adebajo 2002, 1). Thus, the social inequality and lack of secure personal property rights caused by high-level, systemic corruption contributed to intensified conflict and finally led to the overthrow of Doe's government by internal violence in the 1990s.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

The civil war in Liberia ended with an independent democratic election in 1997 as an integral part of the UN's peacekeeping efforts. The electoral process was monitored and assessed by several international organizations: the United Nations, the European Union, and the Carter Center. Sixteen parties registered to take part in the elections. On July 24, 1997, the outcome of the election was announced, and the National Patriotic Party (NPP), led by Charles Taylor, won an overwhelming victory with 75 percent of the vote. The NPP received 468,443 of the 621,888 votes, garnering 49 of 64 seats in the house of representatives and 21 of 26 seats in the senate (Adebajo 2002). The monitors acknowledged that the election was free and fair. Therefore, the Independent Election Commission declared Taylor president of the Republic of

Liberia on July 23. Taylor's victory symbolized the end of the Liberian civil war.

External Military Intervention

Regional organizations and international organizations played a major role in the facilitation of peace and security in Liberia. From the outbreak of the civil war in 1989, the situation in Liberia was characterized by fighting between warlords, a crumbling socioeconomic infrastructure, and extreme violence against civilians. Soon, the crisis in Liberia not only became a threat to its neighboring countries but also destabilized the subregion of West Africa. Therefore, the ECOWAS, a regional organization of West Africa, responded to this situation by establishing the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in August 1990 to resolve conflicts among warring factions. It was formed within the framework of ECOWAS's Revised Security Treaty. According to Article 58 of the treaty, the provision of defense and security is one of ECOWAS's objectives, and each member state is obliged to cooperate in the areas of politics, diplomacy, international relations, peace, and security (Malu 2003), thus legitimizing the intervention in Liberia. The objective of the ECOMOG was to stop the fighting among warlords, to monitor the process of the cease-fire, and to integrate the major rivals into an interim administration.

A number of reasons accounted for the ECOWAS's decision to intervene in Liberia. First, the overflow of refugees from Liberia to neighboring countries posed a threat to regional stability (Ero 2000). Armed attacks on civilians had been commonplace since the beginning of the civil war in 1989. A large number of people were forced to flee Liberia to Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Côte d'Ivoire to avoid persecution, imposing a huge economic and political burden on these states. In August 1990, General Emmanuel A. Erskine of ECOMOG argued that, "with the crisis in Liberia creating unbearable refugee problems for Sierra Leone, Ghana, Gambia, Guinea, Nigeria and the Ivory Coast, it is ob-

vious that the situation in Liberia has gone beyond the boundaries of the country and ceases to be an exclusive Liberian question" (Ero 2000, para. 14). Erskine also maintained that this issue "could not be accomplished by the grinding wheels of diplomacy" (Ero 2000).

Furthermore, ECOWAS's decision to intervene was associated with its concern with the major humanitarian crisis caused by the civil conflict in Liberia. According to the Final Communiqué, the ECOWAS's decision to intervene was based on humanitarian consideration. The communiqué stated, "[P]resently, there is a government in Liberia which cannot govern and contending factions which are holding the entire population as hostage, depriving them of food, health facilities and other basic necessities of life" (Ero 2000). ECOWAS further affirmed its commitment to intervene in Liberia, "stopping the senseless killing of innocent civilians nationals and foreigners, and to help the Liberian people to restore their democratic institutions" (Ero 2000, para. 5).

ECOMOG's decision was also related to the protection of citizens of member countries in Liberia. Obed Asamoah, Ghana's foreign prime minister, argued that, "the Liberian situation . . . assumed international dimensions because several thousand Ghanaians, Nigerians and other nationals [had] been holed up in Liberia and [were] suffering because of the fighting" (Adibe 1997, 474). Because of the internationalization of the civil war in Liberia, ECOWAS decided to deploy peacekeeping troops in Liberia to restore peace and security.

Formal ECOMOG involvement in the Liberian civil war began with military deployment near the capital, Monrovia, in September 1990. Specifically, ECOMOG adopted a "limited offensive" strategy, which aimed at driving the NPFL forces, which posed a direct threat to a legitimate government of Liberia, out of Monrovia (Vogt 1997). Consequently, ECOMOG was resisted by the NPFL, and the strategy led to a direct confrontation between peacekeeping forces and the NPFL. However, this strategy suc-

ceeded in “containing the conflict, at least for a short period and preventing the situation from degenerating into genocidal proportions like the type of slaughter witnessed between April and July 1994 in Rwanda” (Draman and Carment 2001, 11). To avoid a rapid escalation of the situation, ECOMOG and the NPFL held a series of talks. Based on the official reports of the ministerial conference, there had been substantial disagreement between members of the ECOMOG and the warlords over key elements of the proposed peace plan. Major issues leading to the dispute were: “the desirability and timing of a cease fire, the desirability and composition of an interim government, and the usefulness of deploying a regional peacekeeping force” (Adibe 1997, 473).

However, it was difficult to find common ground on these issues among negotiators. At this time, Taylor’s NPFL led the most powerful military force and was committed to controlling the entire country. Therefore, Taylor refused the ECOMOG’s request, insisting that the NPFL “took up arms, got rid of Doe, and took more than 98 percent of the country and so had earned the right to rule Liberia” (Adibe 1997, 474). Taylor’s objective of capturing the state was destroyed by the engagement of peacekeeping forces of the ECOMOG. Accordingly, in October 1992, Taylor’s NPFL launched a major attack named Operation Octopus on ECOMOG positions in Monrovia, aimed at capturing the city and establishing a national government. ECOWAS counterattacked by bombing NPFL’s position from air and sea. Backed by units of AFL and INPFL, ECOMOG successfully contained and then turned back the attack (Mackinlay and Alao 1994). This operation illustrated that the Liberia crisis had escalated beyond the negotiating capabilities of ECOMOG. Consequently, the security situation deteriorated rapidly, leading to the continuation of fighting between warlords.

From 1990 to 1993, enormous efforts were made by the ECOMOG to assure that all parties complied with the provisions of a series of peace

agreements; however, these efforts failed because of the differences among ECOMOG member states with respect to their strategies. Specifically, Francophone countries of ECOMOG attached much importance to diplomatic strategy, accommodating warlords in a coalition government; however, the Anglophone states stressed launching a military force to contain the rebels and frustrate their aspirations (Armon and Carl 1996). Thus, the lack of consensus among ECOMOG member countries rendered ECOMOG incapable of making the Liberian factions lay down their arms.

In April 1993, Security Council Resolution 856 was passed to send the newly formed United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) into Liberia to assist the ECOMOG in monitoring and verifying the peace process—in particular, ensuring compliance with and impartial implementation of the agreement by all parties. UNOMIL was the first United Nations peacekeeping mission undertaken in cooperation with a peacekeeping operation already established by a regional organization (United Nations 2003a). In 1996, with the efforts of ECOMOG and the UN, the Abuja Accord was reached and accepted by all parties involved. This treaty integrated Liberian factions into a unified government following a cease-fire among warlords. In 1997, under the supervision of the UN, a democratically elected government was established, and Taylor was elected president of Liberia. The objective of the peace operation was achieved. In sum, in the Liberian case the conflict resolution process illustrated the effectiveness of the joint intervention strategy of international and regional organizations to address the civil strife in Africa. Specifically, the UN assumed “mainly supervisory roles while regional organizations would carry out the practical aspects of the peace keeping operations” (Alao 1998, 20). The regional organization was familiar with social and economic problems unique to the region; in addition, they were committed to solving the conflict and thus could play a positive role in the mediation process,

whereas the United Nations provided abundant capability, resources, expertise, and authority to facilitate the process of disarmament and demobilization.

Conclusion

The civil war in Liberia had a drastic impact on Liberia's economic structure as well as its political structure and claimed the lives of tens of thousands of innocent civilians. About half the country's 2.3 million people fled their homes and are either refugees in neighboring states or displaced inside Liberia. Efforts should be made along domestic and regional dimensions to prevent the recurrence of internal violence in Liberia. First, in a country such as Liberia which has experienced state collapse, efforts should be made to build a strong state that has "ample resources and the administrative and political capacity to control or regulate most economic, social, and political activity" (Gurr 2001, 142). Under this framework, in order to address the issue of ethnic problems and to prevent continuing interethnic revenge, Liberia should include representatives of different ethnic groups in the political process. Specifically, the parliament should be composed of representatives from different ethnic groups.

With this approach, various ethnic groups with different beliefs and backgrounds can live together in harmony without threatening the country's political stability. In addition, the Liberian government should devote resources to socioeconomic development programs to increase "the improvements in the physical quality and dignity of people's lives: access to potable water, safe and sanitary neighborhoods, basic health care, literacy and advanced education, sufficient income to provide at least minimally adequate food and clothing and sufficient income to provide for one's family" (Diamond 1992, 123). With improved living conditions, people would have less motivation to participate in rebel activities against the government. Furthermore, to address the potential threat of in-

ternal violence in Liberia, regional organizations such as the Organization of Africa States (OAS) and ECOWAS should establish an institutional mechanism of conflict prevention. Liberia should be integrated into this security framework, in which situations in Liberia would be monitored, potential tension among ethnic groups detected, and ethnic conflicts resolved.

Jun Wei

Chronology

- April 12, 1980 Samuel K. Doe, an Army sergeant, overthrows President William Tobler's regime.
- May 6, 1985 Doe's National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL) wins election.
- December, 24, 1989 The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), an insurgent of Doe's government led by Charles Taylor, enters Liberia from Côte d'Ivoire, aiming to topple the Doe regime.
- August 1990 The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) decides to send ECOMOG, a military intervention force, to stop the fighting.
- September 1990 The Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), a splinter group of the NPFL, captures and kills Doe.
- October 1990 The Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), headed by Amos Sawyer under the auspices of ECOMOG, is established.
- August 1993 The United Nations sends the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) to monitor the peace process in Liberia.
- 1995 Within the framework of the Abuja Accord, an interim state council composed of Liberia's warring factions is established.
- August 1997 Charles Taylor is elected president of Liberia with more than 75 percent of the vote.
- 1999 Liberians United for a Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), a rebel group that aims to topple Taylor's government, emerges in the northern county of Lofa along the Guinean border.
- 2001 The United Nations imposes sanctions on Liberian diamonds and issues a travel ban on Liberian government officials in response to Liberia's continued support of the rebel insurgency in Sierra Leone.

- August 2003 Taylor is accused of war crimes and exiled.
- September 2003 U.S. forces pull out; UN launches peacekeeping mission.
- October 2003 Gyude Bryant is sworn in as head of state.

List of Acronyms

- ACDL: Association for Constitutional Democracy in Liberia
- ACS: American Colonization Society
- AFL: Armed Forces of Liberia
- AMA: American Mining Associates
- ATU: Anti-Terrorist Unit
- ECOMOG: ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group.
- ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States
- GDP: gross domestic product
- IGNU: Interim Government of National Unity
- INPFL: Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia
- LURD: Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy
- MNC: multinational corporation
- MODEL: Movement for Democracy in Liberia
- MRR: Mano River Resources
- NDPL: National Democratic Party of Liberia
- NPFL: National Patriotic Front of Liberia
- NPFL-CRC: The National Patriotic Front of Liberia-Central Revolutionary Council
- NPP: National Patriotic Party
- NPRAG: National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government
- OAS: Organization of African States
- OTC: Oriental Timber Company
- PPP: purchasing power parity
- PRC: People's Redemption Council
- RUF: Revolutionary United Front
- SLA: Sierra Leone Army
- ULIMO: United Liberation Movement of Liberia
- UNHCR: United Nations High Commission for Refugees
- UNOMIL: United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia
- UNMIL: United Nations Mission in Liberia

Glossary

- Doe, Samuel K.:** President of Liberia from 1980 to 1990; came to power by military coup, toppling President William R. Tolbert, Jr.'s government. His regime was characterized by ethnic hatred between Kranh and non-Kranh ethnic groups, violation of human rights, and systemic corruption.

ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group

(ECOMOG): Peacekeeping force, established in August 1990 by ECOWAS, a regional organization of West Africa, to stop the fighting among warlords in Liberia, to monitor the cease-fire, and to integrate the major rivals into an interim administration.

National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL): Rebel force, active from 1989 to 1997, that aimed at toppling Doe's regime; composed of Gio and Mano ethnic groups from Nimba County, who were suppressed by Doe's government in the 1980s.

Revolutionary United Front (RUF): Insurgent force in Sierra Leone, led by Foday Sankoh and supported by Taylor of Liberia; evolved from a guerrilla group into a quasi-conventional army, with near catastrophic consequences for Sierra Leone.

Taylor, Charles Ghankay: Insurgent leader in the Liberian civil war from 1989 to 1997; elected president of Liberia in 1997 and exiled to Nigeria in 2003 after being indicted for war crimes by the United Nations.

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Mozambique (1979–1992)

Country Background

In the last half of the twentieth century, the Republic of Mozambique was among the most conflict-ridden and war-torn nations in the world. After nearly a decade (1964–1975) of violent nationalist rebellion against the Portuguese, the Frente de Libertacao de Mozambique (Frelimo), the anticolonialists who became the first governing party in independent Mozambique, began to combat a growing counterrevolutionary insurgency that called itself the Resistencia Nacional Mozambicana (Renamo). This conflict between the Frelimo government and Renamo rebels, which began only two years after independence, would lead the new country into one of the longest and bloodiest civil wars of the post–World War II era. Before an agreement would be reached in the early nineties to end the war, an estimated 1 million deaths would be attributed to the conflict, with an additional 4 million deslocados, or displaced persons (around a quarter of the entire population) living in refugee camps inside Mozambique or in neighboring Malawi, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, or South Africa (Vines 1991, 1).

It is difficult, however, to determine exactly how many people died as a result of the civil war in Mozambique. The typical distinction between military deaths and civilian deaths is frequently blurred. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa estimated in 1989 that

900,000 had died from the war. The Correlates of War civil war data file (Sarkees 2000) lists 200,550 state deaths and 1,200,550 total deaths. Sambanis (2000) lists 255,000 total battle deaths, 500,000 total deaths, and 3,500,000 refugees. More than likely, the actual number of deaths occurring from direct combat is much smaller. Throughout most of the conflict, the national military of Mozambique was estimated at approximately 30,000. At its peak, Renamo was even smaller, somewhere between 20,000 and 25,000 men. If both sides had a turnover rate from battle deaths of 100 percent, meaning that every single person who was a soldier at the beginning of the war had been killed and replaced by the end of the war (a nearly impossible scenario), the number of battle deaths would be roughly 50,000 to 60,000. Clearly, the casualty estimates include all civilian deaths blamed on the war. In addition to those killed in military campaigns, the civil war destroyed the economy and prevented aid from reaching people in need during several natural disasters and famines that occurred during the course of the conflict.

A senior U.S. Department of State official referred to the Mozambican civil war in 1988 as “. . .one of the most brutal holocausts against ordinary human beings since World War Two” (quoted in Finnegan 1992, 5). By the end of the 1980s, Mozambique was reportedly producing

less than 10 percent of the food its people needed. When more than three decades of internal war ended in 1992, the life expectancy of the average Mozambican was thirty-seven years, and Mozambique was considered the poorest country in the world, with a gross domestic product per capita around 80 dollars, two-thirds of which consisted of foreign aid (Plank 1993).

Conflict Background

Following independence, conditions inside Mozambique resembled a common scenario in postcolonial states. Conflict began to emerge between societal groups as the new ruling party, dominated by members of the anticolonial opposition, formed what could be called a “backlash” regime (Clement and Springborg 2001, 16). Strong anticolonial and anticapitalist policies were initiated, which in turn helped to mobilize a counterrevolutionary opposition with ties to the former colonial state.

The new ruling party of Mozambique (Frelimo), calling itself Marxist, directed its foreign policy toward alignment with the Soviet Union and Cuba, nationalized industry, outlawed private property, and began the creation of state-run collective farms and communal villages. Frelimo President Samora Machel declared that Mozambique would be “Africa’s first Marxist state,” and his government’s initiatives were said to be strongly influenced by “. . . the historical models for revolution offered by Cuba, Vietnam, the Soviet Union and China . . .” combined with Mozambique’s own “. . . long and terrible experience with Portuguese-style capitalism . . .” (Finnegan 1992, 110). As Frelimo’s Interior Minister Guebuza described, at independence the regime’s immediate goal was to eliminate “. . . the rotten values of the colonial bourgeoisie that had been assimilated by Mozambicans” (Cabrita 2000, 95).

Renamo’s makeup, at least initially, came from those with close ties to the former Portuguese security apparatus in Mozambique. This level of assimilation with the former colonial

state explains much of the ideological distance between Frelimo and Renamo over what kind of country postindependent Mozambique should become. In 1981, Renamo released its first political manifesto. The rebel group defined itself as a military organization dedicated to ending Frelimo rule in favor of free-market economics and multiparty elections. Renamo’s background, as Portuguese-trained soldiers with a free-market political manifesto, provides a vivid example of colonial *assimilados* coming into conflict with a “backlash” regime.

The Insurgents

Although some debate exists in the literature over the primacy of internal versus external factors in explaining the success of Renamo as an insurgency in Mozambique, the group’s origins are generally well-known. Renamo was founded around 1976 by members of the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) to act as a counterinsurgency force directed against the Zimbabwean National Liberation Army (Zanla), which had based itself in Mozambique after being banned from Rhodesia. Renamo would also retaliate against the Frelimo government for supporting Zanla activities within its territory and for closing Mozambique’s border with Rhodesia. According to the rebel group’s creator, a Rhodesian military intelligence chief named Ken Flower, Renamo was to be a pseudoterrorist organization (Flower 1987). Recruitment for Renamo came initially from “disgruntled Portuguese” (Vines 1991, 16), many of whom had been associated with the Portuguese General Security Directorate (DGS). Others came from the “crack anti-insurgency units” or “flechas” (Morgan 1990, 605), which were formed and trained by the Portuguese to combat the anticolonial uprising in Mozambique. To escape possible retribution by Frelimo after independence, many Mozambican members of the Portuguese colonial military fled to neighboring Rhodesia, where they were later recruited by the CIO.

Table 1: Civil War in Mozambique

War:	Mozambique (Frelimo) vs. Renamo
Dates:	October 21, 1979–October 4, 1992
Casualties:	1,200,550 (Sarkees)
Regime type prior to war:	–8 Autocracy (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data—ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	6 Democracy (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data—ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$1,182
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$760
Insurgents:	Resistencia Nacional Mozambicana (Renamo)
Issue:	Ideological struggle for control of central government
Rebel funding:	Aid from Rhodesia until 1980, then South Africa
Role of geography:	Forested center regions were primary areas of rebel activity.
Role of resources:	Limited role; not prominent
Immediate outcome:	Negotiated settlement
Outcome after 5 years:	Stable peace and elections
Role of UN:	7,500 peacekeepers on the ground after settlement
Role of regional organizations:	Not prominent
Refugees:	3–4 million
Prospects for peace:	Very favorable

Sources: Jagers and Marshall 2000; Sarkees 2000; Sambanis 2000.

Renamo also benefited from a significant splintering of Frelimo at independence between the moderate and democratic Mondlane wing and the more authoritarian pro-Marxist wing, which eventually took power after Eduardo Mondlane's death. Much of Renamo's early recruitment came from Frelimo splinter groups and political dissidents assigned to reeducation camps by the regime's political police and later liberated from those camps by the rebels. Renamo reportedly raised between 1,000 and 2,000 men in the single year of 1979 through "raids on re-education camps" (Finnegan 1992, 32). One of those early recruits was Andre Matsangaissa, a former Frelimo military commander, who, after escaping from a reeducation camp, fled to Rhodesia and became the leader of the new rebel group.

Although initially a rather small unit operating closely under Rhodesian Special Forces units, Renamo's activities expanded in 1978 owing to growing Zanla activity in Mozambique along the Rhodesian border. Counteroffensive bases were set up inside Mozambique to better combat

Zanla infiltration routes into Rhodesia and to destabilize Frelimo leadership in Mozambique. Throughout the rest of the 1970s, Renamo did what it was created and trained to do: wreak general havoc in Mozambique in an effort to weaken Zanla and Frelimo in the name of Rhodesian national security. Despite the escalating levels of violence in the 1970s, Renamo expert Alex Vines characterizes Renamo activity at this time as "fairly limited" (1991, 17) compared to what the next decade would bring as Renamo sponsorship shifted from Rhodesia to South Africa.

Control and support for Renamo changed significantly in 1980, when multiracial elections ended white minority rule in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and, consequently, CIO support of Renamo. After 1980, Renamo became primarily funded and controlled by South African military intelligence forces to combat increasing activity by African National Congress (ANC) rebels inside Mozambique and to deter Frelimo assistance to the ANC, which reportedly included weapons shipped from the USSR to Mozambique's capital of Maputo (Cabrita 2000, 181).



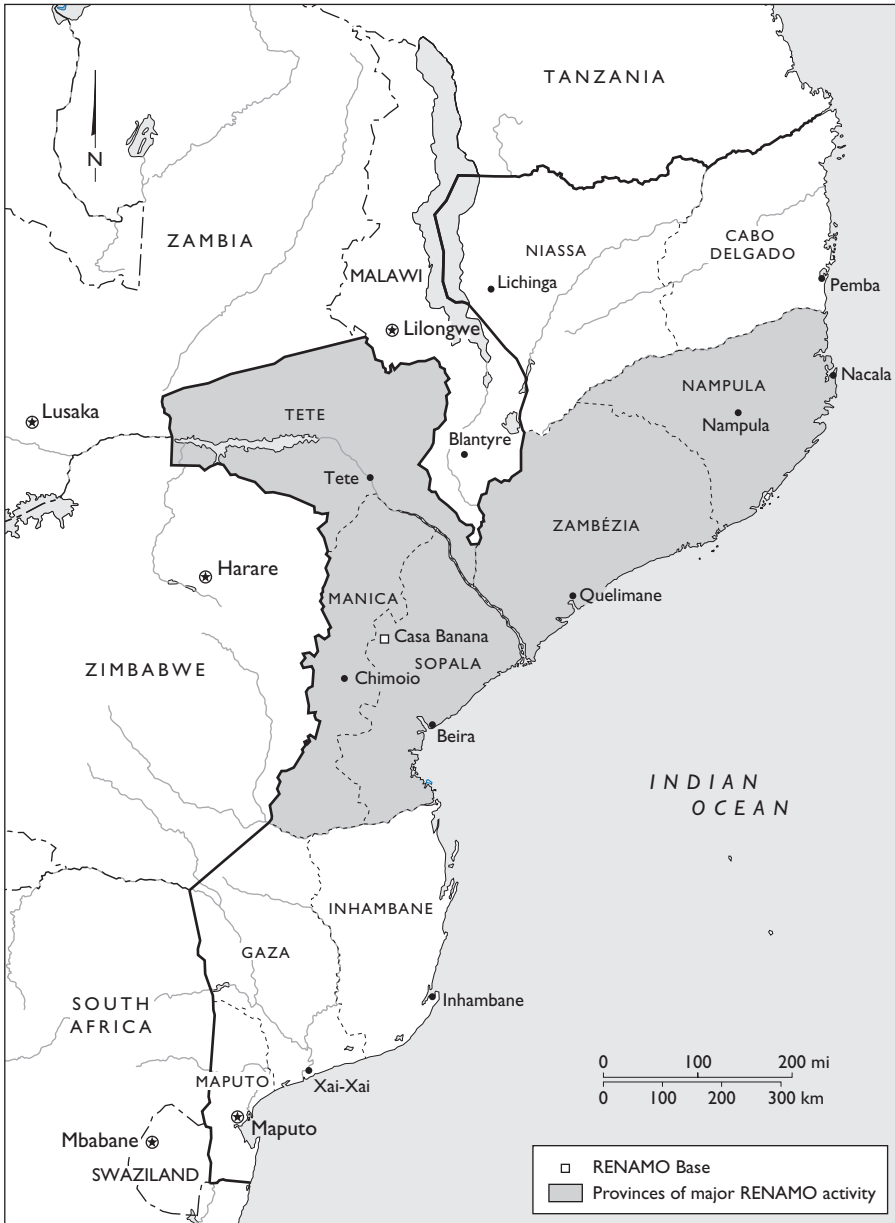
Thousands of refugees fleeing the civil war in Mozambique crowd a train taking them to Malawi in 1989. Civil war is a leading cause of human displacement. (Peter Turnley/Corbis)

Although Renamo had new South African sponsors, the group's directives in the coming decade would be very similar to what they had been under the sponsorship of Rhodesia: launch counteroffensives against the nationalist rebels, in this case the African National Congress, and weaken the Frelimo regime through the systematic destruction of social and economic infrastructure. With South African support, Renamo's activities reportedly intensified substantially. From 1980 through 1988, Renamo destroyed approximately "1,800 schools, 720 health units, 900 shops, and 1,300 trucks and buses" (Vines 1991, 17). In the Beira corridor alone, an important economic zone stretching from the port at Beira across Mozambique, Renamo destroyed 1,415 pylons (power lines) with an estimated cost of repair of more than \$76 million (Vines 1991, 28). In addition to infrastructure, the human loss in Mozambique was becoming monumental. UNICEF, the United

Nations Children's Fund, stated that 490,000 children in Mozambique died of starvation between 1980 and 1988. By 1989, the number of both internal and external refugees had "reached over 4.3 million," providing a strong indicator at the time of how devastating the conflict had become (Vines 1991, 17).

Geography

The overall complexity of the Mozambican conflict was greatly facilitated, geographically, by the high number of land borders shared with neighboring countries of Malawi (1,569 kilometers), South Africa (491 kilometers), Swaziland (105 kilometers), Tanzania (756 kilometers), Zambia (419 kilometers), and Zimbabwe (1,231 kilometers). This contributed to interventionists tactics by several of these states and offered temporary safe havens for rebel activity. In addition to the high number of land borders Mozambique shares with neighboring states, the long, narrow



shape of the country may have also contributed to the dynamics of the conflict by allowing the rebels to reach a border with limited effort.

Mozambique, which is roughly twice the size of California, is a very narrow strip of mostly coastal lowlands running along 2,470 miles of the Indian Ocean. Aside from the northernmost regions above Nampula, the country

never exceeds 300 miles in width at any one point, providing close proximity to a border at nearly any geographical point. In the Tete province, which served as a major area of rebel activity, the borders of Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Zambia are all within 150 miles and span three sides of the province. Presumably, rebel movement across these borders would go more easily

unnoticed or ignored than that of the Mozambique national military. This offered the rebels a unique advantage.

Terrain was also seen as an important factor in either aiding or limiting the ability of the rebels to expand their territory. The difficulty Renamo had in trying to penetrate the southern regions of Mozambique was, according to some Renamo officials, frequently blamed on the geography and logistics of the area. According to Manning (1998, 168), Renamo officials repeatedly argued that the “absence of dense forests, and the drier, flatter terrain in southern Mozambique provided inhospitable territory for guerrilla bases, in comparison to the geography of the central region.” Renamo’s most sophisticated base, located at Casa Banana in the Gorongosa mountains, is described as a “dispersed settlement of huts covering several kilometers, under the cover of trees” with only a few entrances through paths “that were closely guarded” (Vines 1991, 85).

Tactics

Despite the transitional phases of Renamo—from a Rhodesian special operations unit, to a South African military proxy, to a self-sufficient domestic insurgency in the Mozambican countryside—its operational tactics remained fairly consistent over the duration of the conflict. Finnegan (1992, 237) describes Renamo’s tactics as involving primarily “low-intensity warfare” with an emphasis on the complete devastation of governmental, social, and economic infrastructure in designated “destruction areas.” These were zones considered important to the government or thought to be under Frelimo control. According to Alex Vines (1991, 87), the rebel group focused on the complete destruction of all property and facilities in a designated destruction area “so as to make government resettlement utterly unattractive, thereby, maintaining the vacated areas . . .” Visiting a village that was recently destroyed in a Renamo attack, Finnegan (1992, 12) noted the methodical nature of the destruction: “. . . each tile of a mo-

saic smashed, each pane of a glass block wall painstakingly shattered. It was systematic, psychologically meticulous destruction. The only building in town with its roof untouched was the church.” This focus on installations key to the regime also tended to force government resources into a defensive role in which protecting its property took precedence over conducting offensive strikes against rebel areas.

Despite the fact that Renamo tactics have led some scholars to characterize the group as merely “bent on mindless destruction and violence” (Manning 1998, 161), Renamo’s “grand” strategy was to force a war of attrition with the government. By engaging in the wholesale destruction of everything important or beneficial to the government and the economy, the Frelimo regime would be weakened to the point of collapse—or, at the very least, forced to negotiate a power-sharing arrangement with the rebels. Finnegan describes Renamo’s tactics as a “maximalist strategy, and a pure equation: that whatever weakened Frelimo strengthened Renamo” (1992, 77). In 1988, Renamo President Dhlakama stated frankly in an interview, “Our aim is not to win the war militarily . . . but to force Frelimo to accept negotiations for a democratically elected government” (quoted in Finnegan 1992, 79). As Cabrita (2000, 205) argues, “It was clear from the pattern of Renamo operations that its primary goal was to isolate the government from the rural areas . . . stifling its economic power base . . .”

Renamo’s tactics in target selection, in addition to its effectiveness in weakening and limiting government capabilities, also benefited the rebel group through the creation of a pillage economy. Renamo reportedly took anything and everything of value in a raid before destroying an area and then sold the loot in the markets of neighboring states. Goods included everything from dismantled and later reassembled Land Rover automobiles to smuggled elephant ivory. Touring a communal village destroyed in a Renamo attack, Finnegan noted that “every window, every window frame, every door, every door

frame, every piece of plumbing or wiring or flooring had been ripped out and carried away” (1992, 11). A common Renamo practice was to kidnap a large number of peasants during these raids and use them as “porters” to carry the looted items hundreds of miles through the African bush to market, mostly in Malawi. Other abductees were taken back to Renamo camps and used as forced labor. Reportedly, if Renamo planned to stay in an area for any length of time, it would reinstall the local *regulos* or *muenes*, the petty chiefs used by the Portuguese as tax collectors and village overseers, who had not been well treated by Frelimo after independence.

The terror of Renamo’s often theatrical and ritualized use of violence is itself another operational tactic used purposely to intimidate the civilian population upon which the rebels depended for material support and intelligence. Renamo used violence in ways that have repeatedly been referred to as “cultic” or “ritualized” in order to “. . . instill a paralyzing and incapacitating fear . . .” in the civilian population and government troops through a “. . . maniacal devotion to the infliction of suffering” (Wilson 1992, 531). Renamo’s tactics have been summarily characterized as a “grotesque campaign of terror” against mostly civilians, with a respective lack of any real “political program” (Manning 1998, 161). Such atrocities included the forced participation of relatives in the murder of their own family members, mass rape, and people being crushed in millet grinders or boiled alive. Other unimaginable acts of torture were used, such as facial and bodily mutilation which made the victim a lifelong advertisement for the consequences of resistance (see Wilson 1992).

These tactics led many to consider Renamo the “most brutal rebel army” of their time (Itano 2002, 8). As Vines (1991, 1), argues, “What makes Renamo so different from most successful rebel movements is that the equation between popular support and rebel strength does not generally apply.” Renamo’s use of violence against noncombatants and their apparent lack of any ideological “hearts-and-minds campaign”

to win over peasant support led to a significantly negative international reputation around the mid-1980s, leading some scholars, such as Geffray (1990, 119), to characterize them as nothing more than a “parasite army” that was only interested in “. . . manufacturing war to subsist by it . . .” (1990, 120). Nevertheless, the use of widespread violence against civilians was a consistently used and apparently successful operational tactic for Renamo in waging “. . . brutal, but effective, psychological warfare . . .” (Vines 1991, 90).

Causes of the War

Although the rise of Renamo and the group’s early funding can be attributed to interventionist tactics by Rhodesia and South Africa, these external sources of support began to decline in the early 1980s. The Renamo sponsors in Zimbabwe were now out of power, and Frelimo president Samora Machel and South African President P. W. Botha signed the N’komati Agreement in March 1984, halting support to the ANC by one side and to Renamo by the other. It was alleged that South African Special Forces continued some covert support to Renamo after the agreement was signed, but according to postwar interviews with Renamo leaders and officials, the agreement served “as a catalyst to force Renamo to establish itself as an organization in its own right” (Manning 1998, 163) and led to the relocation of rebel headquarters from Phalaborwa (South Africa) to the Gorongosa mountains of Mozambique.

After sponsorship from South Africa had begun to wane, Renamo grew from an externally funded and controlled military surrogate to a pervasive domestic rebellion with support in recruitment, food, and shelter stemming largely from the Mozambique countryside. Alex Vines (1991, 2) notes that “while Renamo was initially trained by Rhodesia, and later by South Africa, it evolved its own style once it operated in the Mozambican bush.” Following the N’komati accords, Renamo sought to aggressively expand its

operations outside of Sopala and Manica, their central regional heartland, into the northern and southern provinces, to become a self-sustaining force embedded in rural Mozambique. According to interviews with district-level Renamo officials, more than half said they were recruited between 1984 and 1986 to serve as political representatives “in the bush,” whereas most of the military leadership was recruited much earlier, in 1979 and 1980 (Manning 1998, 163). By the mid-1980s, Renamo was operating in all ten provinces in Mozambique and had an estimated 20,000 soldiers (Vines 1991, 1).

What accounts for Renamo’s success as a rebel group and the resulting protracted civil war against the government of Mozambique? Vines (1991, 74) notes a “paradigm shift” in the scholarly literature on the Mozambican crisis in the mid-1980s “away from the causality . . . being South African destabilization with the emphases being shifted to a focus on Frelimo’s agrarian policies . . .” By and large, Renamo’s expanding levels of support throughout the 1980s is attributed to several largely domestic sources: (a) policies of the Frelimo government, particularly toward traditional agriculture and religion; (b) regional and ethnic divisions within Frelimo and Mozambique; and (c) the attraction of young, impoverished Mozambican boys to the lifestyle of a Renamo rebel.

Renamo was especially apt at maneuvering to capitalize on collective discontent generated by Frelimo policies and orientations that were widely considered disruptive and nontraditional. Frelimo’s embrace of socialist projects after independence produced a general disregard for traditional authority figures, such as village chiefs. In an interview in 1988, Mozambique’s Minister of Culture Luis Honwana commented on the mistakes the Frelimo government made regarding the indigenous authority structure: “We didn’t realize how influential the traditional authorities were; even without formal power . . . We will have to restore some of the traditional structures that at the beginning of our independence we simply smashed . . .” (quoted in Finnegan 1992, 125).

Postindependence Frelimo policies and orientations, especially with regard to agriculture and freedom of religion, brought sudden and radical changes to members of a traditionally bound society. Peasants were forced to abandon their private subsistence plots to work in state-run collective farms and villages. Overall, these collective projects, which were intended to enhance the ailing state sector, were hugely unsuccessful, “marred by misjudgment, misuse and squandering of the large amount of investment put into them.” Consequently, they were quite unpopular with the peasants involved (Vines 1991, 115). Renamo made no small effort to exploit these rural grievances by promoting and encouraging angry peasants to resist the state and return to their traditional ways. The governor of Manica province (an area that would later become a Renamo stronghold), commenting on his projects in 1981, stated in frustration that “. . . peasants are individualistic . . . they think that all collective life must be bad. The resistance movement [Renamo] has built on this, encouraging people to live in the traditional way . . . many families have at least one member fighting for MNR” (quoted in Vines 1991, 117).

The government also attempted to widen the agricultural base and decrease urban unemployment in what amounted to a colossal policy mistake called Operation Production, under which approximately 50,000 unemployed city dwellers were forcefully transported to underdeveloped areas of the countryside, dropped off, and told to start farming. Cabrita (2000, 216) notes that five years after Operation Production, there were some people were still trying to locate relatives evacuated in the program. The project was later referred to by Frelimo officials as “a successful recruiting program for the bandits” (Finnegan 1992, 69).

Stemming from its self-perception as a modernizing, leftist regime, the Frelimo government also engaged in considerable repression of religious activity, whereas the majority of the Mozambican population believed in some form of traditional religion. Due to perceived associa-

tions with colonialism and indigenous authority structures, the government considered religion a disruptive influence. Party members were not allowed to belong to a church, and traditional spiritual healers were not allowed party membership. According to Finnegan, like the petty chiefs, religious authority figures "... were merely pushed aside by the new government" (1992, 64). Cabrita (2000, 121) reports that an estimated 7,000 practicing Jehovah's Witnesses in Mozambique were arrested and sent to reeducation camps for "serving the imperialist powers" with their missionary work.

Renamo, on the other hand, used traditional religious figures extensively in its organization, both to win the support of the peasantry and for protection through spiritual power. The role of spiritual beliefs has been repeatedly emphasized in the literature for its influential role in the Mozambican conflict, particularly in Renamo's identity construction and the belief it was fighting a "war of spirits" against Frelimo (Lauriciano 1990, 9). Much of Renamo's perceived success among the peasantry is said to be rooted in the group's spiritual powers, especially among the ethnic N'dau, who are considered one of the most feared and spiritually powerful tribes in Mozambique. Renamo's embrace of religion also had a very practical side, giving it a psychological advantage in warfare and in attracting support from religious groups. As one local Mozambican preacher stated, "... at least Renamo does not stop us from worshipping God" (quoted in Vines 1991, 102). Frelimo's lack of respect for religious belief and lack of support for small farmers generated significant anti-regime sentiment and resulted in an increased presence of Renamo in rural areas.

Much of the sympathy for Renamo is also said to be rooted in "regional/ethnic tensions and imbalances" within Mozambique, dating back to independence and the belief that Frelimo was not truly representative of Mozambican society and that its policies were "ethnically biased as a result" (Morgan 1990, 614). The belief that Frelimo was dominated by Shangaan-

speaking southerners of disproportionately mestizo background, combined with Frelimo's tendency to move southerners into positions of authority outside the south, created resentment among many in the northern and central regions of Mozambique.

Ethnic division did exist between the largely southern, Shangaan-speaking Frelimo and the centrally based, Shona-speaking N'dau rebels, but the ethnic divide was largely a by-product of Renamo's founding around the ancestral homeland of the N'dau peoples. Vines (1991, 84) notes that "Rhodesian recruitment of the N'dau, was not, as some commentators have speculated, calculated planning but due to the geographical location of the N'dau along the Rhodesian border." Moreover, several popular data sets used in the study of civil war agree that the Mozambican case was not based primarily on ethnic conflict. Licklider (1995) considers the Mozambican civil war primarily to have been fought over "political/economic" rather than "identity" issues. Similarly, Sambanis (2000) also considers the war as one fought over largely political identities. As in many African conflicts, ethnic politics in Mozambique often reinforced the conflict, although it was not the master or primary cleavage between the rebels and the government.

Last, and perhaps the least studied dynamic explaining Renamo's success, was the attraction of the rebel lifestyle for young, impoverished Mozambican boys. Research discussed by Manning (1998) on Renamo recruitment suggests that the majority of the rank and file who stayed with Renamo throughout most of the war were highly disproportionately poor, uneducated country boys. Those villagers who were economically better off would have been better able to use their resources either to avoid the rebels or to negotiate. For many recruits, the benefits of being Renamo warriors greatly exceeded anything they could have hoped to achieve as peasant farmers in perhaps the poorest country in the world. At the very least they were better fed. Geffray (1990) argues that Renamo made the boys peers and equals in an autonomous, independent

social group that provided freedom, fraternity, and social advancement. This lifestyle stood in stark contrast to the dull servitude and domination by tribal elders and petty government officials that characterized life in their former villages. As Finnegan notes, there clearly was talk of the “dirty little secret” that being a Renamo warrior might be fun. Finnegan (1992, 71) describes the account of a kidnapped Angolan mechanic who, after his escape, referred to the rebels he lived with as “having themselves a hell of a time.” According to the interviewee, the rebel boys in his camp got high on marijuana, got drunk on beer, and spent most of their days racing stolen motorcycles on homemade racetracks through the African bush.

Outcome

Conflict Status

On October 4, 1992, Frelimo president and Renamo leaders signed the General Peace Agreement (GPA), which effectively ended the civil war in Mozambique. Although 1992 was described as a year of intense fighting, very little

Mozambique and Civil War Deaths

In direct correlation with its length, the civil war in Mozambique is also among the deadliest of modern civil wars. Of the 11,477,830 total battle deaths resulting from civil war since 1945 (obtained by summing the total deaths of every war reported in the Correlates of War Project civil war data file), more than 50 percent (5,800,550) occurred in just five civil wars: Nigeria, China, Mozambique, Sudan, and Afghanistan. Sarkees (2000) reports 1,200,550 total deaths from the Mozambican civil war, making it the third-deadliest conflict in the modern era. In contrast, 80 percent of the post-1945 civil wars experienced fewer than 100,000 deaths per war, whereas 50 percent of the civil wars experienced fewer than 12,000 deaths, and 25 percent of the conflicts experienced fewer than 3,000 deaths.

Mozambique and Civil War Duration

Only a handful of civil wars in the last fifty years have lasted longer than the sixteen-year conflict in Mozambique. In fact, more than 80 percent of all the terminated civil wars listed in the Correlates of War Project civil war data file (Sarkees 2000) lasted less than 2,000 days (roughly five years). Further, 50 percent lasted less than 500 days (roughly a year and a half), and 25 percent lasted less than a month.

violence was reported after the settlement and the start of the UN demobilization and reintegration programs in the same year. Very few cases of general violence have been reported since 1993, giving a strong confirmation of the success of the agreement.

The success of the 1992 accords was perhaps surprising in that the conflict represented, in many respects, an unlikely case for settlement. The two sides had antagonistic roots, reinforced by regional and ethnic hostilities, that went back to colonial rule, and they were engaged in one of the longest, deadliest civil wars of the modern era. There were indicators, however, that motivation and resources were running low in both camps. As early as 1988, officials from the Catholic Church who met privately with Renamo leaders under the auspices of the Peace and Reconciliation Commission thought that Renamo was “serious about wanting to end the war” (Vines 1991, 122). Similarly, Vines argues that, as early as 1983, the Frelimo government had stated in session that it could not defeat the rebels militarily and were going to have to negotiate to end the war and attempted to do just that in the 1984 Pretoria talks. The Frelimo government had nearly abandoned its Marxist ideology by the end of the 1980s and announced in 1990 plans for a liberal democratic constitution that included nearly everything Renamo had supposedly been fighting for: multiparty elections, freedom of religion and association, and an elected executive. Chan and Venancio (1998)

attribute the timing of the agreement to southern Africa's worst drought in three decades, which seriously affected rebel stronghold areas in central Mozambique. Therefore, as resources for both groups began to dry up, so did the ideological basis of the war.

Walter (1999) argues that the negotiations in the early 1990s not only satisfied the major grievances of both parties but also produced some security guarantees that had not been attainable in prior negotiations. Because Renamo leaders did not trust government officials or view their promises as credible, they wanted such credible guarantees as third-party mediation and dual administrative control of the military to protect themselves during and after the negotiation process. In August 1991, after an initial rejection of outside intervention (particularly United Nations involvement) by the Frelimo government, negotiations resumed in November of the same year, when the government finally agreed to third-party involvement and a new dual national military comprising 15,000 Renamo troops and 15,000 Frelimo troops.

Although the next two rounds of elections from 1992 to 1999, which produced a Frelimo president and parliamentary majority, were considered fraudulent by Renamo, there was no resumption of civil war in Mozambique. As of 2005, thirteen years since the 1992 negotiated settlement laid the structural groundwork for ending the civil war and starting a new multiparty democracy in Mozambique, the prospect for sustained peace remains generally high. Writing on Mozambique's experience with democratic transition, Lala and Ostheimer report that "[t]he outbreak of large-scale violent conflict in Mozambique seems rather unlikely . . . the ability to mobilize people on a large scale appears to be limited nowadays. Mozambicans are more interested in securing their daily economic survival . . ." (2003, 65).

Duration Tactics

The civil war between the Frelimo government and Renamo rebels in Mozambique was a par-

ticularly long one relative to most civil wars. Worldwide, only a handful of civil wars have lasted longer than the sixteen-year Mozambican conflict. Why did the civil war in Mozambique last so long? Much of the answer has to do with (a) the ability of Renamo to meet its material needs through control of the local peasantry and the creation of a pillage economy, and (b) the inability of the Frelimo state and Mozambican military to penetrate the countryside and effectively target Renamo strongholds.

Renamo is frequently referred to or characterized as a "captive army," made up of a significant number of recruits who were coerced into service after being taken prisoner in civilian raids. This dynamic has been difficult for scholars of revolution and rebellion to understand. How can an effective rebel army be constructed from involuntary members, prisoners, or captives? The literature on Renamo suggests several possible answers to this question. First, Vines (1991) notes that many of Renamo's "coerced combatants" were afraid to escape and go home, for fear of retribution for their participation in the kind of atrocities for which Renamo was famous. Second, it was common for Renamo to relocate coerced recruits away from their homeland in areas of different linguistic dialects; this presumably would make it more difficult to escape. Third, several scholars (see Geffray 1990; Manning 1998; Vines 1991) note that, after their initial involuntary introduction, many recruits—even forced ones—realized that the lifestyle of a Renamo warrior was an improvement over what they had before. Forced recruits, especially children, having little to no education or work experience and thus lacking social networks in civilian life to return to, more than likely served Renamo until the war ended.

There is also the hypothesis that much of Renamo's membership was actually voluntary, rooted in anti-Frelimo activism or selective incentives, and that the high degree of coercion associated with Renamo recruitment may be an exaggeration that explains Renamo's success without attributing it to widespread discontent

with the government. Presumably, it would be easier and also perhaps safer for a rebel seeking amnesty and trying to return to a normal civilian life to say, when being interviewed, that he was a forced recruit. One can understand how a reasonable interviewee would expect differential treatment from either the government or society, depending on whether he is viewed as a victim of civil war or a perpetrator of it. That is not to say that Renamo's practice of taking civilian captives was not a regular phenomenon, but that the prominence of forced recruitment absolves both the individual rebel and the government of responsibility for Renamo's success. This theory also goes a long way in explaining how an army of "forced recruits" emerged as a dominant political party after the settlement in 1992, losing the presidency by a small margin and winning 112 parliamentary seats (compared to Frelimo's 129 seats). Obviously, a substantial segment of the population supported the rebels.

The other side of Renamo's prolonged success in rural Mozambique is rooted in the weakness of the Frelimo regime and the inability of its national military to penetrate and control peripheral areas beyond the close reach of the capital. Not coincidentally, Renamo made those regions its primary areas of activity. Administratively, the Frelimo government tended to "operate sporadically" outside of major cities, with a limited presence in the countryside (Morgan 1990, 615). More important are the consequences of Mozambique's weak state syndrome for the ability of its national military to deal effectively with the rebel threat. Those efforts have been characterized as seriously lacking in expertise, material support, and troop morale. The national military was described during the conflict as an "undertrained, under-equipped, underpaid, and underfed" group of soldiers engaging in irregular seasonal offensives against Renamo areas where the rebels would largely just flee the area (Finnegan 1992, 56).

According to Morgan (1990, 616), the weakness of the military stemmed from its conventional military approach to the war and from

"... problems existing at the level of morale and logistics." An aid worker interviewed by Finnegan summarized the situation well: "... [I]t's physically impossible for the army to guard this country... they say it takes twelve soldiers to guard one kilometer of infrastructure, on average... that would require over a million men just for defense, and that's not to mention going out and fighting" (1992, 95). Touring the Manhica province with a Frelimo official, Finnegan recalled, "It occurred to me that if the entire army were brought to the Manhica district—which constituted less than 1 percent of Mozambique's area—its 30,000 soldiers *might* have a chance of actually securing the district, of making it safe for the people who lived there" (1992, 211). The Mozambique Armed Forces (FAM), despite significant foreign intervention and assistance, were never able to contain Renamo within a particular geographic area or even to keep the group inside Mozambique. This made it very difficult to separate Renamo from the civilian population that nearly always surrounded them. In order to use heavy artillery against Renamo, the national military would attempt to separate the rebels from civilian areas and drive them into evacuated territory. This usually produced poor results and heavy civilian casualties. In short, FAM was unable to sustain a level of combat that could defeat the rebels.

External Military Intervention

A significant degree of external intervention by neighboring states took place in the course of the Mozambican civil war. Although Rhodesia was responsible for Renamo's initial creation, after 1980 the same country, now Zimbabwe, provided the Frelimo government quite a bit of military help in combating the rebel group. In 1982, Zimbabwe assisted Mozambique with the deployment of around 1,000 troops to help the Frelimo regime protect vital government installations and infrastructure along the Beira corridor, an economic zone of roads, rail lines, and pipelines connecting Zimbabwe to the port at

Beira. The corridor was critical to the Zimbabwean economy. As Renamo activities increasingly focused on the destruction of Beira facilities, Zimbabwe increased its troop levels in Mozambique to around 3,000. In 1985, Zimbabwean National Army (ZNA) paratroopers (commanded by former Rhodesian CIO officials) led an assault that captured Renamo's main base in Gorongosa. Throughout 1987 and 1988, Zimbabwean troops gave considerable support to FAM counteroffensive efforts to regain ground in central Mozambique. In 1991, an estimated 10,000 Zimbabwean troops operated on Mozambican soil (Vines 1991, 61).

According to Cabrita (2000, 235), direct intervention by Zimbabwe and Tanzania was "... decisive in containing, and in some instances reversing, the Renamo threat, notably in central and northern Mozambique." The most damaging ZNA tactic was the use of "pseudo guerrillas," who traveled through areas of known Renamo activity locating camps and reporting their locations for air strikes and mortar attacks. According to Cabrita (2000), however, the biggest threat to Renamo from ZNA tactics was the resulting displacement of the villagers living around the Renamo camps, which consequently destroyed the support base the rebels had created among the civilian population.

Several other states either provided military advisors or assisted the Mozambican military in training counterinsurgency units. The Soviets had an estimated 1,000 military advisors in Mozambique as of 1989 and, according to Cabrita (2000, 206), provided most of the planning, ammunitions, and logistical support for FAM counteroffensives in the mid-1980s. Britain's Military Advisory and Training Team (BMATT), also provided military advisorship and helped train at least two Mozambican counterinsurgency battalions from bases in Zimbabwe between 1986 and 1990 (Vines 1991, 51). Although Cuba is mentioned as providing military advisors, Cabrita (2000, 172) reports some combat assistance resulting in the deaths of several Cuban soldiers in June 1980. The Frelimo

government also sought considerable assistance from the United States, especially under President Chissano. Despite the Reagan Doctrine, by which the United States would lend support to resistance movements against pro-Soviet, Communist regimes, the Frelimo government and Mozambique were the largest recipients of U.S. economic aid in all of sub-Saharan Africa under both the Reagan and Bush administrations (Cabrita 2000, 250).

Although Renamo received no external assistance on the battlefield, the rebels did have a highly extensive and diversified "external wing" that engaged in international fund-raising. Renamo's external wing was also responsible for the dissemination of propaganda designed to improve the group's image and to advertise their struggle to potential supporters and financial backers around the world. As Finnegan reports (1992, 33), "Pretoria was not Renamo's only source of external support. Portuguese ex-colonials living in South Africa, Portugal, Malawi, and Brazil, including wealthy businessmen who had lost property when independence came to Mozambique, contributed heavily." Renamo leaders visited Europe extensively to meet with right-wing groups in Portugal, West Germany, and France, seeking their support in fighting the Communist threat. By the late 1980s, however, Renamo tactics, made known in the State Department's Gersony Report and in media accounts of such atrocities as the Homoine massacre in July 1987, in which 424 civilians were killed, led to a significant decline in international support. By 1987, Renamo had essentially "lost the propaganda war" (Finnegan 1992, 35).

Conflict Management Efforts

Following the settlement of the war, the bulk of conflict management efforts fell under the jurisdiction of the United Nations. The General Peace Agreement signed by both parties called for a UN supervised cease-fire, election monitoring, demobilization of soldiers, and general humanitarian assistance. In one of his first tasks, Aldo Ajello, the UN's special representative for

postwar Mozambique, formed the Supervision and Control Commission (CSC). It was composed of Ajello as chair, along with representatives from Renamo, Frelimo, Italy, Portugal, France, Britain and the United States. The CSC became the central governing body overseeing the implementation of the entire peace agreement. On November 4, 1992, the CSC created several specialized subsidiary groups, including the Cease-Fire Commission, the Commission for the Reintegration of Demobilizing Military Personnel, and the Joint Commission of the Mozambican Defense Force, which would form the core of ONUMOZ (the United Nations Operation in Mozambique; Alden 1995).

In the year following the agreement, Mozambique received more than \$1 billion in international aid and more than \$700 million from related UN agencies. ONUMOZ consisted of 6,000 military troops from twenty-two countries. Nearly 1,000 official observers governed forty-nine military demobilization sites supervising the transition and conversion of the former combatants into political participants (Msabaha 1995, 224). International observers from many countries helped to monitor the country's first round of elections, which were deemed relatively free and fair. Eighty-five percent of Mozambicans voted in the election, and Frelimo President Chissano beat Renamo's presidential candidate Dhlakama by a close margin. Despite significant delays by some of the subsidiary commissions in fulfilling their tasks and the myriad problems to be expected with such an immense project, the postsettlement management of the Mozambican civil war has since been referred to as the United Nations' "only post conflict success story in Africa" (Manning 2002, 4).

Conclusion

The civil war in Mozambique is an extremely rich case in terms of the unique challenges facing postcolonial societies, the political processes leading to postcolonial civil wars, and the self-perpetuating etiology of structure and agency in

lengthy, protracted conflicts. As in most of sub-Saharan Africa, the postcolonial state in Mozambique contained many seeds of internal conflict rooted primarily in postcolonial power struggles and the inability of a new state to control and administer its territory or to consolidate a monopoly on the use of military violence. Once organized by the destabilization efforts of neighboring states, anti-Frelimo opposition in Mozambique, led by Renamo, was sustained and fed by new conflicts and incompatibilities created by a weak state attempting to impose itself on a strong and resisting society. State–society relations under Frelimo reflected nearly mutually exclusive interests (subsistence agriculture versus centralized economic planning; indigenous authority structure versus state power and bureaucracy; traditional religious beliefs versus party ideology), and these cleavages generated significant antistate sentiment, particularly in the countryside.

Renamo's beginnings and growth as a rebel insurgency in Mozambique is an excellent example of the interaction of state behavior and rebel group success. In Mozambique, anti-Frelimo opposition was created when, after independence, significant numbers of Mozambicans became political enemies of the state, based largely on former colonial ties. At the most abstract level, the civil war in Mozambique was caused by a system of dual sovereignty and mutual exclusivity generated by decolonization and subsequent power struggles, one of the primary causes of civil wars in Africa, according to Zartman (1995). This raises important theoretical implications regarding the extent to which governments create their own resistance movements through policies of political exclusion and repression. Being anti-Frelimo was not only an ideology to be adopted by disgruntled or disillusioned Mozambicans; it was imposed by the Frelimo regime on certain groups or segments of society, many with former military training. Had the Frelimo government, after independence, exonerated those Mozambicans that helped defend the colonial system, presumably

there would not have been a mass exodus from Mozambique of those best trained and ideologically predisposed to become Renamo. Probably the largest mistake made by the regime was not allowing those Mozambicans who fought for the Portuguese to join the new (Frelimo) national army after independence.

Cabrita (2000) has suggested that, given the totalitarian nature of the Frelimo regime and its choice to challenge Rhodesia and South Africa by supporting and providing sanctuary to the guerrilla movements that sought to overthrow them, the creation and growth of anti-Frelimo opposition was inevitable. By engaging in mass political exclusion and repression of large segments of its population and by assisting insurgency movements that threatened the national security of neighboring states, the Frelimo government provoked interventionist tactics by neighboring states geared toward the destruction of the regime—goals that happened to mirror those of thousands of Mozambicans who wanted to win back a previous way of life.

The Mozambican case also stands out as a source of optimism and a model for scholars and policy makers interested both in how to achieve an unlikely peace with settlements based on democratization and security guarantees and in how to sustain that peace in the postconflict environment. As a case study, Mozambique is not only one of the few cases in which democratization has been the backbone of a general peace agreement and postwar peace process, it is also one of the few successful ones. Although the initial postwar environment was described as a very “delicate peace” (Alden and Simpson 1993, 1) in perhaps the poorest, least-developed nation in the world, within ten years of the settlement, Mozambique was described as having a “booming” economy with respect to southern Africa. Its postwar rehabilitation effort has been held up as a “model for Afghanistan” and other war-torn states (Itano 2002, 1). In the last decade, Renamo has successfully become a mainstream political party, receiving more than 40 percent of the popular vote in two rounds of

general elections and retaining a “high level of popularity, especially among the more isolated rural populations of the north and centre, which feel marginalized by Frelimo policies” (EIU Views Wire 2003, 1).

J. Michael Quinn

Chronology

- September 1964 Anticolonial insurgents under Frelimo begin decade-long struggle against Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique.
- April 25, 1974 Military coup in Portugal ends dictatorial rule of Antonio Salazar; new military government begins plans to end Portuguese colonialism.
- September 7, 1974 With the signing of the Lusaka Agreement, Portugal signs over the governance of Mozambique to Frelimo transitional government, ending 400 years of colonial rule. Frelimo Mozambique a Marxist-Leninist, one-party state. Thousands of Mozambicans with close ties to the former Portuguese state flee into neighboring Rhodesia and South Africa in fear of retribution by the new government.
- 1976 In response to Mozambique’s support of Zanla rebels and the closing of its border with Rhodesia, members of the Rhodesian military organize Renamo. Andre Matsangaissa, Frelimo military leader sentenced to reeducation camp, flees to Rhodesia and becomes leader of Renamo.
- 1979 The Mozambique Armed Forces (FAM) attack the Gorongosa mountain bases of Renamo; Andre Matsangaissa is killed. Power struggle begins within Renamo over who will lead the organization. Alfonso Dhlakama prevails, remains leader throughout rest of war.
- April 18, 1980 Following multiracial elections ending white minority rule in Rhodesia, state becomes Republic of Zimbabwe, leaving Renamo without a sponsor. South Africa fills this void, becoming primary supporter of Renamo to combat the increased use by the ANC (African National Congress) of infiltration routes into South Africa through southern Mozambique. By 1982, Renamo is operating in nine out of ten Mozambican provinces (Vines 1991, 17).
- 1982 Zimbabwe sends 1,000 troops to help Frelimo protect Beira corridor, Zimbabwe’s

- vital economic connection to the sea, from repeated Renamo attacks. Increased to 3,000 troops by 1984 and 10,000 by war's end.
- March 16, 1984 In the town of N'komati, Frelimo President Samora Machel and South African President P. K. Botha sign Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighborliness, ending South Africa's support to Renamo in exchange for ceased Frelimo support of the ANC.
- May 1984 South Africa arranges meeting between Frelimo leaders and Evo Fernandes, first secretary general of Renamo, in Frankfurt. Frelimo offers the first of its amnesty programs to the rebels in exchange for peace but does not agree to a multiparty system and top government positions for Renamo leaders.
- October 14–18, 1984 Further talks between Frelimo and Renamo leaders in Pretoria do not produce an agreement. Renamo's demands include dissolution of Frelimo government, multiparty elections, and withdrawal of all foreign troops from Mozambican soil. Talks end in a Renamo walk-out after South African President "Pik" Botha is accused of favoring the "communist regime." After the talks, Machel takes a significantly tougher public stance toward rebels, stating that he would "wipe them out and that day is not far off" (Vines 1991, 23).
- 1985–1987 Periods of violence peak as Renamo grows, aggressively expands campaign into northern and southern provinces of Mozambique.
- October 19, 1986 Frelimo leader Samora Machel dies in plane crash. Joaquim Chissano becomes new president of Mozambique.
- 1988 Catholic Church officials with government support from Zimbabwe, Malawi, and South Africa try to start a negotiation process between Frelimo and Renamo leaders.
- 1989 Renamo and Frelimo have several indirect talks supported by Italy, Portugal, the United States, and United Nations officials.
- January 9, 1990 President Chissano announces proposals for constitutional reform and elections for Mozambique. Specifically, a revised and more liberal constitution would be drafted, paving the way for elections in 1991.
- November 30, 1990 New Mozambique constitution takes effect, making the country an official multiparty political system.

October 4, 1992 Final negotiations in Rome hosted by the Catholic Church institution of Saint Egidio result in the signing of General Peace Agreement between Renamo and Frelimo, ending sixteen-year civil war. Under the agreement, Mozambique becomes a multiparty state, with Frelimo and Renamo competing in new elections as major political parties.

List of Acronyms

- ANC: African National Congress
 BMATT: British Military Advisory and Training Team
 CIO: Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organization
 CSC: Supervision and Control Commission
 DGS: Portuguese General Security Directorate
 FAM: Mozambique Armed Forces
 Frelimo: Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
 GPA: General Peace Agreement
 ONUMOZ: The United Nations Operation in Mozambique
 Renamo: Mozambique National Resistance
 UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund
 Zanla: Zimbabwean National Liberation Army
 ZNA: Zimbabwean National Army

Glossary

- assimilado:** A Portuguese word meaning "assimilated native."
regulos: The Portuguese word for the petty chiefs used by the Portuguese and later by Renamo to administer the villages.

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Myanmar/Burma (1968–1995)

Introduction

On May 27, 1989, the official name of Burma was changed to the Union of Myanmar by the ruling State Law and Order Restoration Committee (SLORC). Although the change has been recognized by the United Nations, many ethnic minorities and opposition parties have rejected the new name. In this article, the two names are used interchangeably, but *Burma* is used in reference to events during the period prior to June 1989, whereas *Myanmar* is used for events after that date. Further, this article follows the precedent of the majority of scholars studying the country, for whom *Burman* is an ethnic term identifying a particular group in Burma, whereas *Burmese* is a political term including all the inhabitants of the country—Burman, Karen, Shan, and so forth.

The sparse news coverage from Myanmar in the last decade has largely focused on the weak democracy movement in a country ruled by an authoritarian military government. Following months of political protests, student-led demonstrations were brutally repressed by the armed forces in September 1988. These events and the reluctance of the government to accept the election results two years later have been criticized on a global scale; and sanctions have been imposed by such powers as the United States and the European Union. This has not led to a change in government policy, but the democracy move-

ment, led by Nobel Prize–winner Aung San Syy Kyi, has maintained its struggle by nonviolent means.

The civil war in Myanmar/Burma has been fought between government forces and numerous different rebel forces for decades. The war, which actually consists of several different, intertwined conflicts, has effectively halted the economic development of the country since independence and has affected generations of Burmese people. The complexity of this war can hardly be exaggerated; it has included a socialist government fighting socialist rebels, different rebel groups fighting each other over control of resources while simultaneously trying to establish unified fronts against the government, and local warlords who shift allegiances from rebels to pro-government militias and back to rebels again.

Many of the causes of the civil were evident even before the country became independent in 1949, and several rebel organizations started their armed struggles even earlier, but this article focuses on the period of intense fighting in the years 1968–1995. During that period, it is estimated that at least 267,500 people were killed, and more than 1.3 million Burmese became refugees. It should be noted that these estimates are notoriously unreliable, as the government has deliberately restricted access to information, especially in conflict areas. Fighting has been accompanied by severe atrocities

Drugs, Wars, and “Wars” on Drugs

The production and use of drugs in the Burmese hills have a long tradition. Cannabis has been grown since at least 1000 BC and opiates since the ninth century AD. Commercial production was expanded during the lucrative British–Chinese opium trade in the nineteenth century, especially in the area that later became known as the Golden Triangle. Many ethnic Kokang Chinese began growing opium instead of tea in the territory between Chinese Yunnan province and the Shan state of Hsenwi. Later, the planting of poppies led to colonization of the previously unadministered Wa hills, and by the year 1900, opium had become the official currency of the region. Chinese and international attempts to suppress the international drug trade caused a large number of producers to migrate from Yunnan into the Kachin and Shan hills during the first decades of the twentieth century.

The economic and political power of poppy cultivation in these areas was undisputed—in 1940, opium was more valuable than silver—and the control of the drugs income was significant for rebel and government armies during the war. When the Chinese civil war ended in 1949, the fleeing KMT settled in Burma and developed more institutionalized trade links with outside actors. The Burmese drug trade mainly consisted of local merchants, who bought opium from peasants before transporting it to the Thai border and paying protection tax to different rebel groups and local military officers. On the border, the opium was bought and refined by Chinese crime syndicates allied with local warlords such as Khun Sa. These warlords established substantial armies, which at times claimed to be ethnic rebels and at times government militias. As rebel strength decreased after the breakdown of the CPB in 1989, Burmese opium production soared from 400–600 tons a year to 2,340 tons in 1995. At the same time, new refineries were established closer to the Chinese border, in the Kokang and Wa areas under the control of groups that had signed cease-fire agreements with the government.

The international community, especially the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), has provided aid to the Burmese government in attempts to fight drug trafficking. Starting in 1972, the United States donated helicopters to the Burma Army with the intent of intercepting opium caravans; this type of measure continued until 1988. The resources provided, especially as part of a U.S.-sponsored program in 1985–1988, were used mainly to target food crops, to kill livestock, and to contaminate water for ethnic rebels and their supporters. Indeed, the government has seemed unwilling to act against the drug traffickers and has on several occasions fabricated large-scale operations that have been proven false (Leach 1964; Lintner 2002; Renard 1996; Tucker 2000).

against the civilian population and the fostering of a substantial drugs industry in the hills of the Union of Myanmar.

Country Background

One factor that must be taken into account in any discussion of the conflict's background is that, to a great extent, Burmese people tied their political allegiances to perceived ethnic identities. Interestingly, the different ethnic groups in Burma all share a similar background, tracing their ancestry to different waves of migration from China (Smith 1991, 32–33). Substantial interaction and intermarriages between different ethnic groups have taken place for centuries, but grievances and political activism have often been

expressed along ethnic lines. The main division has been between the Burman majority population, which lives on the central plains, and the different ethnic minorities, who live in the surrounding hills. Following centuries of wars between different kingdoms in present-day Myanmar, the Burman Konbaung Dynasty defeated their Mon and Shan rivals and expanded west in the early nineteenth century. This led to conflict with the British colonial rule of India, and in 1886, following a series of wars and alliances with local warlords, Burma became a British colony.

The defeated Burmans became part of British India, whereas the hill tribes became subject to a policy of indirect rule. Local rulers were accorded considerable autonomy concerning cus-

toms, religion, and local administration, provided they acknowledged British supremacy and paid annual tribute to the colonial authority (Renard 1996, 26). Other groups, such as the previously enslaved Karen, as well as people living in regions near the present-day border with Bangladesh and India, quickly became loyal to the British and featured heavily in the colonial administration. Furthermore, several ethnic groups converted to Christianity as a result of the activity of missionaries in the late nineteenth century (Po 2001; Tucker 2001, 14–22).

Thus, the anticolonial resistance movement was formed primarily by ethnic Burman nationalists who claimed that the British, the southern Indian immigrants, and the hill tribes all were part of the colonial administration. During World War II, part of the independence movement allied with the Japanese to defeat the British in 1942 (Maung Maung 1990). When the British were defeated, Burman gangs committed atrocities against former British “loyalists,” targeting especially the Karen population and Muslims in southern Arakan state. Throughout the war, Karen and Chin forces continued to fight the Japanese occupation as guerrilla forces linked to the British army (Smith 1991, 62–63; Yegar 1972, 95). When it became clear that the Japanese military administration had no plans to actually transfer power to the Burmans, the same independence leaders contacted the British army in India. In secret, different Communist groups linked up with the leadership of the Burma Army and created a unified front as the Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League (AFPFL). On March 27, 1945, the Burmese army defected from the occupation military administration and joined the British forces against the Japanese (Colbert 1977; Koonings and Kruijt 2002, 73; Maung Maung 1990, 145).

After the Japanese defeat, negotiations began between the AFPFL, headed by Aung San, and Britain about the creation of an independent state. The AFPFL remained an unstable alliance, and ethnic riots were common in the years 1945–1947, as several political leaders created

personal armies (*tat*) to strengthen their position. During this transition period, the British organized a new Burma Army, in which the ethnic Burman battalions were separate units from the ethnic forces who became, for example, the Chin, Karen, and Kachin Rifles. As the British–Burman negotiations came to a close, the AFPFL started to disintegrate. A Communist faction had left the alliance and begun to prepare for a Communist revolution, when, in January 1947, an agreement between Aung San and the British Prime Minister Lord Attlee outlined the process for Burmese independence. The plan was immediately met with resistance from Karen leaders, who demanded a separate, independent state, while Shan, Kachin, and Chin ethnic leaders declared that the agreement was not binding on their territories (Tucker 2001, 121). Eventually, the AFPFL negotiated a compromise with the Shan representatives stipulating that their region could secede from the Union ten years after independence. A similar provision was made for the Karenni region, but no such specific agreements were made for territories inhabited by other ethnic groups (Smith 1991, 79).

Following independence, the outbreak of several insurgencies severely inhibited the government’s ability to create effective institutions. The instability contributed to the creation of a brief military caretaker administration in 1958–1960, and on March 2, 1962, General Ne Win overthrew the democratically elected government. The new military rulers—officially named the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP)—declared that their main objective was to preserve the unity of the country while introducing the “Burmese Way to Socialism” (Koonings and Kruijt 2002, 279). This was an ideology of mixed Marxist, Buddhist, and nationalist principles that included one-party rule, nationalization of the economy, and measures to make the country the most politically isolated in the world.

As a consequence of the postcoup nationalization programs, the faltering Burmese economy

Forgotten Rebels and Peoples

Not much information is available on the civil war in Burma. However, the information available usually concerns the insurgencies along the borders of China and Thailand. Arguably, even less is known about the rebels in areas of western Burma bordering Bangladesh and India. Several Communist groups had established strongholds in Arakan state even before Burma became independent, and there have also been several movements among the Muslim Rohingya population with the intent of creating a separate state or, since 1971, joining Bangladesh. The region has also experienced much communal violence, in which, typically, Buddhist monks have instigated attacks on Muslims. Large-scale riots in 1978, 1991–1992, and 2001 have forced hundreds of thousands of Rohingya to flee into Bangladesh. The government has been accused of supporting the violence on all these occasions, and the Rohingya have not been recognized as a native population—which means, for example, that they are not allowed to travel freely within the Union of Burma.

North of Arakan state are the Chin hills. The Chin, like the Karen, featured heavily in the British colonial administration, and it was mainly Chin troops that stopped the Japanese advance in World War II. It was connections with Karen rebels that led to the first Chin movements that began to organize in the early 1960s, but the main insurgent forces in the area were Communist units. Another insurgency started up in the area a few years later, but across the border in India, with the goal of creating an independent Chin-Mizoram state. Since the defeat of the Mizo rebellion, the focus has been on the Burmese side of the border, but the Chin rebel forces usually have been very small and poorly equipped. Despite that, they have featured in many rebel alliances, especially linking up with KIO or crossing the border into India for refuge.

Relations between Burma and India have often been strained, partly because each has supported the other's insurgencies in the region. Relations have improved in the last decade, as joint operations have been launched to evict their respective rebels, and India has supported the Burmese government with arms. A major Indian rebel insurgency representing the Naga tribes managed to establish many bases in Burmese territory. There were Naga tribes in Burma as well, and for several decades, the "wild" tribes from the Burmese side kept attacking the villages in India. When the conflict began in India in the mid-1950s, a Burmese Naga leader became inspired and declared the "Sovereign People's Republic of Free Nagaland." The Burma Army did not move against this rebel group, but the Indian Naga began to establish numerous training camps across the border. Eventually, the Indian Naga troops defeated the Burmese tribes, forcing them to end their headhunting practices and focus on supporting their western cousins fighting India (Maitra 1998; Ozturk 2003; Pakim 1992; Pedersen, Rudland, and May 2000; Ramachandran 2005; See Myint 2004; Yegar 1972).

suffered further, as the control over an expanded black market trade was virtually handed to ethnic and Communist insurgencies. Twenty years later, this trade was estimated to constitute an annual US \$3 billion, or 40 percent of the Burmese gross national product (GNP) (Taylor 2001, 16). Following an intramilitary coup in 1988, the country has invited foreign investments and has established joint economic projects with neighboring countries in several areas. Although the standard of living showed some minor improvements during the 1990s in the major cities, particularly Rangoon, the economy remains one of the least developed in the world. Many inter-

national institutions have complained about the lack of credible statistics for the country, which makes it difficult to correctly assess the economic situation. In 1998, Myanmar remained classified as a least developed country (LDC) and was ranked 131 of 173 countries by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Index. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimated a national growth rate of about zero for 2005, while the World Food Program—one of the few UN institutions still allowed in the country—has reported that malnutrition remains a severe and growing problem (Taylor 2001, 85).

Conflict Background

It can be argued that the first Burman civil war began even before the country had become independent. In the months preceding Burmese independence on January 4, 1948, the leader of AFPFL, Aung San, was assassinated by unknown attackers, several communist factions left the AFPFL to prepare for a revolution, the Karen and Karenni political leaders were about to declare independent states, and Muslims in Arakan had pledged themselves ready to fight for an Islamic state (Smith 1991, 87; Tucker 2001, 138–44).

The fighting during the first decade of independence pitted numerous forces against the government, but the Communist Party of Burma (CPB) and the Karen National Union (KNU) soon became the most powerful insurgent groups. Although both of these groups were militarily superior to the government forces, divisions among the different opposition armies, and the sudden appearance of defeated Chinese Kuomintang (KMT) troops in northern Burma in the early 1950s, led to a decrease in conflict intensity (Tucker 2001; Zakaria and Crouch 1985). The ongoing conflict strengthened the position of ethnic Burman nationalists and the armed forces in the Rangoon government. Any suggestions aimed at appeasing the ethnic minorities through a more federal state were actively opposed by the military leadership. Instead, the government pressured the peaceful ethnic Shan leaders to relinquish their constitutional option to secede from the Union in 1959. These moves fueled a growing Shan nationalism, and in the late 1950s, several groups began to prepare for an armed struggle. In an attempt to unify the country against the Communist rebels, the government of U Nu 1960–1962 introduced efforts to make Buddhism the state religion. This was considered discrimination by the mainly Christian ethnic Kachin, who formed the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) in 1961.

As the U Nu government declared a willingness to offer some autonomy to the ethnic minorities, the army became increasingly concerned. On March 2, 1962, General Ne Win took

power and declared a socialist, one-party state. From 1963 on, the regime arrested political opponents, nationalized key sectors of the economy, expelled “foreigners” (including the substantial Indian and Chinese business communities), and abolished independent media and nonstate-controlled education (Koonings and Kruijt 2002; Zakaria and Crouch 1985). Several measures introduced by the government during the period 1963–1966 had significant implications for the subsequent escalation of the civil war near the end of the decade.

The BSPP’s first concern was to eradicate political opposition, and it soon proved willing to use any means necessary. Student activists, political opponents, powerful Buddhist monk organizations, and independent media were attacked, arrested, or closed down by government troops. At the same time, the government invited the insurgents to peace talks. When negotiations failed in November 1963, the BSPP quickly arrested several ethnic political leaders. The most substantial effect was the arrest of the Shan leadership, which led to the collapse of local administrations as the region became subjected to virtual military occupation (Smith 1991, 204–20). But although negotiations had failed, the peace parlay had led given the rural rebel movements a chance to reestablish connections with antigovernment activists in the cities. Furthermore, after a government “demonetization” of the Burmese currency in May 1964, thousands of citizens lost their savings, making rebel recruitment a good deal easier. Although the rebels became stronger as well as more diverse, the new government substantially increased military spending. Further, the army introduced a system of local Ka Kwe Ye (KKY; “defense”) militias, especially in the Shan state. The KKY system consisted of government-conferred legitimacy for militias created by local warlords. Many of these militias had first been created as self-defense units against the KMT who settled in the region during the 1950s (Lintner, 1994, 187–88; Smith 1991, 221) Several former KMT forces remained in Shan state and competed for control

of drug trafficking with some of the warlords who now joined the KKY program (McCoy 2003, 425–26).

The appearance of KMT troops in northern Burma connected the civil war to the regional security situation in the 1950s. KMT had strong links to Taiwan and U.S.-sponsored anti-Communist operations in Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam. The different insurgencies were also trying to access military resources from abroad. The KNU had suffered an internal split over whether to cooperate with the Chinese-supported Communist Party of Burma or to improve links with the U.S.-allied Thailand (Smith 1991, 214). After the formation of the KIO, explicit requests for military support were made both to India and to the Thailand-based KMT remnants, and the group temporarily joined the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) (Lintner 1994, 190). Despite these alliances, the main outside actor that continued to influence the fighting in the civil war in Burma was China. In 1960, Burma and China signed a border agreement, as the Chinese policy of “peaceful coexistence” was manifested in the early 1960s through aid projects such as construction of bridges and power stations in Burma. Relations remained friendly, despite Beijing’s concern following the 1962 coup and the subsequent expulsion of ethnic Chinese. Rather, the downturn of Burmese–Chinese relations followed internal political developments in China. When Mao Zedong initiated the Cultural Revolution in 1966, its primary focus was an internal purge of the Communist Party. However, the nationalism of thousands of ethnic Chinese students in Rangoon provoked communal clashes with the Burman population. Violent riots in late June 1967 led to the destruction of Chinese buildings and property as large Burmese mobs killed hundreds of people and attacked the Chinese Embassy in Rangoon. The Chinese broke off diplomatic relations with Burma, and on August 15, 1967, Beijing radio broadcast a message about the “profound friendship” between China and Burma’s Communist rebel movement, CPB. At

the same time, preparations had started for an offensive by Chinese “volunteers” into northern Burma (Smith 1991, 226–27).

The Insurgents

Throughout the course of the conflict, numerous insurgent organizations have been active in Burma, although this article focuses on the largest and most significant in the time period covered. The oldest of these was the Communist Party of Burma, originally formed in opposition to the British colonial rule. After the nationalist Student Union at Rangoon University became influenced by Bengali Communists in present-day India, the CPB was formed on August 15, 1939, with Aung San as its first general secretary (Maung Maung 1990, 22; Tucker 2001, 85). In the tumultuous years that followed, the CPB split into several factions, as the original leadership became more concerned with the politics of the independence umbrella organization AFPFL. When Burma became independent in 1948, some Communists had already been outlawed and were fighting the new government. In late March 1948, the main faction of the CPB left the AFPFL and took up arms. Still, it took several years for all the different Communist groups to unify in their opposition to the government (Lintner 1994; Smith 1991, 106)

Somewhat ironically, the first CPB offensive was halted by contributing troops from the Karen Rifles ethnic battalions of the Burma Army. The same troops that saved the first independent Burmese government deserted less than a year later from the Burma Army and became the rebel army of the Karen National Union. Different political Karen parties had unified as the KNU in 1947 after it became clear that the Attlee–Aung San Agreement would not include the most important objective for the ethnic Karen population—an independent Karen state (Tucker 2001). Although the AFPFL had negotiated the conditions for the handover of power, several Karen delegations that had argued for in-

Table 1: Civil War in Myanmar/Burma

War:	CPB, KIO, KNU, MTA vs. government
Dates:	March 1968–December 1995*
Casualties:	267,500 (including 14,000 battle deaths)
Regime type prior to war:	–7 in 1967 (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data— ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	–7 in 1996 (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data— ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$415 (constant 1960 dollars)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$1,200 (constant dollars)
Insurgents:	Communist Party of Burma (CPB), Kachin Independence Organization (KIO), Karen National Union (KNU), Mong Tai Army (MTA)**
Issue:	Control of central government; ethnic independence or autonomy
Rebel funding:	Drugs, gems, timber, cross-border trade, support from China
Role of geography:	Very substantial, war characterized by guerrilla warfare
Role of resources:	Very substantial role in onset, duration, and outcome
Immediate outcome:	Conflict continued at lower intensity.
Outcome after 5 years:	Low-level conflict continues.
Role of UN:	None
Role of regional organization:	None
Refugees:	At least 1,333,700
Prospects for peace:	Unclear; armed conflict is barely active, exiled political opposition is strong.

Sources: Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Marshall and Jagers 2002, Smith, 1991; UCDP 2006.

Notes: * Doyle and Sambanis distinguished between Burma II (1968–1982) and Burma III (1983–1995). According to their data notes, however, this is solely based on previous (COW) literature; Doyle and Sambanis collapse Burma II and III into one observation in their analysis, and this practice has been chosen for this article (Doyle and Sambanis 2000, 25). Furthermore, the substantial conflict escalation began in January 1968, but it is assumed that it took a few months of battle before Doyle and Sambanis's required threshold of 1,000 deaths occurred.

** KNU and MTA are designated as the main insurgent organizations by Doyle and Sambanis (2000). They constitute two of the main ethnic armies, but a description of the conflict would be incomplete without numerous other groups. Of these, at least the CPB and KIO undoubtedly also reached the threshold of war as defined by Doyle and Sambanis.

dependence, or at least an autonomous region within the new country, had been ignored (Smith 1991, 82–87). Throughout 1948, communal violence between Karen and Burman militias escalated; in fact, many of the first KNU military units were created simply to improve the security of local villagers.

The consequences of the different insurgencies, as well as political instability following the murder of Aung San, limited any attempts at state building in the country during the 1950s. The lack of development and security in the hill areas bothered such ethnic groups as the Shan and the Kachin. After a decade of civil war, the government considered the CPB the main threat to national security and focused its efforts on

limiting Communist recruitment. An attempt to launch an ideological campaign by projecting the CPB as a threat to Burmese nationalism, as manifested by religion, backfired. When Buddhism was suggested as Burma's official state religion, the Christian Kachin leadership argued that the move was unconstitutional and against the spirit of voluntary membership in the Union. Kachin nationalists already claimed that the Kachin population was not treated equally with the Burmans, citing the example of a border demarcation in 1960 that handed three Kachin villages to China. The Kachin nationalist cause became an armed insurrection on February 5, 1961, when the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) was formed (Smith 1991, 191).

Likewise, frustration with the government was becoming increasingly common in the neighboring Shan state. The Shan nationalists tied their argument to the government's 1957 declaration that any move toward secession would be tolerated, thus ignoring the provisions agreed on at independence a decade earlier (Lintner 1994, 150). The first Shan rebel force was the Noom Suik Harn (Young Warriors [NSH]), formed in 1958, but from 1959 on, several uprisings broke out across the state. In 1964, the three biggest Shan rebel organizations agreed to join forces as the Shan State Army (SSA) and immediately invited other Shan opposition groups to join an alliance (Smith 1991, 220). Some local militias rejected the SSA offer, for example, the Loimaw Anti-Socialist Army led by Khun Sa ("Prince Pleasant," originally named Zhang Qifu). This militia had formed as one of several local self-defense groups against the KMT forces that settled in Shan state in the 1950s. When the Shan insurgencies grew in strength, the government introduced a tactic that previously had been successful in resisting the KMT invasion: the establishment of local paramilitary forces (Tucker 2001, 172). After a few months of fighting the government, Khun Sa joined the new government-sponsored program in 1964 as one of more than twenty KKY units. The KKY system gave the militias responsibility for policing and trade in their territories, and most of them, including the force of Khun Sa, became important actors in the lucrative drug trade of the Golden Triangle (Lintner 1994, 187; Smith 1991, 221). After the KKY system was abolished by the government in 1973, Khun Sa's forces renamed themselves the Shan United Army (SUA), with the ambition to fight for an independent Shan state. Numerous other rebel groups were active in the region during the following decade; but in 1985, after SUA had been joined by the forces of a rival faction, the Tailand Revolutionary Council (TRC) and changed its name to the Mong Tai Army (MTA), it became the leading Shan insurgent force (Smith 1991, 343).

When the conflict escalated into a full-blown war in 1968, it seemed as though the rebel forces

were getting simultaneously stronger and weaker. The most dramatic case was the Communist Party of Burma, which suffered as well as benefited from China's domestic politics during the Cultural Revolution. At the time of the military takeover in Burma in 1962, the rural Communist forces were on the defensive and had lost most of their contacts with like-minded urban movements. The repression of the new military government—officially creating a socialist state—created an exodus of urban activists to join the CPB forces. Furthermore, the 1963 peace talks offered another opportunity for the CPB to strengthen its position as rival Communist groups either joined the CPB or became largely anonymous. By the end of 1967, the CPB had reestablished urban networks, was getting increasing support from China, and was the only opposition army with roots in the ethnic Burman population (Smith 1991, 202, 223). At the same time, the ideas of the Cultural Revolution also inspired the CPB to initiate internal purges to root out "right-wing opportunism." The activity of the Burmese Red Guards changed the CPB leadership, as dozens were killed, including several intellectuals who had joined the party in 1962 (Lintner 1994, 196–97).

It would be incorrect to call the CPB a Chinese proxy, as the policies of the party were specifically Burmese, but the importance of support from its northern neighbor can hardly be underestimated. Even though government offensives in 1968–1975 eliminated all Communist forces in central Burma, the CPB established a strong presence in the north of the country, effectively controlling the Burmese–Chinese border. This presence was based on campaigns against the Burma Army, the ability to make alliances with local warlords to join under the CPB umbrella, and offensives against ethnic Kachin, Shan, and other rebels in adjoining territories. With the support of China, the Communists became the best-equipped rebels, with access to safe bases and hospital resources across the border in Yunnan. Direct Chinese aid to the CPB decreased when the new leader, Deng Xi-

approach, announced in 1978 that economic reform and growth would be the prime objective for Beijing. This decision was criticized by the aging CPB leadership who remained staunchly loyal to Maoist principles. Somewhat contradictory to its ideology, the CPB's loss of foreign support was quickly replaced by a free market economy as the organization became increasingly dependent on taxation of border trade (Lintner 1990a, 193). All contraband exported from Kachin areas, as well as much of the black market goods filtering into central Burma, had to pass through CPB-held territory, and the organization established an effective transport network between Yunnan, northern Thailand, and different parts of Burma. Moreover, some CPB commanders received extra income through opium production, even though it never was officially endorsed by the leadership. In 1985, the CPB leadership announced that all party members involved in the drug trade would be severely punished, and it has been suggested that this decision contributed to the sudden breakup of the organization just a few years later (Lintner 1994, 294–95).

In contrast to the Communist insurgents, the ethnic armies received less support from the outside and remained poorly equipped in comparison. The different armies also displayed different characteristics, although there were many similarities between the two biggest ethnic insurgencies, the KIO and the KNU. Both organizations were the leading representatives in the promotion of their respective ethnic causes and were organized as quasi-states with well-developed leadership structures. Although the organizational structure of both groups borrowed much from Communist terminology, the groups remained reserved in their contacts with the CPB. Many prominent members in the KIO had been active in Kachin nationalist student organizations during the 1950s, and although the leadership changed substantially in the mid-1970s, it remained drawn from this intellectual background (Tucker 2000, 88–90). The younger generation of KIO leaders was more moderate in its

approach and replaced the original demand for independence with the goal of Kachin autonomy within the Union of Burma.

The change of leadership also led to a military alliance with the CPB in 1976 after more than eight years of intense clashes between the two rebel groups. This led to an increase in the support the KIO was already receiving from China (Lintner 1990a, 170). Ammunition, however, remained sparse, and the KIO relied on a well-disciplined fighting force based on Kachin conscripts and the efficient use of guerrilla tactics. Despite limited resources, this strategy was so successful that the rebels managed to control almost all the territory in Kachin state for most of the war, with the notable exception of the city of Myitkyina and a small area in the very north, where a local self-defense militia managed to rebuff advancing KIO troops in the mid-1960s. The governments' tactics consisted of aerial bombardment of rebel camps and villages, and temporary short-term offensives with the intent to capture main roads (Lintner 1990a, 138–39). Apart from dropping bombs, Burmese airplanes also sprayed the countryside with herbicide as part of the antinarcotics policy. The Kachin hills have a long history of poppy cultivation, but the KIO had already begun to limit drug production for commercial use in 1964 (Renard 1996). The income from drugs was not necessary for the Kachins, as the region produced the world's finest jadeite, as well as gold, rubies, and other precious stones. During the first decade of the war, most of the contraband was sold across the border in northern Thailand with the help of former KMT groups. This link remained but became less important throughout the 1980s as the economic reforms introduced in China made it possible to link up with Yunnanese businessmen (Global Witness 2003, 93; Lintner 1990a, 141, 145).

The Karen National Union managed to establish a quasi-state along the southeastern border with Thailand similar to the territory controlled by the KIO. Rebel-held territory, officially referred to as Kawthoolei, was ruled by the KNU,

Joint Opposition Attempts

Throughout the Burmese civil war, numerous attempts have been made to unify the different rebel armies ever since the CPB created the People's Democratic Front (PDF) with other Communist rebels in March 1949. A year later, disagreements led to heavy fighting between the CPB and other groups. In 1952–1958, some minor, local, joint fronts were established in western Burma, but the CPB became disillusioned and started exploring the possibilities of linking with the ethnic armies instead.

The KNU was split into two competing factions in 1956–1975 mainly regarding the issue of Communist cooperation. The anti-Communist faction established the Democratic Nationalities United Front (DNUF) in 1956–1958 with Mon, Pao, and Karenni rebels. After some of these accepted a government amnesty in 1958, the front ceased to exist. Instead, the pro-CPB KNU faction joined the National Democratic United Front (NDUF) in 1959 with CPB, Chin, Karenni, Pao, and Mon rebel groups. At the same time, the KNU and Karenni leaders were involved in another loose alliance in 1960–1963 that was concerned with helping new groups, such as the KIO and the Shan insurgents, to get organized. When the CPB started an overhaul of its organization in 1975, the NDUF was dissolved, and there was no other Communist participation in the united fronts. An attempt was made in 1989–1991, when some remnants of the CPB formed the short-lived pro-Communist All Nationalities Peoples' Democratic Front (ANPDF).

At the same time, the non-Communist KNU leadership was involved in most attempts to unify the different ethnic armies. An unsuccessful attempt in 1965–1966 was followed by the formation of the Nationalities United Front (NUF) in 1967. The NUF incorporated largely the same members as the previous attempt; namely, the KNU and groups from the Karenni, Kayan, and Zomi rebellions, but also a Shan group and, until 1969, the Mon. The failure of NUF to combat government offensives led to the formation of the Revolutionary Nationalities Alliance (RNA), in which the KNU was joined by Karenni, Kayan, and Shan rebels. Two years later, the Kayan group was replaced by Mon and Arakan rebels in a new alliance, which lasted only a year. This was in turn replaced by the National Democratic Front (NDF) in 1976—this time including all of KNU as well as rebels of Arakan, Karenni, Lahu, Pao, Palaung, and Shan ethnicity. Furthermore, the KIO joined the NDF in 1983, and the organization grew to incorporate Mon, Wa, and Chin ethnic rebels. Following the exodus of student activists in 1988 into rebel-held territories, a parallel united front, the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB), was established. It consisted of most NDF members but also incorporated Burman opposition groups. In 1992, the NDF, the DAB, and the exiled opposition established a political alliance called the National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB), which remains the main political opposition to the Myanmar government (Lintner 1994; National Council of the Union of Burma 2004; Rotberg 1998; Smith 1991).

who maintained good relations with smaller ethnic armies nearby (Rotberg 1998, 141). Indeed, the KNU were directing joint military operations with Mon, Karenni, and student rebels, who otherwise kept their own camps and pursued their own antigovernment struggles. The KNU leader Bo Mya was actively trying to unify all rebel groups through various alliances, even though the central Karen leadership remained cautious concerning any cooperation with the Communists (Rotberg 1998, 142). Several rebel groups, however, were more interested in securing support from the Thai government and pos-

sibly the United States. Throughout the war, the KNU was allowed to establish bases on the Thai side of the border, usually in or around the camps set up for Burmese refugees. Thailand also supplied some arms to the rebels but only to a limited extent, as Bangkok was worried that a victory for the ethnic armies could have a destabilizing effect on border relations (Phongpait, Piriyaangsan, and Treerat 1998, 129).

The KNU were numerically inferior at all times to the Burma Army troops in the region but managed to establish superiority through the use of guerrilla tactics and intricate defense

systems, which depended heavily on intimate knowledge of the terrain and the location of minefields. Furthermore, the KNU generally had a strong support base in the local civilian population, owing to both the history of the movement and the treatment of the villagers by the rebels and the army. The KNU had been founded in part by existing village self-defense militias, whereas the government's counterinsurgency tactics included an element of civilian repression designed to sever the links between rebels and civilians (Tucker 2003). During the years of the government's policy of economic self-sufficiency (1962–1988), territories under Karen control became the most active trading points for black market goods entering and leaving Burma. The KNU were not involved in the drug industry but rather derived their income from taxing the border trade in consumer goods, as well as small-scale logging operations along the border (Global Witness 2003, 59–60).

In Shan state, the situation was quite different from that in Kachin and Karen territories, although government repression of the civilian population was even more common, and some groups received support from Thailand. In particular, three factors contributed to the different characteristics of the war in this territory. First, the influence of the former KMT commanders who remained in the area despite the official transfer of these troops to Taiwan in 1961 led to access to more weapons, owing to their strong links to Thai, Taiwanese, and U.S. security agencies. Second, a main goal for these groups was control of the drug business in the area. In 1994, it was estimated that the profits of narcotics trafficking in Thailand amounted to US \$85 billion annually, and the vast majority of these drugs originated in the Burmese part of the Golden Triangle (Phongpaichit, et al. 1998, 86–88). Third, the historical roots of the Shan insurgency, as well as the competition over drugs, led to the establishment of numerous rebel groups, which sometimes unified in alliances but more often used their arms in intrarebel fighting. It was not until 1985 that the Mong Tai Army

managed to become the foremost organized-rebel group promoting the Shan cause. The MTA established such a strong control over the drug trade in the late 1980s that there was severe skepticism both from outside and inside the MTA concerning whether the group had any political or nationalist objectives (McCoy 2003, 438). Local commanders of previously independent rebel groups that had chosen to join forces with MTA declared that the best chance for the insurgents was to unify, and as the MTA was military strong, it made sense to accept the leadership of Khun Sa. It has been implied, however, that there were few direct clashes between the Burma Army and the forces of MTA directly under Khun Sa's command, as these were more concerned with protecting the opium convoys (Lintner 1994, 264; Uppsala Conflict Data Program 2006).

Geography

At the time of conflict escalation in 1968, some areas of Burma had been outside government control ever since independence. Even when the Burma Army captured rebel territory in the conflict, there were few areas in the hills where the government permanently replaced the insurgents. By 1968, both the CPB and the KNU had established a strong presence on the central plains and in the Irrawaddy River delta southwest of Rangoon. After a series of large-scale government offensives in the early 1970s, these areas were lost, which effectively cut off the rebel armies' links to the urban population and also frustrated future attempts to initiate cooperation between different rebel movements.

The geographic features of Burma can be said to resemble a huge basin surrounded by hills. After the Burma Army's successes, the lowlands remained controlled by the government, as the rebels used the surrounding steep hills and thick jungles to set up protected bases. Furthermore, the country is divided by three main rivers—the Irrawaddy, the Chindwin, and the Salwan—as well as the smaller but strategically important Sittang, which flow from north to south. Into



these rivers feed thousands of others, and during the monsoon, which lasts from May to October, almost all watercourses in Burma become impassable. According to Tucker (2001), “This [the monsoon] too has tended to the isolation of Burma’s hill minorities, for no commander,

whatever the size and power of his forces, would commit them to expeditions extending into the monsoon” (Tucker 2001, 9).

The conflict has been fought almost exclusively in rural areas and hillsides, and the rebels have often relied on their superior knowledge of

the terrain in their military planning. Apart from the geographical features, which have made it relatively easy for smaller rebel units to avoid direct confrontation, abundant natural resources and relations with neighboring countries have influenced the dynamics of the conflict. Apart from the drug trade, Burma is also famous for its gemstones, especially rubies, sapphires, and jade, as well as numerous mineral resources, including oil and natural gas. Other such resources include tin, lead, silver, and zinc; marble is quarried in the western part of the country, and logging is common in the northern and eastern regions. During the first twenty years of the conflict, the isolationist policies of the Burmese government made it possible for the different rebel groups to receive income from the export of these resources. Since the intramilitary coup in 1988, the new government of Myanmar has actively sought to establish business links with foreign firms to capture the rents from these resources, which have played an important role in affecting the outcome of the conflict.

Tactics

The capabilities and, indeed, the tactics have been different for the rebel armies, with the ethnic organizations KIO, KNU, and MTA all focusing on small-scale guerrilla tactics, while the CPB chose a different approach. A short description of the characteristics of the respective groups is followed by a more thorough look at government counterinsurgency tactics, as these have received international condemnation. The ethnic rebel armies mainly used guerrilla warfare against the government, although some more substantial military installations were built at times, especially around the KNU headquarters at Manerplaw. Most of the fighting consisted of clashes with small arms or mortars, as the KNU artillery often discouraged the government from using its aerial superiority (Carey 1997b, 131). Most of the arms used by KNU and MTA were smuggled from Thailand. The majority of these were either bought legally with the

income from cross-border trade or illegally through contacts within the Thai armed forces. Another important source of arms was stockpiled weapons from previous conflicts in the region, such as those in Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and Cambodia (Phongpaichit, et al. 1998, 127).

The KIO received almost all its weapons from China, especially after the alliance with the Communists in 1976. The KIO had already established cross-border connections as part of a network in which China had provided military training to ethnic and Communist rebels in northeast India since the mid-1960s (Lintner 1990a, 82; Maitra 1998, 68, 71). By far the best-equipped rebel organization was the CPB. It received substantial official support from China in 1968–1981 and could still import arms through Yunnan in the period that followed. With more advanced military capabilities available, the CPB were more inclined to use “traditional” military tactics in their offensives. The leadership was also influenced by Chinese military strategy, which largely focused on strength in numbers, and thus the CPB “human wave” attacks usually led to high casualty figures for both the government and the rebels (Lintner 1990a, 198–200).

Focusing on the government forces, increased resources were directed toward the army from 1962 on, as the government initiated an offensive strategy against the different insurgents. Apart from a direct increase in military expenditure, the army also benefited from indirect allocation of resources, as different army organizations became increasingly important business actors in the Burmese state-controlled economy (Koonings and Kruijt 2002, 279). With regard to military strategy, the army has used a dual approach. In the distant border areas, alliances were sought with local militias to attack rebel bases, whereas the main military machinery would be deployed against one area at the time. This was visible through the KKY system during the period 1964–1973, as well as in the cease-fires offered to rebel groups after 1990. Also, since 1966 the military has focused on a counterinsurgency tactic known as the *Pya Ley Pya*

(Four Cuts). The four cuts strategy consists of cutting the four main links (food, funds, intelligence, and recruits) between insurgents, their families, and local villagers. Details have been provided by Smith (1991):

To begin with, selected rebel areas, just 40 to 50 miles square, were cordoned off for concentrated military operations. Army units then visited villagers in the outlying fields and forests and ordered them to move to new “strategic villages” (byu hla jaywa) under military control on the plains or near the major garrison towns in the hills. Any villager who remained, they were warned, would be treated as an insurgent and ran the risk of being shot on sight. After the first visit, troops returned periodically to confiscate food, destroy crops and paddy and, villagers often alleged, shoot anyone suspected of supporting the insurgents. (Smith 1991, 259)

In 1979, the first major offensive was launched in Shan state, and soon thereafter, fighting intensified closer to CPB bases (in 1982) as well as those of the KNU (in 1984) (Lintner 1990a, 210; Lintner 1994, 267).

The expansion of the military in the period of the BSPP (1962–1988) remained marginal in comparison to the military buildup that followed the intramilitary coup in 1988. During the first six years of the new government, the army grew from 180,000 to some 300,000 troops. At the same time, the government announced a new political outlook, referred to as “peace through development.” It consisted of several aspects, both military and political, and took into account relations with neighboring countries. The military was expanded and modernized; several large arms deals were secured from China and—more recently—India; and efforts were made to improve the infrastructure of army positions rather than withdraw during the monsoon (Rotberg 1998, 203–204). The new policy further escalated the human rights abuses of the army, as forced labor became more common in these infrastructure and agriculture projects (Soe Myint 2004, 17). Several nongovernmental organiza-

tions (NGOs)—as well as UN agencies—have collected statements about army harassment, torture, rape, and extrajudicial killings from Burmese refugees in Thailand, accusations that have been denied by the government.

Apart from strengthening the military positions, the government started offering cease-fire agreements to rebel groups under which they would be allowed to keep their arms and remain responsible for policing and developing their respective territories. One common provision of these agreements obligated cease-fire groups to help the government fight remaining rebels in the area, which further increased the pressure on the insurgent organizations (Rotberg 1998, 205). The final aspect of the government’s new political outlook was improving relations with neighboring countries. In the mid-1980s, the army had managed to capture some strategic trading locations on the Chinese and Thai borders, which led to a significant loss of revenue for the KNU and the CPB. Starting in 1989, Burma initiated joint infrastructure projects with neighboring states and offered concessions in logging and resource development to foreign firms. The consequence was a strengthening of Burmese military presence in border areas and a decrease of foreign support for the rebels (Carey 1997a, 80–82, 117, 149; Taylor 2001, 142–243)

Causes of the War

Besides the background causes just described, some additional factors contributed to the sudden escalation in 1968. For the ethnic rebel armies, the attempted peace negotiations in 1963–1964 had provided evidence of the military government’s unwillingness to compromise on issues of autonomy for the hill tribes. At the same time, it had also become clear that opposition to the government was widespread. The demonetization of currency in 1964 and severe shortages of rice and other foodstuffs in Rangoon in 1967 contributed to an increase in rebel supporters and recruits, while the growth of black market trade provided more funding for

the insurgencies (Lintner 1994, 197; Zakaria and Crouch 1985). By the end of 1966, the ruling BSPP government had managed to establish its one-party rule, remove opposition parties, and nationalize the economy. It then started preparing for a large-scale offensive against the insurgents, utilizing the four cuts strategy with the intention of focusing all capabilities on one area (Smith 1991).

The third—and possibly most influential—causative factor was the breakdown of Burmese–Chinese relations in 1967 following the Cultural Revolution and ethnic riots in Rangoon. In the Yunnan province of China, just across the Burmese border, a substantial invasion force was assembled to support the CPB. Although most of the Chinese support was administered through the Yunnanese regional government and thus was not official policy, the Communist rebel forces were boosted by thousands of Chinese “volunteers.” The CPB plan was a large-scale offensive to push the Burma Army out of present-day Shan state and continue south until the invasion forces linked up with the pockets of CPB guerrillas in central Burma. On New Year’s Day 1968, the Chinese-backed forces attacked and initiated an offensive that would not halt for five more years. As the CPB forces also became entangled in fighting local warlords and other rebels such as the KIO, the government concentrated on the Karen forces in the Irrawaddy Delta and the Communists in central Burma (Lintner 1990a, 209–10).

Outcome

The four cuts campaigns in the early 1970s were successful in expanding government control over territory in central Burma, but the different rebel forces remained in charge of the border and hill areas. During the 1980s, the situation stabilized; annual dry-season hit-and-run offensives were conducted by the government troops, while the rebels remained in control of their respective territories. The government was employing the four cuts strategy all over Burma,

and the insurgents were desperately trying to bring the human rights violations to the attention of the international community (Lintner 1990, Tucker 2000). Although intense fighting continued until 1995, a series of events in 1988–1989 eventually determined the outcome of the conflict.

As the cost of fighting the insurgents continued to increase, with as much as 40 percent of the Burmese budget spent on defense services, economic problems became evident in the mid-1980s (Koonings and Kruijt 2002). In 1987, Burma was accorded least-developed country (LDC) status by the UN, for the country was unable to cope with payments of its US \$3.5 billion foreign debt. The government’s decision to demonetize the three highest denominations of bank notes in September 1987 provoked an outcry from the business communities and student unions—as it happened, just days before annual university fees were due to be paid in cash (Lintner 1990b; Steinberg 2001).

Riots erupted outside Rangoon universities; as discontent among the general public continued to grow, more student-organized antigovernment rallies were held from November 1987 through June 1988. All protests were met by violent repression by the police. Demonstrations spread during the summer of 1988, and martial law was declared as the student movement began to mobilize the entire Burmese population (Lintner 1990b; Steinberg 2001). On August 8, 1988, the biggest public protest in decades was organized; several hundred thousand Burmese participated in strikes and antigovernment protests throughout the country. When night fell on the demonstrations, the government response began. After interviewing eyewitnesses, Lintner (1990b) described the scenes in Rangoon: “[A]t 11:30, trucks loaded with troops roared out from behind the City Hall. These were followed by more trucks as well as Bren-carriers, their machine-guns pointed straight in front of them Two pistol shots rang out—and then the sound of machine-gunfire reverberated in the dark between



Students and fellow members of the opposition protest the government's antidemocratic policies in a demonstration in Rangoon, Burma, on September 1, 1988. A brutal government crackdown ensued that sent protesters into hiding in the countryside. (Sandro Tucci/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

the buildings surrounding Bandoola Square. People fell in droves as they were hit” (Lintner 1990b, 97).

Army suppression in the days that followed killed an estimated 3,000 people in Rangoon and countless others throughout the country. The international community condemned the regime, and antigovernment demonstrations continued. On September 18, the government announced over state-run radio that the military had assumed power to “bring a timely halt to the deteriorating conditions . . .” (Lintner 1990b, 131). The newly appointed government, calling itself the State Law and Order Restoration Council, announced forthcoming elections but acted principally to repress the continuing demonstrations. Machine-gun fire and mass arrests cleared the streets, and order was reestablished within a few days of the intramilitary coup. In the weeks that followed, 8,000–10,000

student and urban activists fled to the border areas to join the rebel armies against the government (Fink 2001; Lintner 1990b).

The new SLORC government quickly focused its attention on reforming the socialist economy. The state remained the main economic actor, but a concerted effort was made to increase official foreign trade and limit the opportunities for rebel income. Following offensives in 1984, the Burma Army had established bases along parts of the Moei River, which constitutes the Burmese–Thai border, making the KNU-controlled cross-border trade more difficult. In January 1987, the army captured Pangshai, the main trading post on the border to China, and in May 1987, the KIO headquarters at Na Hpay and Pa Jau fell into government hands (Lintner 1994, 267–71). In 1989, the government began to give concessions to Thai timber firms, and these were soon followed by projects to exploit

Myanmar's fish and mineral resources. Since 1993, the number of joint Thai–Burmese projects has continued to increase and has included energy production through hydroelectricity and gas pipelines in border areas (Carey 1997a, 117, 149; Rotberg 1998, 136; Taylor 2001, 121). Similar agreements were made in the northern part of the country; six Sino–Burmese trade and economic agreements were signed in November 1989. These agreements were accompanied not only by Chinese military aid but also by investments and beneficial loans that made it possible for Myanmar to improve its infrastructure (Carey 1997a, 80–82). As a consequence of increased foreign investment in the area, both Thailand and China tried to influence the Burmese rebels to end their armed struggle and sign cease-fire agreements (Taylor 2001, 129).

After 1988's turmoil in the cities, it seemed as though the rebel armies were in an ideal position to launch a decisive strike in the civil war. However, the rural-based rebels were hardly aware of the opportunity, for the government's four cuts tactics had severed links between the rebels and the urban populations. Thousands of students fled into the jungle with the expectation, based on government propaganda, that the rebels were substantially stronger than they actually were. Many quickly became disillusioned and returned to the cities or continued into exile. However, the years 1988–1990 established a link between the student-led democracy movement and the ethnic armies, especially at the KNU headquarters at Manerplaw (Lintner, 1990b).

Regardless, the key event for the outcome of the conflict occurred a few months later and had no connection at all to the democracy movement. The strongest rebel movement in early 1989 was the CPB, which controlled substantial territory in northern Shan state, coexisted peacefully with the KIO in the areas bordering China and India, and also controlled some pockets of territory along the western border with Bangladesh and India (Lintner 1990; Tucker 2001). Within the CPB, some discontent

was growing. The politburo's aging leadership, mainly ethnic Chinese who adhered strictly to Maoist ideology, had never really become popular among their forces. The military strength of the CPB had been based on Chinese support and the ability to defeat or incorporate local militias as part of the CPB structure, usually by providing them with military equipment. This arrangement was most obvious with the ethnic Wa population, which made up nearly 80 percent of the Communist army. The Wa—based mainly in the northeastern part of Shan State—had declared at Burmese independence their intent to withdraw from any type of state formation. In the early 1970s, some Wa tribes formed a rebel movement to fight for autonomy, whereas other tribes remained focused on self-sufficiency and traditional customs (which included head-hunting) for another decade. The independent Wa had been defeated in the CPB offensives during the 1970s and then had enlisted as CPB troops. After the Chinese withdrew their support of the CPB in 1981, the benefits to local commanders decreased, the more so when the Communists lost some control over the cross-border trade in 1987. The human cost of the conflict was felt mostly by the Wa tribes, as the “human wave” military strategy preferred by the CPB leaders created substantial fatalities in each offensive. Additionally, most local Wa commanders also depended on income from drug trafficking, and so another reason for concern was the CPB leadership's 1985 edict that all involvement in the opium trade would be severely punished.

All these factors can help explain the sudden implosion of the Communist insurgency in Burma. In March 1989, some Kokang Chinese CPB troops rebelled, and the mutiny quickly spread into all Communist areas in the northeast. The Wa units joined the mutiny in April, the CPB split into several ethnically based forces, and the party leadership fled into exile in China. When news of the events spread, the Myanmar government reacted quickly, making contact with the newly formed groups and offering

them agreements whereby they would remain in autonomous control of their respective territories (Lintner 1994). Several groups quickly signed the cease-fire agreements, including the largest army formed from the remains of the CPB, the United Wa State Army (UWSA). One of the provisions for the ceasefire with the 20,000 troops strong UWSA was that the organization would help the government defeat other rebels in their vicinity (Carey 1997b).

After the signing of the agreement, the UWSA declared it had no intention of fighting against the KIO, as it had no grievance with the Kachins, but it quickly launched an offensive against its main competitor in the drug trade, the Mong Tai Army. Repeated UWSA offensives against the MTA, with logistical support of the government, led to an upsurge in fighting in Shan state in 1990–1993 (Lintner 1994; McCoy 2003). After substantial battlefield successes, in 1993 the UWSA began to suggest the formation of an autonomous Wa state in the north, which led to the deployment of more government troops for a final push in the region (Lintner 1994). Following years of constant retreat, the MTA commander, Khun Sa, invited 1,500 Burma Army troops to occupy his headquarters on New Year's Day 1996, where he quickly negotiated surrender (Rotberg 1998, 188). Khun Sa was moved into a luxurious villa in one of Rangoon's nicest areas, where he continued to pursue his business interests in gambling and tourism (Lintner 2002; McCoy 2003; Tucker 2001). The remaining MTA troops were demobilized, but the rebel army had weakened considerably during the previous year—only 1,800 troops participated in the surrender (out of the prior year's estimate of 10,000). Many had defected to continue the insurgency on a lower scale in several newly formed Shan organizations.

Another aspect of the cease-fires in 1989 was their influence on the fighting ability of the KIO. The new agreements led to the isolation of a KIO brigade in Shan state, in territory controlled by cease-fire groups; this unit also signed a cease-fire with the government in 1991. Nego-

tiations were opened with the KIO leadership as their contacts in China began to promote the idea of a settlement as beneficial to cross-border trade and Kachin economic development. After a de facto cessation of hostilities in 1993, a permanent cease-fire between the KIO and the government of Myanmar was agreed to in early 1994, in which the Kachin were allowed to keep their armed force and develop their region. The KIO still maintain, however, that they remain an armed insurgency organization and that the cease-fire should not be considered an acceptance of the Myanmar military government (Global Witness 2003; Tucker 2001).

The joint effect of the cease-fires in the north and the modernization of the government forces combined to increase the military pressure against the KNU. In 1992, it was reported that Myanmar forces deployed along the western border had increased from 5,000 to more 55,000 men in a few years. Military spokespersons claimed that the KNU would be defeated within months as a new offensive was launched in the first months of 1992. After months of heavy fighting, in which government troops allegedly even attacked from the Thai side of the border, the fighting came to a standstill. Then, on April 28, 1992, the government announced a unilateral cease-fire. Although smaller skirmishes continued, attempts were made by Thailand to initiate negotiations; these quickly broke down (Carey 1997a, Tucker 2001), fueling feelings of discontent that had been growing among the Buddhist part of the Karen population for a few years. Although the leadership of the KNU remained mainly Christian, some 70–80 percent of the field soldiers were Buddhist. Generally, these soldiers had been recruited from among the poorer, less educated Karen villagers, who felt excluded from the income provided by taxation and from promotions to high-ranking positions in the army (Gravers 1999, 89). The sense of discrimination among the Buddhists was further enhanced when U Thuzana, a leading monk in the Myaing Gyi Ngu monastery, and the KNU leader, Bo Mya, disagreed over the construction

of a new pagoda. U Thuzana became a popular leader among the war-weary population after predicting in the late 1980s that peace would follow after fifty pagodas had been built in Karen state. The KNU leadership agreed to the building of a new pagoda according to U Thuzana's plan but did not allow the pagoda to be painted white or a monastery to be established in it, for it was located on a mountaintop overlooking KNU headquarters (Gravers 1999, 90–96).

It is believed that the growing discontent among the Buddhist KNU was fueled by government agents. In December 1994, a few hundred soldiers mutinied and declared the formation of the Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA). Almost immediately, the DKBA announced a cease-fire with the government and helped guide Burma Army troops through the minefields and other obstacles into the KNU headquarters of Mannerplaw. After a few weeks of intense fighting in January 1995, the KNU retreated across the border into Thailand; joint DKBA and government offensives continued, even into refugee camps in Thai territory (Carey 1997b; Fink 2001; Rotberg 1998, 203–205). The KNU lost most of the territory it previously had controlled, but it continues to fight against the Myanmar government on a lower scale. During the last decade, the KNU political leadership has become closely linked to the exiled democracy movement, and KNU troops still launch guerrilla strikes on government forces from time to time (UCDP 2006).

Conflict Status

Of the four rebel organizations discussed herein, only the KNU remains active a decade later. The intense fighting has subsided, and the influence of the rebel groups has decreased substantially, but the main grievances remain and are significant to the political future of the Union of Myanmar. The present ethnic insurgent groups have created a common front with the former student movement and are unified in their demands for a democratic state with ethnic minority rights. Even though some fighting occasion-

ally is reported, there is great uncertainty concerning the amount of conflict activity in Myanmar. Several NGOs are active among refugees on the Thai–Burmese border, documenting continuous abuse—rape, forced labor, torture, and killings—by Myanmar government troops as part of counterinsurgency operations (Soe Myint 2004, 17).

The Kachin areas under KIO control have received increased income from the logging industry, and there has been an influx of ethnic Chinese into all of northern Myanmar (Global Witness 2003, 84–85). It is a sign of strength that the KIO can maintain the cease-fire while also officially acting as an opposition organization in criticizing the government. By far the most powerful cease-fire group is the UWSA, which formed after the mutinies of the CPB. It has established control over two Wa regions with such military strength that Myanmar government officials need permission to enter. Originally dependent on income from the drug trade, the group has ventured into other business activities and have also launched crop substitution initiatives in their areas. However, the group has also clashed with the Myanmar government a few times, and when the army recently suggested disarming the cease-fire groups, both the KIO and the UWSA declared unwillingness to comply (UCDP 2006). The actual reasons for the conflict remains, along with several political organizations, but the governments' combination of strong military rule and economic development has limited armed activity during the past decade.

Duration Tactics

The events following the military coup of 1962 set the stage for the outbreak of intense fighting and provided the basic structure that led to the long duration of the conflict. Arguably, the ethnic armies benefited from the support of their local populations, but events of the last decade have shown that this could only influence duration to an extent. The economic program of radical nationalization initiated in the name of the

“Burmese way to socialism” increased the capabilities of the rebels, as official trade with neighboring countries was discontinued. The rebels, who controlled the resource-rich border regions, quickly established links with China and Thailand and benefited immensely from the upsurge in black market trade. It should be noted that, while resources such as drugs, gems, and timber were being transported out of Burma, consumer goods in large quantities were imported through rebel-held areas. In the mid-1970s, one of the busiest markets in Rangoon became unofficially renamed the Yodaya Zei (“Thailand market”) for its abundance of imported goods in a country largely closed off from the world (Renard 1996, 47).

However, one might argue, if the rebels received support from neighboring countries and controlled the income of almost half of the Burmese economy, why did they not succeed in defeating the government? The reasons have to do with the counterinsurgency tactics of the government as well as the relations between the dozens of rebel armies active in Burma throughout the conflict. Even though Burma became, and remains, a police state where abuse of human rights continues to be reported, the government’s tactics were successful in one important aspect: Possible political links were cut between the Burman opposition, the urban activists, and the rural insurgents. The geographic and cultural barriers that made it difficult for the government to defeat the rebels also made it difficult for the rebels to find opportunities for decisive offensives. At the same time, the numerous reasons for fighting against the government often made the insurgencies less a threat than the sum of their parts. Throughout the civil war, the different rebel groups have fought among themselves, thus limiting their ability to defeat the government. With regard to the time period and the groups covered here, the most serious incidents were the full-scale war in 1968–1976 between the KIO and the CPB, and the intra-Shan fighting in the early 1980s,

which eventually made the MTA the strongest group. Later, this fractionalization among the rebels was exploited by the Myanmar government, contributing in a major way to the outcome of the conflict.

External Military Intervention

The conflict did not see any outright external military intervention, although it is suspected that Chinese troops were involved in the great CPB offensive that began in 1968. No official acknowledgement was made; however, it has been argued that the CPB’s ranks were boosted by Chinese “volunteers” following the reports of attacks on ethnic Chinese in Burma in the preceding year.

Conflict Management Efforts

As mentioned in the introduction, international concern with Burma has centered on the situation between the democracy movement and the government since 1988. During recent years, the international community has become more concerned with the treatment of ethnic minorities, as shown, for example, by the appointment of a UN special envoy to Myanmar in 2000. However, during the period covered in this article, little attention was given to the civil war. In the last decade of the conflict, both China and Thailand tried to influence rebel groups to accept a cease-fire with the government; however, it is arguable that this effort had much to do with these countries’ ambition to improve economic interaction across the border. Although there have been several proposals for negotiations from both sides of the conflict, these hardly led to anything more than exploratory talks. The cease-fires with different rebel groups since 1989 have not led to any outright attempts to manage the issues of the conflict. Indeed, the conditions set for former fighters “returning to the legal fold” are very strict, and many choose to flee to Thailand. According to one former soldier, the terms of his amnesty stipulated that he had to report to the nearest police office on a daily basis, which in effect meant he could not settle

on his family's farm (conversation with the author, 1999).

Conclusion

Two military takeovers influenced the increase and decrease of fighting in the Burma civil war. Both were followed by military buildup and increased repression, but different approaches to economic development created strikingly different outcomes. To claim that it was all about money would be to oversimplify the complex political landscape of Burma, but economic issues have certainly had a substantial impact on the war. In writing about the civil war in Burma/Myanmar, one is strongly tempted to begin almost every sentence by introducing yet another ironic turn of events. The government tried to build a Soviet-style, isolationist, Communist state while predominantly fighting Communist rebels. The Communist rebels became dependent on the development of a large-scale capitalist economy. Different rebel groups have spent as much energy fighting each other as they have fighting the government, and so on. After more than fifty years as insurgents, the rebel groups have become increasingly unified in the last decade, since government offensives have ended the large-scale fighting. The very same issues that were disputed when the Burmese leader Aung San demanded independence from the British colonial empire at the end of World War II remain unsolved and have further exaggerated the divisions within the Burmese society. After one of the most intensely fought civil wars for decades, with millions of refugees, the international community is starting to focus on the problems in Myanmar—following government repression of a nonviolent political movement.

Joakim Kreutz

Chronology

August 15, 1939 Communist Party of Burma (CPB) is formed in Rangoon.

February 5, 1947 Karen National Union (KNU) is formed.

January 4, 1948 Burma becomes independent.

March 28, 1948 CPB starts fighting the government.

January, 1949 KNU starts fighting the government.

January–March 1950 Some 2,000 Kuomintang (KMT) troops cross the border from China, settling in Burmese Shan state following Maoist victory in the civil war. Several Shan villages begin setting up self-defense militias to protect themselves from KMT and Burma Army.

February 5, 1961 Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) is formed.

March 2, 1962 General Ne Win overthrows the democratic Burmese government and installs a military dictatorship, the Burma Socialist Program Party (BSPP).

1964 Government introduces the KKY self-defense militia program in Shan state. Many local warlords join, including Khun Sa.

June–July 1967 Violent riots break out in Rangoon; Burmese attack Chinese interests.

January 1, 1968 Large-scale military offensive is launched by the CPB across the border from China.

January 1968 Fighting begins between KIO and CPB after Communist forces invaded Kachin-held territory.

September 1968 Government offensive is launched against Karen and Communist insurgents in the Irrawaddy delta.

October 20, 1969 Khun Sa is arrested and jailed in Mandalay.

October 1971 CPB and Karen forces are driven out of the Irrawaddy delta by government offensives.

January 1973 The KKY system is abolished, principally because of international criticism about its involvement in the drug trade.

September 7, 1974 Khun Sa is released from prison after his troops had held two Soviet doctors hostage since April 1973. He remains in Mandalay until February 1976 before returning to the hills.

May 10, 1976 Leaders of approximately a dozen different ethnic rebel armies meet at KNU headquarters, form the National Democratic Front (NDF).

July 6, 1976 KIO and CPB leaders meet and agree to a military alliance.

March 3, 1985 Shan United Army joins forces with the Thailand Revolutionary Council to

- become the Mong Tai Army, led by Khun Sa.
- January 1987 Government offensives capture several positions from the CPB on the Burma Road and the border with China.
- May 26–30, 1987 Government offensives capture KIO headquarters and strategic positions on the border with China.
- March–September 1988 Antigovernment demonstrations break out across Burma and are brutally suppressed by the army.
- September 18, 1988 The military take over government as the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC).
- November 18, 1988 Ethnic rebel armies of the NDF join forces with twelve Burman opposition parties in the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB).
- March 12, 1989 The CPB began to disintegrate as ethnic Kokang leave the organization. Mutinies quickly spread; by April 20, the CPB no longer exists.
- May 27, 1989 SLORC announces that the country's name is officially changed from Burma to Myanmar.
- December 15, 1989 The last of the groups formed after the CPB mutinies signs a cease-fire agreement with the government.
- January–April, 1990 Government offensives capture several KNU positions and push thousands of Karen into Thailand as refugees.
- May 27, 1990 First multiparty elections since 1960 are held; more than 70 percent of population votes for the opposition National League for Democracy.
- June 19, 1990 General Saw Maung declares power will be handed over as soon as new constitution is written.
- January–March 1992 Government offensives capture positions only ten kilometers from KNU headquarters.
- April 8, 1993 KIO signs cease-fire agreement with the government.
- December 1994 Buddhist Karen mutiny against the leadership of KNU, form Democratic Karen (Kayin) Buddhist Army (DKBA).
- January 1995 DKBA guide government troops in attack on KNU headquarters. KNU withdraw across border into Thailand.
- January 1, 1996 Following a year of large-scale government and UWSA offensives, Khun Sa invites government troops into MTA headquarters and surrenders.

List of Acronyms

- AFPFL: Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League
 ANPDF: All Nationalities People's Democratic Front
 BSPP: Burma Socialist Programme Party
 CPB: Communist Party of Burma
 DAB: Democratic Alliance of Burma
 DEA: (U.S.) Drug Enforcement Agency
 DKBA: Democratic Karen (Kayin) Buddhist Army
 DNUF: Democratic Nationalities United Front
 GNP: gross national product
 IMF: International Monetary Fund
 KIO: Kachin Independence Organization
 KKY: Ka Kwe Ye (government defense militia)
 KMT: Kuomintang (Chinese nationalist forces)
 KNU: Karen National Union
 LDC: least developed country
 MTA: Mong Tai Army
 NCUB: National Council of the Union of Burma
 NDF: National Democratic Front
 NDUF: National Democratic United Front
 NGO: nongovernmental organization
 NSH: Noom Suik Harn, Young Warriors
 NUF: Nationalities United Front
 PDF: People's Democratic Front
 RNA: Revolutionary Nationalities Alliance
 SLORC: State Law and Order Restoration Council
 SSA: Shan State Army
 SUA: Shan United Army
 TRC: Thailand Revolutionary Council
 UNDP: United Nations Development Program
 UWSA: United Wa State Army
 WACL: World Anti-Communist League

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Nicaragua

(1978–1979 and 1980–1989)

Introduction

Nicaragua's geographic location in the middle of Central America has magnified the importance of conflicts within the country to its neighbors and the United States. The two civil wars discussed here—one in the 1970s and one in the 1980s—had domestic roots but were heavily influenced by these other countries. The civil war that resulted in the 1979 overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship had its beginnings in the early 1960s when the Sandinista rebels first organized. The Sandinistas and Somoza owed their origins to the U.S. occupation, which, except for a few months in 1925, lasted from 1912 to 1933. The civil war between the Contra rebels and the Sandinista government, which lasted from 1980 to 1989, was largely a result of U.S. policies aimed at overthrowing the Sandinistas. This article provides a summary of both civil wars, with emphasis on the causes of the conflicts and the factors that contributed to the rather unique outcomes of each. For convenience, throughout the article the first civil war is referred to as the Sandinista revolution and the second as the Contra war.

Country Background

Before the civil wars, Nicaragua was a poor country of 3 million people (Defronzo 1991, 189) plagued by a repressive, authoritarian gov-

ernment. With the rest of Central America, it obtained independence from Spain in the 1820s. Afterward, its politics were dominated by elite families centered in Leon (the liberal party) and Granada (the conservative party). The United States was interested in the country mainly as a possible location of a transisthmian canal, for the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua covered all but fifteen miles between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Most inhabitants of Nicaragua lived on the Pacific side of the country and had a Spanish or mixed ethnic heritage; on the east side of the country lived a small minority of Native Americans and descendants of former African slaves.

The first Somoza (Anastasio Somoza Garcia) came to power based on his control of the National Guard, a military body organized and trained by the United States to facilitate U.S. withdrawal from occupation in 1933. After 1926, during the second half of the U.S. occupation, a nationalist rebel group organized by Augusto Cesar Sandino fought to oust the U.S. marines and the National Guard. After the United States withdrew in 1933, Sandino was assassinated by members of the National Guard, and his rebellion died out. Somoza ruled the country until he was assassinated by a young poet in 1956. After this, power passed to his two sons—first to Luis Somoza Debayle until his death in 1967, then to Anastasio Somoza Debayle. The Somoza family

used its position to accumulate enormous wealth. The Somozas pursued policies designed to repress and buy off their domestic rivals, and they sought the unqualified support of the United States as their external guarantor of power. Ultimately, the poverty of ordinary Nicaraguans, combined with the greed, corruption, and repression of the dictatorship, created the basis for a revolution led by the Sandinistas, a rebel group with historical and ideological roots in Sandino's earlier rebellion.

Conflict Background

The first civil war under consideration, the duration of which is often listed as 1978–1979, had its origins in a guerrilla movement founded in 1961 (Booth 1985; Christian 1985; Crawley 1984; Diederich 1981; Walker 1986). The Sandinista rebels sought to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship and control the government. The conflict had an ideological component in that the rebels supported Marxist-oriented policies that aimed to redistribute wealth, whereas Somoza was staunchly anticommunist and promoted an elite-dominated market economy. There was little, if any, ethnic dimension in the conflict. In addition to the tradition of Sandino, the Sandinistas were inspired by the example of Fidel Castro, whose guerrillas overthrew the government of Cuba in 1959. Until the final stages of the conflict in 1978–1979 there was little intervention except for military support provided to the Somoza regime by the United States. The Sandinista forces grew rapidly from about 500 in 1978 to a final 1979 level of about 5,000 (DeFronzo 1991, 202). Somoza's National Guard had approximately 7,500 troops in September 1978 and had grown to 11,000 by March 1979 (Pastor 2002, 101). Casualty estimates from the Sandinista war vary, but a conservative approximation is 30,000 dead.

The Contra war from 1980 to 1989 was similar in that the Contra rebels aimed to overthrow the Sandinista government and, at least initially,

restore the old order. This was also a classic Cold War stalemate, with the United States supporting the anti-Communist Contras and the Soviet Union and Cuba among the main supporters of the Sandinista government. The Contra forces were formed from elements of the National Guard who fled after the Sandinista victory. With U.S. funds, training, and organization, they grew to a force of about 30,000 in the mid-1980s (Pastor 2002, 27). The largest Contra faction, the FDN (Nicaraguan Democratic force), had 6,000–12,000 soldiers in the latter half of the 1980s (DeFronzo 1991, 211). They faced a Sandinista military force of 25,000 in 1981 (Dickey 1987, 140), which grew to 60,000 soldiers and 200,000 local militia units in the late 1980s (DeFronzo 1991, 215).

The Contra war was the more internationalized of the two conflicts. It produced about 40,000 casualties and had important effects on neighboring Honduras, which hosted most of the U.S.-funded Contra bases, and El Salvador, which received increased aid from the United States to counter its own leftist rebels, who received support from the Sandinista government. The military regime in Argentina was a strong backer of the Contras; initially, the Argentine presence helped the United States conceal its involvement. Costa Rica, although it tried with some success to remain neutral, was another country where Contras organized against the Sandinistas.

In the early 1980s, it appeared that the Contra war could be an ongoing, low-intensity conflict of long duration. The end of the Cold War in 1989 was one of several factors that contributed to a speedier end to the Contra war. And in the United States, the 1986–1987 Iran–Contra scandal undermined what little domestic support there was for the war. Finally, the change of administration from Reagan to Bush brought a desire to “take Nicaragua off the agenda” and create a stronger working relationship between the new president and Congress (Pastor 2002). The mediation and peace efforts of other countries in the region, specifically the Arias plan, were in-

Table 1: Civil War in Nicaragua

War:	FSLN vs. government; government vs. Contras
Dates:	1978–1979; 1980–1989
Casualties:	1978–1979, 50,000; 1980–1989, 43,000 (Doyle and Sambanis 2000), 160,000 wounded (Pastor 2000, 161)
Regime type prior to war:	–8 from 1946 to 1979 (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data— ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	–6 to –1 between 1982 and 1989; +6 in 1991 (Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data— ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$2,215.30 (2006 dollars; from PWT 1978)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$2,432.82 (2006 dollars; from PWT 1984) US \$1,711.63 (2006 dollars; from PWT 1994)
Insurgents:	FSLN (Sandinistas); Contras (FDN, ARDE, others)
Issue:	1978–1979: Repression and corruption in government 1980–1989: Ideological struggle for control of central government
Rebel funding:	1978–1979: From rebel activities (ransom), aid from Argentina, Chile, Panama, Costa Rica, Cuba 1980–1989: United States, Saudi Arabia, Brunei, Taiwan, Israel, Argentina, Colombian drug traffickers, wealthy individuals
Role of geography:	Rebels hid in forest and mountains; porous borders helped all sides obtain arms.
Role of resources:	Not applicable
Immediate outcome:	1978–1979: Rebel victory 1980–1989: Negotiations, elections, peaceful transfer of power
Outcome after 5 years:	1978–1979 (1984): New civil war 1980–1989 (1994): Stable peace
Role of UN:	Provided election monitors in 1990 and peacekeepers to disarm Contras after election
Role of NGOs:	Carter Center instrumental in mediating and monitoring 1990 election.
Role of regional organization:	1978–1979: OAS was involved at the end, encouraged dictator to step down. 1980–1989: Governments in region made peace initiatives (Contadora; Arias plan).
Refugees:	Remnants of Somoza government and National Guard fled in 1979.
Prospects for peace:	Good

Sources: Doyle and Sambanis 2000, DeFronzo 1991, Heston et. al. 2002 (PWT), Pastor 2002.

strumental in providing the opportunity for a nonviolent solution to the conflict once the U.S. support for the Contras waned. In the end, the Sandinistas lost power in an election but remained active as an opposition party.

The Insurgents *The Sandinistas*

Though they began with about twenty poorly trained, poorly equipped guerrillas and little

support from moderates in the populace, by 1979 the Sandinistas led a coalition that overthrew the Somoza regime. Like most rebel groups, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) began as a group of weak resisters who, throughout most of the 1960s, barely avoided total defeat. After repeated cycles of confrontation, defeat, retreats, and regrouping, they achieved an enduring but low-level resistance in the early 1970s (Booth 1985, 138–41). The guerrilla core of the group was well-organized, and it

learned to become integrated with the peasant communities in the countryside for support. Yet the Sandinistas were not very effective in mobilizing the masses who resented Somoza's rule until after the 1972 earthquake in Managua. The consensus among analysts of this postquake period of the Nicaraguan conflict is that the naked greed shown by Somoza and the Guard in the aftermath of the quake cost the regime the support of middle- and upper-sector business elites that had been the core of Somoza's internal legitimacy (Booth 1985, 81–85; Crawley 1984, 150; Diederich 1981; Lake 1989, 19–20; Walker 1986, 32).

In response to Sandinista growth after the earthquake, Somoza increased repression by imposing a "state of siege," or martial law, from 1974 to 1977; this repression caused internal debates that split the Sandinista organization while at the same time stimulating more mobilization among the masses. The Sandinistas were also unique in their willingness to use women in combat roles in the movement; at the end, up to a quarter of their soldiers were women (Booth 1985; Pastor 2002). Also, in the end the Sandinistas benefited from their willingness to ally with progressive Catholics who embraced "liberation theology." Finally, by making alliances with moderates, democrats, and disillusioned economic elites after 1977, the Sandinistas were able to garner support from an unusual array of sources that were united in their desire to depose Somoza.

The Contras

Initially, the Contras were composed of former members of Somoza's National Guard who fled the country after the revolution and whose skill set made soldiering their best method of earning a living. The former guard members certainly had intense grievances against the Sandinistas and the Carter government. Yet, had they been left to their exile in Honduras, Costa Rica, and the United States, they would not likely have organized a coherent guerrilla resistance. It was the U.S. government funds, weapons, organization,

and training that created this rebel force. Once organized, the Contras appeared to be a credible force because of the continuing support of the United States. This credibility encouraged others who shared or developed their own grievances against the Sandinista government (such as Miskito Indians, economic elites, and alienated members of the Sandinista government), to decide to rebel. They were also supported by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, which disapproved of liberation theology and the participation of priests in the Sandinista revolution.

Geography

Nicaragua is well-suited to guerrillas who wish to use mountainous and jungle terrain for cover and retreat zones. The northern border with Honduras is mountainous, making it easily permeable. The Atlantic (Miskito) coast is sparsely populated and contains jungle and rain forest. About 90 percent of Nicaraguans live on the Pacific side of the country; those on the Atlantic side include about 70,000 Miskito Indians, other indigenous peoples, and a number of descendants of African slaves who fled to Nicaragua from other countries. The Atlantic side was dominated by Britain until the 1890s, and many people in the region speak English instead of Spanish (DeFronzo 1991, 190).

Only 15 percent of the country is arable land (CIA 2006); in 1998, 26 percent was forested (Wilkie, Aleman, and Ortega 2002). Deforestation is an increasingly significant problem in Nicaragua. The country has been the victim of countless natural disasters and is vulnerable in particular to hurricanes (Mitch killed 3,800 in 1998 ([National Climatic Data Center 2006]), earthquakes (one centered in Managua on December 23, 1972, killed 5,000), landslides, and volcanoes (Wilkie, Aleman, and Ortega 2002).

Nicaragua's urban centers include the capital of Managua (population 1.1 million in 2003), whose central district was destroyed by the 1972 earthquake and was not rebuilt. Smaller cities include Leon (population 124,000 in 1995), Granada (population 72,000 in 1995), and Chi-



land (97,000 in 1995) (Europa World Year Book 2005).

Tactics

The Sandinistas

A strength of the Sandinistas was the variety of tactics they used to mobilize followers (Simon 1991). In their early days, they pursued the standard rural guerrilla tactics preached by Mao Zedong and Che Guevara. Owing to the small size of the movement in the 1960s, the Somoza regime was able to defeat these efforts. However, as the rebels regrouped in the early 1970s, three factions formed, each pursuing a different set of tactics (Booth 1985, Pastor 2002). The first, the “prolonged peoples’ war” (*guerra popular prolongada*) faction, led by Tomas Borge and Henry Ruiz, maintained rural guerrilla tactics, with less emphasis on political indoctrination and more on the development of small groups of guerrillas,

or *foco*, that could strike at the regime. A second faction, the proletarios, led by Jaime Wheelock, pursued an urban strategy that sought to mobilize unions, poor city neighborhoods, and urban workers against the regime. Principal tactics of this faction included strikes and demonstrations. The third, the *Tercerista* faction, led by Daniel and Humberto Ortega, sought to build broader-based coalitions, including moderate regime opponents and religious people who were not attracted to Marxism. They employed a variety of high-profile acts of resistance and terrorist tactics, such as hostage taking, designed to gain maximum publicity for the cause and to demonstrate to potential recruits that the regime could be successfully resisted. The most famous example was the August 1978 seizure of 1,500 hostages in the national palace. The raid, led by Eden Pastora, ended with the release of fifty FLSN prisoners, payment of \$500,000 in ransom, and safe

passage out of the country for the hostage takers (Diederich 1981). The raid also validated the Tercerista strategy as the most effective for mobilizing dissent. Soon afterward, the three factions reunited to jointly pursue the final overthrow of Somoza.

The Somoza Government

Anastasio Somoza Garcia fit the stereotype of a kleptocratic leader, but like most dictators, he developed a great deal of political skill in dividing and buying off moderate opponents. With Communist rebels, however, he had no qualms about using indiscriminate force, and this would contribute greatly to his downfall. Although at times it gained him some temporary advantage, such as during the “state of siege” imposed from 1975 to 1977, in the longer term it inflamed the opposition and allowed the FSLN to grow stronger and draw in more moderate allies.

Researchers generally note two important turning points in the conflict: the Managua earthquake of 1972 and the assassination of *La Prensa* editor Pedro Joachim Chamorro in 1978. Both led to serious tactical errors. As noted above, Somoza and his cronies stole earthquake aid; this greatly intensified the grievances among the urban poor in Managua and created the opportunity for the broad-based mobilization under an anti-Somoza banner that the FSLN eventually achieved. The Chamorro assassination alienated elites in the country; had Somoza been able to prevent it, or had he taken steps to punish those responsible, he might have avoided this elite division, which theorists of revolution assert is a crucial factor in the overthrow of governments (Goldstone 1982).

The Contras

Because the first groups of Contras consisted of former National Guard members who were known for their brutality, it is not surprising that the tactics of the Contras involved a considerable amount of terrorism in addition to the standard hit-and-run guerrilla tactics. After the initial Contra forces were established and trained, the United States increased aid, provid-

ing higher-quality weapons and more pay for the fighters (Dickey 1987). Although many Contra fighters believed that they were pursuing a guerrilla strategy similar to that by which the Sandinistas succeeded in the first civil war, in fact the U.S. strategy was one of “low-intensity conflict.” This strategy allowed the United States to use the Contra forces as proxies to keep pressure on the Sandinista government without committing U.S. troops. This pressure would cause the Sandinistas to become militaristic and repressive and would eventually drive the population away from supporting the regime.

This low-intensity conflict strategy explains some of the terrorist tactics used by the Contras; they attacked civilians such as teachers, coffee workers, and literacy workers sent by the regime to poor rural areas, in order to prevent the regime from providing tangible gains to the population. The strategy was supplemented by a total trade embargo imposed by the United States in 1985, which took away a trading partner that accounted for 30 percent of Nicaraguan trade (DeFronzo 1991, 210).

The Sandinista Government

The Sandinistas pursued a variety of tactics to resist the Contras. They tried to pursue policies aimed at reversal of social and economic inequalities as a means of maintaining popular support and delegitimizing the Contras. This includes their early literacy campaign, which mobilized thousands of Nicaraguans and sent them to rural villages to teach others to read. However, the Contra attacks on teachers, coffee workers, and government officials led the Sandinistas to pursue an increasingly militarized response, which in the end proved costly and sometimes counterproductive.

The Sandinistas received arms from the Soviet Union and Cuba and built their standing army to a size that, on paper, was larger than all of their neighbors’ armies combined. They also militarized society with the creation of local militias; the goal here was to prevent Contras from making gains at the village level that could not be

identified and quickly countered. Such militarization led to many abuses, such as the jailing of Miskito dissidents, but Sandinista abuses were less frequent and less severe than those of the Contras, according to international human rights organizations (DeFronzo 1991, 213).

The Sandinistas combined militarization with cooperative acts designed to counter the arguments of the United States that they were a brutal Communist dictatorship. They eliminated the death penalty, offered amnesty to former National Guard members and Contras at various times during the conflict, and were credited with generally humane treatment of prisoners. Most significantly, they held a national election in 1984 that was validated as reasonably fair by international observers although dismissed by the United States as a sham.

Some tactical mistakes of the Sandinistas included programs that ostensibly protected the Miskito Indians from the Contras but instead required them to move away from their home villages. Also, at the outset of their revolutionary government, the Sandinistas insisted on supporting rebels in El Salvador, with the hope that they, too, could succeed. However this support led President Jimmy Carter to cut off U.S. aid and provoked the Reagan administration to begin organizing the Contras. Just as Castro occasionally told the Sandinistas that the best help he could give them was no help at all, the Sandinistas might have considered that their policies would, as Pastor (2002) eloquently describes, bring about the very things they wanted to avoid—a war with the United States and dependence on the Soviet Union. The Sandinistas decided that the United States would likely fabricate provocations anyway; hence the potential benefit of a revolution in El Salvador was worth the risk. This turned out to be incorrect.

Causes of the War

The Sandinista Revolution

The central cause of the first civil war was similar to dozens of others in Latin America and the

developing world—a corrupt, economically ineffective, repressive, and illegitimate dictatorship that created vast grievances among the masses of poor people but eventually even among elites in the country. Of course, grievances are a necessary precondition to rebellion but hardly sufficient. Those with grievances could pursue many means of redress. The 1956 assassination of Somoza Garcia showed that an isolated dissident could not create effective change. The 1959 Cuban revolution revealed another, more effective strategy. But the first group of Sandinista rebels who attempted a rural guerrilla resistance was largely unsuccessful; the coercive power of the regime was too strong. The Sandinistas achieved success only when they expanded their narrow ideology to embrace moderate regime opponents. Once they had demonstrated that they had a significant chance of success (Lichbach 1994), they were able to mobilize effectively as well as attract external support.

Just as important to the success of the Sandinistas were conditions affecting the Somoza regime. The regime was weakened by a natural disaster (the 1972 earthquake), a loss of support from its international patron (with the election of Carter as U.S. president in 1976), and finally by its own tactics of indiscriminate repression in response to growing Sandinista strength. It is easy to speculate, in hindsight, that a leader less greedy and more creative than Somoza could have made the compromises necessary to maintain U.S. support and that of the economic elite in the country.

The Contra War

The desire of the United States to create an armed resistance to the Sandinista government was the most important factor in the creation of the Contra war. Remnants of Somoza's National Guard would no doubt have mounted attacks on their own, but without U.S. funds, weapons, and training, this would not have constituted an ongoing civil war. Still, the Contras were able to attract additional groups and leaders who had become disenchanted with the Sandinista government (for

Rattlesnakes

One of the most notorious Contra fighters, Pedro Pablo Ortiz Centeno (nom de guerre: El Suicida), nearly died while attempting to flee after the 1979 Sandinista revolution. El Suicida was made famous in the United States by the writings of Christopher Dickey of the *Washington Post* (Dickey 1987). As a member of Somoza's National Guard, El Suicida had been trained by the United States at the School of the Americas in Panama. After the fall of Somoza on July 20, he and others in his unit (the Rattlesnakes) hijacked a boat and attempted to make it to El Salvador. However, they ran out of food and water after one day, and on the second day the boat ran out of fuel. They drifted until July 23, when they were saved from certain death by the appearance of a commercial fishing boat. The fishing boat's crew attempted to help the drifting vessel, but the Rattlesnakes overpowered the crew and took their boat to La Union, El Salvador. Within a few weeks, the Rattlesnakes were in Honduras, forming the beginnings of the Contra forces that would challenge the Sandinistas for the next decade (Dickey 1987).

example, Eden Pastora); thus they were able to recruit in both urban and rural areas.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

The Sandinista revolution ended with the breakdown of the Somoza government and the Sandinista takeover on July 20, 1979. The Sandinistas installed a junta that consisted of guerrilla leaders (including Daniel Ortega as the spokesperson of the group) and moderates Alfonso Robelo Callejas and Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, widow of Pedro Joachim Chamorro, the assassinated editor of *La Prensa*. The new government stated its intention to develop a “mixed” economy and to pursue policies aimed at helping the poor. However, Somoza had left only \$3 million in the treasury, and the Sandinistas inherited a \$1.6 billion debt (Booth 1985;

Walker 1986). By 1980, tensions had developed between the Sandinistas and their moderate allies; Robelo and Chamorro resigned from the junta in April, and opposition developed among business elites, Catholic bishops, and even former guerrilla leaders such as Eden Pastora in 1982 (Dickey 1987, 149). Within six weeks of its inauguration in January 1981, the Reagan administration signed an intelligence “finding” that allowed it to begin organizing the bands of former National Guard members into what became the Contras (Dickey 1987; Pastor 2002).

The Contra war was resolved by an election that brought to power Violeta Chamorro and the Nicaraguan Opposition Union (UNO) coalition. The election was the result of the Arias peace plan, which brought pressure from the Central American governments who supported it, and of long negotiations between the Sandinistas and their opponents, mediated by former President Jimmy Carter. After the election, Chamorro decided to retain Humberto Ortega (brother of Daniel) as head of the armed forces. This and other gestures helped the Sandinistas accept their electoral defeat and make the transition to an opposition political party and political movement. They remain a strong force in Nicaraguan politics. In the elections, Daniel Ortega finished second with 42 percent of the vote (Anderson and Dodd 2002). In 2006, a more moderate Ortega was elected president.

Duration Tactics

Using 1961 as a starting point, the Sandinistas took quite a long time to achieve their final victory, and the odds were against them most of the way. They received little external help in the first decade and had little success in generating popular mobilization. They benefited from the brutality and unpopularity of Somoza, which gave them an enemy they could use to mobilize. Ironically, it was when the guerrillas grew strong enough to split into factions that they were able to make tactical innovations that helped them in the end. The three FSLN factions each pursued



Daniel Ortega, the charismatic leader of the Sandinista rebels, addresses his supporters in Managua, Nicaragua on July 19, 1979. Ortega was elected president of Nicaragua in 2006. (Patrick Chauvel/Sygma/Corbis)

different tactics; while this competition could have been destructive, in the end it was constructive. The success of the Terceristas in achieving popular mobilization led the Sandinistas to reunify and eventually defeat Somoza's National Guard. Guerrilla tactics usually take a long time, and as noted earlier, they usually fail when used against a government that is not colonial or a foreign occupier.

The lack of military intervention to aid Somoza also shortened the conflict. At the very end, in June 1979, it became apparent to all that the Somoza government would lose. Yet, despite desperate mediation attempts by the United States, Somoza stubbornly refused to turn power over to a successor in the National Guard and seek exile. According to Pastor (2002), this prevented a solution that might have kept the Sandinistas from controlling the entire government. Had the United States succeeded in getting Somoza to step down, to leave the Guard intact,

and to find a replacement leader, the conflict would have been substantially longer.

Several factors prolonged the Contra war, but three stand out as important. First, the bipolar Cold War system quickly led both sides in the conflict to receive aid from rival superpowers. A second factor is that the U.S. administration and the Sandinista government deeply distrusted each other, and as a result both chose to pursue a military solution to the conflict rather than a diplomatic one. The Carter administration initially offered aid to the Sandinista government but ended it after evidence surfaced that the Sandinistas were arming the rebels in El Salvador. The election of Ronald Reagan, who came to power with a mandate to pursue a more confrontational policy toward the Soviet Union, effectively ended U.S. efforts to pursue a diplomatic solution. As Robert Pastor (2002) convincingly argues, the policies of the United States and the Sandinistas were driven by their

leaders' mutual obsession with each other as enemies. Ironically, this obsession led each side to take actions that brought about the very outcome that they said they feared. The United States wanted the Sandinistas to become more democratic, less dependent on Moscow, and less likely to spread revolution in the region. The reverse occurred. The Sandinistas wanted to maintain relations with moderate supporters in Nicaragua, diversify their foreign relations, and be free from U.S. attack; instead, they became dependent on the Soviets and the Cubans, alienated moderate supporters, and faced a Contra rebellion that was well-funded by the United States.

A third factor in prolonging the conflict is the rather high level of armaments (by Central American standards) provided by interveners. However, when conditions changed to prevent this level of armament, the war came to an unexpectedly quick ending. The conditions that ended the war were the Iran-Contra scandal (which nearly eliminated support in the U.S. Congress for continued armament of the Contras); the end of the Cold War in 1989 (which diffused the superpower conflict that was the basis of the U.S. and Soviet provision of arms); and finally, the Arias peace plan (which was there when all sides needed a way out of the conflict).

External Military Intervention

The FSLN was supported by Venezuela, Panama, Costa Rica, and Cuba in 1978–1979. Before this period, Costa Rica had provided sanctuary for the FSLN. Panama provided asylum for the guerrillas who raided the Nicaraguan national palace, and later transferred arms to the FSLN. The help from Cuba came very near the end, in the form of arms shipments through Costa Rica (Christian 1985; Diederich 1981). This was a departure from Castro's previous position that the best help he could provide the Sandinistas was "not to help at all" (Booth 1985, 134). His fear was that Cuban aid would provide the pretext for U.S. intervention.

The Somoza government was supported by the United States until September 1977, when President Carter, who had embraced human rights as the "soul" of his foreign policy, essentially told Somoza that support was no longer unconditional. This caused Somoza to lift the state of siege. Somoza had the diplomatic support of some right-wing governments in the region, such as El Salvador and Argentina, but was opposed in the end by all members of the OAS except Paraguay (on June 23, 1979, the OAS voted seventeen to two to demand that Somoza resign). To influence Somoza to moderate his policies, the United States used economic incentives tied to human rights, eventually pursuing the meditation effort described following to encourage Somoza to leave before the Sandinistas won.

The United States funded the Contras and supported Honduras for hosting their bases. The Contras were also funded by the royal family of Saudi Arabia; the sultan of Brunei; Taiwan; Colombian drug traffickers; and private individuals recruited by the Reagan administration during the period from October 1984 to June 1986, when the United States was prevented by the Boland amendments from legally supporting the Contras. Costa Rica initially permitted Contra bases, but this ended after Oscar Arias was elected in 1986. The United States imposed a total trade embargo in May 1985 (Pastor 2002).

The Sandinistas initially received humanitarian aid from the United States, but Carter cut this off in January 1981 after evidence of Sandinista support for Salvadoran rebels came to light (Pastor 2002). The sources of weapons for the Sandinistas were the Soviet Union and Cuba (Regan 2002). Their goal was to prevent a Contra victory, but they were also careful not to provoke direct U.S. military intervention into the conflict. They provided helicopters and other weapons that were very helpful for fighting the Contras, who were using the hilly, forested regions near the Honduran border to conceal their bases.

Conflict Management Efforts

By 1977, there was growing awareness in the United States, on the part of Central American governments, and among elites in Nicaragua that in order to prevent a Sandinista victory, Somoza needed to leave power. The question was, when and how could this be done? As the fighting intensified in 1978, many efforts were made to convince the dictator to leave. From October to December 1978, the United States led an OAS-sponsored mediation effort that sought, through negotiations with Somoza and the Broad Opposition Front (FAO), to find a way for the dictator to leave power before his term of office ended in 1981. After consideration of many ideas, including a national plebiscite on Somoza's rule, the mediation ended in failure (Lake 1989, ch. 8). Somoza did not want to leave office and was concerned for his life and his assets should he be forced out. The Sandinistas were suspicious that the mediation was a deliberate attempt to weaken the revolution and to install some form of "Somocismo without Somoza" by retaining the National Guard in a new government (Pastor 2002). Had the mediation succeeded, the war would have been shortened, and a more moderate coalition would likely have governed. Because it failed, the Sandinistas went on to military victory seven months later.

Because it appeared that the United States and the Sandinistas were not likely to make any progress on what had become an important regional problem, the leaders of several Central and South American countries took a variety of initiatives to fill the diplomatic vacuum. The first effort was called the Contadora plan; it was launched at a meeting of the foreign ministers of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and Panama on the Panamanian island of Contadora in January 1983. As Pastor (2002, 198) notes, it was the first time in the century that the United States was excluded from such a negotiation in the Americas. Over the next two years, the group wrote four drafts of a treaty, and though Nicaragua agreed to sign the final (June 6) draft, the United

States, Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador refused, and the process petered out.

However, with the 1986 democratic elections of Vinicio Cerezo in Guatemala and Oscar Arias in Costa Rica, a new peace plan began brewing. In February 1987, Arias proposed a ten-point peace plan, building on the Contadora proposal. This would eventually become the basis for negotiations that led to the 1990 election that ended the conflict. The Contras agreed to the election and applied lessons that it had learned from its electoral defeat in 1984—namely, not to boycott an election that could be fair and bring them legitimacy, if not political power. The Sandinistas agreed to the election partly because they believed that they would indeed win a free election, and that if the election were validated as free by international observers, U.S. funding of the Contras and the war would end.

The Organization of American States (OAS) and the UN both provided election monitors (DeFronzo 1991, 218), and the UN helped to disarm the Contras after the election. Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter played a central role in negotiating the detailed terms of the election itself. Without his mediation, it is likely that the whole effort would have failed. Carter insisted upon several mechanisms to make sure that voter intimidation would not be tolerated, that the vote would be accurate and credible, and that both sides would accept the result.

Conclusion

The two civil wars in Nicaragua provide much to consider for those interested in the dynamics of civil war and rebellion. The Sandinista revolution was one of a very few that used guerrilla tactics to overthrow a nonoccupation government. Was their success due to their innovation and effectiveness or to the poor strategies pursued by Somoza? The lack of a moderate alternative to the Somoza regime combined with the Sandinistas' willingness to expand their coalition to include moderates to provide the Sandinistas with the political and military strength

Guerrilla War

The Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua is one of a very small number of civil wars in which local rebels used guerrilla war tactics to defeat an independent, noncolonial government. After 1945, the only other examples are China in 1949 and Cuba in 1959 (Iran in 1979 did not involve guerrilla tactics). As Dyer (2004, 396) notes, the rural guerrilla war technique was most effective against foreign occupiers and colonial governments, for reasons stressed by many scholars (e.g., Mack 1975). The guerrillas needed only to continue fighting, and eventually the costs to the colonial power would outweigh the benefits of fighting away from home. However, an independent government and its army are already home and thus more inclined to fight on indefinitely against the insurgency.

to win the civil war. Still, Somoza had a loyal military force behind him, and had he been more willing to compromise to divide his opponents, he might have been able to survive.

The Contra war was one of the first successful uses of a low-intensity conflict strategy, and it is one of a rare number of civil wars that have resulted in stable, democratic outcomes. Are these cases unique, or are there lessons here that can be applied elsewhere? The end of the Cold War created an international context that made the Contra war likely to end; however, the fact that it ended in democracy has a lot more to do with the active role played by states and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) committed to peaceful conflict resolution. In particular, the efforts of states in the region to create and implement the Arias plan, plus the availability and willingness of Jimmy Carter to act as mediator, were necessary for democracy to prevail.

Marc V. Simon

Chronology

- 1893 General Jose Santos Zelaya, a liberal, seizes power and establishes dictatorship.
- 1909 U.S. troops help depose Zelaya.

- 1912–1925 United States establishes military bases.
- 1926–1933 After a nine-month absence, U.S. troops return to Nicaragua during civil war, train and support the National Guard against guerrillas led by Augusto Cesar Sandino.
- 1934 Sandino is assassinated on the orders of General Anastasio Somoza Garcia, National Guard commander.
- 1937 General Anastasio Somoza Garcia is elected Nicaraguan president.
- 1956 General Somoza is assassinated but is succeeded as president by his son, Luis Somoza Debayle.
- 1961 Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) is formally organized.
- 1967 President Luis Somoza dies in office.
- February 1967 Anastasio Somoza Debayle is elected president.
- December 1972 Powerful earthquake hits Nicaragua, killing 10,000.
- September 1974 Somoza Debayle is re-elected president.
- December 1974 FSLN guerrillas hold hostage a handful of leading government officials; exchange hostages for eighteen jailed Sandinistas, \$5 million, and safe passage to Cuba.
- 1975 Government imposes a state of siege; lasts until September 1977.
- 1975 FSLN splits into three factions: Proletarians, Prolonged Popular War, and the Terceristas (Insurreccional Faction).
- September 1977 United States makes military assistance conditional on improvements in human rights.
- January 1978 Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, editor of *La Prensa* and moderate critic of the Somoza regime, is assassinated; this triggers a general strike and brings together moderates and the FSLN in a united front to oust Somoza.
- February 1978 United States suspends all military assistance.
- March 1978 Nicaraguan Democratic Movement is formed.
- September 1978 Group of the FSLN Terceristas led by Eden Pastora take over the National Palace and hold 2,000 government officials hostage; hostages are freed in exchange for \$500,000 ransom, the release of fifty FSLN members, and safe passage out of the country.
- March 1979 Three factions of the FSLN formally unify.

1979 The National Patriotic Front is formed.
 February 1979 Sandinista guerrillas formally unify.
 July 17, 1979 President Somoza flees.
 July 19, 1979 Managua falls to Sandinistas.
 May 1980 Council of State is formed.
 1980 Somoza is assassinated in Paraguay.
 January 1981 United States suspends all aid to Nicaragua.
 March 1981 Reagan administration authorizes support for groups trying to overthrow the Sandinistas.
 1981 Groups of former members of the National Guard form what is known as the Contras.
 July 1981 United Nicaraguan Opposition is formed.
 1982 State of emergency is declared by Sandinista government in response to Contra attacks.
 December 1982 U.S. Congress passes Boland amendment, which prohibits use of funds to overthrow Sandinistas.
 January 1983 Contadora peace initiative launched by Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and Panama.
 May 1983 Reagan cuts Nicaraguan sugar quota.
 October 1983 United States invades Grenada.
 October 1984 Second Boland amendment bans all U.S. funding for Contras.
 November 1984 FSLN wins 67 percent of the votes in national election; Daniel Ortega becomes president.
 1984 U.S. mines Nicaraguan harbors and is condemned by World Court for doing so.
 April 1985 United States imposes a total trade embargo on Nicaragua.
 June 1986 Sandinistas agree to sign Contadora peace treaty; U.S. Congress votes to resume aid to the Contras.
 February 1987 Peace plan is proposed by Costa Rican President Oscar Arias.
 August 1987 Arias plan is signed (commonly known as Esquipulas II).
 January 1988 President Ortega holds direct talks with Contras, lifts state of emergency, and calls for national elections.
 February 1988 U.S. Congress bans all military aid to Contras.
 March 1988 A cease-fire is negotiated between the Contras and the Sandinista government.
 December 1989 United States invades Panama to capture leader Manuel Noriega.

February 1990 Violeta Barrios de Chamorro wins presidency in election; FSLN hands over power.

List of Acronyms

FAO : Broad Opposition Front
 FDN : Nicaraguan Democratic Force
 FSLN : Sandinista National Liberation Front
 NGO: nongovernmental organization
 OAS: Organization of American States
 UNO: Nicaraguan Opposition Union

Glossary

Boland amendments: A series of laws sponsored by U.S. representative Edward P. Boland, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, by which the U.S. Congress placed limitations on U.S. aid to the Contras. The first, in 1982, limited the U.S. to overt funding aimed at interdicting arms shipments to El Salvadoran rebels; it prohibited military support the purpose of which was the overthrow the government of Nicaragua. The most important one, passed in 1984, made it illegal for the United States to provide any funds to the Contras. This ban was lifted in 1986.

Contras: The counterrevolutionary rebels who fought the Sandinista government; derived from the Spanish *contrarevolucionario*.

elite-dominated market economy: An economy in which private ownership and free markets are dominant but in which a few politically connected individuals, families, and corporations control an inordinate amount of the capital and production of the country. The elites often engage in monopolistic behavior that reduces economic competition.

foco: The Spanish word for “focus.” A foco insurgency is one that is organized into small bands of fast-moving, rurally based guerrillas that can attack government forces. This method does not stress the political indoctrination of the population, but hopes to ignite popular support for the guerrillas by winning military victories over state forces.

intelligence finding: Beginning with the 1974 Hughes-Ryan Act, the U.S. Congress required that the president sign a written statement to inform Congress of any important covert action that the president desires to initiate. The statement indicates that the president “finds” that the covert action is important for U.S. national security.

Iran–Contra scandal: To circumvent a congressional ban on funding for the Contras between 1984 and 1986, officials in the Reagan administration used several creative and illegal means to provide funds. The one that caused the scandal involved the creation by members of Reagan’s National Security Council of an entity outside the U.S. government, dubbed the Enterprise, which could carry out Reagan’s foreign policy objectives without using congressionally controlled U.S. government funds. Using the Enterprise, Reagan sold weapons to Iran with the hope that the Iranians would use their influence to secure the release of several U.S. citizens who were being held hostage by terrorists in Lebanon. (One hostage was released.) The scandal emerged in 1986 when the U.S. public learned that Reagan had violated his stated policy of not negotiating with terrorists. Soon they also learned that the weapons had been sold at inflated prices and that profits from the arms sale were diverted to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua, all in violation of U.S. law.

kleptocrat: A government leader, usually a dictator, whose primary motivation in governing seems to be the pursuit of wealth for family and friends through graft, theft of government funds, and general misuse of authority.

legitimacy: The ability of a government authority to generate compliance from its people without the use of coercion.

liberation theology: A movement in the Roman Catholic in the early 1970s. Advocates of liberation theology wanted the Church to become more actively involved in attacking the political, economic, and social causes of poverty and injustice. The movement was especially strong in Latin America, where the church had accepted dictatorship and economic exploitation for decades.

mixed economy: An economic system that allows some government control mixed with some private enterprise. It contrasts with a pure centrally planned Communist economy, in which the government owns virtually all productive enterprises, and a pure free-market economy, in which private citizens and corporations own productive enterprises.

necessary condition: In formal logic, a cause that must exist for a particular effect to occur. Without the existence of the necessary

condition, the consequence cannot occur. A *sufficient condition* is a cause that, if present, will always produce the particular effect.

plebiscite: A vote by an entire electorate to decide a question of importance. Synonymous with *referendum*.

terrorist tactics: The use of violence or threats of violence, usually directed at innocent civilians, that seeks political change by generating fear. Terrorist tactics are not aimed at influencing the direct victims of violence, but rather the public and government audience watching the violence. Terrorist tactics can be used by individuals, groups, or governments. Typical examples include bombing, hijacking, hostage taking, and armed assault.

trade embargo: The reduction or end of exports and imports by one country with another country. Embargoes are usually imposed to protest either political or economic policies in the targeted country

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Nigeria

(1967–1970)

Introduction

The Nigerian civil war will be always be remembered as a significant humanitarian tragedy that took place within a state struggling with the political nature of ethnic identity. Though blessed with significant natural resources; Nigerian statehood was plagued by patterns of colonial administration, a federalist system based largely on ethnic identity, local and national corruption, and the uneven distribution of natural resources. Each of these factors resulted in the attempted secession of several territories in the southeast, which collectively referred to themselves as the Republic of Biafra.

Country Background

On October 1, 1960, more than seventy years after the formation of the first British protectorate in what was to become known as Nigeria, the country gained formal independence. Although Nigeria enjoyed a brief period of democratic rule from 1960 to 1965, a military coup in January 1966 brought down the First Republic and ultimately resulted in a military dictatorship under the leadership of Major General Aguiyi Ironsi. A counter coup in July of the same year left Lieutenant Colonel (later General) Yakubu Gowon in power (Falola 1999, 119). As a result, in the period immediately before the civil war, Nigeria was a military dictatorship operating

under what was designed as a federal system of government. In the aftermath of the Nigerian civil war, the country remained a military dictatorship until a brief period of democratic rule began during the period 1979–1983. After a series of military dictatorships ruled the country from 1983 to 1999, Nigeria made the transition to democracy and at present is a democratic state.

At independence, Nigeria's gross domestic product (GDP) per capita was approximately US \$1,000 (constant) (Heston, Summers, and Aten 2002). The discovery of oil in the Niger Delta in the 1950s provided a key source of national income. From that point forward, Nigeria has existed as a rentier state. In the final full year before the civil war, GDP per capita had fallen to approximately US \$800 (constant). In 1971, the first full year after the civil war, GDP per capita stabilized at around US \$1,200 (constant). Although these figures are not the lowest in Africa, it is important to recognize that poverty has always been a significant obstacle to Nigeria's political development. Even today, nearly two-thirds of Nigerians live below the poverty line (Van Buren 2002, 829).

Conflict Background

The ethnic and religious heterogeneity that characterizes Nigeria has been one of the primary

sources of three civil wars since Nigeria gained independence in 1960. This article primarily treats the civil war that occurred between July 1967 and January 1970. However, smaller-scale intrastate wars took place within Nigeria in both 1980 and 1984 (Sarkees 2000). Other scholars treat the events of 1980 and 1984 as part of a single continuous event (Doyle and Sambanis 2000). Regardless of how one counts the number of civil wars in Nigeria, it is clear that religious tensions are a major and persistent source of instability.

The genesis of the religious conflict that resulted in civil war is the basic religious divide in Nigeria between Islam on the one hand and Christianity and indigenous beliefs on the other. The religious divide is in part a legacy of Nigeria's colonial administration by the British. In northern Nigeria, the British relied on a system of indirect colonial administration that left Islamic religious practices intact. Christian missionaries were not allowed to operate in the major portion of the Northern Protectorate unless they were granted permission by the local emir (Niven 1971, 22). In the south, where Christian missionaries operated freely, major portions of the population converted from their existing beliefs to Christianity. As a result, approximately 50 percent of Nigerians practice Islam, whereas approximately 40 percent practice Christianity (CIA 2005). Christians who live in the north and Muslims who inhabit the south, as well as citizens who live in areas where religious boundaries overlap, often live in fear of religious violence.

In 1980, followers of Muhammad Marwa, also known as Maitatsine, united in Kano in opposition to the secular government. The Maitatsine movement gained momentum as a result of the government's poor economic performance and efforts to partially control religious practices in the north (Falola 1999, 169). A series of riots erupted in Kano, and the government dispatched military forces to quell the unrest. Approximately 5,000 deaths occurred during the ensuing clashes between religious extremists and government forces. Ultimately, the Nigerian government

reestablished some degree of control over the Kano area. However, religious tension remained high in various portions of northern Nigeria. In 1981 and 1982 the military responded with force to the razing of several government buildings in Kano and other northern cities.

In February 1984, members of the Maitatsine sect launched another offensive in and around the city of Yola (Wunsch 1991). Approximately 1,000 people died as a result of the Maitatsine violence and the government counteroffensive. In addition, approximately 30,000 people became internally displaced as a result of the violence around Kano and Yola. Though government forces were ultimately victorious, religious violence remains a significant problem in Nigeria. The fact that several states in northern Nigeria have adopted Shari'a law alongside Nigerian common law is a continued source of tension between Muslims and Christians.

As devastating as the various religious-based conflicts in Nigeria have been, they pale in comparison to the results of the civil war that took place between 1967 and 1970. The Nigerian civil war (also called the Biafran Secession, the War of Nigerian Unity, and the Biafran War) resulted in more than 100,000 battle deaths (Sarkees 2000). Estimates of the total death toll vary widely, with some estimates as high as 2 million (Doyle and Sambanis 2000). Many of the civilian fatalities were from starvation as a result of the shortages that occurred during the war and the government blockade of insurgent-held areas. Relief agencies did their best to provide aid to those in need (see sidebar, "The Relief Effort: Highs and Lows"). In addition, more than 500,000 civilians became refugees or internally displaced persons (IDPs) as a result of the war.

As is the case with the civil wars of the 1980s, Nigeria's deadliest conflict has its roots in the colonial era. The formally distinct territories, amalgamated under colonial rule, that make up present-day Nigeria are among the most ethnically diverse in the world. Many of these territories possessed an administrative apparatus strong enough to exist as states for hundreds of

The Relief Effort: Highs and Lows

The effects of both the war itself and the blockade imposed by the Nigerian government took a heavy toll on civilians in Biafra. As the war lingered on, the UNHCR estimated that more than 3 million children in Biafra were in danger of starving (Goetz 2001). In response to the crisis, several international relief organizations attempted to deliver food and supplies to civilians in Biafra. The relief effort had mixed results.

On the positive side, relief organizations delivered as much as 500 tons of food and supplies into Biafra daily in what became known as the Biafran Airlift. The size and scope of the relief effort was the largest undertaken since World War II (De St Jorre 1972, 238). Catholic and Protestant relief organizations, at times in coordination with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), were involved in the relief effort. It is clear that these supplies saved countless civilians from starvation.

At the same time, owing to both a lack of funds and a lack of supplies, smaller relief agencies were often forced to book space on the same aircraft that were smuggling arms into Biafra. The Nigerian government believed that arms shipments disguised as humanitarian aid shipments were a boon to the rebellion. The government placed a ban on nighttime flights in Biafra and shot down a Swedish ICRC aircraft. The ICRC made the critical mistake of sending the same negotiator to both sides of the dispute in an attempt to secure safe passage for relief flights. Each belligerent party suspected the ICRC of working for the other side (De St. Jorre, 1972; Goetz, 2001).

years before the British arrived in the 1800s. Today, Nigeria is made up of more than 250 distinct ethnic groups, none of which can claim majority status (Badru 1998, 2). The three most populous ethnic groups are the Hausa–Fulani, who constitute approximately 29 percent of the population, the Yoruba, who make up 21 percent of all Nigerians, and the Ibo (also called Igbo) who make up about 18 percent of the Nigerian population (CIA 2005). Each of the three major

ethnic groups tends to dominate in one portion of the country. The Ibo tend to dominate the east, the Yoruba the west, and the Hausa–Fulani the north.

In addition to the fact that the British indirectly ruled northern Nigeria and directly ruled southern Nigeria, the politicization of identity under colonial rule helped to create an ongoing rivalry between the three principal ethnic groups. For example, the MacPherson constitution, introduced in 1951, militated against future stability by creating a federation with a Northern Region larger than the Eastern and Western Regions. Even before the various constitutional conferences that took place in Nigeria, attempts by Christian missionaries to identify and cultivate distinct language patterns in Nigeria created more unified ethnic in-groups in areas with formerly distinct languages (Wunsch 2003, 17). In addition, the British arbitrarily assigned population figures to each region in a fashion that once again favored the north (Nwachuku 2004, 14). Intense regionalism, cultivated by the British but also favored by the Hausa–Fulani, ensured that it would be very difficult to unite Nigeria politically in the postcolonial era.

At the onset of the Nigerian civil war in July 1967, the government was able to call on more than 150,000 troops (Niven 1971, 131). By the end of the war, the Nigerian Armed forces consisted of over 250,000 troops. Though the total rebel military strength is more difficult to calculate, it is estimated that the Biafran Army may have reached a maximum strength of around 100,000 troops (Niven 1971, 131). In addition to its numerical superiority, the Nigerian government also possessed superior arms and equipment. For example, the Biafran army relied on but two aircraft, a B-26 and a B-25 (De St. Jorre 1972, 150). Although the government air force was not at the pinnacle of modernity, it did possess a larger number of newer aircraft. Pilots from Egypt, as well as mercenary pilots, tilted the air advantage even more in the government's favor.

Table 1: Civil War in Nigeria

War:	Biafran separatists vs. government
Dates:	July 3, 1967–January 13, 1970
Casualties:	100,000 (military); more than 1 million (civilian)
Regime type prior to war:	–7 (military dictatorship). Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data—ranging from –10 (authoritarian) to 10 (democracy)
Regime type after war:	–7 (military dictatorship). Polity 2 variable in Polity IV data—ranging from –10 (authoritarian) to 10 (democracy)
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$820 (constant 1967 dollars)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$1,066 (constant 1975 dollars)
Insurgents:	Biafran separatists (most from Ibo ethnic group)
Issues:	Ethnic identification; regional autonomy; oil revenues
Rebel funding:	Internal donations; limited arms support from France, Côte d’Ivoire, Gabon, Israel, Spain, and Portugal
Role of geography:	Rebel coastline vulnerable; wet conditions slowed government forces; little topographic shelter from air attack
Role of resources:	Oil blockade of Biafra region by government naval forces
Immediate outcome:	Government military victory
Outcome after 5 years:	Lingering tension, but rebel army and civilian integration
Role of UN:	Not applicable
Role of regional organization:	Limited reconciliation attempts by the OAU and commonwealth
Refugees:	500,000 total refugees and IDPs
Prospects for peace:	Uncertain (two other civil wars based on religion)

Sources: Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Heston, Summers, and Aten 2002.

The Insurgents

It is common, in the context of civil war, to think of insurgents as groups of guerrilla warriors fighting an unconventional war while holding little, if any, significant territory. In the case of the Nigerian civil war, however, it is much more accurate to think of the insurgents as regionally based military and political elites. Lieutenant Colonel (later General) Chukwue-meka Odumegwu Ojukwu, who led the Biafran secession, was a regional governor. As a result of his regional base of power, Ojukwu enjoyed significant control over media in the Eastern Region—access to resources and a level of popularity seldom enjoyed by insurgent leaders (Aborisode and Mundt 2002, 17). In this sense, General Ojukwu’s position could be more closely associated with that of General Robert E. Lee in the American Civil War rather than the “classic” African civil war that pitted government troops against guerrilla forces (as in Angola or South Africa, for example).

In addition to Ojukwu, several other key figures played roles in the Biafran secession. Many of these individuals were among Nigeria’s intellectual elite. One of the legacies of direct colonial rule in the east and west is that the Nigerian bureaucracy tended to be dominated by Ibos, who had access to European-style education during the colonial period. For example, Chinua Achebe, an Ibo novelist, was one of the chief architects of the effective Biafran propaganda machine.

The Ibo also attempted to win the support of other ethnic minority groups by appointing regional minorities to Biafran government and important military posts. N. U. Akpan, an Ibo, was appointed chief secretary of the Biafran government (De St. Jorre 1972, 13). Victor Banjo, a Yoruba, led the Biafran military in the midwest. Although the Biafran secession is often thought of as an Ibo secession, it is important to recognize that Biafra was as ethnically diverse as the remainder of Nigeria. For example, the strategic Niger Delta is inhabited primarily by

the Kalabari and Ogoni ethnic groups (Niven 1971, 25). Although these groups were part of Biafra when it seceded from Nigeria, the perception, even within Biafra, that the Ibo had the most to gain from the civil war had an adverse impact on the secessionist movement.

Ojukwu's position as the leader of a regional military government and, later, of a declared independent state provided the Biafran movement with other advantages as well. Because the area controlled by the secessionists included the bulk of Nigerian oil reserves as well as Nigeria's only oil refinery, Biafran control over millions of dollars in oil revenues was a distinct possibility. Royal Dutch Shell, the petroleum concern with the greatest stake in Biafra, was much more interested in keeping the oil flowing than in taking sides in the conflict (De St. Jorre 1972, 139). The Nigerian government, however, was concerned both with the potential source of revenue to the breakaway region and the legitimacy that the receipt of oil royalty payments would confer on the Biafran secessionist movement. As a result, the government used its limited naval forces to blockade the Biafran coast and launch an attack on the oil city of Bonny.

Despite the blockade, Ibo-dominated Biafra was able to take advantage of its border with Cameroon and the dearth of government naval capability to smuggle goods onto the international market and arms into Biafra. Although estimates of the amount of revenue generated by smuggling are unavailable, it does appear that black market activity generated enough revenue to sustain the secessionists during much of the war (De St. Jorre 1972, 142). In addition, it is important to recognize that the Nigerian civil war cut off the government-controlled areas of the country from their major supply of coal (which was in Biafran territory).

In addition, to the revenue generated from smuggling activities, Biafra received the armaments necessary to fight the war from France, South Africa, Israel, and Portugal (Falola 1999, 122). As the conflict intensified and the effects of the government blockade began to show, Biafra

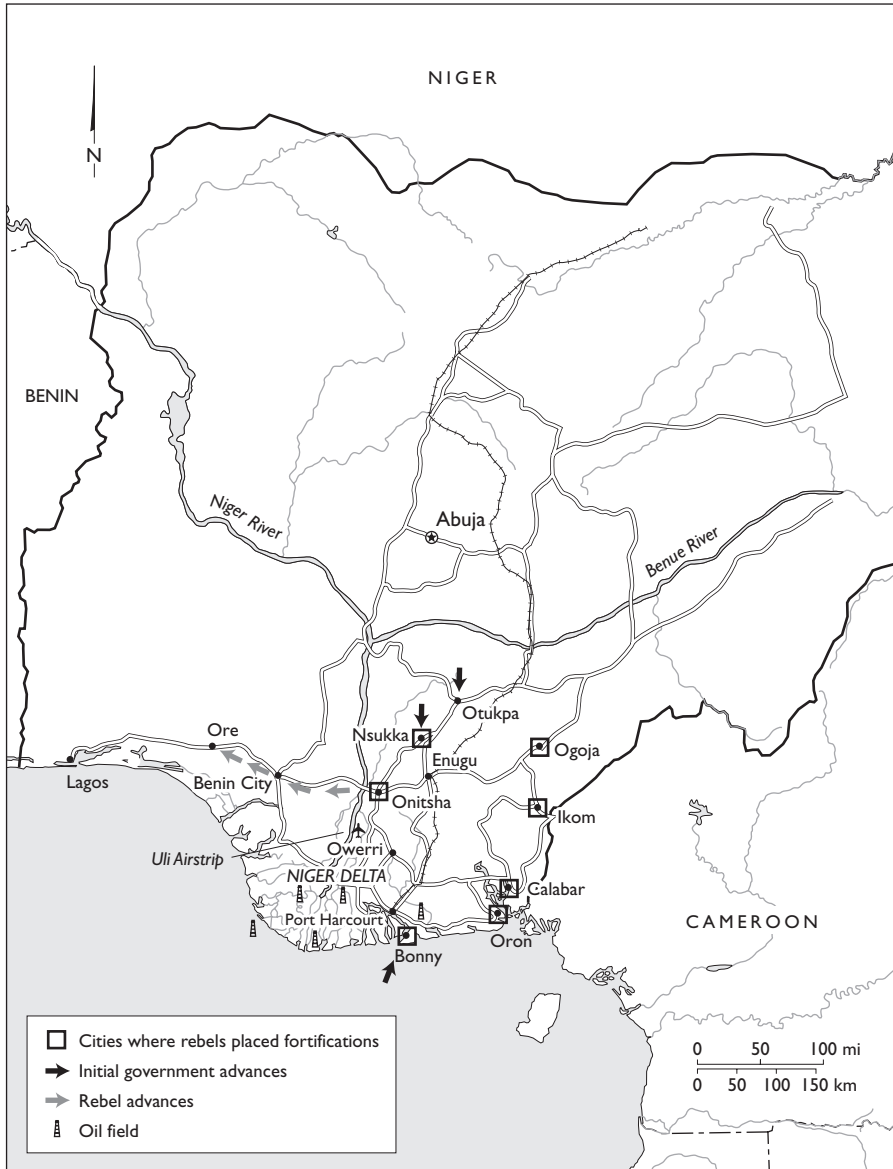
relied on aid from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and other international relief organizations to secure necessary food, medicines, and resources for the general population. In addition, many of these resources were funneled to the military to sustain the secessionist movement.

Geography

The Eastern Region of Nigeria, which was proclaimed the Republic of Biafra in 1967, has a diverse geography. The western boundary of Biafra was defined by the Niger River and its delta in the south. The most populous city in the south central portion of the republic was Port Harcourt. To the southeast of Port Harcourt, the city of Bonny on the Gulf of Guinea was the home of Nigeria's only oil refinery. To the east, Biafra was defined by its border with Cameroon. A government publication from 1967 lists the northern border as roughly corresponding to 7 degrees north latitude (Government of the Republic of Biafra 1967). The total population of the Republic of Biafra at the outbreak of the civil war in 1967 was approximately 13 million (De St. Jorre 1972, 15).

The geography of Biafra played a key role in the Nigerian civil war. Recall that Nigeria's oil reserves, by far the country's most lucrative resource, are concentrated in the area around the Niger Delta. Had the Biafran secession been successful, these resources would have been primarily in the hands of the new republic. At the same time, the concentration of oil near Nigeria's coast made it essential for the winning side to have naval superiority. Since the government was the only participant in the civil war with naval capabilities, it was able to take advantage of Biafran geography by employing a blockade from the sea.

In 1967, the network of roads and railways in Biafra was more developed than in any other part of Nigeria (Niven 1971, 108). This fact had both positive and negative consequences for the Biafran armed forces. On one hand, it is easier to conduct resupply missions when there is a well-developed transportation infrastructure. Conversely, it was also easier for government forces



to gain ground once they had advanced beyond the initial Biafran defenses. Like many road networks in Africa, however, many of the roads in Biafra were subject to washout during periods of heavy rain.

Tactics

Conventional tactics dominated the strategies employed by both the government military and the Biafran military during early stages of the

Nigerian civil war. Later in the war, as the government forces asserted their conventional dominance, the rebel army adopted guerrilla tactics. The secessionists' initial preference for conventional tactics is not surprising, given the secessionist nature of the conflict. In addition, military leaders in the east were not convinced that the government army would have the discipline, training, and leadership necessary to win. Preparation for the impending war accelerated rapidly

in August 1966 after the government withdrew all noneastern members of the armed forces from the city of Enugu (Atofarati 1992).

Biafran military leaders deployed their armed forces to counter a direct frontal assault by government forces. The main initial goal of the Biafran armed forces was to defend key cities, resources, and transportation infrastructure. The secessionists took up a major position on the rail line that runs from the northern border to the city of Port Harcourt. In addition, the rebels took positions around the cities of Nsukka and Ogoja in the north, Calabar and Oron in the east, and Onitsha on the Niger River in the west. Overall, the Biafrans placed three infantry battalions in the north, one in the central portion of the country, and three more in the south and southwest (Atofarati 1992). Finally, the Biafran army used intelligence gained from various sources to determine the most likely routes that the Nigerian armed forces would use to attack.

The secessionists also attempted to develop the human infrastructure necessary to engage in a conventional war. The rebel military government created departments to maintain the distribution of food and clothing to the military and civilians during the war. They collected donations from the populace to finance food, equipment, and arms purchases (Atofarati 1992). The rebels also trained women as spies to infiltrate government territory and gain critical intelligence. Unfortunately, food shortages during the war led to mass starvation in many areas of rebel-held territory.

The rebel deployment at Onitsha was to lead to one of the major turning points in the war. On August 9, 1967, after more than a month of defensive skirmishes in which the Biafran forces seemed to be giving ground and regrouping deeper in Biafran territory, General Ojukwu ordered a surprise attack across the Niger River at Onitsha and into government territory in the midwest (Niven 1971, 115). By the end of the day, much of what had been the Midwest Territory was under the control of Biafran commanders. It had taken approximately 1,000 sol-

diers to accomplish the task (De St. Jorre 1972, 154). In addition, the Biafran forces used their limited air-strike capability to bomb Lagos on the same day as the invasion of the midwest. After advancing into the Midwest Territory, the Biafran forces advanced from Benin City to Ore, where they stopped for an unknown reason. This provided the government with enough time to mobilize a counteroffensive. The government sent several battalions from Lagos, which was a little more than 100 miles away. Ultimately, the government forces drove the rebels back into Biafran territory.

The midwest offensive was a wake-up call for the government forces, which had not anticipated the move. From that point forward, the government forces continued to tighten their naval blockade. In addition, the government widened its offensive and was quickly in control of several key cities. Had the Biafran forces succeeded in the midwestern offensive, it may well have changed the dimensions of the entire conflict by endangering the capital city of Lagos (Niven 1971, 118). However, the failure of the Biafran forces to consolidate their gains resulted in renewed fervor on the part of the government forces.

Although military tactics were important to the Biafran secessionist movement, it was clear at the outset that diplomatic tactics would be the key element in a successful rebellion. If the Biafran military could hold out long enough to gain sympathy and recognition, the government might be forced to the negotiating table by international pressure. Ojukwu and other Biafran leaders believed that the oil companies would rapidly pressure their home governments into pushing for a negotiated settlement (Falola 1999, 122). The basic plan was to force private firms operating in Biafra to declare their allegiance to one side or the other in the war. The secessionists were convinced that basic greed would convince the oil companies to support Biafra, especially since the Biafrans were prepared to offer more favorable deals to the oil companies.



Biafrans wait for aid in July 1968. Widespread famine gripped the area during the civil war between Nigeria and the secessionist region of Biafra. (Kurt Strumpf/AP/Wide World Photos)

Besides the oil companies, the separatists attempted to forge relationships with some of Nigeria's enemies. Many West African nations feared Nigeria's size and potential power. The white minority-rule regimes in Southern Africa might be convinced to take steps that would weaken the hegemony of one of the most outspoken critics of apartheid in South Africa and white majority rule in Rhodesia. The fact that the Soviet Union was a major supporter of the government might convince the British and the United States to reconsider or at least soften their position on Nigerian unity. Israel was another target of Biafran attempts to gain diplomatic legitimacy and access to the arms necessary to continue fighting. Biafran leaders hoped the Egyptian involvement on the side of the government would entice Israel to offer recognition and support to Biafra. Finally, Biafra heavily courted French diplomatic recognition and military support. France had been one of the major players in

the scramble for Africa and had competed vigorously with Great Britain for colonial holdings. In addition, many of the Francophone states of western and eastern Africa were targets of the Biafran diplomatic machine for the same reason.

Unfortunately for the secessionists, foreign support of the Nigerian government has been cited as a key reason for the failure of the separatist movement in Biafra (Nwachuku 2004, 36). The oil companies, although they may have been able to extract more favorable terms from a successful Biafran government, were concerned above all with maintaining their oil revenues. Since the government forces had an effective blockade of the Biafran coast, it was clear that the only way to keep the oil flowing was to cooperate with the government. The most the Biafran movement received was a stated policy of neutrality from the oil companies.

The secessionists were slightly more successful in gaining some level of diplomatic recogni-

tion. Tanzania, Zambia, Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, and Haiti all recognized the Biafran declaration of independence from Nigeria (Falola 1999, 123). However, many countries in Africa were concerned about granting recognition to a breakaway republic that was dominated by a single ethnic group. The Organization of African Unity (OAU), which is currently called the African Union (AU), holds as one of its key principles the maintenance of colonial borders. Because Africa is ethnically diverse, many countries view the maintenance of colonial boundaries in the postindependence era as vital to avoid the breakdown of African countries into territorially insignificant states. France was also unwilling to formally recognize Biafra, though it did provide a sort of quasi-recognition through its surrogate, Côte d'Ivoire.

Recall that one of the principal tactics of the rebels was to attempt to force the government to the negotiating table to sue for peace. The Biafrans were able to convince the OAU to take up the issue of Biafra in September 1967. The OAU formed a consultative committee to discuss the conflict. However, only one of the members of the committee, Ghana, had any sympathy for the Biafran cause (De St. Jorre 1972, 191). In May 1968, the two belligerent parties also met at a conference in Kampala, the capital city of Uganda. There is evidence that some countries, most noteworthy Zambia, recognized Biafra in advance of the Kampala talks in order to force Nigeria to seek a peaceful solution to the conflict (De St. Jorre 1972, 199). As it turned out, however, Biafra's diplomatic victories only served to inject false hope into the secessionist movement.

The ability of Biafran diplomats to secure access to international arms transfers was also mixed and limited. France supplied a small number of Panhard armored cars to the rebels (De St. Jorre 1972, 215). Gabon sent light armaments, which were in turn replaced by France. Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) also provided light armaments as well as rockets for the B-26 bomber. The rockets were subsequently used in the air raid of Lagos. Israel provided So-

viet guns that it captured during the Six Days' War (De St Jorre 1972, 219). Spain and Portugal also provided limited assistance. The secessionists also resorted to building their own armored vehicles out of industrial equipment and farm machinery.

It is widely known that, in addition to arms transfers, mercenaries were a source of potential military strength for the secessionists. In the final analysis, however, mercenaries played a relatively small role in the war. Part of this was because the Biafran forces were suspicious of mercenaries after having fought against many of them as part of the Nigerian military contingent dispatched to fight in the Congo. In addition, many mercenaries were reluctant to come to Biafra because there was a distinct possibility that they would be called on to fight against "brothers in arms" hired by the government (De St. Jorre 1972, 313). Ironically, the main role played by mercenaries during the war may have been the failure of government mercenary pilots to destroy the makeshift Uli Airstrip, which was located about halfway between the cities Onitsha and Oguta (see sidebar, "The Relief Effort: Highs and Lows").

At the same time, the Nigerian government enjoyed more direct, more tangible success on the diplomatic front. The key Nigerian ally during the conflict was the Soviet Union. The Soviets had been displeased with General Ironsi's decision to arrest those responsible for the original 1966 coup (Matusevich 2003, 109). General Gowon, who took power in the subsequent countercoup, recognized that Soviet support would be vital if the east ever seceded. As it became increasingly clear to Gowon that the east would revolt, he attempted to solicit Soviet support directly by dispatching diplomats to Moscow to "inspect the embassy" (De St. Jorre 1972, 181). In fact, of course, the Nigerian delegation was there to discuss an arms deal.

The Soviets responded with more support than the Biafrans were to receive from any of their allies. First, the Soviets provided two Czech Delphin L-29 jet fighters. Soon, the Soviets provided

Mercenaries, the Uli Airstrip, and the Prolonged Civil War

The Uli Airstrip was the most important link between Biafra and the outside world during the Nigerian civil war. Most of the major airfields in Biafra were captured by government forces early in the war. Had the Nigerian government destroyed the Uli Airstrip, the war and the humanitarian catastrophe that accompanied it probably would have ended very quickly. Unfortunately, the government was dependent on mercenary pilots who were skilled enough to target the airport at night. When mercenaries working for the government refused to destroy the airport, Biafra was able to continue its resistance (De St. Jorre 1972, 318).

Why were the mercenary pilots unwilling to strike an obvious military target? There are two basic reasons. First, the mercenaries working for the government knew that relief planes would be flying into the Uli Airstrip at night. It was not the cargo of these planes that concerned the mercenaries; instead, it was the pilots. Many of the pilots who transported relief supplies to Biafra were also mercenaries hired by various relief organizations. As many of the relief mercenaries had worked with the government mercenaries in the Congo, there was a gentlemen's agreement that mercenaries would not intentionally target each other.

In addition, there was a basic financial incentive not to destroy the airport. Mercenaries from both sides knew that the end of the Uli Airstrip would mark the end of the rebellion. In this context, the destruction of Uli would have been bad for business. In the end, the rebels used the Uli Airstrip successfully until the last days of the war. Although the airstrip allowed valuable assistance to reach starving people, it also was a key factor in allowing the rebellion to last well beyond what most observers expected. The irony of Uli, as critical as it was to the final outcome, is one of the more poorly documented events of the war (De St. Jorre 1972).

six more L-29s, along with more than ten MiG-15 and MiG-17 fighter trainers (Matusevich 2003, 114). Soviet proxies in Eastern Europe also provided technical assistance and additional equipment. Eventually, the Soviets supplied the Nigerian military with a wide variety of armaments, including “MiG-17 fighters, Ilyushin bombers, heavy artillery, vehicles and small arms” (De St. Jorre 1972, 182). Finally, the Soviets provided Egyptian pilots to fly some of the aircraft and technical assistance to improve Nigerian industrial development.

In spite of their successes with the Soviets, the United States and Great Britain were not as directly supportive as the Nigerian government had hoped. The United States almost immediately imposed an arms embargo on both sides, and the British refused to sell arms to the government. It was clear, however, that the British ultimately supported the idea of Nigerian unity. As it turned out, the fact that many states declared official neutrality in the conflict hurt the Biafrans far more than it hurt the government.

Given its diplomatic and military advantage, the government announced its belief that the war would be over within a month. The basic military strategy was to capture first the city of Nsukka and then the cities of Ogoja, Abakaliki, and finally Enugu (Atofarati 1992). These victories would be enough to force the capitulation of secessionist forces. In July 1967, the Nigerian armed forces began their offensive by advancing on the main roads toward the fortified cities of Nsukka and Ogoja. Though the Biafrans had initial success in defending these cities, the government forces used intelligence gathered from local sources to refine their strategy (Atofarati 1992). As a result, government forces quickly overran the cities of Nsukka and Ogoja. When the Nigerian First Infantry Battalion took the city of Enugu in October 1967, the government assumed that the rebellion would collapse. By the end of the same month, government forces had also occupied the key city of Calabar.

As the government army advanced deeper into Biafran territory, the rebels began to draw on

more unconventional tactics. They began to use their superior knowledge of the terrain to temporarily cut government supply lines when they became overextended. The rebels also began to use improvised land mines made from scrap metal placed in milk cartons with small amounts of explosives (De St. Jorre 1972, 206). The rebels also booby-trapped oil tanker trucks to explode at the approach of government forces. Each of these measures, while successful in slowing the Nigerian military advance, also created dangerous conditions for Biafran civilians. In May 1968, General Ojukwu formally announced that the rebels would now fight the war using guerrilla tactics rather than conventional ones. In the same month, in a speech commemorating the first anniversary of Biafran independence, Ojukwu declared, "For these values and principles we are willing to endure our present hardship. Let us individually resolve to shape our own lives to accord with these objectives of our nation" (Government of the Republic of Biafra 1993, 235).

Causes of the War

It would be easy enough to argue that the Nigerian civil war was little more than an ethnic conflict between Ibos and non-Ibos (especially the Hausa–Fulani). Although it is true that Nigeria's ethnic diversity played a role in causing the conflict, it is also apparent that other factors were involved. One need only examine the relatively rapid reintegration of Ibo military personnel and civilians into Nigerian economic, social, and political life to understand that the Biafran secession was much more than an ethnic war. Although there were several key historical events that pushed Nigeria toward civil war, it is argued here that there were three key proximate causes of the conflict. The first of these was the politicization of ethnic identity, first by the British and then by independent Nigeria. The second proximate cause was the militarization of Nigerian politics. The third proximate cause of the war was the unequal distribution of resources, especially oil, within the country.

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, the British played a key role in the politicization of ethnic identity in Nigeria. The combination of the British protectorates into a single political entity in 1914 resulted in a mix of indirectly ruled and directly ruled territory. The results of direct colonial rule provided ethnic groups in the south, especially the Ibo, with superior education and health care. It is not surprising, in this context, that the Ibo came to dominate the Nigerian civil service in the postindependence era. At the same time, the failure of the British to adjust administrative boundaries after the protectorate merger gave the Hausa–Fulani control over more territory than all the other ethnic groups combined.

Politicization of ethnic identity emerged in the developing Nigerian political party system before independence. The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), formed in 1944, was designed to be a national party aimed at securing independence for Nigeria. However, the Yoruba and Ibo members of the party quickly began to suspect each other of attempting to dominate the NCNC (Amoda 1972, 19). A civil war between the two rival ethnic groups was narrowly averted. The Yoruba responded by forming the Action Group (AG) to coordinate policy in the Western Region. The Hausa–Fulani-dominated Northern Region formed the Northern People's Congress (NPC). The NCNC remained the key party in the Ibo-dominated Eastern Region.

In 1959, elections were held under British observation to determine the political makeup of government in the postindependence era. The NPC won 134 seats, the AG seventy-three, and the NCNC eighty-nine. Although the NCNC could have formed a coalition with the AG based on the north–south divide, the NCNC instead became the junior partner in coalition with the NPC. The NCNC made this decision in part because Ibo party leaders viewed political payoffs in the south as a zero-sum game between the Yoruba-led AG and NCNC (Falola 1999, 102). The fact that no strong national party ever

emerged in prewar Nigeria, coupled with the ethnic character of the three dominant parties, is clear evidence of politicized ethnic identity.

One of the first postindependence manifestations of ethnic politicization was the census crisis of 1962. Nigeria's first Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, announced that there would be a new census, designed to update the British figures of 1953. The completed census suggested that the population in the Northern Region had grown by 30 percent, while the Western and Eastern Regions had grown by more than 70 percent (Nwankwo and Ifejika 1970, 47). Had the census results stood, there would have been a major shift in power within Nigeria toward the south. However, the government, which was controlled by the NPC, recalculated the growth rate for the Northern Region at 80 percent, placing the Hausa–Fulani in a position of dominance once again. After the AG and NCNC threatened a parliamentary walkout, all census results were annulled. A subsequent census produced similar results. The census figures ensured both political dominance by the north and a revenue allocation formula that would benefit the north at the expense of the east, west and midwest.

Politicized identities, however, are but one of the causes of the Nigerian civil war. The militarization of Nigerian politics is another critical factor. Beckett and Young (1997) refer to a “permanent transition” to democracy in Nigeria. In the permanent transition, the military reluctantly intervened to rid Nigeria of the problems of corrupt civilian government. However, it is never clear exactly when the military intends to go back to the barracks. Whenever there is actual or perceived instability in the country, the threat of military intervention looms large.

In Nigeria, the politicization of the military began before independence. Because of direct colonial rule in much of the south, well-trained Ibo officers occupied a majority of officer positions. In the postindependence era, the Northern Region worried about Ibo domination of the armed forces. As a result, the government insti-

tuted a quota policy designed to redress the inequities in the armed forces. Before the quota, the Eastern Region accounted for approximately 45 percent of all officers, and the Northern Region accounted for roughly 32 percent. After the imposition of the quota, the proportions reversed (Peters 1997, 80). Although the quota created a national military that was more reflective of census figures, it also resulted in a less professional, more politicized armed forces. The perception in the Eastern Region was that the Northern Region was attempting to erode one of the few areas of Ibo breathing space in Nigerian politics.

One of the roots of the Nigerian civil war can be traced to the military intervention in Nigerian politics that occurred in 1966. An earlier crisis in the Western Region had resulted in a split within the AC and, ultimately, the formation of the Midwest Region. The Midwest Region struck a political bargain with the Northern Region and agreed to certify the disputed census figures in exchange for government aid. Irregularities in the 1964 general election and the 1965 regional election in the west created a constitutional crisis (Falola 1999, 106). All these factors weakened the Nigerian state and created conditions that were ripe for a military takeover. In January 1966, a military coup led by junior officers (code-named Operation Leopard) ultimately resulted in the assumption of power by General Ironsi (De St. Jorre. 1972, 30–40). It was this military intervention that started a series of tragic events that led to the Nigerian civil war.

Most military coups, of course, do not lead to civil wars. In the case of Nigeria, however, the politicization of ethnicity combined with the politicization of the military and the subsequent militarization of Nigerian politics to produce deadly results. In spite of evidence to the contrary, the Northern Region saw the January 1966 coup as an attempt to achieve Ibo domination of Nigeria. Ironsi's decision to declare Nigeria a unitary republic, as well as his decision not to harshly punish the coup instigators, did little to allay this fear. In addition, the polit-

ical and military officials who were killed in the coup were predominately non-Ibo.

In July 1966, Lieutenant Colonel Gowon launched a successful counter coup. However, the Ibo military, led by Ojukwu, was able to maintain control in the Eastern Region. At the same time, groups of loosely organized northern militia began hunting down and killing Ibo who happened to live in the north. It is estimated that more than 30,000 Ibo were killed during the reprisals, and another 2 million Ibo were permanently displaced (Waugh and Cronjé 1969, 37). Most of those who were displaced fled to the Eastern Region. Political intervention by the Nigerian military, coupled with the politics of ethnic fear and hatred, had left Ojukwu in a position of power in the Eastern Region. Ojukwu could claim, with some accuracy, that he was the only person capable of protecting the east. He could also claim that the only way for the Eastern Region to avoid a repeat of the events of 1966 was to secede.

In addition to the roles played by militarization and politicization of ethnic identity, the uneven distribution of resources in Nigeria was also a major factor in the Eastern Region's decision to withdraw from Nigeria. As noted earlier, the results of the disputed Nigerian census enabled the Northern Region to justify the redistribution of wealth in ways that would tend to benefit the Hausa–Fulani. The Ibo and Yoruba, of course, were aware of this. Royalties from the Dutch and French oil companies operating in the Niger Delta pumped millions of dollars into the Nigerian economy. Ojukwu clearly believed that control of the oil resources in the southeast could make Biafra a viable independent state.

Oil was not the only economic factor to contribute to the war, however. During the 1950s and 1960s, one of the most attractive career paths for university-educated students was the Nigerian civil service. Since the south tended to be more educated than the north, southerners, especially Ibo, tended to dominate the civil service. After independence, however, the quota system used to achieve balance in the military was

also applied to the Nigerian civil service. As a result, there was widespread discontent among young southern intellectuals, who felt as though they were being passed over in favor of less-qualified northerners (Nafziger 1982, 77). This, in turn, forced those who were university educated to seek regional positions. It is no surprise, then, that many of the key figures in the Biafran secession were young, well-educated elites. Given the three major factors highlighted previously, it is evident that the Nigerian civil war was much more than a product of simple ethnic grievances.

In January 1967, Ojukwu and Gowon met in Aburi Ghana in a last attempt to resolve their differences. Ojukwu argued that the existing federal arrangement should be replaced with a loose confederation. Gowon proposed maintaining the existing federal structure. In addition, Gowon proposed the addition of eight new states. Two of these states, located in what was the Eastern Region, in effect would have diluted Ibo power and removed Ibo influence over the oil reserves (De St. Jorre 1972, 142). This was more than Ojukwu would stand for. On July 3, 1967, the Nigerian civil war began.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

Without the groundswell of international recognition and support that the rebels had hoped for, it was clear that the Nigerian government forces would ultimately prevail. In the period from December 1969 through January 1970, government forces began to converge on the last rebel strongholds around the cities of Oguta, Orlu, and Nnewi in the western portion of Biafra. The First Division of the government army converged with the Third Division on the Uli Airstrip (De St. Jorre 1972, 394–95). The key city of Owerri, which had been the fallback capital of Biafra, fell on January 8. Finally, General Ojukwu fled Biafra for Côte d'Ivoire via the Uli Airstrip just before it was seized by government forces. On January 12, 1970, Major General

Philip Effiong, acting in place of General Ojukwu, called upon the Biafran rebels to end the fighting. The Nigerian civil war formally ended the following day, when Effiong surrendered to General Gowon. The final result of the war was a complete government victory. Although the war ended with the unconditional surrender of the rebels, the Nigerian government opted for a strategy of reconciliation rather than punishment (De St. Jorre 1972, 407). There were no mass trials of rebel military leaders, and many members of the Biafran military were reintegrated into the Nigerian army.

Refugee repatriation was a more difficult matter. The conflict created more than 500,000 refugees and internally displaced persons. As the government army advanced deeper into rebel-held territory, people living in threatened cities usually withdrew deeper into Biafra with the secessionist army. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), more than 30,000 children were displaced as a result of the conflict (Goetz 2001). By February 1971, those children who had been forced to flee Nigeria were effectively repatriated (Goetz 2001). Many Ibo who lived in Port Harcourt, where Ibo were a minority, left or were forced out during the war and never returned (Nwachuku 2004, 40). However, most IDPs in Ibo-majority areas were able to return to their cities and villages after the war. Soldiers or people simply searching for food, however, had pillaged many of their homes.

Duration Tactics

The Nigerian civil war lasted much longer than the one month originally anticipated by the government. Several factors combined to prolong the war. First, the rebel army, as mentioned above, was well prepared for the initial government advance. Although government forces were successful in their initial military objectives, the rebels simply fell back to established rendezvous points. Nigerian supply lines were also spread thin by the rebel incursion into the Midwest Region. This enabled rebel forces peri-

odically to cut the government's supply lines by vanishing in the face of direct attack and reappearing behind government lines.

The switch from conventional to guerrilla tactics also probably prolonged the war. The makeshift land mines and booby traps mentioned earlier almost certainly slowed the government advance. The government was prepared to fight a conventional war based on controlling key cities and pieces of territory. The government was not as prepared to fight an enemy that seemed to vanish in front of them after the initial phases of the war. Knowledge of terrain also benefited the rebels in their efforts to slow the government advance.

External Military Intervention

There was no blatant external intervention in the Nigerian civil war by other states. The Soviets chose to aid the Nigerian government indirectly, providing Egyptian pilots to fly Soviet MiGs. No country chose to dispatch troops directly to Biafra. Mercenaries from various states participated in the conflict but without sanction from a specific state. Material support from the Soviets, coupled with a general lack of international support for Biafra, tipped the scales even further in the government's favor.

Conflict Management Efforts

Conflict management efforts were unsuccessful in limiting or shortening the Nigerian civil war. The OAU eliminated its ability to be an effective mediator by endorsing a status quo policy (De St. Jorre 1972, 192). Although there were several attempts by potential mediators to bring the two parties to the negotiating table, only the talks held in Kampala, Uganda, in May 1968 had any chance of success. The talks were arranged by Arnold Smith, a Canadian diplomat and secretary-general of the commonwealth (De St. Jorre 1972, 193). Almost immediately, it became clear that the two belligerent parties were too far apart to reach a political settlement. The rebels enumerated three basic demands: (1) immediate cessation of all fighting, (2) immediate removal

of the economic blockade by the government, and (3) withdrawal of all troops to their prewar positions (Government of the Republic of Biafra 1993, 231). The rebels also proposed an international monitoring force to oversee compliance with their terms.

The government countered with its own twelve-point proposal. The following is a summary of each point, based on Government of the Republic of Biafra (1993, 232–33).

1. A cease-fire day would be set.
2. A cease-fire hour would be set.
3. Before the cease-fire, the rebel army would renounce secession in exchange for the cessation of government hostilities.
4. Troops would be frozen in their current positions as of the cease-fire hour.
5. The federal army would accompany observers and Ibo police officers to supervise rebel disarmament.
6. Within seven days after the cease-fire, the rebels would turn over the administration of the breakaway region to the federal government.
7. The federal government would appoint a commission to temporarily administer rebel-held territory. The rebels would have input regarding the membership of a minority of commission members.
8. The police would be responsible for law and order.
9. The federal government would recruit Ibos and integrate them into the federal army.
10. An easterner would be appointed to the Federal Executive Council.
11. The federal government would grant amnesty to rebellion leaders in appropriate cases and general amnesty to other rebellion participants.
12. Both sides would exchange prisoners of war.

The inclusion in the rebel proposal of an immediate military withdrawal, as well as government insistence on renunciation of the secession, effectively eliminated the possibility of a compromise.

Conclusion

The immediate political result of the Nigerian civil war was a clear victory for the government forces and the maintenance of Nigerian unity. Although it appears unlikely that another state will actually attempt to secede, it would be an overstatement to argue that the Nigerian civil war produced enduring stability in Nigeria. Gowon's decision to add eight states to the federal system set in motion a process that ultimately led to the creation of thirty-six states in Nigeria. The problem is that most of these states were created in an effort to satisfy the desires for increased autonomy of Nigerian ethnic minorities. This strategy has been successful in that no region has attempted to secede from Nigeria since the civil war. However, the strategy also produces state-level policies that once again are often based on the politicization of ethnic identity (Suberu 2001, 81). Statehood also provides ethnic minority groups in Nigeria with new opportunities to make redistributive demands on the central government. The recent series of oil-related kidnappings around Port Harcourt demonstrate, in part, the pressures that result from state and local redistributive demands.

It is worth noting that the two smaller-scale civil wars that have occurred since the end of the Biafran secession have been based on the politicization of religion. Nigerian federalism is designed in part to defuse national-level religious conflict by allowing states to integrate aspects of religious law into their judicial processes (Suberu 2001, 4). Many northern states have taken advantage of this by establishing Shari'a courts to preside over Muslims. However, both of the smaller civil wars resulted from a combination of religious conflict between fundamentalist Muslims and more

moderate Muslims, or between fundamentalist Muslims and non-Muslims. One of the keys to maintaining peace in Nigeria is finding a way to protect the rights of non-Muslims in the north. The majority of Muslims in Nigeria appear to favor the application of Islamic law for Muslims only. There are those, however, who would prefer to eliminate the secular legal system entirely.

Nigeria's size, relative military strength, and natural resource base create a great deal of potential for political and economic development. To this point in history, Nigeria has failed to fulfill its enormous promise. The key to avoiding future conflict will be balancing the power of federalism to dilute conflict with ethnic and religious-based federalism's tendency to atomize Nigerian politics. One reason for guarded optimism is the fact that Nigeria made the transition from the kleptocracy of Sani Abacha to a fledgling democracy under Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999. Obasanjo had the military credentials that may be necessary to keep the military from attempting to dominate the political process. Because the militarization of Nigerian politics was one of the three key causes of the civil war, maintaining civilian leadership is almost certainly in the country's best interest.

Trevor Rubenzer

Chronology

- October 1, 1960 Nigeria gains independence from Great Britain.
- 1963 Nigeria becomes a federal republic.
- 1964 Disputed census results finalized; Northern Region's gains allow it to retain redistributive advantage over other regions.
- 1965 Elections in the Western Region turn violent. Midwest Region forms.
- January 1966 General Aguiyi-Ironsi takes power as the result of a coup originally launched by junior officers. Many non-Ibo leaders are killed in the violence.
- May 24, 1966 Ironsi abolishes federal system and replaces it with a unitary republic.
- May 27, 1966 Riots begin in the Northern Region, resulting in the death of Ibo civilians.
- July 28, 1966 A successful countercoup orchestrated by General Gowon leads to the death of Ironsi and many Ibo officers; original federal form of government is restored.
- September 29, 1966 Violence against Ibos in the Northern Region leaves 30,000 dead; surviving Ibo flee to Eastern Region; central government fails to halt the slaughter.
- May 27, 1967 Eastern Region proposes that Nigeria be reorganized as a confederation; Gowon rejects and creates eight new states, bringing the total to twelve; this dilutes Ibo power by creating two new Ibo minority states in what was the Eastern Region.
- May 30, 1967 Eastern Region secedes; takes the name Biafra.
- July 3, 1967 Nigerian civil war begins.
- July 25, 1967 Government forces capture southern coastal city of Bonny.
- August 9, 1967 Rebel troops take key city of Benin in Midwest Region. Biafran armed forces gain control over most of region over the next several days. Federal troops scramble to protect Lagos and plan counteroffensive.
- August 17, 1967 Battle of Ore (a strategic city in the Midwest Region). After several days of fighting, government troops repel rebel advance. Rebels never advanced farther than Ore and were subsequently driven back into Biafra.
- October 1, 1967 Nigerian army occupies strategic Biafran city of Enugu.
- October 18, 1967 Nigerian army occupies the city of Calabar.
- March 21, 1968 Nigerian army occupies city of Onitsha.
- April–May 1968 Tanzania, Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, and Zambia recognize Biafra.
- May 1968 Peace talks in Kampala, Uganda, fail to produce a peaceful settlement.
- May 18, 1968 City of Port Harcourt falls to Nigerian army.
- September 30, 1968 Provincial headquarters in Okigwi captured by Nigerian First Division.
- April 15, 1969 Nigerian army takes city of Bende; rebels defeat federal army at Owerri; Ojukwu makes Owerri the new administrative capital.
- June 1969 Government forces shoot down ICRC relief aircraft at Uli Airstrip. Government argues that relief aircraft are also carrying arms to the rebels.
- July 12, 1969 Relief aircraft downed at Uli Airstrip by Nigerian forces.

- August 1969 Nigerian troops capture city of Ebocha, one of the main rebel refineries.
- December 25, 1969 Federal army establishes corridor between Enugu and Port Harcourt, enabling improved coordination in strategy. Biafra is effectively cut in two. Final rebel offensive.
- January 8, 1970 Owerri falls to Nigerian forces.
- January 10, 1970 Ojukwu flees Biafra for Côte d'Ivoire.
- January 12, 1970 New rebel leader General Effiong calls on the rebels to stop fighting.
- January 14, 1970 Formal surrender by Effiong on behalf of the rebels ends Nigerian civil war.

List of Acronyms

- AG: Action Group
 AU: African Union
 GDP: gross domestic product
 ICRC: International Committee of the Red Cross
 IDP: internally displaced person
 NCNC: National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons
 NPC: Northern People's Congress
 OAU: Organization of African Unity
 UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Glossary

- direct colonial rule:** A policy under which the colonial power assumes near total responsibility for the administration of its colonial dominion. In Nigeria, the Southern Protectorate was administered via a more direct form of colonial rule. As a result, people in the south had more access to the British educational and health systems. This in turn led to domination of the Nigerian bureaucracy by citizens from the south, especially Ibo citizens.
- guerrilla warfare:** Borrowed from the Spanish word for war (*guerra*), guerrilla warfare is a technique that uses small, mobile combat units. Instead of fighting with reference to a front line, guerrilla cells try to attack whenever an opportunity arises. The goal is not to hold territory but to make it costly for the opposing military to continue fighting. In Nigeria, the rebels partially switched to guerrilla tactics after it became clear that they could not win a conventional war.
- indirect colonial rule:** A policy that allows indigenous authorities to administer their

territories directly. Local authorities took direction in turn from the colonial authorities. Colonial power usually does not interfere in day-to-day administrative issues. The British used indirect colonial rule to administer northern Nigeria.

internally displaced person (IDP): Someone who has fled his or her home due to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion or because of armed conflict but who has not crossed an internationally recognized border. During the Nigerian civil war, there were far more internally displaced persons than refugees.

federalism: A form of political organization in which governmental power is divided between a central government and territorial subdivisions. Powers reserved for territorial subdivisions are guaranteed in the country's basic law. Except for a brief period under the rule of General Ironsi, Nigeria has operated as a federal republic. Federalism in Nigeria is designed to defuse conflict, but it also tends to encourage demands based on ethnicity and religion.

Maitatsine riots: Followers of Muhammad Marwa, also known as Maitatsine, initiated riots designed to reject secular government in Nigeria in favor of Shari'a. The resulting violence led to Nigeria's second civil war.

rentier state: A state that derives most or all of its revenue from the sale of oil or other key natural resources. The fact that Nigeria is a rentier state creates tension because oil is not evenly distributed in the country.

Shari'a: Traditional Islamic law, drawn from the Koran and the teachings of the prophet Mohammed. Several northern states have adopted Shari'a law as part of their systems of jurisprudence. Two of Nigeria's three civil wars have been fought over religious issues relating to the application of Shari'a.

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Pakistan (1971)

Introduction

Pakistan, like most postcolonial societies, has struggled to define its national identity. This struggle and its attendant uncertainties have created structural conditions ripe for civil war. During its independent history, Pakistan has experienced subnational challenges from nearly all of its various major ethnic groups. This article focuses on the most violent instance: the secession of East Pakistan to form the independent nation of Bangladesh. The civil war has been the most violent event in Pakistan's history, but it is not the only attempt by a subnational group to claim autonomy.

Country Background

Pakistan is a very diverse and multiethnic country. The major groups in the country are as follows:

Bengalis, who constitute most of the population in East Pakistan and a numerical majority in the former federated Pakistan

Punjabis, who are concentrated in Punjab province, represent a numerical majority in contemporary Pakistan and are the most dominant group politically.

Sindhis, the third-largest group, live in Sindh province and have a fairly active nationalist movement, which was involved

in violent conflict with the government in the 1980s.

Pathans, the fourth-largest group, are concentrated in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and have significant representation in the Pakistani military; Pakistani Pathans also have ethnic ties to Pathans in Afghanistan. Muhajirs, the fifth-largest group, consist of Muslims who moved from India to Pakistan after partition; they are concentrated mostly in urban Sindh.

Baluchis, the smallest group numerically, are concentrated in Baluchistan province; Baluchis have a fairly active nationalist movement, which was involved in violent conflict with the government in the mid-1970s and has been active again under the Musharraf military government. At the time of writing, the civil unrest in Baluchistan threatens to become the biggest challenge of General Musharraf's rule; there are daily reports of attacks by Baluch insurgents and frequent skirmishes between Baluch and government forces.

Conflict Background

The Pakistan civil war lasted from March to December 1971 and claimed very high casualties: an estimated 1 million dead and as many as 10

million displaced refugees. (Estimates of fatalities range from 300,000 to 3 million; Pakistan claims that only 26,000 people died.) The war also witnessed widespread atrocities against women. The war eventually drew Pakistan's archrival India into the conflict, and India's intervention played a decisive role in ending the war in favor of the secessionists. Pakistan's military, which until then had projected a powerful image as national defender and efficient administrative organization and had been in power before the war, suffered a massive blow both militarily as well as in terms of its prestige. Not surprisingly, the humiliation of the Pakistani military allowed a democratic civilian government to be ushered in after war's end.

The Insurgents

Three main groups resisted the Pakistani central government: political leaders, disaffected soldiers, and guerrilla activists. Eventually, these were joined by Indian military personnel, but this was much later when the war had expanded beyond Pakistani borders.

The Bangladeshi independence movement was always guided by the political leadership. Political parties covered the ideological spec-

trum in East Pakistan and included Communists, Islamic parties, liberals, and conservatives. But the nationalist (and secular) Awami League assumed dominance in the political sphere very early, under the leadership of the populist Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Mujib introduced his Six Points demand on March 23, 1966:

1. The Constitution should provide for a Federation of Pakistan in the true sense on the basis of the Lahore Resolution and for a parliamentary form of government based on the supremacy of a directly elected legislature on the basis of universal adult franchise. The representation in the federal legislature shall be on the basis of population.
2. The federal government shall be responsible only for defence and foreign affairs, and currency subject to the conditions provided in (3) below.
3. There shall be two separate currencies mutually or freely convertible in each wing for each region, or in the alternative, a single currency, subject to the establishment of a federal reserve system in which there will be regional federal reserve banks, which shall

Table 1: Civil War in Pakistan

War:	East Pakistan vs. government
Dates:	March 25, 1971–December 16, 1971
Casualties:	300,000 to 3 million estimated
Regime type prior to war:	Military junta
Regime type after war:	Parliamentary democracy
Insurgents:	Mukti Bahini–Mitro Bahini
Issue:	Secessionist movement for territorial independence
Rebel funding:	India
Role of geography:	Rebels hid in neighboring India.
Role of resources:	Negligible
Immediate outcome:	Bangladeshi independence
Outcome after 5 years:	Slide toward military rule
Role of UN:	Negligible
Role of regional organization:	None
Refugees:	10 million, almost all returned within a year
Prospects for peace:	Secessionist movement was successful, ending conflict.

devise measures to prevent the transfer of resources and flight of capital from one region to another.

4. Fiscal policy shall be the responsibility of the federating units. The federal government shall be provided with requisite revenue resource for meeting the requirements of defence and foreign affairs, which revenue sources would be automatically appropriable by the federal government in the manner provided and on the basis of the ratio to be determined by the procedure laid down in the Constitution. Such constitutional provisions would ensure that the federal government's revenue requirements are met consistently with the objective of ensuring control over fiscal policy of the governments of the federating units.
5. Constitutional provisions shall be made to enable separate accounts to be maintained of the foreign exchange earnings of each of the federating units, under the control of the respective governments of the federating units. The foreign exchange requirements of the federal government shall be met by the governments of the federating units on the basis of a ratio to be determined in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution. The regional governments shall have the power under the constitution to negotiate foreign trade and aid within the framework of the foreign policy of the country, which shall be the responsibility of the federal government.
6. The government of the federating units shall be empowered to maintain a militia or para-military force in order to contribute effectively towards national security (Sisson and Rose 1990, 20).

The Six Points crystallized East Pakistanis' resentment and sense of exploitation in national affairs and were soon adopted as the battle cry of the Bengali political leadership, which became unified in the face of an increasingly aggressive West Pakistani government.

Pakistan remained under authoritarian rule for most of its independence until December 1970, when the first national competitive elections were held. Not surprisingly, Mujib's Awami League emerged as the single largest winner in East Pakistan and the overall winner as well; it garnered 167 of 169 seats in East Pakistan (167 out of a total of 313 seats in the combined national parliament). Mujib insisted that his Six Points be accepted as a condition for forming the government.

This was unacceptable to the military ruler, General Yahya Khan, as well as the other civilian politicians. Most notably, the other major contender to power, the Pakistan People's Party, led by the charismatic Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, refused to accept an Awami League government. Certainly, this had to do with basic power politics, in which every party was pushing for maximum advantage. But the psychological and cultural barriers to West Pakistan's acceptance of an East Pakistani government cannot be underestimated (Sisson and Rose 1990).

The failure to form a government produced a protracted period of wrangling and negotiation. On March 3, 1971, Mujib and Bhutto, along with Yahya Khan, met in Dhaka to negotiate a settlement of the political impasse. They failed to reach an agreement, and Mujib called for a general strike. This unleashed a period of popular agitation, which was coupled with a buildup of military personnel in the province (most of them non-Bengali). On March 25, 1971, the Pakistani military moved in to begin a campaign of repression called Operation Searchlight. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested, and masses of people were killed, particularly students and professors. This began a period during which numerous massacres were carried out. (Some observers have argued that

Was It Genocide?

One of the most controversial issues regarding the Pakistani civil war is whether or not genocide occurred during it. Few would deny that the loss of Bangladeshi lives was grievous. Pakistan still maintains that only 26,000 people were killed, but most experts believe that many more died; the estimates range from 300,000 to 3 million. The higher figure probably comes from a statement attributed to General Yahya Khan, who said, "Kill three million of them and the rest will eat out of our hands" (Payne 1973, 50). But that figure is considered too high to be logistically feasible. A more widely accepted figure is about 1 million.

Whatever the real figure, it is clear that the Pakistani army committed planned acts of atrocity in East Pakistan. Initially, the army targeted intellectuals, but the scope of the massacres was soon expanded. One of the Pakistan army's last acts in East Pakistan was on December 14, 1971, when it systematically eliminated a large number of Bengali intellectuals.

these massacres constituted genocide; see sidebar, "Was It Genocide?"

Mujib declared Bangladeshi independence, which was announced to the world on March 26, 1971. A number of Awami League leaders had fled to India and formed a Bangladeshi government-in-exile on April 17, 1971.

The first and earliest military actors were Bengali soldiers and officers in the Pakistani military. As noted earlier, Bengalis were severely underrepresented in the military, a fact that was one of the main East Pakistani grievances. This fact, in addition to the West Pakistanis' racist constructions of Bengalis in general, had already severely strained relations within the military. There was only one Bengali unit in the Pakistani Army, the East Pakistan Rifles. Martial law had been imposed by General Yahya Khan in March 1969, immediately after he took control of the country from the erstwhile dictator, Ayub Khan. Yahya Khan instituted a policy of doubling Bengali representation in the military (which was

only seven infantry battalions at the time). But this was probably too little and too late, and the policy was not well received among military leaders in any case.

As early as March 1971, Bengali soldiers refused to heed orders to fire on demonstrators, setting in motion a small-scale mutiny. Therefore, it is not surprising that the first official salvo of the civil war was fired by a Bengali military officer. Major Ziaur Rahman, commander of the East Bengal Regiment, broadcast the first international announcement of Bangladeshi independence. Rahman read the declaration of independence penned by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 26, 1971. This is considered the official start of the civil war.

The main rebel force was the Mukti Bahini. It had originally been generated as a sort of paramilitary–security wing of the Awami League, but it soon grew in size and acquired a guerrilla nature. It was led by a retired Pakistan Army officer, Colonel Muhammad Ataul Gani Osmani. As more and more Bengali soldiers defected, they swelled the ranks of the Mukti Bahini as well as adding to its store of weaponry. In addition, the Mukti Bahini received material support from the government in neighboring West Bengal state in India. West Bengal consists primarily of Bengalis, so the state shared ethnic ties with East Pakistan. It became part of India at partition because a majority of its people were Hindu.

In response, the Pakistani military raised a paramilitary force, the Razakars, who were loyal to the central government. Many of these were from the Bihari community, a small Urdu-speaking minority in East Pakistan. The Razakars, along with military action, were able to keep the revolt in check for the monsoon months of June and July. But Mukti Bahini was constantly regrouping in India. In addition, the Indian government was planning to intervene further in the conflict. As many as 10 million refugees from East Pakistan had fled to India to escape the violence, which gave India a pretext for intervention.



Mukti Bahini guerrilla troops prepare to bayonet men who collaborated with the Pakistani army during East Pakistan's fight to secede from Pakistan. The third India–Pakistan war resulted in the creation of the independent nation of Bangladesh. (AFP/Getty Images)

Geography

Undoubtedly, geography played a factor in the war; at the very least, the rebels were much more familiar with the lush terrain. The Pakistani army was much better equipped to control urban areas, and rebels were able to retreat relatively safely into the countryside after setbacks. Moreover, the war itself was far away from military and political headquarters in West Pakistan, which presented the most daunting challenge, and made it nearly impossible to move personnel and equipment quickly and efficiently to the theater of war. Movement was especially difficult because Pakistan could not fly over Indian airspace, and its ability to use its ports in Karachi and Dhaka was limited.

East Pakistan's border with India provided a ready-made site for rebels to regroup and train, and they had considerable Indian support. After

refugees began flooding into India, the Indian government set up refugee camps in the states of West Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Meghalaya, and Tripura. These camps became training grounds for the Mukti Bahini.

Tactics

The Mukti Bahini's tactics consisted of conventional guerrilla activities, including small strikes in urban and rural settings (especially in Dhaka, the capital of East Pakistan). The Mukti Bahini received considerable resources from the Indian government. In addition, the Indian military provided cover for the Mukti Bahini by shelling Pakistan army positions inside East Pakistan from Indian territory. The Indian government provided weapons to the Mukti Bahini as well, although these are largely considered to have been obsolete; the majority of



modern weapons were obtained by guerrilla forces on the international arms markets (Sisson and Rose 1990, 185).

Causes of the War

The Formation of Pakistan

To understand how the secession of East Pakistan came about, it is essential to first examine the historical background of Pakistan. Pakistan was created in 1947 when British India was partitioned into the majority-Hindu state of India and the majority-Muslim state of Pakistan. But Pakistani independence was by no means inevitable. The struggle for independence in British India was initially dominated by Hindus and led by the Indian National Congress, and the movement was focused on the independence

of a united India; the division of India never occurred to leaders such as Nehru and Gandhi. But Muslims, who had not been very politically active in British India, especially after the uprising in 1857, began to feel increasingly alienated from the independence movement, fearing that their interests were not being addressed. In 1906, the All-India Muslim League was formed. At the same time, most Muslim members of the independence movement felt increasingly marginalized from the Hindu-dominated congress, which was the organization leading the mainstream independence movement. Most of these Muslim members left congress and joined the Muslim League; eventually the League came to be led by secular and Western-educated activists such as Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was to eventually become the founder of Pakistan.

The idea of Pakistan as an independent country was first articulated by Muhammad Iqbal in his “two nation” theory, which argued that the Muslim and Hindu communities in India were two separate and distinct nations. It was as late as 1940 when the explicit demand for Pakistan was first made, in the Lahore Resolution. The group at the helm of the Pakistan movement lacked the overtly religious component that one associates with Pakistan today and was committed to a secular state. Indeed, as Hamza Alavi has put it, “the Pakistan movement was not a movement of Islam but of Muslims” (Alavi 1986, 22). And within the Muslim community in India, the groups that were overtly religious (Islamic) were distanced from the Pakistan movement, such as the Jama’at-i-Islami Party, or people associated with the Deobandi movement. Indeed, somewhat ironically, the Islamists in India were fiercely opposed to the division of British India. Thus, the Pakistan movement remained dominated by a group that has been called the “salarial”: secular, urban professionals in the Muslim community (see Alavi 1986). But the movement’s leaders were eager to attract members of the ulema (the ulema are roughly equivalent to the clergy in the Christian context but are much less formalized in the Islamic context), some of whom eventually joined the movement, but the consequence was a struggle over the nature of the new state (i.e., whether it was to be secular or Islamist).

Most Hindu Indians (and the British) remained strongly opposed to the idea of partition, but massive civil disobedience campaigns eventually forced the hands of the leaders. It became clear that independence from the British would come only with partition. According to many estimates, approximately 7–8 million people moved across the newly created India–Pakistan border at partition (in both directions). There were violent riots associated with this movement of people, resulting in massive displacement, injuries, rapes, and the deaths of as many as 1 million people. Today, Pakistan is approximately 95 percent Muslim.

When Pakistan did become independent, it inherited a geographically divided state. West Pakistan, consisting of the Muslim-majority regions of the northwest of British India, and East Pakistan, consisting of the Muslim-majority portion of Bengal, were separated by almost 1,000 miles, with the newly independent India lying between them. The new country was not only difficult to maintain and defend militarily, it faced considerable logistical challenges from the start. And the geographical divide did little to help existing ethnic tensions between East and West Pakistan, which would eventually worsen to lead to a civil war and the secession of East Pakistan to form Bangladesh in 1971. The new nation was born with a sense of being besieged by the larger and more powerful India. Many Pakistanis continue to believe that most Indians have never reconciled themselves to the reality of partition, which leads to even greater suspicion between the two countries (Sathasivam and Shafqat 2003).

The Ethnic Dimension

Although the new nation had successfully gained independence both from the British and from India, it was by no means united. In fact, Pakistan was composed of various ethnic groups that supported the new country in varying degrees. The Muslim salariat, which was the vanguard of the Pakistan movement, was drawn most heavily from two ethnic groups: the Punjabis and Urdu-speaking Muslims in the United Provinces (UP), who were to form the Muhajir group in an independent Pakistan. Additionally, support for Pakistan was strongest in these regions as well. These were the two groups that would come to dominate independent Pakistan, which would lead to increased resentments and tensions between the various ethnic groups that constituted Pakistan. There were six primary ethnic groups in Pakistan: Punjabis, who dominated the political and economic systems as well as the military; Pashtuns (this community is referred to variously as Pashtuns, Pathans, and Pakhtuns), who were also well represented in

the military; Baluchis, who were perhaps the least enthusiastic supporters of Pakistan; Sindhis, who were also aligned with a Sindhi nationalist movement; Muhajirs, who were refugees from India who had migrated to Pakistan at partition; and Bengalis, who historically had a very strong sense of Bengali (as opposed to Muslim) nationalism.

The biggest challenge to Pakistani nationhood was from Bengali nationalism. Bengalis dominated East Pakistan and were the biggest ethnic group in terms of population in all of Pakistan. But Punjabis and Muhajirs dominated the administrative, political, and military arms of the country, and Bengalis were marginalized in the new country; their sense of alienation was only underscored by the fact that their region was located on the other end of the subcontinent from West Pakistan, the nucleus of the country. Emblematic of the ethnic tensions were the political struggles over the language issue, namely, declaring a national language for Pakistan. The language chosen was Urdu, which was the native language only for the Muhajir community but was widely spoken by many other Pakistanis. However, Urdu was not spoken widely by the Bengalis, and the conflict over the institution of Urdu as the exclusive national language in 1952 was an early harbinger of the tensions between East and West Pakistan that were to eventually result in civil war.

Although Bengalis in East Pakistan constituted a numerical majority in the country, they were a marginalized group. In addition to cultural and political alienation, Bengalis also experienced a high degree of economic exploitation by the western segment of the country. Central government expenditures in West Pakistan were much higher than in East Pakistan. Moreover, East Pakistan was an important source of export earnings for the country—from its textile mills, jute products, tea, and other agricultural products—but it saw disproportionately little development. This economic relationship is not enough to qualify the East Pakistan revolt as a “sons of the soil” case (Fearon 2004). Economic

exploitation in this case really served to reinforce the sense of alienation that Bengalis already felt.

Another important event that complicated the ethnic dimension of Pakistani politics was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The Afghanistan war had tremendous fallout for Pakistan, which continues to the present day. Most notably, Pakistan was faced with a humanitarian crisis as millions of Afghan refugees streamed into Pakistan after the Soviet invasion. This humanitarian crisis was coupled with a more delicate political one, for the presence of the refugees stirred the complicated stew that is Pakistani ethnic politics. The majority of the Afghan refugees were Pashtuns, an ethnic group that is about equally divided across both sides of the Afghan–Pakistan border. The border itself is based on the British-era Durand line, which Afghanistan has never officially accepted as the international boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Additionally, Pashtuns are an important ethnic minority group within Pakistan—for example, they are well represented in the military—but there is a strong Pashtun nationalist movement, which has posed threats to the Punjabi-dominated central government. The threat such a nationalist movement poses becomes even greater if the movement spreads across international boundaries, leading to calls for an independent Pashtunistan. Greater ethnic tensions were not the only fallout of the Afghan war. The effort against the Soviets also led to a huge arms buildup within Pakistan, which served to further militarize Pakistani society in what has been called the “Kalashnikov culture.” In addition, the Afghan war led to an increase in the narcotics trade.

The Military in Pakistani Politics

A critical factor in explaining the civil war in Pakistan is the dominant role played by the military in Pakistani politics throughout its history. Pakistan has been under military rule for approximately half of the time it has been independent. As was the case with many postcolonial countries, Pakistan inherited weak civilian

political institutions from British colonialism. The military, dominated by the Punjabis and to a lesser extent by the Pashtuns, has styled itself as the only real guarantor of Pakistani national unity. The military has stepped in to take control in response to many crises in Pakistani history, but even when the military has not been in direct control, it has exerted enormous influence on the polity. Consequently, the Pakistani military has seen itself as being charged not only with *external* security but also with *internal* security.

Given that the military has assumed the role of national uniter, it has responded most energetically to threats from ethnic nationalist movements. For example, in 1970, when civil unrest in East Pakistan was at its peak, General Yahya Khan declared martial law, which eventually led to civil war. The Pakistani supreme court later declared this imposition of martial law illegal. It should be noted that ethnic unrest is not the only condition that has prompted the Pakistani military to act. For example, in 1977, when Islamist parties were leading the civil unrest in opposition to alleged electoral rigging by the Bhutto administration, General Zia ul Haq declared martial law yet again. But it has been usually (although not exclusively) during periods of military rule that the most brutal repression of ethnic nationalist movements has occurred. For example, the civil war in East Pakistan in 1971 was marked by widespread rape and killing by Pakistani military personnel of the local Bengalis. And during the Zia government in the 1980s, the military was involved in the forceful suppression of uprisings by Baluchi and Sindhi nationalists (Harrison 1981a, 1981b; Rakisits 1988).

The Language Movement

Within Pakistan, ethnic identity revolves around language. Therefore, language has played a critical role in fomenting nationalism. Urdu, the mother tongue of a small minority in Pakistan, had become linked with the Pakistan nationalist movement. The Muslim League had

The Rape of Women in Wartime

The wartime rape of women has been an unfortunately common occurrence in modern times. The Bangladesh liberation war is often asserted to be one of the most grievous examples of wartime rape. According to one widely quoted estimate, between 250,000 and 400,000 girls and women were raped in East Pakistan, resulting in 25,000 pregnancies.

After the war, the Bangladeshi leadership attempted to rehabilitate these women. In February 1972, the Bangladesh War Rehabilitation Board was created. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and other leaders attempted to remove the stigma under which these women were living. War victims were declared *biranganas*, or heroines, and were to be considered honorable, courageous women who had made the ultimate sacrifice for their nation. This strategy was not entirely successful.

promoted Urdu as a language of unity among Indian Muslims in the run-up to independence. In the newly independent country, Urdu emerged as a front-runner for “official” language status. This was true even though Urdu was spoken as a first language by a small minority, most of whom were refugees from north India (mostly from the UP). Various explanations can be given for this. Perhaps the most convincing theory is that Urdu had acquired the status of an “intellectual” language and had considerable cultural cachet.

It is no surprise, then, that the introduction of Urdu as the national language aroused considerable resentment and animosity among non-Urdu-speaking groups. Among these, the largest group were the Bengalis, who comprised the vast majority in East Pakistan; indeed, they were the majority ethnic group in federated Pakistan as a whole. Even though Bangladeshi independence would not come until 1971, it is accurate to say that the roots of the Bangladeshi nationalist movement lie in the momentous events of 1952, when the Bangla movement first mobilized to oppose Urdu as the national language.

The political center of gravity in the new nation was in the western region, in West Pakistan, even though Bengalis constituted a majority of the population. Culturally, Bengalis had been constructed in the west as somewhat less “pure” Muslims and Pakistanis. This image was linked to language, for Bengali was the only Pakistani language not written in the Persian–Arabic alphabet. It was also linked to a notion of Bengali inferiority that was deemed almost essentialist and was racialized.

The language issue arose soon after independence. In Pakistan, Urdu, although spoken by a small minority, was the language of the cultural and political elite. (However, most of the elite also spoke English, which became a de facto official language.) Elevating Urdu to the status of sole official language (as was suggested as early as 1948 by Jinnah) was bitterly resented by East Pakistanis. The matter came to a head in 1952, as the East Pakistan-based Awami League political party launched a popular campaign to have Bengali recognized as an additional official language along with Urdu. A coalition of political organizations declared February 21, 1952, a general strike day. On that day, police fired on unarmed students protesting outside the Provincial Assembly in Dhaka, killing five. Over the next few days, mass civil unrest took hold in the city. Although this wave of unrest was quickly brought under control through strong repressive measures (including the closing of college campuses), the language movement spread quickly to other parts of East Pakistan. The language riots of 1952 radicalized East Pakistanis more than any other issue. It also allowed a strong nationalist political leadership to emerge in East Pakistan, notably the Awami League. The immediate impact of the riots was that the central government eventually conceded and granted Bengali the status of official language as well as Urdu. But the long-term implications were to unify and politicize Bengalis in East Pakistan.

Of course, the language issue has been most prominent in the case of East Pakistan. But lan-

guage has been an important mobilizing force in other cases as well, including uprisings by Sindhis and Baluchis. The current uprising in Baluchistan, beginning in 2003, demonstrates this well.

Accommodating Regional Autonomy

Another important backdrop to the civil war was the succession of attempts to accommodate regional autonomy for the various provinces of Pakistan. The language movement and other events continued to demonstrate the fragility of the Pakistani federation, and the country was involved in various attempts to fashion a workable constitutional framework that would reasonably represent the interests of different communities. Throughout the 1950s, various constitutional frameworks were proposed, but none was acceptable to the military and bureaucratic establishment. In 1958, martial law was imposed, and General Ayub Khan took control. Ayub Khan’s rule would last until 1969, when he was forced from power by another military junta, that of General Yahya Khan. Ayub Khan was a proponent of the One Unit Scheme, introduced in 1956, and continued to maintain it. This scheme was designed to neutralize the numerical majority of East Pakistan. It merged the existing provinces of Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, and Sindh, and all federal territories into a single administrative unit to achieve greater parity with East Pakistan. The scheme aroused great suspicion in East Pakistan and was also met with considerable resentment on the part of the smaller provinces in West Pakistan, who feared Punjabi dominance.

Ayub Khan consolidated power after a referendum in 1960 and presidential elections in 1962. These elections were held using the basic democracies structure, which was an indirect form of elections with a limited number of electors (based on regional representation). This framework was viewed with great suspicion by many, including the Bengalis in East Pakistan. Moreover, the election was fraught with irregu-

larities. All this served only to heighten the anxieties and resentment that Bengalis felt. Although Dhaka (East Pakistan's capital) was designated the legislative capital of the country, the legislature had no power, and this continued to marginalize Bengalis.

After the 1965 war with India, Ayub Khan and the military suffered a blow, as they were perceived to have been weak, especially in the negotiations for the cease-fire agreement. The postwar period was marked with increasing opposition activity and civil unrest in both East and West Pakistan. Ayub Khan was ultimately forced out of power by his military chief, General Yahya Khan, in March 1969. Yahya Khan called for elections in December 1970. The results of this election provided the immediate backdrop to the civil war, as discussed earlier.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

The Pakistan civil war is one of the very few to have resulted in a successful secessionist movement. The rebel forces, supported by India, were successful. The immediate outcome of the war was the creation of a new independent nation, Bangladesh. Pakistan signed an unconditional surrender on December 16, 1971. The surrender was signed by General Niazi (see sidebar, "Instrument of Surrender"), upon which all 93,000 Pakistani soldiers were taken as prisoners of war. At the time, this was the biggest surrender since World War II. Refugees began to be repatriated soon after the surrender.

Duration Tactics

The war was relatively short, lasting approximately nine months. But the war might have been even shorter had several factors not existed. The secessionist nature of the war meant that the central government was even more keen to hold onto East Pakistan. The loss of East Pakistan would directly call into question the identity and existence of Pakistan itself as a home-

land for the Muslims of India. It would also mean an implicit victory for Pakistan's archrival India, which was untenable. External assistance from India was instrumental in prolonging the war. Without Indian assistance, the Mukti Bahini would probably have been defeated in short order.

Following are the major battles of the war.

Battle of Hilli (aka Bogra), November 22, 1971–December 13, 1971

Battle of Garibpur (aka Boyra), November 20, 1971–November 21, 1971

Battle of Longewala, December 5, 1971–December 6, 1971

Battle of Basantar (aka Barapind), December 4, 1971–December 16, 1971

External Military Intervention

The major external military actor was India, whose role was decisive in the war. India played a role in three main ways: as provider of material aid to the rebels, especially Mukti Bahini; as principal military opponent; and as diplomatic actor.

India announced full support of the Bangladeshi struggle on March 27, 1971; indeed, it had been actively arming and training members of the Mukti Bahini from the very start of the war. For example, in June 1971 the Indian army started a program to train Mukti Bahini recruits. Recruits were sorted by their education—science graduates were given two months' technical training, undergraduates were given training in small arms, and others were trained in sabotage techniques, such as the use of explosives. Estimates suggest that approximately 70,000 recruits had been trained (Sisson and Rose 1990, 184–85).

As the civil war stretched into the summer of 1971, refugees from East Pakistan began flooding into India. This not only presented an urgent humanitarian crisis for India, it also provided legal and diplomatic cover for India's intervention in the war. Pakistan, realizing that formal Indian military intervention was imminent,

launched preemptive air strikes in India on December 3, 1971. The Mukti Bahini now joined forces with the Indian army to form the Mitro Bahini. At this point, the war took a decisive turn in favor of the rebels. India was far superior to Pakistan militarily and played its hand cleverly. In particular, India had a larger, better-armed army and superior naval forces.

In addition, India had the advantage of being able to attack Pakistan on both its eastern and western fronts. The portion of the war in which India was formally engaged with Pakistan was mostly conducted on the western front. Of the major battles in the war, perhaps the most decisive one was the Battle of Longewala (Shorey 2005). This battle lasted from December 5 to December 6, 1971. The Pakistan army launched an attack inside India in Rajasthan state (on the western front in the war). The Pakistan army had the advantage in number of troops; it fielded approximately 2,000 soldiers, whereas India only had about 120 soldiers defending the position. But Pakistan failed to provide air cover for the attack, and the battle was ultimately a humiliating defeat for the Pakistani forces. India was also able to blockade the Pakistani navy, headquartered in Karachi in West Pakistan, which made the navy a nonfactor in the war.

India also played a critical role as a diplomatic actor. Pakistan could expect to depend on two countries for support: China and the United States. Pakistan had developed a close alliance with China, which was greatly strengthened after the Indo-China war of 1962. The United States, too, was an important ally in the Cold War, as it was able to depend on the Pakistani military to fight communism. Pakistan also provided a useful regional counterweight to India, which was allied with the Soviet Union. Pakistan and the United States were members of CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) along with Iran, Turkey, and Britain. This organization was modeled along the lines of NATO and provided for mutual defense and cooperation. The goal of the treaty was to contain the Soviet Union by establishing a strong line of

defense along the Soviet Union's southern perimeter. Although CENTO was relatively weak, it did establish a formal military link between the United States and Pakistan.

But India was able to skillfully manipulate international actors to limit the extent of support from Pakistan's allies, as a result of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's diplomatic efforts. Gandhi signed a twenty-year friendship treaty with the Soviet Union, which ensured that China would play a limited role in the conflict. As a result, China continued to support Pakistan through the civil war but provided little material aid and did not move its troops to the Indian border to engage Indian forces away from the civil war.

Gandhi also undertook a tour of Europe during the fall of 1971 in which she was able to persuade France and the United Kingdom to break with the United States and block any pro-Pakistan actions in the United Nations Security Council. (Gandhi also visited the United States in November 1971 and rejected U.S. advice on the conflict.) As a result, the United Nations played little role in the conflict, and the United States was able to provide only limited unilateral support to Pakistan. As a symbolic gesture, the United States dispatched a task force headed by the nuclear-armed carrier *Enterprise* from the Gulf of Tonkin to the Bay of Bengal on September 10, 1971. But U.S. forces never entered the war. The Soviet Union responded by sending two groups of ships from Vladivostock on December 6, 1971; these remained in the area until January 7, 1972.

Conflict Management Efforts

As mentioned previously, outside actors were limited in their influence on the conflict (except for India). Therefore, it remained essentially a trilateral affair between Pakistan, the Bangladeshi rebels, and India. No other parties were involved in the surrender.

Pakistan and India held a bilateral summit, the Shimla Summit, from June 28 to July 3, 1972. Representing Pakistan was its new leader, Prime

Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi were able to fashion a permanent cease-fire as well as a political resolution of some of the war's issues. The main political issues were recognition of Bangladesh as an independent nation, the return of Pakistani POWs, and the Kashmir issue. The last was the most intransigent issue. India wanted the cease-fire line in Kashmir to be a permanent international border, but Pakistan was understandably reluctant to concede this point. The two nations did agree, however, to withdraw all forces to pre-1971 borders. The Shimla Summit agreement has been controversial because India has interpreted it to mean that all issues, including that of the status of Kashmir, will be settled in a bilateral manner. Pakistan disagrees with this interpretation, because it has historically been keener to involve international actors in the dispute, as it perceives such involvement to favor Pakistan's position. India agreed to release Pakistani POWs, but only after a period of three months. Pakistan eventually recognized Bangladesh on February 22, 1974.

Conclusion

The Pakistan civil war resulted in the creation of Bangladesh. It also had lasting effects on regional dynamics as well as domestic politics within Pakistan. In the region, the war deepened the rivalry and animosity between Pakistan and India, a conflict that dominates the regional dynamic. Interestingly, although there is still considerable tension between Pakistan and Bangladesh, the two countries have been able to develop a fairly amicable relationship.

In some ways, there is little possibility of the recurrence of a civil war like the Bangladesh war because it was such a unique case, owing both to geography and to the strong nature of Bengali nationalism from a very early stage. However, other cases of subnational nationalism have continued to confront the Pakistani state: Baluchistan in the 1970s (and currently), Sindh in the 1980s, and many other cases of demands

for autonomy. These challenges are fairly common in most postcolonial societies and to some extent may be considered "natural" by-products of colonialism. But the Pakistani state may be considered responsible to some extent as well. By repressing all demands for regional autonomy, often very brutally, the Pakistani state has been unable to accommodate the interests of all its various ethnic groups.

The secession of Bangladesh led to greater anxiety on the part of the the Pakistani establishment about subnational challenges. One consequence has been to strengthen the military (after a short period of national disgrace in the early to mid-1970s). The military, always distrustful of civilian politicians, has stepped in twice since the 1971 war to safeguard what it sees as national interests, including protecting the national integrity of the country.

Another consequence has been the growing Islamization of Pakistani society. The trend toward using Islam for political expediency reached a new high under the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. His main constituency consisted of the landed rural classes, peasants, and the laboring classes, and he had to find a way to reach out to other groups. According to Anita Weiss,

Bhutto adopted Islamic slogans, particularly those stressing egalitarianism and social justice as a means of legitimating his economic policies, thereby increasing his popularity. There was no attempt to include specific Islamic laws in the legal system until it became politically expedient to do so in early 1977 when drinking, gambling, and night clubs were banned. This was soon followed by the replacement of Friday for Sunday as the weekly holiday (Weiss 1986, 9).

Besides trying to appeal to a broader cross-section of society, Bhutto and others introduced such measures in response to Islamist activists. One of the truisms of Pakistani politics has been that Islamist parties control no more than 10 to 15 percent of popular support. Although that is true, it is also true that Islamists have generally been very successful and efficient at mobilizing

popular support and organizing civil unrest. This was very much the case during the Bhutto administration, and in fact it was the civil unrest generated by the Islamists (and others) that became the pretext for the military to move in again in 1977 under General Zia. The most dramatic imposition of Islam on public life occurred under Zia with the Islamization program.

With the Bhutto administration, Pakistan first began to seek closer relations and cooperation with actors in the Muslim and Arab world, a trend that has continued to the present day. After the humiliating defeat of Pakistani forces in 1971 and the nuclear test by India in 1974, Pakistan's security establishment was in a major crisis, and the Middle East connection was perceived to be an extremely useful counterforce to India, one that could be more dependable than the United States. W. Howard Wriggins (1984) writes that many in the Pakistani foreign policy establishment felt that the United States had "let them down" in the 1965 and 1971 wars with India and could not be considered a reliable ally (Sathasivam and Shafqat 2003).

The loss of Bangladesh and India's nuclear test in 1974 gave urgency to Pakistan's plans for a nuclear weapons program. Bhutto endeavored to acquire assistance from the Middle East for this project, and certainly emphasizing common religious and cultural ties helped the effort. In particular, Saudi Arabia emerged as a crucial ally in terms of material support (Rizvi 1983; Tahir-Kheli and Staudenmaier 1982). Pakistan became an official nuclear nation in 1998 when it tested as many as six nuclear devices. In some circles, the proposed product of a Pakistani nuclear program even came to be known as the Islamic bomb.

The lasting lesson of Bangladesh for the Pakistani establishment should have been that violent secession can only be avoided by peacefully accommodating regional demands. But, unfortunately, that has not been the pattern in post-1971 Pakistan. A diverse, multiethnic society such as Pakistan requires a genuine federal

framework. Unless such a framework is implemented, with meaningful power for the various provinces of Pakistan, true peaceful coexistence of Pakistan's ethnic groups will be impossible.

Sahar Shafqat

Chronology

- March 25, 1971 Mujibur Rehman is arrested in Dhaka. Operation Searchlight begins with the massacre of masses of people, particularly intellectuals.
- March 26, 1971 East Pakistan declares independence. Official start of civil war.
- April 17, 1971 Exiled leaders of Awami League form a provisional government in India.
- December 14, 1971 Systematic elimination of Bengali intellectuals is begun by Pakistani Army and local collaborators.
- December 16, 1971 Lieutenant General A. A. K. Niazi, supreme commander of Pakistani Army in East Pakistan, surrenders to Mitro Bahini (allied forces of Mitro Bahini and Indian army), represented by Lieutenant General Aurora of the Indian army.
- December 16, 1971 Bangladesh gains independence.
- January 12, 1972 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is released from prison in Pakistan and returned to independent Bangladesh to become prime minister.
- June 28–July 3, 1972 Shimla Summit between India and Pakistan negotiates postwar situation.
- February 22, 1974 Pakistan recognizes Bangladesh.

List of Acronyms

- CENTO: Central Treaty Organization, a Cold War-era military alliance that replaced the Baghdad Pact. Its membership consisted of the United Kingdom, the United States, Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey.
- NWFP: North-West Frontier Province
- UP: United Provinces

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Peru

(1980–1996)

Introduction

The Sendero Luminoso's civil war in Peru marked a sixteen-year period of increasing terror for civilians and havoc for the Peruvian government. The bulk of this dispute showcased how an internal war of attrition can undermine legitimate government, the effectiveness of guerrilla tactics, and the ineffectiveness of many counter-insurgency techniques. It also demonstrated the power that one charismatic individual can have on a conflict and on its chances for peace. This chapter explains the path taken by the Peruvian conflict, its underlying causes, its intractability, and the way in which it finally ended.

Country Background

Peru gained independence from Spain in 1824 and subsequently fell into a number of armed disputes with its Latin American neighbors. Despite serious border disputes with both Ecuador and Chile, Peru was not troubled by serious internal conflict until the 1980s. The Shining Path insurgency (or Sendero Luminoso) constitutes the greatest internal challenge Peru has faced since independence.

In the decades preceding the Sendero Luminoso civil war, Peru experienced two dramatic changes in regime type. The 1950s and early 1960s were marked by increasing levels of democracy (moving from 4 to 5 on the Polity

scale). However, in 1968 the country changed course when General Juan Velasco Alvarado assumed power through an armed coup d'état. In 1975, Alvarado was removed from power in a second coup, led by General Morales Bermudez, who ruled through a military government until 1980, when the country returned to civilian rule and democracy. Former President Fernando Belaúnde was reelected to the position in 1980. This oscillation between democracy and military rule set the stage for insurgency in the countryside and eventual civil war. In addition to the return to democracy, 1980 also marked the beginning of the long and bloody Sendero Luminoso civil war.

Somewhat remarkably, Peru remained democratic throughout most of the Sendero Luminoso civil war. Between 1980 and 1991, Peru functioned as a democratic polity, even increasing its level of democracy over time. However, in 1991, President Alberto Fujimori returned the country once again to military rule. President Fujimori abandoned democracy and succeeded in taking control of the government. The tenure of Fujimori's military rule outlasted the Sendero Luminoso civil war, which lost momentum in the mid-1990s. Fujimori eventually went into self-imposed exile, and in 2001 Peru once again became a democracy.

In addition to the tumultuous changes in regime type, alternating between democracy and

military rule, Peru's economy experienced major swings before and during the course of this conflict. Macroeconomic indicators show that the state of Peru's economy worsened in the five years before the war. Beginning in 1975, prior to the outbreak of war, Peru's per capita gross domestic product (GDP) declined steadily. The overall wealth of the nation was decreasing year by year. Moreover, in the years preceding the war, the military government attempted to implement major land reforms. These reforms were designed to alleviate inequality between landholders and peasants but were unable to make significant headway (McClintock 1984). The reforms did not provide substantial benefits to much of the peasant class and did little to ease the effects of the mounting economic crisis (see Mason 1998 for a discussion of the reasons these reforms were ineffective).

In the wake of economic downturn and land reform, there was a slight economic recovery in 1981, but this was followed by the subsequent plummeting of national wealth (measured by GDP) in 1983. The El Niño weather phenomenon contributed significantly to the hardship through its effect on crop growth. The country saw another economic high point in 1987, where it appeared that the economy had recovered to levels like those reached in the 1981 recovery (based on comparable GDP levels). However, there was another dramatic drop in economic performance between 1987 and 1990, where national GDP reached a 30-year low at \$3,584 per capita (measured in 1996 U.S. dollars). From 1991 on, the road to economic recovery was steady, if bumpy; nevertheless, by the year 2000 Peru had still not reached its prewar level of prosperity (Gleditsch 2002).

Prewar Peru was characterized by volatility in terms of both its economy and its government. The instability of both government and economic performance were exacerbated by the conflict during the subsequent sixteen years of fighting.

Conflict Background

Although the Sendero Luminoso war posed the largest threat to Peru in recent history, the coun-

try faced three other significant militarized conflicts during the Sendero civil war. Peru engaged in two minor armed conflicts with Ecuador and simultaneously dealt with an insurgency led by the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA). Both conflicts with Ecuador (in 1981 and 1995) were border disputes and were resolved relatively quickly with international involvement (United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile facilitated the end of the disputes). The MRTA movement (a Marxist insurgency) was active between 1983 and 1993. The group used terrorist tactics aimed at ridding the country of imperialism and establishing a Marxist regime (Gleditsch, Wallenstein, Eriksson, and Hårdvard 2002). The MRTA movement gained notoriety with a number of terrorist acts, the most famous of which was the 1996 attack on the Japanese ambassador's residence and the subsequent hostage situation. However, the influence of this movement was largely overshadowed by the scope of damage caused by the Sendero war.

The Sendero Luminoso war was first and foremost an ideological dispute. The rebels' primary aim was the overthrow of the state, which they envisioned would then be replaced by a peasant revolutionary regime (Gleditsch, et al. 2002). The armed conflict began in early 1980 and lasted until the mid-1990s; by 1996 it had lost significant momentum. Although the rebels clearly identified with communism internationally and with Maoism specifically, they followed their own brand of ideological thinking. They wanted to understand communism in the Peruvian context, and this isolated the group somewhat from other such movements around the world, particularly after the death of Mao (Palmer 1986). Sendero maintained connections with China and international Communist organizations at the early stages of the conflict but tended to view other Communist organizations as revisionist, especially after the end of the Cold War.

This immensely violent conflict began with few deaths but spiraled out of control in the mid- and late 1980s. At the initial stages of the

struggle, conflict-related deaths numbered less than 100 a year, with a sharp jump to nearly 2,000 deaths in 1983, when Sendero engaged in more intense and far-reaching operations. A decade into the conflict, an estimated 20,000 had been killed in Peru in political violence. This estimate reached approximately 28,000 by 1996, when the conflict finally petered out (Gleditsch, et al. 2002; Mason 1998). These initial estimates of the death toll were eclipsed, however, by the report of the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 2003 (see sidebar, “The Unknown Magnitude of the Conflict”). After years of investigation, the TRC estimated the total number of lost lives between 1980 and 2000 at 69,280 people (TRC 2003).

During the conflict, the Peruvian military was made up of 264,000 troops (Doyle and Sambanis 2000). Government troops fought the Sendero Luminoso fighters with both conventional military units and *sinchis*, which were specially trained paramilitaries (Mason 1998, 222). By 1991, the Sendero Luminoso fighters numbered as many as 15,000 by some estimates and as few as 3,000 by others (Mason 1998, 223).

The Insurgents

Although the Sendero Luminoso armed struggle began in earnest in 1980, its foundations were laid in the 1960s and 1970s in the context of severe economic challenges for the peasant and indigenous populations of Peru. Sendero Luminoso was founded by Abimael Guzmán in the 1960s, but the organization only began its People’s War, with the goal of complete overthrow of the Peruvian state, in 1980. The movement began at the National University of San Cristóbal de Humanga in the Ayacucho department in the mountains of Peru. Guzmán’s initial political organizing included recruiting students and founding an outreach program in the community surrounding the university. The Sendero ideology developed from Guzmán’s synthesis of Maoist thought and the work of Mariategui (a Peruvian intellectual and founder of the Com-

The Unknown Magnitude of the Conflict

Like other contemporary civil wars, the Sendero Luminoso war produced an extremely high death toll among both combatants and noncombatants. Peruvians in the combat zones were subject to violence from all sides—from government troops, from Sendero guerrillas, and even from civil defense groups set up in local communities for self-defense. The magnitude of the deaths and disappearances during the conflict was difficult to assess, in part because the government was unable to provide a reliable count at the time.

When the Truth and Reconciliation Commission released its final report in 2003, one of the most shocking findings for Peru as well as the international community was the size of the death toll it reported. Earlier estimates place the number of deaths caused by the conflict at around 28,000 between 1980 and 1996 (Gleditsch, et al. 2002). However, the TRC reports that it could account for nearly 70,000 individuals who had been killed or who disappeared between 1980 and 2000—more than double previous estimates. Table 1 illustrates the initial estimates of change in the cumulative death counts based on several sources. The TRC finding is also marked for the year 2000, although the TRC does not provide a yearly account of when the estimates of the deaths took place.

munist Party of Peru). From its early stages, the Sendero movement was designed to be a long-term program for social change, one that involved the destruction of the contemporary state through civil war and its eventual replacement with a peasant-based revolutionary regime.

Sendero Luminoso was made up primarily of educated mestizos who were recruited from universities. They also drew from the indigenous population in Ayacucho, where the movement was based. The Ayacucho department is inland from the coast and was extremely isolated from the rest of the country due to the difficulty of travel on underdeveloped roads. The majority of

Table 1: Civil War in Peru

War:	Sendero Luminoso vs. government
Dates:	May 1980–1996
Casualties:	69,280
Regime type prior to war:	3 (polity 2 variable in Polity IV data ranging from –10 to 10)
Regime type after war:	1 (polity 2 variable in Polity IV data ranging from –10 to 10)
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$4,831 (constant 1996 dollars)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$4,589 in 2000 (constant 1996 dollars)
Insurgents:	Partido Comunista del Peru en el Sendero Luminoso de Mariategui (Communist Party of Peru in the Shining Path of Mariategui), known as Sendero Luminoso
Issue:	Ideological struggle for control of central government
Rebel funding:	Drugs and looting
Role of geography:	Rebels developed and operated in an extremely remote part of the country.
Role of resources:	Coca production and related economic activity funded rebels.
Immediate outcome:	Government victory though capturing rebel leader and rooting out the remaining rebels
Outcome after 5 years:	Military government
Role of UN:	None
Role of regional organization:	None
Refugees:	200,000 IDPs; no indication of large-scale repatriation
Prospects for peace:	Favorable since Peru's return to democracy in 2001

Sources: Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Gleditsch 2002; Gleditsch et al. 2002; Marshall and Jagers 2003; McClintock 1984

peasants in Ayacucho lived and worked communally in indigenous communities.

Between 1980 and 1982, Sendero Luminoso engaged in numerous attacks against the state, in particular against government functionaries. This strategy aimed at delegitimizing the state by forcing individual government members to abandon their duties or be killed. In 1983, the group progressed to the next stage of their revolutionary plan: generalizing violence to a larger population and with greater intensity.

Sendero gained initial support within the local population by providing benefits to them, such as education, farming, and medical services. However, the generalization of violence extended Sendero's attack to the indigenous and local communities in Ayacucho as well as to a geographically larger area. Peasants were subject to attacks from both the government *sinchis* (paramilitaries) and the Sendero Luminoso's *senderistas* (fighters). These opposing pressures on peasants collided to create drasti-

cally increasing death tolls throughout the conflict area.

In the mid-1980s, Sendero Luminoso expanded geographically to the Huallaga River Valley, which had become a primary location for coca growing. Coca farming and the exploitation of producers constituted the major source of revenue for the group. Sendero's profits from the exploitation of drug production were estimated to be between US \$20 million per year to US \$550 million per year (McClintock, 1998, 72). Coca was grown and processed into paste in Peru, but transported out of the country for the final production of cocaine. Much of these Sendero profits came from charging drug runners to use Sendero-controlled airstrips in the region (McClintock 1998, 72).

The greatest strength—and subsequently the greatest weakness—of the Sendero Luminoso movement was the singular importance of Abimael Guzmán. The founder and leader of

Sendero was revered as godlike by many of his followers. He was called both the Fourth Sword of Marxism (the other three being Marx, Lenin, and Mao) by party members and Doctor Puka Inti (Red Sun) by the Ayacucho indigenous communities (McClintock 1998, 63). Not only did Guzmán dominate the movement as a quasi-spiritual-ideological leader, he dominated nearly every aspect of planning and tactical decision making throughout the war.

Guzmán's primacy in Sendero allowed the movement to be one of the most cohesive and efficient rebel organizations in the world. The organization was strictly hierarchical, with Guzmán as the head. Guzmán personally oversaw the allocation of nearly all of the organization's funds (McClintock 1998, 72). Sendero scholars and historians identify only one major instance of dissension within his party during Guzmán's tenure. This took place in 1988, when Guzmán made the executive decision to expand the guerrilla campaign into the Peruvian capital, Lima. Guzmán's wife (a member of his inner circle and an important party functionary), as well as several top Sendero officers, believed this move to be premature and openly opposed it in the 1988 Sendero conference (McClintock 1989, 66). Guzmán prevailed, and the expansion to Lima went forward.

Ironically, it was at his safe house in Lima that Guzmán was finally caught in 1992. Following his capture, the organization split into two factions. This split is identified by many historians as the beginning of the group's downfall. One faction remained loyal to Guzmán and became known as the pacifists—so named because they supported Guzmán's plea for a cease-fire and a peace agreement, which he made from prison. The second faction rejected Guzmán's promotion of peace and was known as the hardliners (sometimes referred to as Sendero Rojo). Oscar Ramírez Durand (alias Feliciano) led the hardliners from the time of their break with the Guzmán supporters in 1994 through the rest of the insurgency. He was captured in 1999 (Gleditsch, et al. 2002).

Democracy and Civil War: The 1992 Coup

When President Alberto Fujimori came to power in 1990, Peru was in the midst of civil war and economic crisis. Fujimori was elected as an outsider, a relatively unknown economist who promised to implement much-needed economic reforms and help the country find a resolution to the Sendero Luminoso war. These two tasks constituted a significant challenge, one that led Fujimori to work outside the government and eventually subvert democracy in pursuit of his goals.

Two years after he assumed the presidency, Fujimori faced mounting resistance to his economic policy from the parliament and intensified attacks on Lima by Sendero. In response to the parliament's opposition to his policies, Fujimori suspended the constitution and dissolved the legislature in April 1992. He cited both economic crisis and the inability of the government to effectively combat Sendero as justification for his bold move. There was little popular resistance to the Fujimori takeover, which can be attributed in part to the success of Sendero's campaign to discredit the government.

The 1992 coup marked the second failure of democracy for Peru within thirty years. Bowing to international pressure, President Fujimori did consent to new elections and the drafting of a new constitution, which was passed in 1993. However, Fujimori's government never passed legislation to implement the constitution. Despite periodic elections, the international community heavily criticized Fujimori for his autocratic rule. Fujimori remained in power until 2001, when he fled the country to self-imposed exile in Japan.

Geography

The Sendero Luminoso movement began in the remote and isolated Ayacucho department, located in the southern Sierra region of the country. The country is divided into twenty-four departments and one constitutional province. Approximately 47 percent of the country is covered by mountainous terrain, and Ayacucho lies within this area (Fearon and Laitin 2003).



Although eastern Peru is heavily forested, the Ayacucho region is not densely forested (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations n.d.).

The two most important geographical features of the conflict are the isolation of Ayacucho and the people's reliance on subsistence agriculture in the department. As mentioned above, the relative isolation of the region al-

lowed Guzmán to develop the movement over time with little interference from the state. Once Sendero began its campaign for domination within the Ayacucho regional base, government forces had difficulty reestablishing control in the remote region.

The second important feature of Ayacucho's geography is the effect of mountainous terrain on the livelihood of the peasants. The land in

Ayacucho and the surrounding regions was not suitable for traditional agriculture (McClintock 1984, 59). Most peasants in the mountainous Sierra region relied on subsistence agricultural production for their livelihood. This reliance on subsistence agriculture was a product of several things: the terrain, the structure of the communal farming culture, and the encroachment of hacienda farming on the better lands (Mason 1998, 209–210). The limited options for food and commercial activity in Ayacucho meant that the peasants were vulnerable to a subsistence crisis, which began in the 1970s and continued into the 1980s, when the El Niño caused a drought in the southern Sierras (McClintock 1984, 61). The tenuous position of rural peasants in Ayacucho proved a fertile and protected ground for Sendero activists to recruit members and set up a base of operations. Peasant dissatisfaction with the government, both for the failure of the land reforms of the 1970s and neglect during an ongoing subsistence crisis, provided an opportunity for Sendero to make significant inroads in the community.

Tactics

Sendero Luminoso engaged primarily in guerrilla tactics during the armed struggle from 1980 to 1996. Sendero's overall revolutionary strategy was comprised of six planned stages, only four of which were accomplished (Manwaring 1995). Prior to the initiation of armed conflict in 1980, Sendero engaged in stage one, which included the political organization of the movement. Following this initial stage, Sendero engaged in stages two through four successively. These were (2) moving into offensive combat, (3) generalization of violence to a wider population, and (4) consolidation of control in geographic areas of expansion. Each of these three stages was achieved through guerrilla violence and broad terror campaigns. Stage five included attacks on cities to bring about the fall of the government, and stage six entailed engendering state collapse and preparation for world revolution (Manwaring 1995, 163). Although Guzmán initiated stage

five by expanding their campaign of violence to Lima, the group never successfully consolidated power in major cities.

Sendero relied almost exclusively on guerrilla tactics and seldom mounted large-scale operations. They attacked a variety of targets and locations, focusing on government and commerce. Sendero was able to engage in a number of attacks with a minimum of equipment and weapons. Many of their supplies were obtained through raids on government facilities and commercial mining projects (Gorriti Ellenbogen 1990, 108–109). An example of one of the larger operations that Sendero completed was an attack on a prison facility. This attack was aimed at gaining arms for future operations and freeing Sendero prisoners. Sendero's goal was to obtain just enough weapons to carry out the guerrilla campaign, not to amass arms for any conventional war (Gorriti Ellenbogen 1990, 108). Additionally, some arms were purchased, including G3 and FAL automatic rifles and U.S.-made hand grenades (McClintock 1998, 73).

During the course of the conflict, the change in Sendero's tactics—in particular, increasing the scope of targets attacked—had an important effect on their ability to maintain support for their movement. Although the movement started with a strong base of supporters in the peasant community of Ayacucho, the progression of strategy to stage two (the generalization of violence) alienated and killed many people originally sympathetic to the movement. Any individuals who opposed Sendero as the sole legitimate authority were punished or eliminated. One Sendero member is quoted as saying, "This is a revolution, and anyone who opposes it will be crushed like an insect" (McClintock 1998, 68). In fact, the vast majority of those targeted for violence between 1980 and 1992 were peasants, followed by urban residents, then government officials. Additionally, within this timeframe a large number of teachers, businessmen, and social activists were killed by Sendero, as well as several aid workers and clergy (McClintock 1998, 63).

Sendero Luminoso also looked to the future of the movement by training children and youth members, desensitizing them to killing at an early age. For example, children were taught to kill chickens at an early age to prepare them for the violent nature of the movement. Among the more vindictive and horrific acts aimed at limiting all other social organization among the population was the murder of grassroots leader Maria Elena Moyano, whose body was later blown up in front of her children (McClintock 1998, 63–68). In addition to targeting the government officials, Sendero also targeted leftist politicians working within the legal system in order to prevent a moderate leftist movement from gaining mass appeal. Guzmán, who argued that his path was the only legitimate course for change, branded Peru's legal leftist parties as "revisionist" (Gorriti Ellenbogen 1990, 123). Moreover, Sendero came into direct armed conflict with the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, a more moderate leftist insurgency group (National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism 2006).

The Peruvian government's response to Sendero attacks tended to be incoherent and somewhat indiscriminate in its reprisals during most of the conflict. In 1982, President Belaundé conceded that the rebellion in Ayacucho was indeed out of their control and called for military penetration into the area. Belaundé declared a "military emergency zone" in Ayacucho as well as a number of provinces into which Sendero had expanded, which limited the freedoms of civilians in these areas (McClintock 1984, 52).

The government used specially trained paramilitaries (*sinchis*) to route out senderistas. Initially, only 1,500 *sinchis* were sent to Ayacucho, but this number was quickly increased to 7,000 (McClintock 1998). Government troops had difficulty engaging the senderistas, given the nature of Sendero's tactics (small guerrilla attacks) and the group's organization (members worked in cells of three to four individuals). Moreover, it was difficult to distinguish senderistas from members of the local population—a fact that led

to an incredible number of civilian deaths. The government carried out systematic campaigns, attacking villages and individuals suspected of collaboration with Sendero. This strategy had the detrimental by-product of alienating any local support for the government in Sendero-controlled regions, even in the face of increasing violence from Sendero as well. Recently, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission found that the government's use of *sinchis* "led to an increase in human rights violations, generated resentment and distanced the police from the population" (TRC 2003, Item 43). This strategy undermined the ability of the government to gain support, and possibly information on Sendero, from the peasant population, which itself was coming under increasing scrutiny from Sendero. Moreover, the disunity among government forces exacerbated the potential for human rights violations perpetrated against peasants. In the first half of the 1980s, three separate police organizations engaged in counterinsurgency operations without well-coordinated sharing of information about the local populations (TRC 2003).

In 1989, the government forces began to shift their strategy from somewhat indiscriminate hunting for Sendero supporters and operatives to attempting to discern friendly, neutral, and enemy populations. The government also shifted its focus to the capture of key leaders in the movement in order to decapitate the organization (TRC 2003). The strategy paid off immensely when Guzmán was captured in Lima in 1992. Guzmán's capture and subsequent treatment in custody may have been the single most important action the state took to end the war. Guzmán's position as the logistical and ideological leader of Sendero exposed the movement to a power vacuum after his capture. Initially, Guzmán argued from prison that the movement would continue on its course without his individual contribution. However, Guzmán later called for an end to the conflict, leading to the first major split in Sendero and a weakening of the movement. One of the most politically savvy tactics the government pursued was to demon-



Abimael Guzmán, founder of the Shining Path and leader of the Maoist revolution in Peru, raises his fist as he speaks at a press conference from his jail cell in Lima on September 24, 1992. With Guzmán in captivity, the war decreased in magnitude but did not end. (Reuters/Corbis)

strate publicly that Guzmán was in fact an ordinary and vulnerable person. They did this in an effort to deconstruct his revered persona among his followers. After his capture, Guzmán was displayed in black-and-white-striped pajamas in his jail cell carrying out ordinary tasks. Footage of Guzmán following guard's orders was also released to the public, which further contributed to the deconstruction of Guzmán's public persona (McClintock 1998).

Causes of the War

Understanding the emergence and relative success of Sendero Luminoso can be broken down into two interrelated questions: Why did this organization begin the war, and why did the peasant population support them? To understand

the causes of this conflict, we need to understand both the choice to begin an armed insurgency and the ability of that insurgency to thrive among the Peruvian population. Thus, we need to examine the motivation of the organization and leaders like Abimael Guzmán, as well as reasons for large-scale support from the population during the beginning of the conflict.

The Sendero Luminoso conflict was first and foremost an ideological battle for the rebel organization and its leaders. When Sendero began the conflict, they were not attempting a quick overthrow of the government. The civil war was a long-term strategy designed to change Peruvian society by toppling the government and replacing it with a Communist state. The Sendero rebels were trying not simply to take gain control of the government, but to change the regime

(or type of government) in Peru. Abimael Guzmán was motivated by the Communist thinkers Mao and Mariategui. He relied upon the work of these men to develop his own views that communism was the only legitimate form of government. His own rigid adherence to Maoism is generally accounted for by personal proclivities; however, a number of changes that took place in Peru are likely to have made communism more attractive to intellectuals and activists (McClintock 1998).

The social, economic, and political conditions in Peru prior to the Sendero war created a fertile ground for the insurgency. The Peruvian government's vacillation between military rule and democracy could easily be interpreted as a failure of both types of governance. When Peru transitioned back to democracy in the late 1970s, there was a large amount of support both from political elites and from the populace for legitimate leftist political parties. The primary leftist parties garnered more than 29 percent of the vote in 1978 constituent assembly elections (trailing the victorious center party, with 35 percent). Yet, the legitimate (or legal) leftist parties were unable to maintain popular support. After the reinstatement of democracy, the parties of the left were mired in infighting and fractionalization (Roberts 1996). Due to their inability to consolidate power, the legal organizations representing the political left (or more socialist-oriented parties) lost momentum. Leftist intellectuals were confronted, on one hand, with the inability of the legal leftist parties to capitalize on strong popular support and, on the other hand, with the incredibly cohesive and disciplined Sendero organization. Sendero Luminoso had a clear, if more radically leftist, mission and a concrete logistical plan. Given this comparison, Sendero was a clear and viable option for pursuing political change for many young political elites.

Although the appeals of communism and of Sendero as a political entity were likely to attract educated elites seeking social change, Sendero could not have developed or succeeded without

its base of support in Ayacucho. Sendero Luminoso grew to a substantial size (estimated between 3,000 and 15,000 members), but it began as a small collective of intellectuals seeking to change the way Peru was governed. Instrumental to Sendero's campaign was their ability to draw members and cooperative support from the peasant population and to secure a base in the Ayacucho region.

Peasants in this region provided a fertile ground for Sendero for several reasons. First, the relatively impoverished population suffered from a history of neglect and experienced a subsistence crisis during Sendero's organizing stage. Most of the peasants in the Ayacucho region worked the land communally for subsistence farming and leased out additional labor to hacienda owners. The haciendas typically used the best land in the area and benefited more substantially from the land reform of the 1970s (Roberts 1996). The ability of individuals to sustain their livelihood dictates, in part, the moral view of peasants about the legitimacy of governance (Scott 1976). When peasants are able to provide for themselves, they are unlikely to rebel or, in this case, support the Sendero insurgency. Gurr (1970) also argues that economic hardship is an incentive to rebel. It is clear that there were significant decreases in the ability of rural peasants in Ayacucho to provide for themselves and their families at the time that Sendero became active in the region. Moreover, Sendero provided important relief and social services to the peasant population at the outset of the movement. In contrast, the government was largely unable or unwilling to help the peasant population.

A number of scholars argue that, in addition to the role of economic grievance, perception of relative wealth is an important factor in the decision to rebel (Hechter 1975). People will be more likely to rebel not when they are destitute, but when they are disadvantaged relative to other people (Gurr 1970). McClintock reports that living conditions in the Ayacucho area fell to lower levels than other regions throughout the country in the years leading up to the civil

war (McClintock 1984, 59–60). Moreover, although the Ayacucho compared unfavorably to nearly all other regions, it was particularly less well off than the coastal regions in which the capital was located. The relative deprivation of the Ayacucho people may have played an additional role in their willingness to support the Sendero movement and ultimately contributed to the success of the insurgency.

Outcome

Conflict Status

The war did not decisively end with a treaty or military victory, although by 1994 the rebels had split into two factions, and approximately 6,000 Sendero rebels had surrendered (TRC 2003). After the split in 1994 between the pacifists and the hardliners, the number of Sendero attacks decreased steadily. Oscar Ramírez Durand continued to lead the hardliners until 1999, when he was captured. However, Sendero's level of activity was so low that some estimates place the war's end in 1996. The government forces were able to capture many of the Sendero leadership after the arrest of Guzmán, and this appears to have been the blow that pushed the rebels into a downward spiral.

Duration Tactics

The extreme length of the war (approximately sixteen years) can be attributed to two general issues: an inability of either side to achieve military victory and the unwillingness of either side to pursue negotiated settlement. The rebels' guerrilla war tactics and their ability to loot resources from the cocaine trade made Sendero a difficult target with reliable and lucrative funding. Moreover, the inability of the government to effectively combat the guerrilla war allowed the rebels' campaign to delegitimize the government to succeed in large measure, weakening the government (and possibly contributing to the collapse of democracy in 1992).

The guerrilla nature of this conflict meant that the Peruvian military never faced the rebel

troops in a conventional battle and in fact needed to combat the group on several fronts—violent attacks on all types of targets, thefts of supplies from mines and government installations, and territorial expansion of the group. The primary objective of the government, therefore, was to capture or eliminate Sendero operatives and leaders, not necessarily to engage the group during any specific attack. This was a difficult feat for the government for three reasons. First, the Sendero movement was based in a geographically strategic area. Government troops could not mount a quick-response offensive deep into the mountains. Second, the Sendero rebels were extremely well organized and secretive. The small-cell structure of the group allowed senderistas to operate knowing only a few other members. When the government succeeded in capturing one rebel, he or she was unlikely to lead to many others. Third, the relative secrecy of the organization necessitated that the government use information from the rural population, who would know which individuals were active in the movement from the rebels' work in the community or connections to family and friends. However, the government's strategy of indiscriminate attacks and killing of civilians turned the population against the state.

Moreover, Sendero did not prepare for or attempt to win the war through military victory. Sendero's strategy from the outset of the conflict was to delegitimize the state and cause it to collapse. Guzmán and the Sendero elites were not looking to gain control of the government but to create a wholly different political entity based on Communist ideals. Only after the government had lost control and credibility would Sendero step into the power vacuum left by the government's fall. The Sendero strategy was one of attrition—the slow wearing down of one's enemy—that necessitates a long war. Sendero planned for a long conflict and was careful not to overstep its reach throughout the dispute. As noted before, the group sought to acquire only the military means necessary to inflict terror and disrupt the ability of the Peruvian administration to govern.

Sendero fought a war to delegitimize the government, not to cripple it strategically. The turning point of the war was the capture of Guzmán, which reestablished, to some extent, the effectiveness of the government.

In addition to a military victory, the conflict could have ended with a negotiated settlement. However, the likelihood of a successful treaty being signed was low for two reasons. First, parties at war will be likely to settle through negotiations when there is little else to gain through fighting. Yet the rebels in this conflict saw both present and future gains in fighting. They engaged in violence not to obtain any particular goods or concessions from the state but to decrease its effectiveness and perceived competence.

Second, parties to the conflict will sign a settlement when they are relatively certain that they cannot get a better deal by continuing to fight a while longer. One critical way parties to a civil war assess this is by learning from the battlefield (Smith and Stam, 2004). However, the Sendero Luminoso civil war never produced large-scale battles between rebel and government forces. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru finds that “. . . the limitations of the police intelligence services hindered their ability to adequately understand what was occurring. This, along with the lack of knowledge of the nature of the PCP-SL [Sendero], caused them to underestimate the magnitude of the developing phenomenon” (TRC 2003). The tit-for-tat nature of Sendero attacks and government reprisals did not reveal a great deal of information to either side about how the conflict was likely to develop and who was likely to get the upper hand in the future.

External Military Intervention

There was no direct military intervention on the side of the Peruvian government or Sendero Luminoso during the conflict. The United States put pressure on the government to curtail coca production, as they did with a number of Latin American countries during the American War

on Drugs. It is not clear that this pressure had any impact on the conflict.

Conflict Management Efforts

There were no mediation or conflict management efforts from the international community or external states.

Conclusion

The conflict in Peru between the government and Sendero Luminoso proved to be the most devastating time period in the country’s history. More people died in this war than in all other conflicts in Peru since independence (TRC 2003). However, the potential for renewed conflict is low for several reasons. First, Sendero as a political and military organization has been significantly dismantled. Second, the general population is likely to be more resistant to the appeals of such movements as a result of experience with this war. Finally, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has produced a detailed account of the factors that allowed the insurgency to reach such destructive levels and has proposed a plan for reparations to those most affected by the conflict. The likelihood of a return to conflict will decrease further if Peru can implement the recommended steps for reconciliation. However, there are significant challenges to this, both in terms of bringing the perpetrators and planners of violence to justice (particularly those on the government side) and in terms of distributing adequate reparations to victims.

One major policy implication to be derived from this conflict is that governments challenged by rural insurgencies need to go to great lengths to differentiate rebels from civilians in their efforts to combat the challenge. This policy is central to both the minimization of violence and effectiveness of counterinsurgency. Only after the Peruvian troops changed their strategy to minimize attacks on innocents and focused on locating the Sendero leadership did they succeed in their counterinsurgency efforts.

There are also two important general lessons from this conflict, both for Peru and for other nations. The first lesson is that there are significant risks to neglecting entire segments of a population. The destitution and isolation of Ayacucho peasants, many of whom were ethnically distinct from the majority of Peruvians, had serious consequences for the country as a whole. This lesson has become a prominent issue for American politics today as concern grows about the terrorist and insurgency organizations developing in failed states and regions outside of government control in other countries.

The second lesson that we should draw from Peru's experience is one that has reappeared time and time again. The neglect and persecution of a small population should concern the majority of the population in a country. One of the TRC's general findings was that many Peruvians outside the main conflict zone felt disconnected from the conflict; educated and urban citizens in particular were indifferent to the struggle while it was confined to the mountains. However, the conflict had enormous implications for all Peruvians, including its contribution to the failure of democracy and the 1992 coup. Popular complacency regarding the suffering of minority populations has led to disastrous outcomes in the past, such as the Jewish holocaust and the Rwandan genocide and is likely to do so in similar situations in the future.

Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham

Chronology

- 1980 Sendero Luminoso begins its armed resistance.
- 1981 Border conflict with Ecuador ensues over Cordillera del Condor.
- 1982 El Niño weather phenomenon occurs. President Belaundé declares state of emergency in several regions (called military emergency zone) and sends 1,500 sinchis to Ayacucho.
- 1983 El Niño weather phenomenon occurs.
- January 1983 Eight journalists are massacred by residents of Urchuraccay who thought the journalist were senderistas; incident is heavily publicized, leads to government's restriction of access to the region.
- June–July 1984 Violence escalates sharply as Sendero begins stage three of its plan, the generalization of violence.
- 1985 Alan Garcia Perez of the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) wins the presidential election—the first exchange of power from one democratically elected leader to another in forty years.
- 1986 Sendero Luminoso begins to profit from coca growth and production.
- 1989 Government changes its strategy to distinguish among friendly, neutral, and enemy populations and to target political-administrative organizations (OPAs) of Sendero Luminoso. Peru's economy experiences hyperinflation. Sendero controls about 28 percent of municipalities (McClintock 1998, 73)
- 1990 Alberto Fujimori is elected president.
- 1991 Sendero Luminoso comes into armed conflict with MRTA in the central Andean Huallaga region.
- April 5, 1992 President Alberto Fujimori seizes power in an army-backed coup, suspending those sections of the constitution and dissolving the congress.
- September 12, 1992 Sendero leader Guzmán is captured in Lima. Within weeks, more than 1,000 more Sendero members are captured, including twelve of nineteen central committee members.
- December 1993 New constitution for Peru is passed, although it is never implemented.
- September 15, 1993 Guzmán sends a written peace offer from prison, which is rejected by the government.
- April 5, 1994 Operation Aries begins, the last big government military offensive against Sendero. By this year, nearly 6,000 rebels had surrendered.
- June 17, 1994 Moises Simón Limaco Huayuscachi, whom security forces described as the co-coordinator of the Central Directorate of Sendero Luminoso, is captured in Lima along with Mario Vasquez, another prominent leader.
- June 16, 1995 President Fujimori announces passage of a law offering amnesty to members of the military involved in the war since 1980. Border conflict with Ecuador.

List of Acronyms

APRA: American Popular Revolutionary Alliance
 GDP: gross domestic product
 MRTA: Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement
 OPA: political-administrative organization
 TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Glossary

Communists: Individuals who believe in an ideology that dictates that political and economic means should be controlled through an equal share of power.

Guerilla tactics: Using varied methods of attack, focused on small attacks to incite terror or disrupt daily life.

Hardliners: A faction of Sendero that continued fighting after the capture of Guzmán.

Maoism: Political ideology espoused by Mao Zedong that promoted communist revolution.

Mestistos: People of mixed ethnic heritage, which was typically a combination of Spanish and indigenous peoples: Mestistos were also called Creole.

Pacifists: A faction of Sendero that advocated peace after the capture of Guzmán.

Revisionist: A term for communists or socialists who departed from the original thinking of communist leaders.

Sendero Rojo: Another name for the Hardliners faction.

Sinchis: Government paratroopers, or units specially trained to pursue rebel and guerrilla fighters.

Senderistas: Fighters for Sendero Luminoso.

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The Philippines (1972–1996)

Introduction

States in plural societies have the arduous tasks of maintaining internal order and defending the integrity of its borders. To survive, they must find effective ways to reconcile interests, regulate domestic behavior, and eliminate external threats. However, interests and capabilities change over time. Ethnic communities may come to believe that their interests are best served by having their own state (Brown 1994; Stavenhagen 1996).

Individuals and organizations can articulate that ethnic yearning and give it shape. In the process, history is given a new frame. Symbols are created, and heroes celebrated. However, identities are not pliable entities. They must find some deep resonance within the community (Azar 1986). It is in this context that we study the struggle of the Bangsa Moro in the Philippines.

Country Background

The Philippines is an archipelago of approximately 7,107 islands situated in the Southeast Asian region. About 21.3 percent of the country is mountainous terrain. The topographical fragmentation of the Philippines makes national governance and security very problematic; the vast maritime border makes barring illegal entries difficult, and the forested mountains provide hiding places for rebels and lawbreakers. As

of July 2006, the country had approximately 89 million inhabitants (CIA 2006). The majority are Christians (91.5 percent), and 4 percent of the population are Muslims, who live mostly on the island of Mindanao. The political and administrative center is Manila.

Upon receiving political independence in 1945, the Philippines had been a democratic polity, except for the years 1972–1986, when it was interrupted by Ferdinand Marcos's dictatorial rule (Lande 1996; Wurfel 1988). Marcos was deposed in 1986 by the People Power Revolution, led by Corazon Aquino and Jaime Cardinal Sin. The Philippines has since reconstituted its democratic institutions.

Conflict Background

The history of the Philippines is laden with violent challenges to the administration of the central government based in Manila. Right after World War II, deteriorating conditions in the countryside led to peasant uprisings, the most serious of which was headed by former guerrillas who fought the Japanese during the war, the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (Huks). It was largely a localized revolt brought about by the oppressive conditions in the countryside (Kerkvliet 1977). The uprising was effectively contained in Central Luzon, and it was decisively beaten in 1954. Casualties from the revolt were

estimated at around 9,000 people (Fearon 2004). Out of its ashes came the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP), which eventually chose the aboveground, electoral way as its mode of struggle (Saulo 1990). Nevertheless, the deleterious condition of the peasantry was fertile ground for a new challenge to the state. In 1968, a professor from the University of the Philippines, Jose Maria Sison, and some other young activists “re-established” the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). They contended that the “old guard” (the PKP) had strayed from the Communist way by choosing to participate in the “farce” called elections (Chapman 1987; Jones 1989). The objective of the CPP was the seizure of the state through armed struggle. They believed that the best way to attain their goal was to follow the Maoist strategy of a protracted people’s war: encircling the cities from bases in the countryside, and then seizing the cities and the administrative center when the time was ripe (Guerrero 1979; Weekley 2001). In 1969, Sison met Bernabe Buscayno, a Huk leader, and the party’s military arm, the New People’s Army (NPA), was formed.

The CPP–NPA was committed to an armed struggle intended to establish an alternative polity in the Philippines based on Maoist–Leninist ideology. Its greatest support was in the early 1980s, when it had an estimated 18,000–23,000 armed supporters (Dolan 2003). However, its leaders made the tactical mistake of boycotting the 1986 presidential elections, which marginalized the party, depriving it of any meaningful role in the postauthoritarian transition (Rocamora 1996). The removal of Marcos also deprived the party of a clear target to oppose. In the 1990s, support for the party declined in consonance with the gradual erosion of support for communism worldwide (Weekley 2001). Support for the insurgency was also weakened by the growing disenchantment with leaders who lived comfortably abroad while their cadres suffered on the field. There was also bitter infighting within the party over the continued viability of the Maoist strategy (Abinales 1996; Rocamora

1996). Casualties from both sides stand at around 40,000 (Fearon 2004). The insurgency is still ongoing, though conflict intensity lessened considerably in the 1990s.

Finally, the Philippine state has also confronted challenges to its internal sovereignty on the island of Mindanao. In 1968, Nur Misuari, Salamat Hashim, and other young Muslim intellectuals secretly established the Moro National Liberation Front–Bangsa Moro Army (MNLFBMA) with the objective of establishing a separate state in Mindanao (Chalk 2002). This was in reaction to two events: the Jabidah massacre of 1968 and the declaration of martial law on September 21, 1972. It was primarily an ethnic uprising to assert Moro historical rights to their “homeland,” as well as to reverse Moro marginalization in political affairs and economic development.

The MNLFBMA came into the open in 1972 with a series of offensives against the Philippine military. It had an estimated 6,000 armed supporters at that time (Political Instability Task Force 2006) confronting the national armed forces, which was 55,000 strong in 1972. The “struggle of the Bangsa Moro people” has been the Philippines’ most violent conflict, with casualty estimates ranging from 75,000 (Fearon 2004) to 120,000 (Gutierrez 2000b). It is this particular internal conflict that is the subject of extensive analysis in this article.

The Insurgents

To get a full picture of the MNLFBMA and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) as rebel organizations, it is imperative to understand the different ethnic communities in Mindanao and how the Moro nation came to be imagined. In early Philippine history, the primary instruments of group identification were language and blood relations (Patanne 1996; Scott 1994). The introduction of the Islamic and Christian faiths to the islands provided another mechanism for distinguishing among the various communities in the south. Currently, there are four major Muslim ethnic groups in Mindanao: the Tausugs, the

Table 1: Civil War in the Philippines

War:	Bangsa Moro vs. Government of the Republic of the Philippines
Dates:	November 1972–September 1996
Casualties:	75,000–120,000
Regime type prior to war:	–9 (Polity IV data; ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy]) 6 (Freedom House)
Regime type after war:	8 (Polity IV data; ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy]), 2 (Freedom House)
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$2,544.5 (PPP, constant 1996 prices)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$3,122.9 (PPP, constant 1996 prices)
Insurgents:	Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)
Issue:	Struggle for a separate state for Moros
Rebel Funding:	Local support, funding from Arab states (e.g., Libya, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia) and groups such as al-Qaeda
Role of geography:	Rebels build camps in deeply forested and mountainous terrain.
Role of resources:	Mindanao is the last undeveloped region in the Philippines.
Immediate outcome:	GRP and MNLF signed peace agreement on September 2, 1996.
Outcome after 5 years:	MNLF resumed armed struggle against GRP in November 2001. Misuari was arrested in Malaysia and turned over to the Philippines in 2002. New leadership abided by agreement. MILF–GRP hostilities are ongoing.
Role of UN:	Minimal
Role of regional organization:	Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) facilitated talks and negotiations.
Refugees:	200,000
Prospects for peace:	Favorable

Sources: Fearon 2004; Gutierrez 2000b; Polity IV Project (n.d.); Freedom House 2006; Heston, Summers, and Aten 2002; U.S. Committee for Refugees 2004.

Sama, the Maguindanaos, and the Maranaos (Abbahil 1984).

The Tausugs mostly reside in the Sulu archipelago, in the provinces of Sulu, Basilan, Tawi Tawi, Zamboanga del Sur, Palawan, Zamboanga del Norte, and Davao. The name *Tausug* can be roughly translated as “People of the Current.” A substantial number also reside in Sabah, where they answer to the name *Orang Suluk*.

The Sama reside in certain localities in the Zamboanga peninsula, although they consider the Sulu archipelago their home. Initially, students of Philippine cultural history referred to them as Samals, a name that is now considered repugnant by the Sama. This is because the word *Samal* means “dirty” in Tausug and was derisively employed by the

Tausugs to distinguish themselves from the Sama (Horvatic 1993; Stone 1974). The majority of those who pledge allegiance to the cause of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) are Tausugs and Sama. Nur Misuari, the best-known leader of the MNLF, is a Tausug. The Maguindanaos live primarily in the Cotabato region. They can be found residing in substantial numbers in four provinces: Maguindanao, North Cotabato, South Cotabato, and Sultan Kudarat.

Finally, the Maranaos populate the area of North Central Mindanao, near Lake Lanao (the name *Maranao* means “People of the Lake”). Most of the members of the MILF, which split off from the MNLF in 1984 under the leadership of Salamat Hashim, were Maguindanaos and Maranaos (Vitug and Gloria 2000). Hashim is a Maguindanao.

These four ethnic communities are fragmented by their different traditions. Any organization seeking to mobilize these communities for collective action must develop a powerful rationale that can overcome the inherent tensions extant among them. The founders of the MNLF found such a rationale in the common history of the Muslim communities: a long narrative of suffering and destitution under the colonial and postcolonial regimes based in Manila, involving the coercive expropriation of Moro lands and political marginalization in the formulation of state policy. These grievances were harnessed by the MNLF as the cognitive and emotive underpinnings of Muslim solidarity. The leader of the MNLF, Nur Misuari, framed the cause for a Bangsa Moro (Moro Nation) as a *nationalist* struggle against the “gobirno a sarwang tao” (foreign government) based in Manila (Kamlan 1995).

The MNLF ideology was founded on two key concepts: *gaosbaugbug* and *kaadilan*. The first term is a compound of two words: *gaos*, meaning “ability,” and *baugbug*, which can be translated as “commitment.” Thus, the MNLF rebel is someone who has the capacity to commit. Commit to what? To *kaadilan*, a utopic vision that is the complete opposite of what the Moro experience in their present state. In *kaadilan*, they shall recover their land, shall be politically influential, and shall be prosperous. That will be the state of affairs in the Moro’s *bangsa*, or “homeland” (Tan 1993, 38–40).

However, a basic ideological difference emerged between the MNLF and the MILF as to the nature of the rebellion. The content of the ethnonational discourse of the MNLF was primarily cultural–historical and not religious. Although there was an attempt to deploy Islamic



An armed member of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) guards a mosque in Zamboanga city in southern Philippines on November 20, 2001. The MILF is one of several separatist groups intent on securing independence of parts of the southern Philippines on behalf of the minority Muslim population of the region. (AP/Wide World Photos)

concepts such as jihad and ummah, the separatist project of the MNLF sought to gain adherents by promising the recovery of the Moros' ancient homelands (Macansantos 1996).

Although the MNLF considered the fight for the Bangsa Moro a nationalist project, the MILF, led by Hashim, came to consider the armed conflict as essentially a religious struggle (Kamlan 1995; Lingga 1995). "If the Moros fought for anything related to their perceived racial distinctness, it was peripheral; the main point always was religion" (Jubair 1999, 15). The various communities indeed shared a collective historical suffering, but the ground of the rebellion is Islam. The reason for seceding is to establish a state that will be guided by Islamic law, one in which Muslim values and beliefs can be practiced in their fullest sense (Gutierrez and Guialal 2000).

Logistically, the MNLF was funded by domestic and foreign sources. The MNLF prided itself as an internally funded secessionist movement, although it quickly came to realize the importance of foreign support. The Malaysians trained the earliest set of leaders and combatants in Sabah (Gutierrez 2000b). Throughout most its struggle against the government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP), the MNLF has received support from Arab countries, notably Libya and Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, there is also some evidence that the MILF was funded not only by Arab states but by organizations such as al-Qaeda. The MILF was linked to Osama Bin Laden when some of its forces trained and fought in Afghanistan as mujahideen. Bin Laden reciprocated by providing funding for the MILF cause (Abuza 2003; Ressa 2003).

Geography

The MNLF's base of operations is located in Southern Mindanao, where it can take advantage of the mountainous terrain and the support of their fellow Muslims. Tawi-Tawi, for example, is a major base in the struggle because it is one of the few remaining province in the Philippines in which the population is predominantly Mus-

lim. Currently, the MNLF and the MILF actively operate in Jolo, Basilan, Maguindanao, Lanao del Norte, Lanao del Sur, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, and North Cotabato (Gutierrez 2000a; Kamlan 1995).

Tactics

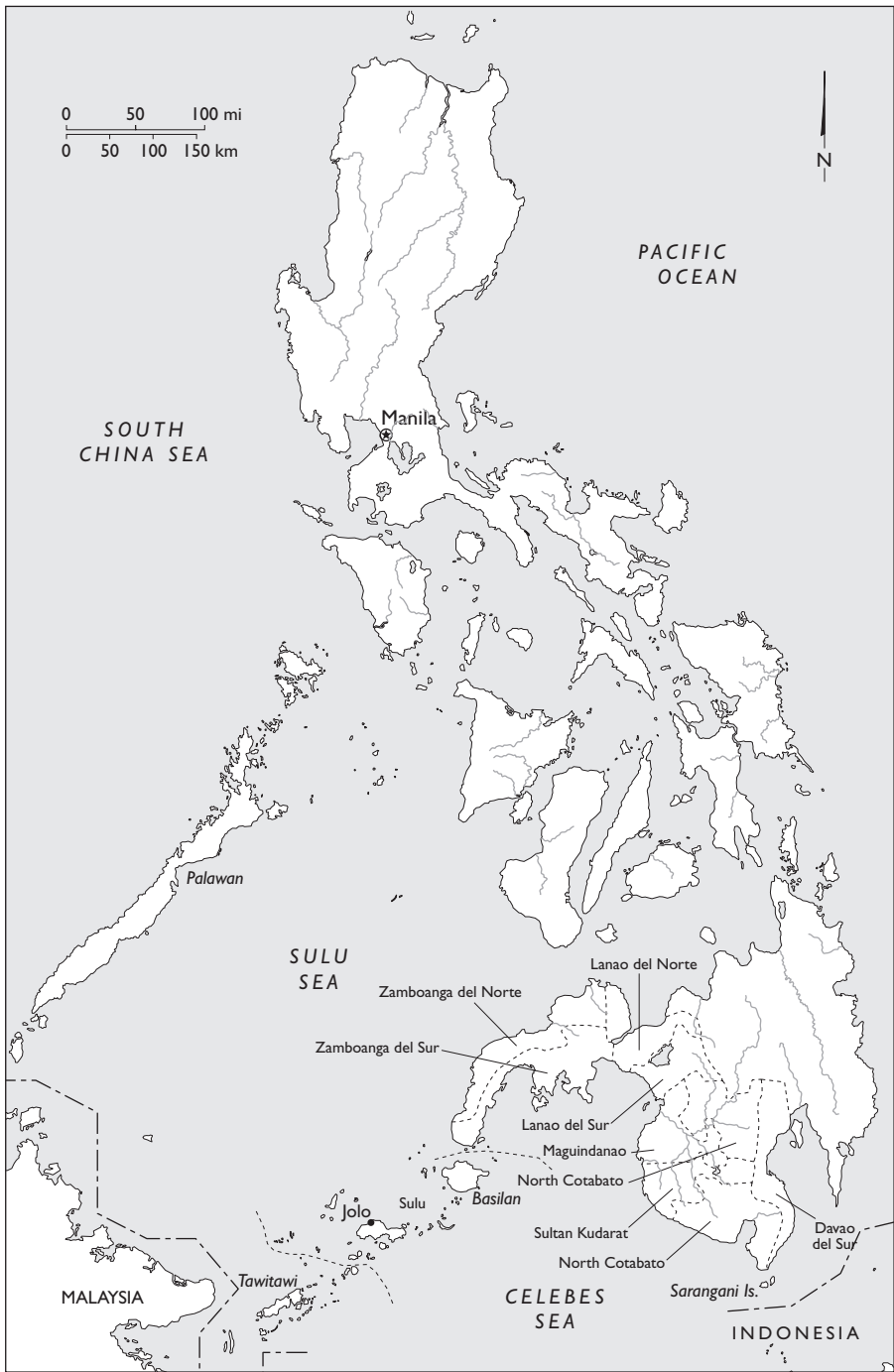
The MNLF and the MILF have adopted the rudiments of conventional warfare. They establish bases for supplies, training, and ammunition and engage the enemy in planned offensives. The goal is to increase the number of these bases and consolidate control province by province. These bases are built in areas where the rebel group has ethnic support. Thus, MNLF bases are established in Tausug areas, whereas MILF bases are built in Maranao or Maguindanao areas. For example, the MILF's central base, Camp Abubakar As-Siddique, is located at the heart of Maguindanao province (Vitug and Gloria 2000).

This is very much unlike the protracted war strategy adopted by the CPP-NPA. The latter avoids frontal face-offs with government forces and relies instead on ambushes and quick retreats. They are usually on the move and do not have fixed bases (Weekley 2001). The intent of those who adopt the guerrilla strategy is to be "invisible from the enemy" and wear him down.

Most of the arms of the MNLF and MILF are stolen or purchased from the Philippine military (Gutierrez 2000b). This means that they still operate with antiquated M-16 rifles and AK-47s. Field commanders have complained about their lack of effective antitank weaponry. However, the MILF has been able to purchase such weaponry with funding provided by the group of Osama Bin Laden. But their gains were greatly dissipated by their crushing loss at the hands of the military in 2000, when they lost Camp Abubakar (Vitug and Gloria 2000).

Causes of the War

The literature on ethnic mobilization contends that common experiences of discrimination or



possession of valid grievances do not necessarily translate to collective undertakings (Carment 1994; Olzak 1983). The onset of ethnic violence is usually preceded by a period of incubation in which such experiences or grievances are articulated, nurtured, and thereafter acted upon by social movements. Rodolfo Stavenhagen (1996) posits two types of factors that generate collective action among ethnic groups: Predisposing factors constitute the fundamental causes of the struggle, whereas triggering factors are the immediate causes of mobilization.

Muslim grievance against the Philippine state can be attributed to three factors: (1) the pejorative treatment Muslims have received from Christians; (2) the loss of the Muslims' homeland through discriminatory colonial policy; and (3) the "integration" policy of the state, which threatened their identity and way of life.

The Muslims in the Philippines have considered their rebellion a struggle for independence that goes all the way back to their resistance against the Spanish invaders in 1521. When the Spaniards came, they initially used the name *Moro* to refer to Muslims in Manila and later to refer to the people who resided in the southern part of the archipelago (Jubair 1999). The name *Moro* could have been derived from the word *Moor*, used by the Spaniards to designate a Berber of North Africa (Abubakar 1973).

Majul (1973) claims that a negative connotation was later inculcated in the minds of Christian Filipinos by the Spanish clergy to incite them to fight their brothers in the South; the Christian Filipinos were told that the Muslims were the enemies of their new religion (Dery 1997; Marohomsalic 2001). In this view, Morohood was forged in the fight against the Spaniards and Christianization. The political scientist Michael Mastura contends that Moro identity originated as a "reaction against the imposition of a monolithic colonial administration, nurtured with . . . missionary activities" (1976, 8). The Moro historian Jamal Kamlian claims that it was the "high degree of unity and cooperation" among the Moros that was re-

sponsible for their long and successful resistance against Spain (1995, 51).

The debate is contentious over whether the notion that the Muslims were united by a sense of Morohood in their struggle against Spain has a historical basis or was simply a framing imposed by the MNLF to provide some rationale for their secessionist project. The political scientist Thomas McKenna contends that Muslim resistance against Spain could be best characterized as disjointed and differentiated (1998). "Throughout their history a lack of unity has characterized the Moros: an inability of Maranao, Maguindanao and Tausug to join together in a common cause" (Gowing 1979, 238). There is also a dearth of historical evidence linking the resistance in Sulu to the armed opposition in Lanao and Cotabato. Bangsa Moro, the project of the Islamic political movements, may be a fairly recent construct—a notion that makes sense only when located within the MNLF's nationalist ideology (McKenna 1998).

Although the literature is divided over whether or not the struggle against Spanish rule developed a sense of unity among the different ethnic communities, there seems to be agreement that the American period brought a greater awareness among the Muslim groups of their common identity. The Americans categorized the people living in the islands as Christian Filipinos, pagans, or Moros. A 1903 statute (Act No. 1787) established a Moro province with provisions for its own governor and legislative council. These political bodies were empowered to formulate and enact policies autonomously, independent of the government in the Christian north.

The distinction between Christians and Moros eventually became sharp. The American use of the religion-based categories sensitized Muslims to their "separate identity" and led them to more aggressively pursue self-governance. Initially, the American colonizers undertook to placate the Moros so they could concentrate on subduing the Christian Filipinos, who continued to resist the colonizers in Luzon. It

was critical to the consolidation of American rule that the Sultan of Sulu be prevented from entering into an alliance with Filipino nationalists, because that would mean fighting a war in the north and the south with the rather thin U.S. force (Gowing 1983, 37). However, when U.S. rule became consolidated in Luzon and the Visayas in 1901, they implemented a “pacification” campaign against the Moros to fully exploit the natural resources of Mindanao. “The Moros had to be tamed or pacified so that ‘Moroland’ would be safe for capitalism” (Muslim 1994, 57).

The United States instituted a system of land titling in Mindanao, with the “official” objective of enabling the administrators to identify lands without owners that could then be given to tenants and small agricultural workers. However, the system ran directly counter to the Filipino Muslims’ conception of land. In their worldview, the communities’ lands are *pusaka*, a collective inheritance. No one “owned” the land itself. Not even Muslim leaders, the *datus*, could “own” the land, although they could identify who may use it. “Only the produce of land can be truly possessed” (Fianza 1999, 29). The system displaced the ethnic communities from their ancestral lands, as most Muslims did not register their land. Christian–Muslim land disputes led to the rise of violent gangs such as the Barracudas (mostly Maranaos) and the Ilagas (predominantly Ilongos), ostensibly to defend Christian and Muslim properties (Gomez 2000, 156–73). Their plight became worse when the U.S. land reform code distributed their traditional lands to multinational companies. Many Muslims came to support the armed campaign of the MNLF because of the belief that their victory meant recovery of their ancestral lands.

In 1907, American policy with regard to the Moro changed with the establishment of the Philippine Assembly. This political body quickly became “the forum for nationalist views demanding that Mindanao be fully incorporated into the Philippines” (Abinales 2000, 30). Manila politicians were of the belief that Mindanao is

Juramentado and Kristyano

The historical, deep-seated animosity between Christians and Muslims in Mindanao is perpetuated by social conditioning. Christian children are told to be wary of the Muslim, who is depicted as irrational and violent, someone who “quickly loses his mind” (*juramentado*) and thus should be avoided as much as possible. On the other hand, Muslims are told to be careful in their dealings with *kristyanos* (Christians) who are portrayed as callous property grabbers. Gutierrez (1997, 94) tells the story of a foreigner who saw that people entering a mosque simply left their shoes and sandals outside. He inquired whether it was possible that someone might steal them. The Moro replied, “only if a *kristyano* passes by” (Gutierrez 1997).

Philippine territory and that any policy that entailed the dismemberment of the country was unacceptable. In line with President Woodrow Wilson’s directive to prepare the Filipinos for self-rule and under pressure from assembly members, Governor Frank Carpenter decided to integrate Mindanao into the same system of governance that existed in the rest of the country.

Two policies were enacted to bring the Muslims into the “mainstream.” First, Christians in Luzon and the Visayas were relocated to Mindanao. The policy was justified by the contention that the presence of the Christians would have a “civilizing influence on wild tribes” (Abinales 2000, 17–67; Rodil 1994). Second, the Muslims were made to attend the public schools run by the Americans. The official objective for the establishment of these schools was to develop a civic consciousness among the different peoples in the Philippines. However, Filipino Muslims eventually came to realize that the colonizers were employing the schools to impart the message that foreign and Christian cultures were “mainstream” and “superior” (Gowing 1983, 134).

The policy of integrating the Muslims into the mainstream was carried out by successive

Filipino administrations after independence was granted to the colony in 1946. From Roxas to Marcos, the Philippine state simply continued the policy of integration. If the root of the problem was the incapability of the Muslims to adjust to modernity because of their rigid beliefs and practices, then the solution was to develop their consciousness and welfare through education and to provide them with housing, health facilities, and industries. The Filipino envisioned by the integration project was a Muslim who looked and thought like a Christian (Muslim 1994; Thomas 1971).

The policies were met with deep hostility and anger. The Muslims had lost their ancestral lands, they were minoritized in their own homeland (because of the resettlement policies), and now their identity was threatened by the school system. These were the grievances Muslims carried within themselves. These deep-seated resentments would explode into the open with *Jabidah* in 1968.

One event has been pointed out by almost all scholars of the *Bangsa Moro* rebellion as the triggering cause of the mobilization for the creation of a separate Islamic state: the 1968 *Jabidah* massacre (Majul 1985; Noble 1976;). It involved the murder of around twenty-eight Muslim recruits on Corregidor Island after they allegedly resisted their deployment to Sabah (Glang 1969). It was described as part of a Marcos plan to send soldiers to incite ferment that would strengthen the Philippines' claim to the territory being held by Malaysia. However, upon learning the real objectives of the mission, the Muslim recruits mutinied and were executed (George 1980). *Jabidah* fomented widespread resentment among many Muslims who saw the event as the final straw in their long history of suffering.

Historically, leaders of traditional families provided the initial framing of the Filipino Muslims' grievances. A member of congress, Omar Amilbaga, filed a bill in the lower house calling for the creation of the independent state of Sulu in 1961. In 1968, Udtog Matalam led the formation of the Muslim Independence Movement (MIM), the

objective of which was to push for the separation of Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan from the Philippines. In 1974, the *Bangsa Moro* Liberation Organization (BMLO) was formed under the leadership of Rashid Lucman, who eventually crowned himself paramount sultan of Mindanao and Sulu in 1974. The solution to the sad state of Filipino Muslims may involve secession, but this objective was initially pursued through aboveboard, constitutional means (Chalk 2002).

Jabidah seemed to demonstrate to the Muslim students that the legal approach was futile, that the approach had not worked in the past and would almost certainly founder against a dictatorship. The core of the political movement that would eventually advocate armed separatism was composed of young intellectuals who had studied in Manila or abroad (e.g., Egypt, Libya, Qatar). They developed a strategy more aggressive than those initiated by their "untrustworthy, aristocratic, and egocentric" elders (Gutierrez 2000b, 311). For Nur Misuari, Salamat Hashim, and Mohagher Iqbal, the end goal was an independent state. And the means to be used was armed force.

Misuari and his group realized that if they were to win the support of Muslims to engage the state militarily, they would need an identity that would sharply distinguish them from *Bangsa Filipino*. They would need symbols powerful enough to unite the fragmented Muslim communities and sustain a protracted struggle against the machinery of the state. They found their symbol in the historical figure of the Moro. The designation was extremely useful to the purposes of the students. First, colonizers employed the term as a derogatory sense, but it would now be employed as a symbol of pride. The image of the Moro conjured up images of valor, defiance, and determination—qualities critical for recruiting members to their side. "Moro was equated with valor and resistance, and to be called one fueled yearnings for a unique, historically different nation all the more" (Gutierrez 2000b, 312). As Moros have always been the masters of their own destiny, it was only fitting that they should

have their own state: the Bangsa Moro Republik (Kamlan 1995).

Second, the students emphasized that the Moros had never been conquered. The colonial regimes of Spain and the United States had been unable to bring the Moros to their knees. Moros have an indomitable spirit and have always found ways to avert defeat. Morohood was seen as a powerful symbol sustaining the spirit of the movement's members after the commencement of armed confrontations with the state.

Finally, in the Moro they found a symbol that could potentially unite the fragmented Muslim ethnic communities. They contended that the Tausugs, Samas, Maguindanaos, and Maranaos all shared a single history of oppression (by alien colonizers and by the Manila government). Their message was that the sorry condition of the Filipino Muslim could only be reversed if they came together, just as their ancestors had done before them. It made the argument for unity quite compelling.

The MNLF came out into the open two months after the declaration of martial law, although it had actually started as the underground movement of the youth sector of the Muslim Independence Movement (MIM) (Balacuit 1994). Its objective was clear and unequivocal: to found a separate state for Moros through armed struggle against the predominantly Christian Philippine state. Misuari did not mince any words, charging the Philippine government with "low intensity ethnic cleansing." He contended that the state sought "to destroy the national consciousness and Islamic identity of the Bangsa Moro people," and that justified a call for a jihad ("holy war") against the state (Balacuit 1994, 8). With that pronouncement, the Muslim resentment that had been kindled by a massacre was successfully framed into a noble cause for war.

Outcome ***Conflict Status***

The rebellion spearheaded by the MNLF held the GRP to a military stalemate in the 1970s, but

support for the rebellion declined in the 1980s as the movement proved incapable of dealing with three critical problems: (1) how to deal with the traditional Muslim structures, (2) how the Bangsa Moro Republik should be governed, and (3) how to deal with the interethnic tensions within the Bangsa Moro movement.

The MNLF based their rebellion on collective memory of a past uncorrupted by colonialism and Christianization. However, such appeal to history had the unintended effect of legitimizing the traditional political structures that they denounced as feudal and exploitative. The MNLF once contended that the cause of the Moros' economic destitution was not only the perverse governance by colonialists and Manila-based rulers but also the corruption of the traditional elite. Thus, the Bangsa Moro struggle was framed as not only anticolonial but also anti-elite (Majul 1985; Molloy 1988).

However, the MNLF realized that if they continued to denounce the traditional Moro elite, they risked losing the resources that the local lords and their private armies could provide. Thus, the leaders of the MNLF were faced with the choice of either to continue their ideological diatribe against the traditional elite or to enter into an uneasy alliance with them for tactical reasons. Eventually, facing considerable losses on the battlefield, the MNLF leadership found it more expedient to jettison their ideological beliefs to keep the money and manpower flowing in from the elite. According to Molloy (1988, 69), this decision "restricted the Front's ideological platform to simple demands for secession and a vague notion of an Islamic state."

In hindsight, the MNLF's alliance of convenience with the elite was quite beneficial to the rebellion in the short term, but its long-term consequences for the uprising were severely damaging. The Moro elite supported the cause of the MNLF at the beginning but comfortably shifted their allegiance to the Marcos dictatorship when they realized that such move would bring greater rewards and rents. The elite's shift of allegiance drained the MNLF of vital man-

power when the clan leaders pulled their private armies from the field. Even more tellingly, the elite repudiated the MNLF's belief in a tawhidi society. The MNLF held the notion that a Moro state should be devoid of any political, social or economic segmentation, that society must reflect the divine oneness, or tawhid (Owen 1992). However, the elite soon realized that such a concept threatened their inherited preeminence in their respective ethnic communities.

Another factor that led to the decline of support for the MNLF's cause was its inability to present a clear and coherent redistributive agenda. The Bangsa Moro rebellion presented itself as an armed struggle for social justice, but the MNLF was unable to offer any ideas to promote social equity or to propose an alternative economic model. The MNLF position on the economy was framed in very vague terms. Its manifesto stated that the movement shall "never tolerate any form of exploitation and oppression of any human being by another or of one nation by another" (Gutierrez 2000b, 326). The absence of a clear-cut economic policy direction eroded the MNLF's ideological hold on its adherents. It opened the movement to the criticism that a victory for the MNLF would result not in a tawhidi society unsegmented by class but in the domination of economic life by the Tausugs.

Finally, the decision of Salamat Hashim to split from the MNLF and establish the MILF shook Misuari's nationalist project to its very base. The antipathies of the ethnic communities with each another proved too formidable to be overcome by a project based on the invocation of a common historical past. The quest for a Bangsa Moro nation was effectively scuttled by ethnic antagonism. The MNLF came to be seen as the Tausug branch of the Moro movement (headed by Misuari), whereas the MILF was linked with the Maguindanaos (under the leadership of Hashim). (The split produced a third group, the so-called MNLF-Reformist wing, which was composed mostly of Maranaos and was led by Abul Khayr Alonto. It is no longer active.) The MILF tried to disabuse the notion that

Lineages to the Divine

The leadership of the Bangsa Moro struggle comes from the Tausug and Maguindanao ethnic communities. The word *Tausug* (who lead the MNLF) means "People of the Current." The Tausugs believe that their designation was also ascribed to them because of their bravery and courage. Thus, they are *Tau Maisug*, or "brave people." The Tausug claim their noble lineage from Tuan Masha'ika, a son of two gods, Jamiyum Kulisa and Indira Suga.

Meanwhile, the name *Maguindanaos* means "People of the Flood Plain" because they live near a delta that is prone to overflow, flooding the plains. They claim lineage from Rajah Indarapatra, a child from the seventh layer of heaven who agreed to accept mortality. It was said that Indarapatra taught the Maguindanaos the arts of farming, healing, and sword making. The tensions between these two groups seem to suggest that godly descent is insufficient for peace (Abbahil 1984).

it was a Maguindanao clique, but its most prominent leaders were Maguindanaos, as those at the top of MNLF were Tausugs (Vitug and Gloria 2000). Furthermore, as Gutierrez has pointed out, an authentic multiethnic leadership or a notable pan-Moro army have never emerged. "The Maguindanaoans would generally choose to fight alongside other Maguindanaoans [rather] than with Tausugs or Maranaos" (Gutierrez 2000b, 325).

The MNLF and the GRP negotiated a peace agreement on September 2, 1996, after a series of talks in Jakarta, Indonesia. In the agreement, an executive body was created, the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD). In the agreement, the head of the body would have the capacity to administer the economic development of the thirteen provinces stipulated in the Tripoli Agreement, with the addition of Sarangani. It also stipulated the integration of MNLF combatants into the police and military. Nur Misuari, the chairman of the MNLF, was appointed head of SPCPD in 1996.

However, it became apparent that Misuari lacked the necessary administrative and managerial skills to govern. Revolutionaries are often very inept administrators. His terms as SPCPD chairman and governor of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) were riddled with charges of corruption and failed programs. In 2000, the Philippine government sought to provide a graceful exit for Misuari by rescheduling the elections for ARMM governor to 2000, giving him the opportunity to step aside in favor of Parouk Hussin, the MNLF's foreign minister (Vitug and Gloria 2000).

Misuari resisted the government's schemes to marginalize him. In 2001, he and his followers mounted an attack on government facilities in Jolo as a demonstration of force and to reignite the MNLF's struggle for true autonomy. However, the putsch was quickly contained and crushed, forcing Misuari to flee to Sabah, where he was captured by Malaysian authorities in November 2001. Misuari was turned over to the Philippine government in 2002, and he is being tried for sedition.

As for the MILF, they distanced themselves from the GRP-MNLF agreement as well as the SPCPD and entered into their own negotiations with the state. However, when talks broke down in 2000, President Joseph Estrada launched an all-out assault against the MILF on the pretext that the group was harboring members of the Abu Sayyaf, a terrorist group trained and funded by al-Qaeda. The MILF was defeated in the confrontation, losing their historical and spiritual center, Camp Abubakar As-Siddique. In 2003, Salamat Hashim, the MILF's founder and spiritual leader, passed away; the leadership passed to Al-Haj Murad. Without Hashim, it is questionable how long the MILF will last as a rebel organization. They have since resumed negotiations with the GRP.

Duration Tactics

The Bangsa Moro struggle can be categorized as an example of a rebellion based on grievance (Collier and Hoeffler 2004). The predisposing

factors of the rebellion are historically rooted and deep-seated. This sense of injustice was the emotive reason the MNLF was able to rapidly recruit combatants in the 1970s and can explain how they were able to sustain their resistance for two decades thereafter. A rebellion framed in an ethnic context provides a clear lens through which to identify enemies and to explain the causes of one's destitution (Esman 1989; Fearon and Laitin 2003). Support for the Bangsa Moro cause is likely to continue, given the deterioration of the socioeconomic situation of the Muslims in Mindanao.

Another factor that enabled the rebels to sustain their rebellion in Mindanao was the topographic fragmentation of the Philippines. It proved difficult for the central government to mount campaigns in deeply forested, mountainous terrain. To this was added the fact that the rebels established their bases in the provinces where particular ethnic communities supported them. For example, the MNLF was active in Tawi-Tawi, a province dominated by Tausugs. Meanwhile, the MILF had most of its bases in Maguindanao, home of the Maguindanaos.

The rebel cause was also aided by the limited capacity of the state to fully engage the rebels. The central government could not throw the full weight of its military might against the MNLF or the MILF, because it had to allocate its limited resources to containment of other threats to national security. The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) had to deal with the attacks and incursions of the CPP-NPA in Luzon and in several parts of the Visayas. Currently, the AFP and the PNP also have to contend with the terrorist activities of the Abu Sayyaf.

Finally, the MNLF and the MILF also received financial support from the outside. Such countries as Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Iran had channeled monetary and logistical support to the rebellion since the outbreak of violence in 1972. In the case of the MILF, training and financing were also received from groups such as al-Qaeda (Ressa 2003). This external support was vital to the insurgency, especially when support for its

cause began to decline as Marcos's authoritarian regime collapsed in 1986 and the country reverted to democracy. However, when the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)—especially the MNLF's main supporters (Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Indonesia)—began to back the initiatives of President Ramos in 1992, the MNLF faced the possibility that its financial well was drying up. The MNLF finally signed a peace agreement with the GRP on September 2, 1996.

Conflict Management Efforts

The case of the MNLF was described as the only “success story of the OIC in its record of dispute settlement” (Vitug and Gloria 2000, 70). This success may be due to the fact that the MNLF was able to sustain its rebellion largely with the support of the OIC. Thus, when the OIC finally declared that it was time for the MNLF and the GRP to “further the peace process,” the MNLF took the bargaining table more seriously.

The MNLF initially obtained its financing from within but immediately saw the benefits of financing from without. Both Islamic tenets and international law were utilized to legitimize this procurement of external intervention. In the Islamic political imagination, all the believers of Islam constitute one undivided community; the term *ummah* refers both to the Muslim society contained within a state and to the broader “community of the faithful” (Decasa 1999; Roy 1994). Thus, the 1974 MNLF manifesto declared that the Bangsa Moro struggle is “part of the Islamic World as well as of the Third World and the oppressed colonized humanity everywhere in the world” (cited in Santos 2001, 57).

In 1974, the MNLF charged the Marcos administration with undertaking what it referred to as “low intensity ethnic cleansing” in Mindanao because of the administration's support of armed Christian gangs (e.g., the Ilagas) and its policy of driving Muslims off their ancestral lands. Clearly, the tactic was crafted to demonstrate to the international community that the MNLF was a national liberation movement (NLM) fighting to preserve its identity against a

racist state; see, for example, the United Nations' Declaration of Friendly Relations Declaration (1970), as well as the Aalands case (1920). The claim had the effect of allowing third states to come to the movement's aid, which was very important for the resource-strapped MNLF. As a national liberation movement, the MNLF was also empowered to enter into treaties with other countries (Cassese 2001, 76–77).

States such as Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Iran gave the MNLF much-needed financial, logistical, and diplomatic support. The interest of the OIC was also credited with restraining the Marcos administration from committing gross violations of human rights in the Mindanao region. In the jargon of international law, the Moro rebellion had become an “internationalized non-international armed conflict”: a dispute that has not yet reached the character of interstate conflict but in which external intervention is present (Gasser 1983).

The OIC provided much-needed support for the Moro cause in the international arena but also acted to restrain the MNLF from pursuing its secessionist intentions aggressively. Some members of the OIC, such as Libya and Malaysia, expressed public support for the objectives of the MNLF rebellion, whereas others, such as Iran, Syria, and Saudi Arabia, never took public positions but provided clandestine funding. However, some states within the OIC were also engaged in struggles against separatist movements, most notably Indonesia and Iraq; these states blocked full OIC recognition of the MNLF because they feared that it would embolden other separatist groups.

It can be reasonably averred that the OIC was very much responsible for the decision of the Moro groups to reduce their claims to autonomy. With regard to the Philippine case, it adopted the very conservative position that the conflict between the GRP and the MNLF must be resolved “within the framework of Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity,” effectively shredding the separation option from the table. Eventually, the Tripoli Agreement, which was

signed by the GRP and the MNLF in December 1976, entailed the formation of an autonomous regional system in Mindanao, not a separate state. Although the MNLF attempted to place the secession option back on the table at various points afterward, they were never able to really step out of the shadow of the Tripoli Agreement. That agreement was the framework upon which the Peace Agreement of 1996 was negotiated, the document that brought the MNLF back into the fold of the law. The MNLF's decision left the MILF the only Muslim group currently in armed engagement with the state.

Conclusion

Plural societies face the perpetual dilemma of maintaining internal order and preserving their borders. Historical grievances of ethnic communities can suddenly explode into the open, triggered by some event that crystallizes their perceived disadvantaged situation. This rage can be articulated and given form by an organization toward the goal of greater political participation, autonomy, or separation (Esman 1989). Enemies are identified, causes enumerated, and courses of action mapped.

Such was the case with the Philippine Muslims. Although recognized for their valiant resistance of the Spanish invaders, they have since been marginalized in Philippine socioeconomic and political life. Colonial administrations forcibly dispossessed them of landed properties, and Mindanao remained undeveloped because of the concentration of government decision making in Manila. The Muslims' discontent exploded into the open after the Jabidah massacre in 1968 and was given political form by the MNLF.

It can be reasonably asserted that the 1996 agreement was tailored to bring the MNLF back into the fold of the law. However, negotiating with the MNLF alone could not achieve peace in the Southern Philippines. For most of the Muslims, the MNLF had come to be considered the Tausug component of the Bangsa Moro struggle. The claims of the Maguindanaos and

the Maranaos have been lodged with the MILF, and it would take the state the same amount of political creativity that the government showed in the MNLF negotiations to convince the MILF to lay down their arms. However, the death of Salamat Hashim provided the GRP and the MILF with a more flexible window for negotiations. Hashim, like Misuari, was not fully convinced of the autonomy alternative to secession. With his towering presence absent from the table, the peace process may be advanced more fully.

The MNLF no longer has the political or military organization to restart an armed resistance against the state, and for this reason it can be expected that the 1996 peace agreement will hold. But given the continued marginalization of Muslims in their own region, and the continued underdevelopment of provinces with large segments of Muslim population, a trigger event is likely to galvanize Muslim resistance anew. The autonomy alternative having failed to provide a solution to the problems of the Muslims, a more viable path to peace would be the formation of a federal system in the Philippines. With much local government power devolved, the Muslims would finally get the chance to govern themselves or to learn to govern with the Christians and the Lumads. Such would be difficult, but in the end, the vigor of societies can only be preserved, said an eminent philosopher, "by the widespread sense that high aims are worthwhile" (Whitehead 1933, 371).

Rodelio Cruz Manacsa and Alexander Tan

Chronology

March 1968 Jabidah massacre occurs; twenty-eight Muslims mutiny and are executed. Filipino Muslims protest and prepare for armed rebellion.

1969 The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) is secretly founded under the leadership of Nur Misuari.

September 21, 1972 Ferdinand Marcos places the country under martial law.

November 1972 Bangsa Moro rebellion breaks out with offensives against the Philippine

- military in Sulu, Lanao del Norte, Lanao del Sur, and Jolo.
- 1973 Marcos creates the Southern Philippine Development Administration (SPDA) to “bring development” to Mindanao while continuing military operations.
- 1974 Muslim secessionist movement gains international recognition. The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) recognizes the MNLF as the representative of the Moro people.
- December 23, 1976 The MNLF and the government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) enter into the Tripoli Agreement, in which the MNLF agrees to reduce its claims to an autonomous region of thirteen provinces and nine cities. The GRP grants the claim as long as “constitutional processes” are followed. MNLF splinters when a faction related to Salamat Hashim disagrees with the reduced claim.
- 1977 Negotiations break down; the MNLF insists that immediate autonomy be granted on the thirteen provinces and nine cities, but the GRP insists on plebiscites.
- 1979 The MNLF reverts to secession as the goal of the Bangsa Moro struggle.
- 1984 The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), an MNLF splinter group, is formed under Salamat Hashim.
- 1986 President Marcos calls for an emergency presidential election, which is held but with fraudulent results. Marcos is deposed in a spontaneous, nonviolent uprising called the People Power Revolution, headed by Corazon Aquino and a Church prelate, Jaime Cardinal Sin. Aquino is installed as president.
- 1989 The Philippine legislature crafts the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), bestowing autonomy on any province or city that votes for the scheme in a plebiscite. Only four of the thirteen provinces select autonomy.
- 1993 Emissaries of Aquino’s successor, President Fidel V. Ramos, and the MNLF meet in Jakarta.
- 1994 President Ramos grants amnesty to Muslim rebels.
- September 2, 1996 Peace agreement is signed by the MNLF and the GRP. Misuari is elected governor of the ARMM and is also named chairperson of the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD). MILF rejects the agreement and pursues its own negotiations with GRP.
- 2000 Ramos’s successor, Joseph Estrada, launches a full assault against the MILF and captures Camp Abubakar, the MILF’s central lair.
- January 2002 Upon receiving news that he will not be reappointed head of the SPCPD nor supported as ARMM governor, Misuari leads an armed attack against Philippine forces in Jolo. Violence breaks out between the MNLF and the GRP.
- November 2002 Misuari is captured in Pulau Jampiras, Malaysia. He is eventually turned over to the Philippines, where he is being tried for sedition. Parouk Hussin succeeded Misuari as MNLF head.
- July 13, 2003 MILF founder Salamat Hashim dies; Al Haj-Murad is named head of the MILF.

List of Acronyms

- AFP: Armed Forces of the Philippines
 ARMM: Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao
 BMA: Bangsa Moro Army
 BMAF: Bangsa Moro Armed Forces
 BMLO: Bangsa Moro Liberation Organization
 CPP: Communist Party of the Philippines
 GRP: government of the Republic of the Philippines
 MILF: Moro Islamic Liberation Front
 MIM: Muslim Independence Movement
 MNLF: Moro National Liberation Front
 NLM: national liberation movement
 NPA: New People’s Army
 OIC: Organization of the Islamic Conference
 PKP: Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (Communist Party of the Philippines)
 SPCPD: Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development
 SPDA: Southern Philippine Development Administration

Glossary

- Bangsa Moro:** The “nation” envisioned by MNLF leaders in the 1960s to unify the different Islamic communities. *Bangsa* means homeland, and *Moro* is an epithet first employed by the Spanish colonizers to refer to Muslims but later appropriated by MNLF leaders in 1960s as a symbol of their struggle. They claimed that, despite the diversity among them, they shared a common past: a history of defiance and resistance that dated as far back as the Spanish

period. They transfigured the negative epithet bestowed by colonizers into a symbol of pride and freedom.

gaosbaugbug: One of the two pillars of MNLF's ideology. *Gaos* can be roughly translated as "ability" and *baugbug*, "commitment." A Muslim can be a member of the MNLF only if he has the capacity to commit to the realization of kaadilan.

jihad: Roughly translated as "holy war," which, according to the MNLF ideology, can be waged against a regime that has become *gobirno* a *sarwang tao* (a government alien to the people).

kaadilan: The endpoint of the Bangsa Moro struggle, a state in which supposedly all the wrongs committed against the Muslims shall be rectified and their way of life forever protected.

Moro: The designation used by the Spaniards to refer to the Muslims in Manila and later to the Islamic peoples in the south. Moro was derived from the term *Moor*, which the Spaniards used to mean a Berber of North Africa; the Berbers conquered Spain in 711.

tarsilas: Genealogies of the different ethnic communities in Mindanao, where their divine lineages can be supposedly traced.

tawhid: The oneness of the divine that should be reflected by any Muslim order.

ummah: The worldwide brotherhood of Muslims.

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Russia

(1994–1996)

Introduction

The Chechen quest for independence began in 1991, when Chechen nationalists came to power in Chechnya and declared its sovereignty from the Russian Federation. In 1994, after several unsuccessful attempts to unseat the nationalist government, Russian president Boris Yeltsin resorted to what hoped to be a quick and victorious war. Contrary to these expectations, however, the Russian troops met fierce resistance from the Chechen fighters and from the Chechen population. After almost two years of continuous fighting and approximately 30,000 in casualties, the Russian administration ended the conflict by agreeing to withdraw its troops and to postpone a final decision on the Chechen independence until December 31, 2001. Despite the agreement, however, the Chechen nationalists continued their demands for independence supported by a series of terrorist attacks. In retaliation for terrorist attacks, on October 1, 1999, Russian ground troops entered Chechnya for another military campaign that became known as the Second Chechen war.

Country Background

The Russian Federation entered the First Chechen war (1994–1996) as a newly established democracy overwhelmed by economic hardship, political instability, and the rise of nationalist

feelings. On August 24, 1991, the Russian Federation proclaimed its independence from the Soviet Union and started the process of forming a democratic political system and market economy to replace the socialist political institutions and planned economy of the Soviet era. By the outbreak of the war, Russia had emerged as a presidential republic characterized by a strong executive branch, a weak parliament, and a multiparty political system. President Boris Yeltsin, who was popularly elected by more than 57 percent of the electorate in the first democratic presidential election on June 12, 1991, headed the executive branch. The legislative powers of Russia were vested in the two newly formed chambers of the Federal Assembly: the Federal Council (upper chamber) and the State Duma (lower chamber). In accordance with the new Russian Constitution (1993), Yeltsin's presidential powers were significantly greater than those of the Russian legislature. However, it did not prevent the legislature from providing opposition to Yeltsin and his cabinet.

The 1993 parliamentary elections were contested by thirteen political parties, eight of which passed a 5-percent threshold and received seats in the State Duma. None of the parties had a clear majority in the parliament. Russia's Choice, the major reformist coalition and Yeltsin's supporter, performed better than any other party in single-mandate districts and received a total of

66 seats in the Duma (more than any other party); however, it lost the party-list election and could hardly compete with the conservative opposition. As a result, an odd coalition of ultranationalists (the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia), Communists (the Communist Party of the Russian Federation), and agrarians (the Agrarian Party) took control of the legislature and posed a real threat to Yeltsin and his reforms.

Many experts attribute the good performance of the conservative parties in the 1993 parliamentary election to a general disillusion among the Russians with economic reforms undertaken by Yeltsin and his cabinet. Wishing to transform Russian socialist planning into a market economy, Boris Yeltsin enlisted help of one of his supporters, young economist and politician Yegor Gaidar. In June 1992, Yeltsin appointed Gaidar acting prime minister, and Gaidar's team started one of the most ambitious economic reforms, known as a "shock therapy." It included liberalization of prices, legalization of private business and private ownership of land, introduction of free trade and commercial banking, massive privatization of state-run enterprises, and radical cuts in military spending. The impact of these changes on the public was severe. By the end of 1992, real income had fallen by 47 percent; the inflation rate reached an unprecedented 2,600 percent; and GDP declined by 14 percent. Absolute poverty and unemployment, practically unknown during Soviet times, became a fact of everyday life. As a result, economic reform and its advocates became extremely unpopular with the majority of Russians.

In addition to economic devastation, Yeltsin and his cabinet had to deal with the rise of nationalist feelings among the members of the federation. In 1991, when the Russian Federation declared its independence from the Soviet Union, it comprised 89 constituent units populated by more than 100 various nationalities. By 1993, several of those units had either openly declared their independence from Russia (for example, Chechnya and Buryatia) or expressed a

desire to secede from the federation (for example, Tatarstan). Initially, the Yeltsin administration, overwhelmed by the difficulty of economic transition, decided to ignore the problem of rising nationalism. However, by the end of 1994, the conservative opposition openly criticized the president for mishandling the situation, charging him with ruining the federation. In response, Yeltsin decided to get tough on attempts to secede, hoping that he could fight a quick, popular, and victorious war against the break-away republic.

Conflict Background

Officially, the Chechen war started on December 11, 1994, and lasted until August 25, 1996. Overall, it was a disastrous war, with 30,000 casualties, most of them civilian. The Russian forces accounted for approximately 48,000 troops. Estimates of the Chechen forces vary widely (from 1,000 to 10,000 fighters). The Russian government fought the Chechen war to stop Chechnya from seceding from the Russian Federation. The Chechen separatist forces fought the war in an attempt to establish an independent Muslim state of Ichkeria (Chechnya).

At the end of the Soviet era, Chechnya was a part of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. In 1991, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Chechen nationalists came to power in Chechnya and declared sovereignty. However, their proclamation was not supported by the Ingush part of the republic. As a result, the Chechen-Ingush Republic split into two parts: Chechnya and Ingushetia. Ingushetia remained a part of the Russian Federation, whereas Chechnya declared its full independence from Russia in 1993.

In November 1991, Boris Yeltsin sent federal troops to Chechnya to stop the secession. However, the Supreme Soviet (the legislative branch of the Soviet era) did not support Yeltsin's decision, and the troops had to withdraw. Unable to deploy federal troops, the Yeltsin administration made several attempts to unseat the nationalist

Table 1: Civil War in Russia

War:	Chechen separatists vs. government
Dates:	December 1994 to August 1996 October 1999–present
Casualties:	1994–1996: 30,000 (1994–1996]; 1994–2004: 50,000–250,000 estimated
Regime type prior to war:	4 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	4 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$7,687.77 (1994)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$9,995.91 (2001)
Insurgents:	Chechen separatists
Issue:	Secession
Rebel funding:	Drugs, Soviet aid
Role of geography:	Rebels used urban combat in cities and guerrilla warfare in mountains.
Role of resources:	Russian oil pipelines in Chechnya made Chechnya vital to Russian Federation.
Immediate outcome:	Government defeat with postponement of resolution of independence for five years
Outcome after 5 years:	Continuous conflict, pro-Russia government
Role of UN:	No peacekeepers; condemned terrorism
Role of regional organization:	OSCE was active.
Refugees:	365,000
Prospects for peace:	Unfavorable

Sources: Human Development Report 2002; Marshall, Jaggers, Gurr 2004; World Bank 2004

government of Chechnya, but none was successful. As a result, the Russian administration lost control of the situation in Chechnya, whose nationalist government gained popularity and strength. By 1992, according to the Russian Interior Ministry, 250 Russians had been killed in Grozny (the capital of Chechnya), and about 300 had disappeared without a trace (Yanchenkov 2000). By 1994, thousands of Russians had abandoned their homes in Chechnya and fled to Russia.

The Insurgents

The Chechens are one of more than forty ethnic groups that have historically populated the Caucasus (Kavkaz), a predominantly mountainous territory expanding from the mouth of the Kuban River on the Black Sea to the Apsheron peninsula on the Caspian Sea. Chechens are the largest ethnic community of the North Caucasus. They account for about 2 million people,

approximately 900,000 of whom live in the territory of present-day Chechnya. Together with the neighboring Inquish, the Chechens constitute the Vainakh people (*Vainakh* means “our countrymen”). The first written records of Chechens, who called themselves the Nokhchi, go back to the early Middle Ages. During that time, together with other Vainakh tribes and Caucasus peoples, Chechens attempted to establish two independent states. The territory of the Chechen and Dagestani mountains comprised the Sirir kingdom, and the North Caucasian plains and foothills were part of the Alanian state. However, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the territories of the Northern Caucasus were repeatedly invaded by the Tatar–Mongol troops, and Chechens were forced to retreat to the mountains, where they remained until the fall of the Golden Horde.

The highlander legacy left an important mark on the Chechen culture. On the one hand, living in mountain communities prevented an

emergence of different classes among the Vainakh. They have never known either slavery or serfdom, and every man was a warrior. Local rule by feudal lords was limited in scope and based on popular support by essentially free people. On the other hand, the long history of mountain life proved to be an obstacle to establishing a state once the Chechens repopulated the plains. The primary loyalty of Chechens was to their families and clans, and none of the clans wanted to see members of another clan rise to power. As a result, the Vainakh people resorted to inviting princelings of their highland neighbors to rule them and have never had a ruler of their own.

The first close association between the Chechens and the Russians took place in the mid-sixteenth century. During this time, the Russian tsar's policy focused on a peaceful colonization of the region. This was successfully accomplished by the end of the seventeenth century, when Chechen communities officially recognized Moscow's rule. However, in the mid-eighteenth century, Russia changed its policy, choosing an open military expansion to the North Caucasus. This change led to widespread resistance among the Chechen population. The resistance movement was led by Sheikh Mansur, who hoped to establish a single Muslim state in the North Caucasus.

Although Sheikh Mansur never achieved his main goal, his armed resistance to Moscow's colonial rule served as an aspiration for many future generations of the Chechens. It took the tsarist army more than a century of active conflict before they were able to suppress the Chechen resistance and bring Chechnya under Russian administrative rule. In the late nineteenth century, as a part of the tsar's policy, the Russian administration began to deport Chechens from their homeland to Turkey, starting another wave of active resistance.

Soviet rule of the twentieth century was just as alien to the Chechens as the earlier rule of the Russian tsars. The Bolsheviks took control of the North Caucasus in 1921, creating the Chechen

Autonomous Region in 1922. In 1934, the Soviet regime unified Chechnya and Ingushetia in the Chechen-Ingush Region. In 1936, the Soviet Federal government granted the Chechen-Ingush Region the status of autonomous republic. However, Soviet domination of the Chechens did not last. In 1942, the republic was occupied by Nazi Germany. The Chechen and Ingush units of the Soviet Army defected and collaborated with the Nazis against the Soviets. The Soviets treated this collaboration as an act of treason and dismantled the Chechen-Ingush Republic once it was back under Soviet control in 1944. The inhabitants of the dismantled republic were deported to the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic (Kazakhstan) and to Siberia. It was not until 1957, four years after Stalin's death, that the republic was reestablished and Chechens were allowed to return to their homeland. However, a total reconciliation between the Russians and Chechens has never taken place. The Russians continued to believe the Chechens to be treacherous and unreliable people, while the Chechens continued to believe the Russians to be colonial invaders and continued their hopes for independence.

The collapse of the Soviet Union seemed to open a window of opportunity for Chechen nationalists, who declared independence on November 1, 1991. Dzhokhar Musayevich Dudayev, the leader of the movement for Chechen independence and the first separatist president of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria, was a child of the Chechen deportation who spent his first thirteen years in Kazakhstan. In 1957, he and his family returned to Chechnya, where he finished night school and qualified as an electrician. To continue his education, Dudayev entered the Tambov Higher Military Aviation School for Pilots, which he finished in 1966. In 1968, Dudayev joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and continued to advance steadily in his military career. In 1987, he received the rank of major general and assumed command of the strategic Soviet air base at Tartu, Estonia. In May 1990, Dudayev retired from his military career

Chechen Currency

Early in 1997, the Chechen separatist government decided to pursue a policy of greater economic independence from Russia by issuing new Chechen currency, the nakhar. The currency was modeled on the U.S. dollar and barred essential elements, including watermarks, to prevent counterfeiting. It was printed at a secret press in Britain and then delivered to the vaults of the Chechnya's central bank. The new currency was issued in Soviet-style denominations, starting with one-, three-, and five-nakhar notes and going up to a one-thousand-nakhar note, which bore a portrait of Chechen folk hero Sheikh Mansur galloping on horseback.

In his interview with a Reuter's correspondent, bank chairman Nazhmudin Uvaisayev stated, "I want our nakhar to be a hard currency, respected by all. It will be tied to currencies like the dollar and the German mark and pegged to the dollar at a rate of one to one." However, his hopes for the nakhar were based more on national pride than on a sound monetary policy. Because there were no gold reserves in Chechnya to support their new currency, even Chechen petty traders were wary of the nakhar. The currency remained sealed in the vaults of the bank until Grozny was taken over by federal forces in 1999 (*Daily Turkish News* 1996).

and returned to Chechnya, devoting himself to politics and to establishing a sovereign Chechen state. Dudayev's aggressive nationalist views earned him recognition among other proponents of Chechen independence, placing him at the head of the movement.

Although Dudayev and his supporters were unanimous in their strong anti-Russian sentiments and in their desire for an independent Chechnya, they were much less unified on the role of Islam in the future state. Even though Islam came to the region in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was not widespread in Chechnya until the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. During that period, Islam served as a unifying force among the mountain

peoples in their resistance of Russian rule—most notably in 1834, when Imam Shamil was able to unite a part of the North Caucasus region, including Chechnya, in *gazavat* (a holy war of Muslims against infidels) against the Russian troops. Since that time, Islam has remained an important part of the Chechen culture, and not even Soviet rule could eradicate Muslim beliefs among the Chechens. However, of the many forms of Islam, only its modern Sunni version has been adopted in Chechnya. In addition, many pre-Muslim customs have retained their importance in the Chechen culture. As a result, even though Dudayev and his supporters declared that they sought to establish an independent Muslim state of Chechnya, there was little effort to make everyday life conform to Islamic standards. Furthermore, in his interview with *Time* magazine, Dudayev stated that, by starting a military campaign against Chechnya, Russia forced Chechens into Islam, even though they were not ready to accept Muslim values (Zarakovich 1996).

Geography

Chechnya is situated on the northern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains. Its total territory is only about 5,800 square miles (approximately three-quarters the size of New Jersey). However, the republic encompasses topographically distinct regions. The southern part comprises densely forested mountains. By contrast, the northern part of Chechnya is composed of plains and lowlands. The western part of Chechnya comprises the Terek and the Sunzha valleys. It is the main agricultural region of the republic. Grozny, the capital of the republic, lies in the central part of Chechnya. Gudermes, the second largest city, is located on the Sunzha River 22.3 miles east of Grozny.

By virtue of Chechnya's topography, the war involved urban warfare as well as mountain warfare. The Russian army, heavily armed with tanks, artillery, and aircraft, was at a disadvantage in both types of warfare. In contrast, it allowed the Chechen separatist troops to compensate for



their small numbers and lack of artillery by engaging in predominantly infantry combat.

In urban combat in Grozny and other major cities, the Russian army needed a manpower advantage of at least 5:1 (mostly infantry) to secure every building they took and to continue to advance. However, this had not been foreseen by the Russian general staff. As a result, the first assault on Grozny lasted for two months instead of the estimated two hours. The successful use of antiarmor ambushes allowed the Chechens to inflict heavy losses on the Russian troops and force them to retreat repeatedly to the outskirts of the city to regroup. In a single New Year's Eve attack, the Russians lost about 70 percent of their 230 tanks. By destroying the first and last tanks in a column, Chechen guerrillas trapped the rest of the column in the city's narrow streets and then showered them with gasoline and petrol bombs.

In mountain warfare, the Chechen separatists were also at an advantage. Superior knowledge of the terrain allowed them to compensate for their lack of heavy artillery. In thickly forested mountain regions, they made effective use of booby traps and the mining of roads. At nighttime, separatists would sneak between two Russian units stationed opposite each other and start firing, causing the Russians to fire at each other. In addition, the local population provided the rebels with food and shelter out of sympathy or fear.

Tactics

The Russian troops were not only more numerous but also more technologically advanced than the Chechen fighters. For example, in the December 31, 1994, attack on Grozny, the Russians employed 230 tanks, 454 armored infantry vehicles, and 388 artillery pieces. By contrast, the Chechen rebels had only 50 tanks, 100 armored infantry vehicles, and 60 artillery pieces (Cassidy 2003). To compensate for their disadvantages in manpower and weapons, the Chechens employed guerrilla warfare tactics against the Russian troops. Here, their main objective was to

avoid a direct battle and to draw the Russians into the center of the city, where their rear could be attacked and destroyed. In addition to guerrilla warfare at home, the Chechens used terrorist tactics outside Chechnya, where hostage taking attacks became their most common tactic.

The first serious terrorist attack took place in June 1995, when the Chechen separatists led by Shamil Basayev carried out a hostage-taking raid in the southern Russian town of Budyonnovs (Stavropol Krai). During the raid, the Chechens rounded up several hundred civilians and moved them to a busy local hospital, where they were held hostage along with the hospital staff and patients. After securing their positions, the separatists demanded that the Russian government withdraw federal troops from Chechnya and begin direct negotiations with Dzhokhar Dudayev. The siege lasted for almost a week, despite the Russians' attempts to seize the hospital and free the hostages, of which there were more than 1,000. Finally, direct negotiations between Russian Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin and Basayev resolved the situation by allowing the Chechens to leave the hospital using 150 hostages as cover. In the course of the standoff, 129 civilians were killed, and 415 were wounded. In January 1996, Chechen separatists under the command of Salman Raduev raided the town of Kizlyar, taking hostage more than 2,000 civilians and, under their cover, retreating to the village of Pervomaiskoye in Dagestan. The attackers held their positions for two weeks, executing forty-one hostages and completely destroying the village (*Pravda* 2002).

In response to the Chechen tactics of guerrilla warfare and terrorism, the Russian force employed massive aerial and artillery bombardment of Grozny (Chechnya's capital) and other population centers, as well as isolated air strikes of smaller rebel units in the mountains. However, this strategy was unsuccessful against the widespread rebels. In addition, massive aerial and artillery bombardment of Grozny resulted in extensive civilian casualties and destruction of property, which in turn led to a significant

increase in anti-Russian sentiment among the civilian population. Angered by the indiscriminate Russian attacks, many of the civilian sympathizers, including women and teenagers, either joined the rebels or willingly helped them. As a result, the Russian troops could not rely on the support and loyalty of the local population and in many cases suspected them of collaboration with the rebels. The so-called white stockings, all-female sniper units, became especially infamous among the Russian troops. They were armed with sniper rifles and were said to shoot exclusively Russian officers. The Russian press often claimed that, alongside the Chechen women, those units contained female snipers from the Baltic States, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Russia. However, no official data support either the existence of the units or their multiethnic makeup (Nikulina 2000).

In addition to antagonizing the local population, Russian heavy bombardment of Chechen population centers led to the critical reaction of the international community. An especially tense situation developed between the Russian Federation and Turkey, which Russia suspected of providing direct financial and military aid to the Chechen separatists (Daniszewski 2002). Although Turkish officials have never publicly denied or confirmed these accusations, members of Turkish extremist groups were open about their sympathies and even engaged in terrorist activities on the Chechen side. On January 16, 1996, a group of Chechen rebels and pro-Chechen Turkish gunmen led by Turkish extremist Mohamed Tokdzhan hijacked the Russian ferryboat *Avrasiya* in the Turkish port of Trabzon on the Black Sea, taking hostage more than 150 passengers, most of whom were Russians. The hostage takers stated that their actions were in support of the hostage-taking operation carried out by the Chechen rebels in the Dagestan village of Pervomaiskoye and demanded that the Russian federal government stop the war and start negotiations with the Chechen separatists. After three days, the hostages were released unharmed, and the attackers surrendered to the local authorities.

Shortly after the declaration of independence, Dudayev issued a decree creating a new Ministry of Defense of the Chechen Republic. According to the decree, all military personnel and weaponry located in the territory of the republic were transferred to the direct command of President Dudayev. In May 1992, the Russian Federation agreed to transfer to Dudayev's command 50 percent of all weaponry remaining in the territory of Chechnya (Kop'ev 1997). However, the Russian Ministry of Defense failed to evacuate the remaining weaponry and military equipment quickly; as a result, by the summer of 1994, the newly formed Chechen military had control of more than 80 percent of all weaponry and equipment located in Chechnya's territory (Kop'ev, 1997). This included 42 tanks, three MiG-17s, and two MiG-15 jet fighters, more than 250 low-flying aircraft, 139 artillery systems, about 50,000 rifles, and more than 150,000 grenades.

To protect Chechnya's newly proclaimed independence, mandatory military service for all male Chechen citizens ages 19–26 was established in 1992. In addition, the presidential directive of February 17, 1992, offered amnesty to any Chechen citizen who would desert from the Russian army and join the Chechen forces. Altogether, six military drafts took place in the period from 1991 to 1994. By 1994, the Chechen military included 2,000 men in the Presidential Guards, 3,500 men of the joint forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Department of State Security, and about 13,500 enlisted personnel, of which 1,500 were in fighting readiness and the rest in various stages of military training.

Causes of the War

The causes of the Chechen war are numerous and complex. It is commonly suggested that the war was the outcome of long-standing animosity between the Chechens and the Russians. Indeed, the history of the relationship between these two peoples is characterized by continuous

Chechen attempts to free themselves from Russian domination and by Russian efforts to suppress these attempts. As a result, once the collapse of the Soviet Union presented another opportune moment, the Chechens attempted to secede from the Russian Federation. However, at the end of 1980s, tensions between Moscow and Grozny were at their lowest, at least on the surface. In 1989, for first time in the Chechen history, a Chechen native, Doku Zavgayev, became a first secretary of the Chechen-Inquishen regional committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In 1991, another Chechen, Ruslan Khasbulatov, was elected speaker of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, while Salambek Khadjiev became soviet minister for the chemical and oil-refining industry.

The Chechen-Inquish Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was growing and becoming more industrialized. In little more than thirty years after the reestablishment, the population of the republic had risen to 1,275,500 people (USSR Population Census 1996). There are no separate data for people residing in the territories of Chechnya and Ingushetia, but the estimates for 1989 were 1.1 million and 170,000, respectively (Cherkasov, 2004). The ethnic composition of the permanent residents of the Chechen-Inquish Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in 1989 was as follows: Of the total population of 1,274,000, 734,000 were Chechen, 163,800 Inquish, 293,800 Russian, 14,800 Armenian, and 12,600 Ukrainian (USSR Population Census, 1989). Although there are no exact data on the specific ethnic composition of Chechnya in 1989, it can be estimated that “of 1,984 thousand permanent residents, about 715 thousand were Chechens, 25 thousand were Inquish, and 269 thousand were Russians” (Cherkasov 2004). Grozny, the capital of the Chechen-Inquish Republic, grew into a major industrial city with almost 490,000 residents, of whom approximately 260,000 were Russians, the second-largest ethnic group after the Chechens.

The rural areas of the Chechen-Inquish Republic remained predominantly underdevel-

oped, however. Always suffering from the lack of arable land, the rural population had a much lower standard of living than the urban population, who were employed predominantly in the chemical and oil-refining industries. According to Soviet statistics, by the mid-1980s there were already tens of thousands of unemployed in the rural areas of the republic (Chechnya.Ru n.d.). In 1989, Doku Zavgayev promised to reduce the level of unemployment among the rural population by developing new jobs in food and food processing; however, this promise remained unfulfilled, and in August 1991 the number of unemployed in the republic reached 100,000 people, or approximately 20 percent of the population (Chechnya.Ru n.d.)

This economic stagnation caused many rural residents to move to Grozny, where they fueled increasing nationalist sentiments. In addition to the impoverished rural population, the Chechen nationalist opposition was supported by emergent black market elites, lured by the possibility of privatization of the Chechen oil refining industry after secession from the Russian Federation. The final source of support of the nationalist movement came from the Muslim clergy, who hoped that secession from the Russian Federation would lead to the establishment of an Islamic state.

In 1990, Dzhokhar Dudayev, a politician and former Soviet air force general, headed the Chechen nationalist movement. In 1991, he became a chairman of the executive committee of the National Congress of the Chechen People, a nationalist opposition organization. Shortly after that, on August 22, 1991, Dudayev carried out a successful coup against the Communist government of the Chechen-Inquish Autonomous Republic. In October, he was elected president of the newly declared Chechen Republic. Within one month of the election, Dudayev unilaterally declared absolute Chechen independence.

In response, the legislature of the Russian Federation refused to recognize either the legitimacy of the Chechen presidential election or

the republic's independence. Moscow's unwillingness to grant Chechnya independence was based on its fear of a domino effect as well as the strategic importance of the republic for Russia. Beginning in October 1991, crushing separatist aspirations became one of the main concerns of the Russian administration, as Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and Buryatia also claimed independence. As a result, allowing Chechen independence would encourage a further disintegration of the Federation. In addition, its geographical location made Chechnya of extreme importance to the Russian Federation, for two reasons. First, access routes to both the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea run from the center of the federation through Chechnya. Second, vital Russian oil and gas pipeline connections with Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan also run through Chechnya.

In November 1991, President Yeltsin issued emergency rule in Chechnya and sent Russian Interior Ministry troops to Grozny in hopes of deposing Dudayev. However, Yeltsin's actions were not supported by the Russian Supreme Soviet, and the troops had to be withdrawn soon thereafter. From that point until the summer of 1994, the Russian Federation adopted a policy of support and cooperation with the opposition of Dudayev. In January 1993, a Russian delegation visited Grozny to discuss power delineation between the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic; however, Dudayev was not invited to participate. In late 1993, the Chechen Provisional Council, led by Avturkhanov, Mayor of the Nadteretnyj District of Chechnya, emerged as the opposition leader. Other groups opposing Dudayev's policies joined with the council. Although the Provisional Council lacked any real power outside of the Nadteretnyj district, the Russian Federation saw it as a new partner and refrained from any further negotiations with President Dudayev. In negotiations with Moscow, Avturkhanov agreed to reintegrate Chechnya into the Russian Federation and to overthrow Dudayev. Armed with the military and financial support of the Russian government, the Chechen Provisional Council attempted an

National Anthem of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria

We were born at night when the she-wolf whelped,
In the morning, to lion's deafening roar, we were named.
There are no gods save Allah.
In eagles' nests our mothers nursed us,
To tame wild bulls our fathers taught us.
There are no gods save Allah.
Our mothers raised us to dedicate ourselves to our sacred land,
And if they need us we're ready to fight the oppressive hand.
There are no gods save Allah.
We were born and grew up free as the mountain eagles,
With dignity and honor we always overcome hardship and obstacles.
There are no gods save Allah.
Granite rocks will sooner fuse like lead,
Than we will lose our honor in life's struggles.
There are no gods save Allah.
Earth will sooner be swallowed up by the broiling sun,
Than we emerge from a trial in life without our honor!
There are no gods save Allah.
Never will we submit and become slaves,
Death or freedom, for us there's only one way.
There are no gods save Allah.
Our sisters' songs will cure our wounds,
Our beloved's eyes will supply the strength of arms.
There are no gods save Allah.
If hunger weakens us, we'll gnaw on roots,
And if thirst debilitates us, we'll drink dew.
There are no gods save Allah.
For we were born at night when the she-wolf whelped.
God, Nation and Vainakh homeland.
There are no gods save Allah.
(www.chechenpress.org; English version at www.kavkazcenter.com)

unsuccessful coup in Grozny, in November 1994. Once it was clear that the opposition would not be able to overthrow Dudayev, Yeltsin and the Russian Security Council resorted to direct military involvement.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

Officially, the first Chechen war ended on August 31, 1996, when Alexander Lebed, the head of the Russian Security Council, and President Aslan Maskhadov signed the Khasavyurt Agreements. According to the agreements, the Russian side had to withdraw all federal forces from Chechnya by December 31, 1996, and a final decision on the question of Chechnya's independence was postponed until December 31, 2001. However, owing to continuing terrorist attacks, demands for independence, and the inability or unwillingness of the Maskhadov administration to enforce the rule of law in the republic, the relationship between Chechnya and Russia has not been normalized. Paramilitary forces led by warlords continued to operate freely in the territory of the republic, kidnapping Russians and foreigners for ransom. In December 1998, one New Zealand and three British telecommunications engineers working in Chechnya for a British company were abducted and killed. In addition, Chechen warlords carried out a number of incursions into Dagestan and Stavropol Krai, abducting and killing civilians.

Finally, on August 2, 1999, a group of Islamic extremists led by Shamil Basayev and Jordanian-born militant Khattab crossed into neighboring Dagestan and in five days captured the villages of Rahata and Ansolta in the Botlikhsky district. During this attack, some 108 Dagestani civilians were killed, and hundreds more were wounded. More than 31,000 civilians were forced to evacuate, and 4,236 families lost their homes. Basayev called the attack the opening act of a crusade to liberate the entire North Caucasus region. In response, the Russian Federation carried out a counteroffensive, quickly recapturing the vil-

lages. In September 1999, a series of middle-of-the-night explosions took place in Moscow, Volgograd, and Buinaksk apartments, killing more than 300 people. The Russian government attributed the attacks to the Chechen separatists, and the public demanded retaliation. In late September, the Russian air force began bombing targets within Chechnya; on October 1, Russian ground troops entered Chechnya and marched toward Grozny. In response, President Maskhadov declared a ghazavat (holy war) against the Russian troops, issued a martial law, and drafted all eligible men. This started the military campaign that became known as the Second Chechen war.

The Second Chechen war was much more successful for the Russian side, whose initial objective was to create a pro-Russian security zone in the northern part of Chechnya. By October 5, federal forces had taken control of about two-thirds of the northern Chechnya, securing its positions up to the Terek River. On October 15, the commander of the federal forces in the Caucasus, General Viktor Kazantsev, announced that the security zone had been successfully created and that his forces would move to the second objective of the operation, the elimination of militant forces throughout Chechnya. In late October, Russian troops started a surface-to-surface missile strike on Grozny and air bombing of the second largest city in the republic, Gudermes, heavily fortified by the Chechen forces. On November 12, 1999, Gudermes fell to the Russian troops. By the end of November, the Russian forces had almost completely encircled Grozny, taking under their control all but the southern approaches to the city. On November 26, 1999, Valery Manilov, deputy chief of staff of the federal army, announced that the second phase of the operation was almost complete and that the final phase—the elimination of Chechen paramilitary groups in the mountains and restoration of law and order—was about to begin. In December, Russian authorities issued a warning to all residents of Grozny to leave the city

by December 11—the starting day of a full-scale attack on the city. Intense fighting over Grozny lasted until early February 2000, when federal troops forced the Chechen fighters to leave the city and retreat to the southern mountains.

On June 8, 2000, President Putin issued a decree imposing direct rule of Chechnya and appointed Akhmed-hadji Kadyrov to head the temporary administration of the republic. In response, President Maskhadov returned as a guerrilla leader and denounced Kadyrov as a traitor. Until his death in 2005, Maskhadov was viewed as a primary leader of the Chechen separatist movement, who carried out organized resistance against the Russian forces and orches-

trated several assassination attempts on Kadyrov. The Russian authorities named Maskhadov the second-most-wanted terrorist and placed a \$10 million bounty on his capture.

On October 23, 2002, a group of 50 Chechen militants, 32 men and 18 women led by Movsar Barayev, occupied a Moscow theater in the Dubrovka area of Moscow, taking hostage about 900 theatergoers and theater staff. After securing the building, the hostage takers demanded the complete withdrawal of the Russian troops from Chechnya within a week. They also agreed to free the child hostages if they (the militants) were allowed to meet with the press. The reporters were allowed in, and the attackers released 200 people, most of whom were women,



A video still of a Russian news broadcast shows members of a Chechen rebel group speaking to journalists inside the theater building they captured in Moscow on October 23, 2002. Russian special forces stormed the theater in the early morning of October 26, 2002, bringing an end to the crisis. Of over 800 hostages taken, 129 died, most of whom succumbed to the gas used by rescuers. (AFP/Getty Images)

children, and Muslims. However, the further negotiations with the rebels attempted by several members of the Duma were not successful, and no clear official policy was determined by the Putin administration. Finally, on the early morning of the third day, Russian special forces stormed the building, suspecting that the hostage takers had started executing hostages. During the storming, an unidentified narcotic gas was used to subdue the hostage takers, all of whom were killed.

Altogether, 129 hostages died in the takeover; 2 were shot by terrorists, and the others died through a combination of the gas, lack of food and water, and lack of adequate medical treatment following the raid. On the afternoon of the same day, in a televised address President Putin publicly apologized for the hostages' deaths, asking forgiveness for not being able to save everyone, thanked the special forces for their bravery in rescuing almost 750 people, and stated that the siege "proved that Russia cannot be brought down to its knees" (Glassner and Baker 2002). However, the public reaction to the storming was mixed. Public polls conducted in Moscow showed that city residents were split over the support of the use of force, whereas people living outside the city limits mostly supported the government's actions (Public Opinion Foundation 2002). Also, a number of anti-Chechen-war demonstrations took place in Moscow during the siege. In response, in a joint effort, President Putin banned antiwar protests, and the Duma passed a bill limiting press coverage of antiterrorist operations. In addition, the Duma rejected a proposal to create an independent commission to investigate the handling of the crisis.

On March 23, 2003, a new Chechen constitution was passed in a referendum. The Russian authorities claimed that the referendum commanded almost 88 percent turnout, with more than 96 percent voting in favor of the constitution. The new constitution firmly declared Chechnya part of the Russian Federation, stating specifically in Chapter 1, Article 1, that "[t]he territory of the Chechen Republic is one and in-

divisible and forms an inalienable part of the territory of the Russian Federation" (Constitution of the Chechen Republic 2003). On March 24, 2003, President Putin praised the referendum as a positive step toward normalization of the situation in Chechnya and added that it "resolved the last serious problem relating to Russia's territorial integrity" (BBC 2003). Following the referendum, a new presidential election was held. The result of the election was that Kadyrov became the new Chechen president, reaffirming his commitment to preserving the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation.

External Military Intervention

There has been no external military intervention by any state. The Russian Federation insisted that the war in Chechnya was a matter of Russian internal affairs and strongly opposed any third side's intervention in the conflict. However, foreign mercenaries, mainly from Arab countries, and Wahhabi volunteers took an active part in the conflict. Arab mercenaries appeared in Chechnya as early as 1994, when the Jordanian commander Khattab brought approximately 200 ex-Afghan fighters to train newly recruited Chechen forces. Khattab quickly earned the rank of second in command and became known as "the king of mercenaries." During the Second Chechen war, Russian officials attributed to the Arab mercenaries and Wahhabi volunteers the operation of a large set of training camps in Chechnya and in Dagestan, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. According to Russian officials, these training camps included suicide bomber camps and were financed by radical Islamic organizations such as the Muslim Brotherhood and al-Qaeda (Allenova 2004). However, other sources argue that the Russian government heavily exaggerated the degree of involvement of Arab mercenaries and Wahhabi volunteers in the conflict (Dunlop 1998).

Conflict Management Efforts

Although the international community mainly ignored the Chechen problem prior to the war, it

made several attempts to monitor and manage the conflict once it started. In March 1995, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) reached an agreement with the Russian government to establish a permanent OSCE presence in Chechnya. The OSCE's assistance group in Grozny existed from late April 1995 until late October 1999, when it pulled out for security reasons. During this period, the group was actively involved in documenting abuses of human rights, providing humanitarian relief, and taking part in negotiations between the sides.

Conclusion

Although by ratifying the constitution of 2003, the Chechen electorate confirmed the republic's status as an inalienable part of the Russian Federation, fighting between the federal troops and the Chechen separatists continued, and terrorist attacks carried out by Chechen militants remained a major threat to Russian national security. On May 12, 2003, two suicide bombers drove a truck full of explosives into a government administration and security complex in Znamenskoye, in northern Chechnya, killing 59 people and wounding many others. Only two days later, on May 14, 2003, two female suicide bombers killed at least 16 people and wounded 145 in a suicide bomb attack during a religious festival in the town of Iliskhan-Yurt, east of Grozny. On June 5, 2003, a female suicide bomber ambushed a bus carrying Russian air force officers and pilots in Mozdok (North Ossetiya), near Chechnya, and blew up the bus, killing herself and 18 other people.

To appeal to Chechen militants and to prevent further terrorist attacks, on June 6, 2003, the Duma approved a partial amnesty for Chechen separatists who were willing to disarm. President Putin stated that this measure would stabilize the situation inside the Chechen Republic as well as reduce the threat of further terrorist attacks (*Duma News* 2003). However, two parties in the Duma, the liberal opposition

Yabloko and the ultranationalists, opposed the amnesty. Sergei Mitrokhin, the deputy chairman of Yabloko, publicly called the amnesty a public relations stunt and stated that, under the condition of continuous fighting, the amnesty had no chance of promoting peace (*Gazeta.ru* 2003). The West's reaction to the amnesty was negative as well, mostly due to the fact that the amnesty provided protection to Russian soldiers accused of committing crimes against civilians in Chechnya.

Only a month after the Duma passed the amnesty, on July 5, 2003, two women suicide bombers killed 15 and injured 60 people at an open-air rock festival at Moscow's Tushino airfield. On August 1, 2003, another terrorist attack took place in Mozdok in North Ossetiya. This time, a suicide bomber killed at least 50 people at the town's military hospital. Starting in December 2003, Chechen militants increased their activity in Moscow and other Russian cities. On December 5, 2003, Chechen militants were tied to an explosion on a commuter train in the Stavropol region that killed at least 36 people and injured more than 150. On December 9, 2003, a female suicide bomber exploded her bomb in the center of Moscow near Hotel National and the State Duma building, killing at least 6 people and injuring 11 others. On February 6, 2004, a deadlier attack took place in Moscow's subway—a rush-hour explosion on a commuter train killed 41 and injured 70. The situation inside the Chechen Republic remained highly unstable, with Maskhadov continuous attempts to overthrow Kadyrov's pro-Kremlin administration. Finally, on May 9, 2004, Akhmed-hadi Kadyrov was killed and Russia's top military commander in the North Caucasus critically injured by explosive devices detonated under their seats on Grozny's Dinamo stadium during a military parade celebrating the 59th anniversary of the Russian victory in World War II. Following Kadyrov's death, Aslan Maskhadov announced in a radio interview that his forces were ready to switch to offensive tactics, specifically the targeting of Russian military sites. On

June 22, 2004 (the sixty-third anniversary of the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, when the Soviet Union was occupied by Nazi Germany), open fighting erupted between separatist forces and federal troops in Ingushetia (bordering Chechnya in the south) after Chechen militants launched coordinated attacks on security, administrative, and policy buildings in the cities of Nazran, Ordzhonikidzevskaya, and Karabulak.

On August 29, 2004, a presidential election was held in Chechnya. The participation was 85 percent, with 73.48 percent of the votes cast for Alu Alkhanov, a Russia-supported candidate. Maskhadov and other Chechen rebels refused to accept the results of the election and vowed to assassinate the new president. Just two days after the election, the Chechen separatists carried out one of their cruelest attacks. On the morning of September 1, the first day of school throughout the Russian federation, a group of 30 armed Chechen terrorists seized Beslan's Middle School Number One, taking 1,300 hostages, most of whom were schoolchildren seven to eighteen years old. The terrorists moved all hostages to the school gym, mined the gym and the rest of the school building with explosive devices, and threatened to execute 50 children for every one of their own killed in a rescue operation. The Russian officials said that they would not use force to free the hostages and agreed to start negotiations with the attackers. The Russian side was represented by pediatrician Leonid Roshal, for whom the hostage takers asked specifically. However, on September 2, negotiations between Roshal and the attackers reached a stalemate, with the hostage takers refusing even to allow food and water to be delivered to the children. To support the Russian side in negotiations, Ruslan Aushev, a former president of Ingushetia, volunteered to talk to the hostage takers. As a result of his negotiations, the attackers agreed to release to him 26 nursing mothers and their infants but refused to make any further concessions. Soon after that, two explosions took place in the school, but the federal forces were given orders not to fire. The next day, the hostage takers al-

lowed federal security troops to remove bodies from school grounds. However, when medical workers and security troops arrived at the agreed-upon pickup point, the attackers fired, and two large explosions took place in the school. One of the explosions broke the gymnasium's wall; a group of about 30 hostages tried to escape while being fired upon by the hostage takers. At this point, the Russian troops were given orders to storm the building. The assault lasted for more than two hours, during which the hostage takers activated the rest of the explosives, completely destroying the gym and setting the rest of the building on fire. In the siege, 331 civilians died, including 156 children and 11 soldiers. Shortly after the siege, Shamil Basaev claimed responsibility for it and stated that he personally had trained the hostage takers. He also stated that the bloody outcome and the death of so many children was on Putin's hands and that the attackers would have let the hostages go if their demand for an immediate end to the war in Chechnya had been met (BBC News 2004).

Even among the separatist leadership, not everyone was willing to accept the blame for the Beslan tragedy. In his official statement, on September 23, 2004, Aslan Maskhadov unconditionally declared that neither he nor separatist forces under his command had anything to do with the Beslan attack. However, he noted that the Beslan tragedy and similar acts came as "a consequence of and reaction to the genocidal war of the Russian government against the Chechen nation, during which the Russian army has killed 250,000 people, including 42,000 children" (Maskhadov 2004). In addition, Maskhadov called on the international community to create an international tribunal to investigate crimes committed by both sides during the war.

In its turn, the international community uniformly condemned the terrorists' actions. On the first day of the attack, President George W. Bush offered "any form" of support to Russia. In addition, the Russian Federation asked for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council on the evening of the same day. The

members of the council condemned the attack and demanded “the immediate and unconditional release of all hostages of the terrorist attack” (Utro.ru 2004). German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder publicly stated that the sole responsibility for the tragedy should be placed on the terrorists. However, many other European leaders did not agree with Schröder and demanded an explanation from the Russian government on the handling of the situation. Specifically, it was believed that the use of flamethrowers by the Russian security forces and shelling by Russian tanks led to the high number of casualties among the hostages. In response, Putin rejected any allegations against the federal security forces and promised to get even tougher in the fight against terrorists. The results of the domestic investigation of the Beslan events, however, confirmed the use of tanks and flamethrowers in the assault. Nevertheless, according to the deputy prosecutor general of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Kolesnikov, neither the flamethrowers nor the shelling caused any casualties among the hostages (Kommersant 2005).

Although the Beslan tragedy shocked the Russian public and the international community and caused disagreement within the leadership of the Chechen separatist forces, it did not put an end to the conflict. Fighting between the federal troops and the Chechen militants led by Aslan Maskhadov continued, especially in the southern region of the republic. On March 8, 2005, the Alfa and Vypel special force units of the Federal Security Service (FSB) carried out an operation in the village of Tolstoi-Yurt, located twenty miles north of Grozny. According to Ilya Shabalkin, spokesman for the federal forces in the North Caucasus, during the operation the special forces exploded a bunker, killing Aslan Maskhadov (Jamestown Foundation 2005). Chechen First Deputy Prime Minister Ramzan Kadyrov, son of the assassinated president, welcomed the news, stating that with Maskhadov’s death the separatist forces would lose their potency and popular appeal (Kommersant 2005).

However, Shamil Basayev called on all Chechens to continue their resistance and announced that Abdul-Khalim Sadulayev, a field commander and former head of Chechnya’s Islamic Court, was elected the new leader of the separatist forces.

In August 2005, in his interview with Polish newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Kavkaz Center 2005), Abdul-Khalim Sadulayev stated that, indeed, Aslan Maskhadov’s death was a great loss to the Chechen resistance; however, in no way did it signify an end of that resistance. On the contrary, it would serve as an inspiration to those who are alive in their struggle against the Russian occupiers. When asked about the prospects for the end of the war, Sadulayev stated that the Chechens would never end their resistance and submit to the Russian rule; that instead they would continue to fight until the total independence of the republic was attained (ChechenPress 2005). This unyielding position of the Chechen separatist leadership, combined with the equally unyielding resolve of the Putin administration to preserve the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation, leaves a little hope for a complete end to the conflict in the near future.

Indeed, as this article was written, pro-Chechen militants launched another major attack. On October 13, 2005, they targeted the city of Nalchik, the capital of the Kabardino-Balkar Republic in Southern Russia. During the attack, the militants occupied the policy and other governmental buildings and took civilian hostages. In response, President Putin sent 1,500 regular troops and 500 special forces to retake the city. At least 90 people were killed, including 72 rebels, 12 police, and 12 civilians.

Tatyana A. Karaman

Chronology

November 30, 1994 Boris Yeltzin issues presidential decree, *About Measures to Return Constitutionality and Law and Order on the Territory of the Chechen Republic*, which stipulates immediate disarmament and

- liquidation of all military formations in the territory of Chechnya.
- December 1, 1994 Air strike on Grozny begins.
- December 6, 1994 Russian Minister of Defense Pavel Grachev and Chechen President Dudayev meet in the Republic of Ingushetia (Russia).
- December 11, 1994 Boris Yeltzin signs presidential decree, *About Measures to Provide Law and Order and Public Safety on the Territory of the Chechen Republic*. Russian troops enter Chechnya.
- December 31, 1994 Russian forces begin assault on Grozny.
- January 18, 1995 Chechen Presidential Guards leave the Presidential Residency.
- March 6, 1995 Russian troops take complete control of Grozny.
- March–April 1995 Fighting continues over rural and mountainous regions of Chechnya.
- April 27, 1995 Yeltzin signs decree, *About a Unilateral Armistice for the Period from April 28, 1995 to May 12, 1995*.
- May 18, 1995 Russian troops renew fighting for control over mountainous regions of Chechnya.
- June 14, 1995 Separatists under Shamil Basaev take hostages in Budenovsk, Russia.
- June 19, 1995–July 20, 1995 Three rounds of negotiations take place in Grozny between the Russian and Chechen delegations.
- August 1, 1995 Maskhadov, Chechen army chief of staff, issues order for immediate voluntary disarmament of Chechen military formations and cease-fire.
- October 9, 1995 Russian Federation unilaterally withdraws from the cease-fire negotiations and renews military operations.
- January 1, 1996–January 18, 1996 Chechen separatists take hostages in Kislyar and Pervomayskoe.
- January–May 1996 Fighting continues over rural and mountainous regions of Chechnya.
- May 27, 1996 Negotiations take place in Moscow between Boris Yeltzin and a Chechen delegation headed by Yandarbiev. Cease-fire agreement is signed by both sides.
- June 4, 1996–June 11, 1996 To continue the Moscow agreement, negotiations take place in Nazran, capital of Ingushetia, between a Russian delegation headed by Ivan Rybkin, Security Council secretary, and a Chechen delegation led by Movladi Udugov, acting first vice premier. Agreement is reached for phased withdrawal of all federal forces from Chechnya, complete disarmament of all separatists' military and paramilitary groups, and end of all military actions by August 30, 1996.
- August 2, 1999 Islamic extremists led by Shamil Basaev and Jordanian-born militant Khattab cross into neighboring Dagestan and in five days capture the villages of Rahata and Ansolta in the Botlikhsky district.
- September 1999 A series of middle-of-the-night explosions take place in Moscow, Volgograd, and Buinaksk apartments, killing more than 300 people.
- September 30, 1999 Second Chechen war begins.
- November 12, 1999 Gudermes falls to Russian troops.
- December 1999–February 2000 Intensive fighting over Grozny continues.
- February 1, 2000 Grozny falls to Russian troops.
- June 8, 2000 President Putin issues decree imposing direct rule of Chechnya and appoints Akhmed-hadji Kadyrov to head temporary administration of the republic.
- October 23, 2002 Chechen militants occupy a Moscow theater in the Dubrovka area of Moscow, taking hostage about 900 theatergoers and theater staff.
- March 23, 2003 New Chechen constitution is passed in a referendum.
- June 6, 2003 Duma approves partial amnesty for Chechen separatists.
- October 5, 2003 Akhmad Kadyrov is elected president of Chechnya with 82.5 percent of votes.
- May 9, 2004 Akhmad Kadyrov is assassinated.
- August 29, 2004 New pro-Russian president, Alu Alkhanov, is elected. Ramzan Kadyrov, son of the former president, becomes vice president.
- September 1, 2004 Chechen terrorists take hundreds of children and adults hostage in a school in the North Ossetian town of Beslan (Russian Federation). Russian special forces storm the school after a three-day siege; 331 civilians, including 156 children, are killed.
- March 8, 2005 Russian special forces assassinate former separatist president, Aslan Maskhadov.
- October 13, 2005 Chechen militants occupy Nalchik, capital of the Kabardino-Balkar Republic in Southern Russia.

List of Acronyms

FSB: Federal Security Service

OSCE: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

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Rwanda

(1990–1994)

Introduction

The Rwandan civil war, which lasted from October 1, 1990, until 1994, was by far the most intense conflict Rwanda has experienced. Between 3,025 and 5,500 people died in the midst of the conflict in addition to the 800,000 killed during the genocide (Jones 1999a). An estimated 10 percent of the total population lost their lives during the last three months of the conflict, and 30 percent were forced into exile (Prunier 1999).

The “October War” began when a Tutsi refugee rebel group, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), launched a surprise attack from Uganda on October 1, 1990. The conflict lasted four years and was characterized by different phases of escalation and deescalation. Efforts at mitigating the conflict were put forward as early as fifteen days after the outbreak of the war. These efforts led to the Arusha peace agreements, brokered by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), signed on August 4, 1993. However, on April 6, 1994, Habyarimana’s plane was shot down by unidentified assailants. The event triggered wide-ranging massacres by Hutu militias of Tutsi and Hutu moderates sympathetic to the peace process, thus renewing the civil war. Large-scale fighting continued for another 100 days and culminated in the capture of Kigali by the RPF on July 19, 1994 (Jones 1999a). Soon afterward, exiled Hutu militias in Zaire (now named the Democratic Republic of the Congo,

DRC) would work to resuscitate the civil war engulfing the Great Lakes region in regional crisis (Kuperman 2000; Prunier 1995).

This article focuses on the underlying causes of the civil war in Rwanda and the process through which the war culminated in genocide in 1994 (The Convention on Genocide defines *genocide* as “acts committed with the intention to destroy, wholly or in part, a national ethnic, racial or religious group,” according to the United Nations General Assembly 1948, article 2). Subsequent conflict management efforts are examined, as are some basic lessons learned from international intervention during the civil war.

Country Background

Rwanda is a landlocked country located in East Central Africa, in the Great Lakes region. The country, whose capital is Kigali, extends over 26,338 square kilometers, a size comparable to that of Belgium. The total population is 8.4 million, of which 84 percent are Hutu, 14 percent are Tutsi, and 1 percent are Twa. More than half of Rwandans are Roman Catholic (56.5 percent); other religions include Protestant (26 percent), Adventist (11.1 percent), and Muslim (4.6 percent). Official languages include Kinyarwanda, the universal Bantu vernacular, as well as French and English (CIA 2005).

Rwanda attained independence from Belgium on July 1, 1962, when the Hutu, after having won the parliamentary elections in 1961, installed the first Hutu-led republic. For the first time in Rwandan history, the Hutu majority in Rwanda was taking the reins of power from a Tutsi minority, which had been the ruling elite since pre-colonial times. Although the Hutu claimed a multiparty regime, the country soon became a de facto single-party system under President Kayibanda (1962–1973) and later under Habyarimana (1973–1994). Both regimes were described as autocratic (Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Polity IV 2003). Executive power was purposely selected from a small political elite (the *akazu*), political opposition was suppressed, and a policy of Tutsi exclusion was carefully implemented.

Economically, the country attained an enviable position in comparison with its neighbors. Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita rose steadily from US \$514 in 1960 to US \$731 in 1985, mostly owing to coffee exports. By 1985, Rwanda was considered a successful African economy and an “oasis of progress” in sub-Saharan Africa (Heston, Summers, and Aten 2002; Sellström, Wohlgemuth, and NAI, 1996; Smith 2002, 150). However, after the collapse of coffee prices in 1986, the Rwandan economy suffered considerably (Prunier 1995). Between 1989 and 1993, the decline averaged about 40 percent. In September 1990, one month prior to the RPF invasion, structural adjustment programs (SAPs) were implemented. For many scholars, these structural factors—economic and political—became permissive conditions that contributed to the weakening of the regime’s legitimacy, capacity, and authority and favored insurgency (Des Forges 1999; Fearon and Laitin 2003; Smith 2002).

Conflict Background

The RPF invasion of 1990 is closely interconnected with repeated Tutsi refugee invasions from Uganda and Burundi following Rwanda’s independence (Sellström, et al. 1996). In fact, persist-

ent Tutsi repression by Hutu governments in post-colonial Rwanda and the subsequent movement of tens of thousands of Tutsi refugees in neighboring countries paved the way for the creation of a rebel movement (*inkotanyi*, “refugee warriors”) in Uganda and Burundi, which would later become the Rwandan Patriotic Front. Inkotanyi were fighting not only for Tutsi protection but also for repatriation to their homeland. From 1961 until 1990, inkotanyi periodically invaded Rwanda from Uganda and Burundi in response to pogroms against domestic Tutsi in Rwanda (Jones 1999a; Lema 2000; Otunnu 1999a). The RPF invasion in Rwanda in 1990 was aimed not only at refugee repatriation of Tutsi but also at destabilizing the regime to ultimately bring about political change (Lema 2000). Most agree that by 1990 the civil war had become ethnically based because it involved the Tutsi-led RPF against the Hutu-led government forces (Doyle and Sambanis 2000; MAR 2000; Uppsala Conflict Database Project 2003). The civil war is also characterized as a “communal contender,” since the two groups were struggling for a hold on power. The Minorities at Risk (MAR) project defines *communal contenders* as “culturally distinct peoples, tribes, or clans in heterogeneous societies [that] hold or seek a share in state power” (2000).

Although the RPF used Uganda as a launching pad for the invasion, the Rwandan civil war was an internal or intrastate conflict because it was organized and launched by Rwandan Tutsi against the Rwandan Hutu government. Uganda, Zaire, and Burundi all contributed to the conflict, providing arms or human resources to the rebels, the Hutu militias, and the government forces, but this involvement was, at most, irregular and unofficial, and no regular troops were provided (Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Uppsala 2003; IISS 2005).

The Insurgents

The rebel force in Rwanda was known as the RPF and its military wing as the RPA (Rwandan Patriotic Army). The RPA was the “official”

Table 1: Civil War in Rwanda

War:	RPF vs. government forces (Rwandan Armed Forces)
Dates:	October 1, 1990–July 19, 1994
Casualties:	3,025–5,500 battle-related deaths (and 800,000 deaths during genocide)
Regime type prior to war:	Autocratic; high
Regime type after war:	Autocratic; medium-high
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$870.04 (1990)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$944.86 (1999)
Insurgents:	Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF)
Issue:	Tutsi refugee repatriation; power struggle
Rebel funding:	Uganda; Tutsi diaspora
Role of geography:	RPF invades from Uganda; hides in highlands.
Role of resources:	Collapse of coffee prices, scarcity of arable lands contributes to conflict.
Immediate outcome:	RPF military victory; continued raids carried out by ex-RAF/Hutu militias in refugee camps in DRC
Outcome after 5 years:	Two invasions by RPF in DRC (1996, 1998); periodic invasions by AliR militias in Rwanda; conflict between DRC and Rwanda
Role of UN:	Peacekeeping force of 2,500 from October 1993; withdrawal of major contingents in 1994; Opération Turquoise in June 1994; UNAMIR extended until March 1996.
Role of regional organization:	Peace negotiation brokered by OAU from 1990; Arusha Peace Agreements signed August 4, 1993.
Refugees:	1.91–3.2 million (1995 estimate); 2 million (1998 estimate)
Prospects for peace:	Internal peace: Uncertain and elusive; Tutsi-led RPF retains hold on power. Regional peace: Cease-fire agreement signed in July 1999 between DRC, Uganda, and Rwanda; 8,000–15,000 FDLR members (2005) still hiding in DRC, to be disarmed and demobilized by MONUC.

Sources: Harff and Gurr 1998; Heston, Summers, and Aten 2002; IISS 2005; MAR 2000; Polity IV Project 2003; UNHCR 1995.

name of the armed branch of the RPF, although in practice the name *RPF* referred to both the political and the military wings of the movement (Prunier 1995). The RPF was created in 1987 in Kampala, Uganda, by Rwandan exiles, mainly Tutsi who had been living in Uganda for three generations. The rebel movement was led first by Major General Fred Rwigyema and later by General Paul Kagame.

The RPF was, in fact, an extension of the Rwandan Alliance for National Unity (RANU), which was created in 1979 by Tutsi radicals who were behind earlier inkotanyi invasions (Prunier 1995). Foreseeing in the mid-1980s that refugees would never return to Rwanda except through the use of force, many RANU members joined forces with the Ugandan National Resistance Army (NRA) to help General Museveni overthrow the Obote regime in Uganda in January

1986. This strategy would then allow the RPF, mainly composed of NRA soldiers, to reinforce its military capability to launch a stronger attack on the Hutu regime in Rwanda (Otunnu 1999a).

The RPF received most of its funding from Ugandan President Museveni and the Tutsi diaspora living abroad. Once the decision to attack Rwanda was made by July 1990, Rwigyema went on a fund-raising mission throughout the communities of Tutsi émigrés in Europe and North America. Financial contributions came from exile communities in Canada, the United States, and Europe, for they were the wealthiest, but also from larger communities of Tutsi in Africa (Prunier 1995; Sellström, et al. 1996).

Geography

Geography played a crucial role in the development of rebel tactics and strategies. Located in



Rwandan Patriotic Front leader Paul Kagame tours a rural area with his troops in 1993. Kagame became president of Rwanda in April 2000. (Joel Stettenheim/Corbis)

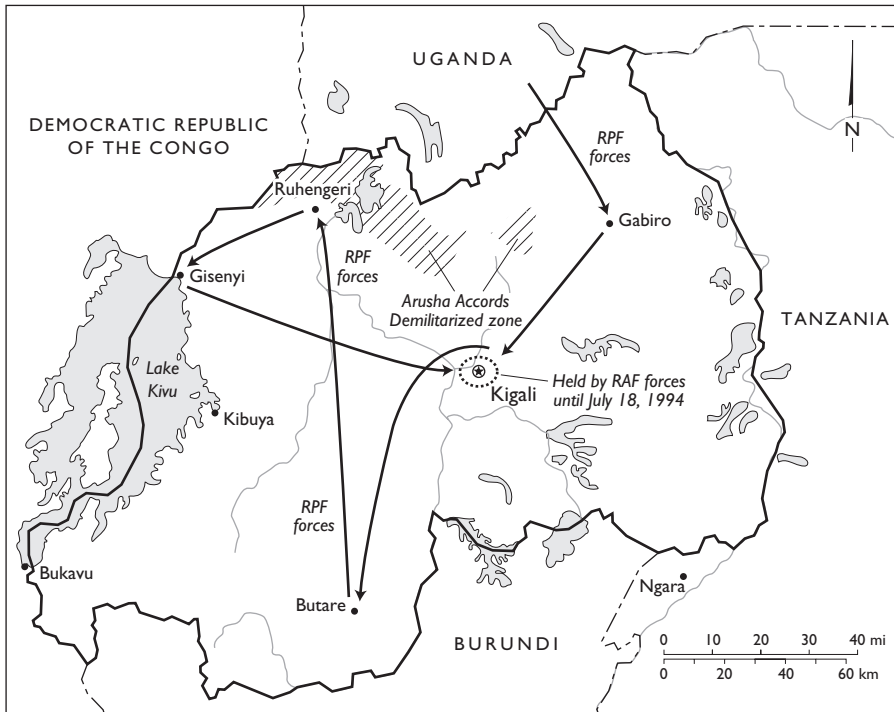
the Great Lakes region, Rwanda is bounded by four neighbors: Uganda in the north, Tanzania in the east, Burundi in the south, and Lake Kivu and the DRC in the west (Varga, Draman, Marriott, and Carment 2002). Not only do these countries share geographical boundaries, they also share culture and ethnic geography that influences rebels' strategic organizing (Gachuruzi 1999). Before the invasion in 1990, Tutsi-friendly regimes in Uganda and Burundi allowed the RPF to use their territory "as a sanctuary for the planning of attacks, stockpiling of weapons, raising funds and movement of troops" (Otunnu 1999b, 43).

The geography of the Great Lakes region is also conducive to guerrilla-style warfare (Varga, et al. 2002). Rwanda's mountainous and volcanic region along its northwest border with Uganda provided the RPF with easy access to Rwanda while at the same time allowing them to take refuge and hide when necessary. In general,

they used the cold, volcanic highlands for two reasons: to buy time and regroup, and to prepare for the next attack (Prunier 1995).

Tactics

The RPF's most important sources of arms were Uganda and to a lesser extent China, Libya, and Iraq. When the RPA was created in 1987, 3,000 Rwandans from the NRA defected, taking their personal weapons and ammunition with them. Their weapons included heavy machine guns, mortars, BM-21 multiple rocket launchers, recoilless rifles, Russian ZUG light automatic cannons, land mines ranging from World War II–vintage mines to modern, non-metallic, antipersonnel, and antitank types. Arms were also purchased from independent arms dealers in Africa and Eastern Europe, where the collapse of the former Soviet Union had been accompanied by a sharp drop in international weapon and ammunition prices



(Otunnu 1999b; Prunier 1995; Sellström, et al. 1996, Sislin and Pearson 2001).

Evidence also indicates that the RPF was supported by the Tutsi diaspora with regard to recruits. Émigrés in North America and Europe constituted an important part of the fighting forces. As Prunier argues, “[T]he émigré component of the early RPF recruitment gave it a very high average standard of education . . . making it probably the best educated guerrilla force the world had ever seen” (1995, 117). This high level of education would contribute greatly to the RPF’s efficiency as a fighting force. As the war extended, the RPF was frequently reinforced with child soldiers. As a result, prior to the invasion in 1990 the RPF numbered around 4,000 men. By early 1991, the RPF had grown to 5,000, by the end of 1992 to 12,000, and in April 1994, force size exceeded 25,000 (Sellström, et al. 1996). In terms of field operations, the RPF conducted what is referred to as a “typical guerrilla hit-and-run pattern of operations,” which the Rwandan government

forces, even on the offensive, could not prevent (Prunier 1995, 135).

By contrast, the Rwandan government had, prior to the RPF invasion in 1990, an army of 5,000 men equipped with small arms (Kakwenzire and Kamukama 1999). France was the first to supply the Rwandan Armed Forces (RAF) and its Presidential Guard, providing heavy artillery and Gazelle helicopters. During the conflict, the RAF acquired its arms mainly from Egypt, South Africa, and the United States (Sislin and Pearson 2001). Financing of the RAF’s war effort is believed to have come from neighboring Zaire through the illegal trade of the mantrax drug and from public enterprises such as Rwandex, Sonarwa, and Rwandatel (IISS 2005). In short, the internal economy was a main engine for the government’s war effort, and the military consumed 38 percent of Rwanda’s budget (Reyntjens 2000; SIPRI 2005; Uvin 1998). By mid-1992, the RAF had increased its human capability dramatically and boasted a total of 50,000 soldiers (Prunier 1995).

In addition, the Presidential Guard, as well as extremist forces within the Coalition pour la Défense de la République (CDR) and Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement (MRND) political parties, used the same training techniques it had learned under French guidance to train paramilitaries and youths militias—known as Interahamwé and Impuzamugambi—“in extremist killer tactics” to prepare for the genocidal killings (Kakwenzire and Kamukama 1999, 78). The Interahamwé was attached to the MRND political party, and the Impuzamugambi was attached to the CDR party (Des Forges 1999). Beyond machetes, the RAF distributed automatic rifles and hand grenades to the militias (IISS 2005). It is estimated that, at the onset of genocide in 1994, militia size was between 15,000 and 30,000 (Kuperman 2000).

Causes of the War

Causes of protracted conflicts such as the civil war in Rwanda are numerous, complex, and, in many cases, cumulative. The following three sections document the factors that triggered the onset of civil war and genocide. The first and second sections examine permissive and proximate causes that prompted the RPF invasion in 1990, and third section examines the causes of the genocide.

Permissive Causes

Four main clusters of factors help explain the causes of internal conflict: cultural, political, economic, and environmental–demographic (Brown 1996). All four illustrate important permissive causes of the civil war in Rwanda.

Cultural Factors

Colonialism played a significant role in affecting perceptions between Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda. The impact of European interaction with Rwandan society was important in defining social relations within the country’s borders and in emphasizing ethnic differences (Jones 2001).

In precolonial times, the word *Tutsi* referred to a person rich in cattle, and the word *Hutu* referred to the mass of peasants who worked for them. Tutsis were thus the elite group (and represented the monarchy in precolonial Rwanda) and Hutus the subjects (Des Forges 1999). As in Burundi, Hutus and Tutsis were ordered in a social hierarchy in which there were a superordinate group, the Tutsis, and a subordinate group, the Hutus (Horowitz 1985). During colonial rule, German and Belgian rulers alike consolidated this power structure, reinforcing Tutsi superiority over Hutu (e.g., through the introduction of ethnic cards). This emphasis on ethnic difference in the allocation of power would be perpetuated following independence in 1962.

Group perceptions were also influenced by regional tensions, especially in neighboring Burundi, where both Hutus and Tutsis lived. Atrocities perpetrated against Hutus in Tutsi-led Burundi had a contagious effect in Hutu-led Rwanda following the independence, providing incentives to reproduce violence against Tutsis in Hutu-led Rwanda (Utterwulge 1999). Violence against Hutus in Burundi and against Tutsis in Rwanda reinforced the fears of extinction and sentiments of mistrust on both sides. These fears would be strengthened in October 1993 following the coup d’état against Burundi’s first Hutu government.

Political Factors

Ethnic discrimination and exclusionary politics against Tutsi in postcolonial Rwanda are other important factors that help to explain the motivations for rebel invasion in 1990. Following independence, the two Hutu regimes began implementing policies of ethnic ratios and regional quotas all over Rwanda, voluntarily excluding Tutsis from political power as a means of securing their own grip on power. They used methods of political mobilization that included using Tutsis as scapegoats. “Racism was propagated among Rwandan youth at school, through radio and theater,” and the history syllabus portrayed Tutsis as “natural enemies of the Hutu” (Kak-

wenzire and Kamukama 1999, 72). Over and above such discrimination, the Hutu elite also used “targeted violence” against Tutsis, that ranged from individual assassination to limited massacres (Jones 2001, 16). Overall, the number of lives lost in anti-Tutsi riots between 1959 and 1973 is estimated to fall between 250,000 and 600,000 (Lema 2000; Prunier 1995; Utterwulghe 1999). Ethnic scapegoating as carried out by the Hutu government displaced and drove millions into exile (Payne and Dagne 2002).

Economic Factors

Discriminatory economic policies combined with the economic misfortunes of the 1980s constitute a third cluster of permissive factors motivating the rebel invasion of 1990. From 1973 onward, policies biased against Tutsi at the expense of a specific group of Hutu from the northwest region of Rwanda (affiliated with Habyarimana’s akazu) in accessing land or capital slowly began to generate discontent in Rwanda. Wealth and power imbalances were not due to the “usual urban-rural disparities;” economic imbalances were due to a systematic discrimination that was becoming increasingly evident (Des Forges 1999, 46). When the economy slumped following the collapse in coffee prices in 1986, the popularity of Habyarimana’s regime further declined. Discontent was echoed not only among Tutsi but also from within Habyarimana’s Hutu party, especially among Hutu southerners who were increasingly victimized under Habyarimana’s rule. By the end of the 1980s, intra-Hutu tensions had formed a widening cleavage (Kuperman 2000; Sellström, et al. 1996). This sent a signal to the RPF that the Habyarimana’s authority was increasingly challenged and had weakened.

Demographic Pressure

Several authors argue that overpopulation and land scarcity played a key role in the outbreak of the Rwandan civil war and genocide (Prunier 1995; Renner 1996). In Rwanda, every square kilometer of arable land supported, on average,

The Rise and Fall of the Habyrimana Regime

A “Tutsi overlord image” was used by both the Kayibanda and Habyrimana regimes as a means “to consolidate power for their own Hutu group” (Kakwenzire and Kamukama 1999, 72). When Tutsis invaded in 1961–1966, they were referred to as *inyenzi*—meaning cockroaches. These invasions are said to have radicalized politics, especially as Habyarimana made no attempts to redress the mounting ethnic problem. The unparalleled promotion of ethnic ideology is what helped keep alive and strengthen interethnic hatred, culminating in the genocide.

By the late 1980s, the legitimacy of Habyarimana’s regime was in sharp decline. “The leaders of the RPF in Uganda judged that time was ripe to declare war against the regime. In an interview broadcast by the Voice of America in the week of the outbreak of the October 1990 War, a spokesperson of the RPF rebellion justified the choice of this particular timing referring to the convergence of conditions, citing [among other things] the appropriation of national resources by the ruling elite and famine in the country . . .” (Gasana 2002, 219–20).

more than 400 people (Utterwulghe 1999). As Prunier argues, “[T]here was an increase in competition for access to that very specialized resource [agricultural lands], which could only be appropriated through direct control of government power at high levels” (1995, 84). On the other hand, other authors, such as Homer-Dixon, believe that “land scarcity played at most a peripheral role by reducing regime legitimacy in the countryside” (1999, 17). Although the overpopulation and land scarcity arguments remain very influential in current debates about the conflict, it is reasonable to say, rather, that a combination of factors prompted the civil war and genocide in Rwanda (African Rights 1995).

Proximate Causes

This section examines the proximate, or immediate, factors that triggered the onset of civil war.

First, the Ugandan and Rwandan policies regarding Tutsi refugees in exile in Uganda played a significant role in prompting the RPF invasion in Rwanda in 1990. In the 1980s, the Obote regime in Uganda and its continuous attacks on Rwandan refugees had motivated many to seek repatriation in Rwanda. Tutsi refugees further felt betrayed by Uganda when, after they had helped Museveni's NRA overthrow the Obote regime in 1986, Museveni vacated their position in the new government. In Rwanda, from 1987 until 1989 the issuance of government statements refusing to allow the immigration of large numbers of Tutsi refugees back into Rwanda was another proximate factor that prompted the RPF invasion. Back in 1990, 600,000 Tutsis (who constituted half of Rwanda's Tutsi population) lived outside of the country (Des Forges 1999; Prunier 1995; Sellström, et al. 1996). The massive repatriation of all Tutsi refugees was perceived as a threat to the fragile Rwandan economy and to the political authority as well (Kakwenzire and Kamukama 1999).

In addition, prior to the invasion Rwanda was on the verge of collapse both economically and politically (Prunier 1995). Economically, conditions within the state were deteriorating, leaving as the sole option a request for assistance from financial institutions, notably the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). Introduced a month before the invasion, the reforms imposed a 67 percent devaluation of the national currency, and the SAPs' policies included privatization and cuts in public spending (Utterwulghé 1999). As Prunier notes, "[B]etween the coffee price decline and the war economy crisis, the SAPs merely contributed to weakening further an already exhausted economy" (1995, 160). When the RPF finally decided to cross the border into Rwanda on October 1, 1990, the Hutu regime was perceived as financially, organizationally, and politically bankrupt. To quote Fearon and Laitin, the regime's weakness was rendering "insurgency more feasible and attractive" (2003, 75–76). In short, "[t]ime was ripe to declare war

against the regime" (Gasana 2002, 219). In Rwanda, the Hutu government was aware of such inevitability. The visible presence of high-ranking and armed Rwandan refugees within the ranks of the Ugandan NRA, the RPF's intense fund-raising campaign in Uganda and among émigrés, and the unsuccessful RPF invasion in 1989 were indicators signalling that it was only a matter of time before an organized invasion took place. This forced the Hutu government to mobilize military support from its allies Egypt, France, and Zaire. In return, "these responses sent an unequivocal message to the RPF: invade while you still stand a good chance of destabilizing the government or stay in Uganda and disintegrate into oblivion" (Otunnu 1999b, 36). Not coincidentally, the invasion erupted when Ugandan President Museveni and Rwandan President Habyarimana were attending a UNICEF meeting outside their respective countries. On October 1, 1990, 4,000 soldiers defected from the Uganda army, including former army Commander and Ugandan Defence Minister Fred Rwigyema, joined the RPF ranks and crossed the Rwanda border. By October 4, 1990, the RPF was within seventy kilometres from Kigali.

The Genocide

From the start, the genocide was entangled with the civil war, and the escalation of the civil war further complicated the attempts to halt the genocide. The following three factors help to explain what prompted the genocide in April 1994.

The Rise of Extremism

Extremism played a significant role in the lead-up to the genocide in 1994. Extremism was set into play when, in 1990, as a result of international pressure for democratization by donor countries, President Habyarimana announced that he would end the single-party system and allow rival parties to compete for power. In June 1991, a new constitution was signed, accompanied by a new political parties law. Soon after, five new political parties made up of both

Hutus and Tutsis were legally registered, and by the beginning of 1992, this figure had risen to twelve. These included the Mouvement Démocratique Républicain (MDR), the Parti Social Démocrate (PSD), the Parti Libéral (PL), the Parti Démocrate Chrétien (PDC), the Mouvement Républicain National pour la Démocratie et le Développement (MRNDD), and seven smaller parties (Des Forges 1999; MAR 2000). Created by Habyarimana, these seven smaller parties, composed primarily of Hutus, were a “deliberate attempt to make a sham of multi-partyism” (Kakwenzire and Kamukama 1999, 69). In fact, these small parties, especially the CDR were extremist Hutu parties. The creation of small Hutu factions was considered to be, according to Habyarimana, “the ‘best’ way to face the challenge caused by the rebirth of political party activities in the country” (Kakwenzire and Kamukama 1999, 70).

Habyarimana’s way of dealing with political activity by creating extremist factions significantly increased extremism in Rwanda. During the peace negotiations in 1992, radical forces from within Habyarimana’s party used the same strategy of splintering as a means of avoiding the power-sharing provisions proposed by the OAU. When Habyarimana realized the danger of such a strategy of factionalism and extremism, it was too late. Extremist forces had already begun to train paramilitary militias and propagate anti-Tutsi hate in all parts of Rwanda (Kakwenzire and Kamukama 1999; Kuperman 2000).

Elite Manipulation of Ethnic Hatred and Propaganda

As a way to mobilize the general populace in his favor, Habyarimana used the invasion of October 1990 as an opportunity to revive ethnic sentiments. Elite manipulation of ethnic hatred became evident when, in September 1992, a government commission set up to identify the real enemy in Rwanda’s civil war, explicitly recognized that “Tutsi inside or outside Rwanda who are extremist and nostalgic for power [and] who want to take power in Rwanda by force”

were enemies of the state (Kakwenzire and Kamukama 1999, 74). The elite also worked at redefining the conflict as one between “Rwandans,” who supported the president, and “ibyitso,” those believed to be accomplices of the enemy, including the Tutsi minority and Hutus opposed to the regime.

From then on, extremist sentiments were reinforced and hardened. Habyarimana began to implement an ideology he referred to as the “Union of the Bahutu,” the objective of which was basically to unite Hutus to wipe out Tutsis (Kakwenzire and Kamukama 1999). Through the Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) and its countrywide outreach, the Hutu government organized campaigns to create fear and hatred of the Tutsi, playing “upon memories of past domination by the minority and on the legacy of the revolution that overthrew [Tutsi] rule . . . in 1959” (Des Forges 1999, 3). RTLM journalists, who were members of the extremist CDR and MRND parties, “spent all day broadcasting intoxicating propaganda based on ethnicity” (Kakwenzire and Kamukama 1999, 76). The population of Rwanda was being psychologically prepared and conditioned to extremism. Meanwhile, Habyarimana was providing military training to the youth of his party (the MRND); they would be known as the *Interahamwé* during the genocide.

The civil war, which at its origins in 1990 pitted the RPF against government forces, was slowly transformed by the Hutu elite in Rwanda into a war between Hutu Rwandans and Tutsi refugees and eventually led to genocide in April 1994. As Des Forges states, “[t]hrough attacks, virulent propaganda, and persistent political maneuvering, Habyarimana and his group significantly widened divisions between Hutu and Tutsi by the end of 1992” (1999, 4).

The Burundi Effect

On October 21, 1993, Tutsi soldiers in Burundi seized and murdered President Ndadaye, the first Hutu to be elected president in Burundi’s history. The assassination sparked a series of

massacres in which tens of thousands of Burundians died and some 70,000 Burundian Hutus poured into southern Rwanda. Ndadaye's death "at the hands of an all-Tutsi army" had "an immediate and powerful demonstration effect on the Hutu of Rwanda . . . The message came clear and loud: 'Never trust the Tutsi!'" (Sellström, et al. 1996, 45). This served as a powerful tool of Hutu mobilization in Rwanda.

In sum, the genocide was not a manifestation of "ancient hatreds," nor was it a case of uncontrollable rage or of a "people gone mad." The genocide resulted from "the deliberate choice of a modern elite to foster hatred, and fear, to keep itself in power" (Des Forges 1999, 1).

Outcome *Conflict Status*

The war ended on July 19, 1994 following the "military" victory of the RPF. The RPF captured Kigali on July 6, thus forcing the government forces and extremists into exile. Although some argue that "since there was no capitulation by the ousted government the event does not qualify as a victory" (Uppsala 2003), in reality, the conflict ended because the RAF and Hutu militias sought refuge in neighboring Zaire. By forcing government and militia forces away from the country, the RPF could declare victory even with no clear capitulation. This contested end of the civil war has brought some, such as Utterwulge (1999), to argue that conflict remains *latent* because the underlying causes were unresolved and the conflict unsettled between the RAF and the RPF. This section further explores some of the outcomes of the civil war as it ended in 1994.

Since 1994, the RPF has managed to end large-scale violence, to establish a new regime inspired by the power-sharing arrangement of the Arusha Accords, where Hutus have reserved seats in the government coalition, and to engage in the activities of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) (Doyle and Sambanis 2000).

However, by mid-1995, the government coalition had already begun to crumble. Five Hutu ministers, including the prime minister, left the coalition, complaining that the "real" power remained in the hands of an authoritarian Tutsi leadership (Longman 2004). In early 2000, the Hutu president of the republic, Pasteur Bizimungu, left the country for similar reasons. As a result, Hutu are now underrepresented in government, and a Tutsi-dominated RPF holds all political and military power (MAR 2000).

Although the RPF was acclaimed for ending large-scale violence and genocide in July 1994, they are not blameless. In the days and weeks after combat ended, RPF soldiers massacred unarmed civilians in a number of communes, killing several hundreds in refugee camps and assassinating political and military leaders who were close to Habyarimana's political party. It is estimated that, between April and August 1994, 25,000 to 45,000 were killed by the RPF (Des Forges 1999). Similarly, in 1996 and in 1998, the RPF invaded Zaire with the aim of curbing suspected Hutu militias and rebel supporters. The RPF also contributed to the ousting of Zairian President Mobutu in 1996, significantly intensifying the tensions between Zaire and Rwanda up to the present day (Payne and Dagne 2002).

In addition, the civil war and the genocide in Rwanda generated an enormous spillover effect. Only a few months after the outbreak of hostilities, thousands of refugees fled Rwanda to Tanzania, Zaire, and Burundi. Estimates in 1995 place the figure between 1.9 and 3.2 million refugees (Adelman and Suhrke 1999; Prunier 1999). Internally displaced persons (IDPs) in March 1995 were estimated at close to 800,000; in 1998, in excess of 2 million (Adelman and Suhrke 1999; Cohen-Deng 1998 in Doyle and Sambanis 2000). This refugee outflow impacted significantly the internal and external situation of these countries, imposing heavy economic, political, and geopolitical burdens.

Moreover, the civil war in Rwanda created a contagion effect in neighboring Zaire. Following the capture of Kigali by the RPF, 1.7 million

people, most of them Hutu extremist militias and government forces, fled Rwanda to Zaire. With the military support of President Mobutu Sese-Sekou, ex-RAF forces and Hutu militias in exile reorganized their forces from Zaire. By December 1994, refugee camps in Zaire had been transformed into training camps for militias, and the defeated Rwandan interim President Sindikubwabo (who had replaced Habyarimana after his death) had installed and proclaimed its government in exile, and regrouped under the banner of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (ALiR) (which would become the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) in 2000). This shows the extent to which the civil war had not completely ended. Periodic raids were carried out in north-west Rwanda by Hutu militias from Zaire. This contagiously ignited a conflict between Rwanda and Zaire (Sellström, et al. 1996). The refugee spillover of Hutu militias in Zaire thus played a definitive role in leading the two countries into overt war in 1996 and again in 1998, and in destabilizing regional security by drawing in neighboring Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi.

Duration Tactics

Four aspects of the civil war in Rwanda had notable effects on the duration and escalation of the civil war. First, the access to arms, equipment, and resources enabled both the RPF and the RAF to rearm intensively, not only during the conflict but also following the signing of the Arusha peace agreement on August 4, 1993, thus contributing to the country's outburst on April 6, 1994 (Prunier 1995). As Sellström et al. argue, "the influx of weapons from foreign sources" greatly influenced the duration and intensity of civil war and the massacres (1996, 67). For instance, in 1991–1992, France provided US \$6 million worth of war material to the government forces. Second, the RPF's superiority to the RAF in fighting skills, higher morale, and discipline significantly affected the military balance between the two parties, thus influencing the

duration of the conflict. Third, the media (especially the RTLM), which played a crucial role in fueling political hatred and inciting violence against Tutsis and moderate Hutus, also had an important effect on the escalation of the conflict in 1994 (African Rights 1995; Sellström, et al. 1996). Fourth, the lack of international response when the civil war and the massacres against Tutsis began in 1990 had a huge impact on the duration and the escalation of the conflict. According to Des Forges, the international community "overlooked the systematic discrimination against Tutsi" and most were satisfied with the explanation that "the killings were spontaneous and uncontrollable" (1999, 17). Furthermore, the lack of international response to the massacres in Burundi following the president's death in October 1993 sent the signal to the Rwandan extremists "that they too could slaughter people in large numbers without consequence" (Des Forges 1999, 17).

External Military Intervention

No country sent regular troops in aid of the government or the rebels. France actively supported the Rwandan government by sending 370 and 670 men in October 1990 and February 1993, but this support did not last and was, at best, irregular. Officially, the French government has denied its active participation in the war since their withdrawal in December 1993, when UN forces were deployed (Human Rights Watch/Arms Projects 1994; Prunier 1995).

Zaire also played a significant role in the conflict. Since 1965, Mobutu has supported actively the Rwandan Hutu government and in 1990, Zaire intervened to help Habyarimana's armed forces. Overall, Zaire sent 500 troops and allowed Hutu militias to take refuge in Zairian territory, to set up camps and conduct training both before and after the RPF capture of Kigali. Arms continued to flow to the ex-Hutu government in exile in Zaire, despite the UN arms embargo of 17 May 1994 (Human Rights Watch/Arms Project 1995; IISS 2005; Sellström, et al. 1996).

Conflict Management Efforts

From the onset of conflict, there were various attempts to mitigate the civil war, from informal to formal negotiation, peacekeeping, and crisis management. Yet these measures were not sufficient to terminate the war completely or to prevent the ensuing extreme mass killings.

Fifteen days after the RPF invaded, the OAU, along with Belgian and Tanzanian officials, were the first to pursue negotiation. From 1990 to 1992, six cease-fires were concluded and renewed after consecutive violations. These negotiations are referred to as the preliminaries of the negotiation process and would become the basis for the Arusha peace process (Sellström, et al. 1996; Jones 1999b).

A formal negotiation process with the OAU, Belgium, and Germany began in Arusha, Tanzania, on June 12, 1992, and it took more than a year to reach a mutual settlement. The power-sharing agreement between all parties was hard to achieve. Members of Habyarimana's party (the MRND) viewed the provisions as "political victories by the RPF" and posed a threat to Hutu power (Jones 1999b, 140). Also, the exclusion of the CDR party from the political arrangements because of its extremist nature was another point of contention. American, French, and Tanzanian diplomats backed the Rwandan government, recalling that "it was better to have extremists on the inside of the tent, pissing out, than on the outside of the tent, pissing in" (Jones 1999b, 139). Nonetheless, in January 1992, when the OAU offered the remaining seats of the power-sharing arrangement to the CDR on the condition that the CDR signed a code of ethics committing them to peace, it was too late; they had refused. Within days, the CDR and MRND organized demonstrations against the peace talks. More than 300 Tutsi civilians in the north of Rwanda were murdered (Jones 1999b). The rejection of the Arusha accords by the CDR and MRND parties would soon be the precursor of greater violence.

The "Peace Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front," known as the Arusha Ac-

cords, was finally signed on August 4, 1993. The Accords included five main protocols signed at different stages of the negotiation: (1) a protocol on the rule of law; (2) a power-sharing arrangement and the creation of the Broad-Based Transitional Government (BBTG); (3) the repatriation of Rwandan refugees and the resettlement of displaced persons; (4) the integration of armed forces; and (5) miscellaneous issues (Jones 1999a, 1999b).

An observer mission for the Uganda-Rwanda cease-fire, the United Nations Observer Mission to Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR), was created in June 1993 with a mandate to regulate the flow of arms along the Ugandan border. After the Arusha Accords were signed, UN Security Council Resolution 872 (October 5, 1993) authorized the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR). UNAMIR was a 2,538-person "neutral international force" led by Canadian Brigadier General Roméo Dallaire. UNAMIR's mandate was to provide for security in Kigali, oversee the creation of the BBTG, and monitor the cease-fire in the new demilitarized zone along with UNOMUR (Jones 1999b; Laegreid 1999; Sellström et al. 1996). More importantly, the mission was adopted under Chapter VI authority, which meant it could only use force if UNAMIR was directly attacked (Laegreid 1999). In the case of civil violence or genocide, UNAMIR did not have the mandate to retaliate.

In retrospect, these efforts proved to be less than optimal. The BBTG was never fully established. Parties that did not agree began to splinter, further dividing moderates and extremists. By the time the BBTG was supposed to convene in January and February 1994, assassinations of moderate political leaders had already begun. A special envoy from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) at the time predicted that "a bloodbath of unparalleled proportions" was under way; similar warnings were made by the head of UNAMIR, Lieutenant General Roméo Dallaire (Jones 1999b, 145).

UNAMIR's lack of trained personnel, equipment, and financial resources prevented the mis-

sion from effective peacekeeping. The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) in New York was also reluctant to take any offensive action, given UNAMIR's limited Chapter VI mandate. In the first weeks of April 1994, members of the Security Council were questioning whether UNAMIR should remain in place or be withdrawn. No Western states were willing to send troops. By April 19, Belgian troops—the strongest and best-equipped unit—were withdrawn after ten Belgian peacekeepers were killed by extremists. On April 21, the Security Council reduced UNAMIR's role to a “political presence” (Laegreid 1999, 239). There were final attempts by Tanzania to save the Arusha Accords at the beginning of April 1994, but it was too late. Subsequent efforts also failed, and “the jaws of genocide closed around the peace process in Rwanda” (Jones 1999b, 146).

From April 29, 1994, after 200,000 Tutsis had already been killed, UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali appealed to the Security Council for measures to protect the civilians. It was several weeks before the international community responded. UNAMIR “became increasingly involved in self-protection tasks [and] within a week, 14,000 civilians had gathered under UN protection” (Laegreid 1999, 237).

The first measure was officially launched on June 23, 1994, when France, faced with public opinion criticizing the French army for “having trained the killer militias,” dispatched 2,200 soldiers to Rwanda (Prunier 1999, 283). The mission, known as *Opération Turquoise*, was to create a Safe Humanitarian Zone in southwest Rwanda to protect civilians. Although Paris was acting unilaterally in this humanitarian intervention, it was granted a military force by the Security Council and a Chapter VII mandate (allowing the use of force) for two months. In retrospect, the mission, which arrived very late in the conflict, was able to save an estimated 12,000–15,000 Tutsi and prevented a profound refugee crisis in Burundi. Yet it was criticized for having provided relief mostly to Hutu IDPs, Interahamwe militias, and ex-RAF troops and

their families (Prunier 1999; Sellström, et al. 1996), which in return allowed “the retraining and rearming of large numbers of former government troops” along Rwanda's frontiers (Freedom House 2000).

A second relief operation was initiated in August 1994, when the U.S. government unilaterally deployed troops in Central Africa. An estimated 2,000 Americans took part in Operation Support Hope (Payne and Dagne 2002). Efforts were coordinated with humanitarian organizations and UNAMIR to create safe corridors for returning IDPs and refugees.

The postwar situation was aggravated by the large number of refugees and IDPs (between 1.9 and 3.2 million) in neighboring Zaire (DRC), Burundi, and Tanzania, and by the return to Rwanda of former Tutsi refugees (about 600,000) who had been in exile in Uganda for more than three generations (Prunier 1995; Sellström, et al. 1996). By August 1994, 115,000 had returned from DRC, but operations were halted because ex-RAF forces began terrorizing refugees in Zairian camps (Halvorsen 1999). Until 2002, many have been forced to return by the governments of Burundi, Uganda and Tanzania. In 2002, a change in UNHCR policy regarding Rwandan refugees stated that future repatriation would be voluntary. In 2004, a report from Amnesty International Canada stated that, since 2002, an estimated 55,756 Rwandese refugees had been repatriated, and another 60,000 Rwandan refugees were still to be repatriated (2004).

The ICTR was created in November 1994 in Arusha under the presidency of Richard Goldstone, a South African judge, but the first indictments did not take place until November 1995. As Des Forges points out: “[e]stablishing the responsibility of *individual* Hutu is . . . the only way to diminish the ascription of *collective* guilt to all Hutu” (1999, 736). Considering the common assumption that all Hutus killed Tutsis, and that very few considered the role of Tutsis and the RPF in the civil war, the ICTR decided to prosecute both Hutus and Tutsis responsible for

crimes against humanity committed between January 1, 1994, and December 31, 1994.

Since then, thousands have been arrested and await trial, often in inhumane conditions. By 1996, only 1,500 of the 135,000 detainees had been tried (Des Forges 1999; Sellström, et al. 1996). In response, some regional authorities have recently encouraged the local settlement of claims by survivors through a customary process known as *gacaca*, in which trials take place before a community gathering, and only those accused of causing injury or death during the genocide are judged (Des Forges 1999). While many agree that the *gacaca* process is not perfect—many believe the process may end up doing more harm than good by opening up old wounds and by further polarizing Hutus and Tutsis rather than reconciling them—it is regarded as “the best available solution, [which] could yet succeed if the government remains vigilant and flexible” (Wolters 2005, 19).

Conclusion

To recapitulate, the civil war in Rwanda was rooted in a pattern of Tutsi refugee invasions that followed discriminatory and exclusionary policies against Tutsis in postcolonial Rwanda. By the time of the invasion in 1990, the rebel movement had gained strength and was highly militarized and disciplined, mainly because of Uganda’s Museveni’s support. The political and economic conditions in Rwanda were declining, which signaled regime weakness and created an opportunity to launch a surprise attack.

Since the RPF had a military superiority over the RAF, the war took three years to settle. The RAF received significant military support from France and Zaire, which greatly influenced the duration of the conflict. After a year of formal negotiation, the Arusha Accords were finally signed in August 1993, leaving the UN peacekeeping force in charge of implementing its protocols. However, Arusha was soon undermined by extremist forces in disagreement with the accords, propelling the country into civil chaos

The RPF’s Invasion Versus Rwandan Armed Forces

“At the time of the RPF invasion, Rwanda had an army of only 5,000 men, equipped with light arms including Belgian-made FAL, German-made G3 and AK automatic rifles . . . eight 812 mm mortars, six 57 mm anti-tank guns, French AML-60 armored cars, and 16 French M. armored personnel carriers” (Kakwenzire and Kamukama 1999, 78). By mid-1991, the RAF had grown to 15,000 men, reaching 30,000 by the end of the year, and 50,000 by mid-1992 when the Arusha negotiations began.

and genocide after Habyarimana’s death in February 1994.

Overall, as a means of preventive diplomacy, the Arusha process was admirable in a number of respects: It brought to the table an appropriate balance between regional and international players, neutral elements, and members of the majority of political organizations in Kigali. However, Arusha was a failure in terms of ending the conflict. As Jones points out, “the Arusha process was sophisticated and well managed, but the outcome was flawed. The outcome reflected the inherent difficulties in achieving a stable transition bargain in the context of civil war” (1999b, 132).

This raises important questions with regard to conflict resolution and peacekeeping in civil war contexts. First, should conflict resolution include or exclude extremists? Whereas in South Africa all political elements were included in the peace process with apparent success, in Rwanda the peace negotiations excluded hardliners and failed to prevent the ensuing genocide. Some argue that providing a stronger role for hardliners in Rwanda could have contributed to securing their power and perhaps could have avoided the tragic events of April 1994 (Jones 1999b).

Second, what role should international actors play in conflict resolution? In Rwanda, the agreement was negotiated under great interna-

tional pressure. By forcing the two sides to adopt untenable positions, the intervention of the Arusha participants (the OAU, France, Belgium, and the United States) did not alleviate the already tense situation and resulted in tragic consequences (Jones 1999b).

Third, the case of Rwanda's peacekeeping force also raises questions about United Nations intervention and its rapid-reaction force capacity. Some argue that providing a greater role and more robust force for UNAMIR, including a Chapter VII mandate allowing the use of force, could have improved the declining security situation in Kigali. Dallaire (2003) claimed that a robust contingent of 5,000 could have prevented the genocide and dissuaded extremists. Indeed, it is increasingly being recognized that, in an era characterized more and more by internal conflicts and civil wars, there is a need for the UN, or any other regional organizations such as the African Union (AU), to develop a rapid-reaction capability, or a stand-by force, that would be ready to rapidly intervene when massive human rights abuses are perpetrated against a population.

In conclusion, prospects for peace in Rwanda remain uncertain and elusive. Between 8,000 and 15,000 ex-Hutu militia members and Rwandan Hutu refugees, now organized under the banner of the FDLR, continue to operate from east DRC and oppose Tutsi rule in Rwanda. Last March 31, 2005, following peace talks in Rome with representatives from the Congolese government, the FDLR finally agreed to put an end to their hostilities against Rwanda, to stop terrorizing Congolese civilians, and to demobilize and return to Rwanda where the FDLR would become a political party (International Crisis Group 2005). The United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) was mandated to disarm, demobilize, repatriate, resettle, and reintegrate FDLR members in Rwanda before September 2005. However, as of July 2006, the FDLR had not yet abandoned the DRC and many commanders were still hiding in the bush in the

Kivu province "ready to carry on fighting" (BBC News 2006). The degree of Hutu mobilization in the DRC, as well as DRC support for the Hutu rebellion, both create opportunities and incentives for the renewal of conflict in the future (Harff and Gurr 1998).

In Rwanda, the Tutsi-led RPF who retains its hold on power and allows little autonomy for Rwandan Hutu, seems to reproduce the ethnic politics that they were trying to avoid when they came to power. A major obstacle to the establishment of a durable peace in Rwanda remains the way the Tutsi-led government in Rwanda will reconcile with the Hutu majority not only within the country but also within the region, and how the Rwandan government will reintegrate the Hutu militias who are to return to Rwanda. Durable peace will also depend on the ability and willingness of Rwanda's population to move beyond divisive distinctions between Hutus and Tutsis, and to view all members of society as Rwandans.

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Chronology

- October 1, 1990 RPF invades northeast Rwanda from southern Uganda.
- November 1, 1990 RPF is pushed back into Uganda. For two years, they will launch periodic invasions into northern Rwanda.
- July 22, 1992 Cease-fire negotiated at Arusha, Tanzania. OAU provides a fifty-member Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG I) in Rwanda.
- February 8, 1993 RPF launches an attack against the Rwandan government in response to the massacre of 300 Tutsis by CDR and MRND. The RPF doubles size of its occupied territory—reaching as far as twenty-three kilometers from Kigali—forcing Habyarimana to resume peace talks.
- June 22, 1993 UNOMUR is deployed along the Rwanda–Uganda border to prevent Ugandan aid to RPF.
- August 4, 1993 President Habyarimana and RPF sign the Arusha Peace Accords, establishing a provisional multiparty government.

- October 5, 1993 UNAMIR is deployed to help implement and monitor the Arusha Accords. UNAMIR's mandate ends March 8, 1996.
- October 21, 1993 Tutsi soldiers in Burundi seize and murder newly elected Hutu president. The assassination sparks a series of massacres; tens of thousands of Burundians die, both Hutu and Tutsi.
- April 6, 1994 President Habyarimana's plane is shot down, killing him along with Burundian President Ntaryamira. Hutu are urged to seek revenge by killing Tutsis and moderate Hutus.
- April 7, 1994 Extremist Hutus take over government. Hutu militia and the RAF begin the massacre; the civil war with RPF is renewed.
- April 21, 1994 Ten UN Belgian officers are killed. Security Council (SC) Resolution 912 reduces UNAMIR's strength from 2,548 to 270.
- May 17, 1994 SC Resolution 918 imposes an arms embargo against Rwanda. UNAMIR's strength is increased to 5,500 troops; full deployment of troops takes nearly six months.
- June 22, 1994 SC Resolution 929 establishes a Chapter VII multinational humanitarian operation. French-led Opération Turquoise delimits a humanitarian protection zone in the southwest region of Rwanda.
- July 6, 1994 RPF capture Kigali and call for immediate cease-fire.
- July 19, 1994 RPF military victory; new multiparty government is formed. Pasteur Bizimungu, a Hutu, is appointed president.
- November 8, 1994 International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda is established.

List of Acronyms

- ALiR: Armed Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda
- BBTG: Broad-Based Transitional Government
- CDR: Coalition pour la Défense de la République
- DPKO: Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN)
- DRC: Democratic Republic of the Congo
- FDLR: Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda
- GDP: gross domestic product
- ICTR: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
- IDPs: internally displaced person
- IMF: International Monetary Fund
- MDR: Mouvement Démocratique Républicain

- MONUC: United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
- MRND: Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement
- MRNDD: Mouvement Républicain National pour la Démocratie et le Développement
- NMOG: Neutral Military Observer Group
- NRA: National Resistance Army (Uganda)
- OAU: Organization of African Unity (now African Union, AU)
- PDC: Parti Démocrate Chrétien
- PL: Parti Libéral
- PSD: Parti Social Démocrate
- RAF: Rwandan Armed Forces
- RANU: Rwanda Alliance for National Unity
- RPA: Rwandan Patriotic Army
- RPF: Rwandan Patriotic Front
- RTLM: Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines
- SAP: structural adjustment program
- UNAMIR: United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda
- UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
- UNICEF: United Nations International Children's Fund
- UNOMUR: United Nations Observer Mission to Uganda-Rwanda
- WB: World Bank

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Somalia

(1988–1991 and 1992–Present)

Introduction

Somalia, a country synonymous with civil war, failed state syndrome, and anarchy, suffers from chronic clan warfare stimulated by Cold War rivalries and failed humanitarian intervention. Since independence, the people of Somalia have suffered regular civil and international conflict. This history defines Somalia, and its future will be a function of this history. More than a decade after the fall of Siad Barre, the country remains without an effective central government. The civil war affected all of Somalia's neighbors, as each one was the subject of irredentist claims on its territory. Somalia claimed Kenya's Northern Frontier district, Ethiopia's Ogaden region, and Djibouti. These irredentist claims complicated regional dynamics and led to a lack of political support for settlement of the disputes involved in the civil war. Not until the regional and international powers realized that a civil war in Somalia affected them all did they support peace in Somalia.

Country Background

The peoples now known as Somalis come from an ancient people called Berberi. Evidence suggests they have lived in the region since 100 AD. Somalis, a derivation of Samaal, are pastoral nomads and followers of Islam. Six major clans compose the Somali ethnic group. The Dir, the

Daarood, the Isaaq, and the Hawiye follow pastoral lifestyles; the Digil and the Rahanwayn follow an agricultural life. Islam, introduced in the eighth century, has strongly influenced the legal and cultural identities of the Somali people. Initially, the Somali people created outposts on the coasts in the ancient cities of Seylac, Berbera, Merca, and Mogadishu to trade with other cultures. The Somali people possess a strong identity and show a fierce independence. A central part of Somali life and central to their identity are their clan affiliations (Metz 1992, xxi).

Present-day Somalia began as two different entities, one administered by Italy and the other by the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom controlled the northern area to maintain a strategic supply area for its important colonies in Yemen and India. This area of Somalia contained substantial animal resources to feed the United Kingdom's people across the Red Sea. Southern Somalia became part of Italy and allowed Italians to resettle in the region to relieve population pressures in Italy. An important historical aspect of the two entities rests with the differences in the colonial administration of the two zones. As Italians migrated to Somalia to make a new life, southern Somalia benefited from additional educated administrators who improved education, commerce, infrastructure, and sanitation systems in the region. In the north, the United Kingdom used the region to

extract resources and did little to empower its inhabitants.

Somalia was formed by the merger of British and Italian Somaliland, whereas French Somaliland became Djibouti, and the Somalis in Kenya and Ethiopia remained part of those countries. Although the Somali identity forms the majority of these areas, Somalis also live outside these areas in other neighboring countries throughout the region. After independence, Somalia followed a policy of nonalignment and chose to receive support from the United States, the Soviet Union, and the Peoples' Republic of China.

Mohamed Siad Barre came to power in a coup d'état on October 21, 1969, after the death of President Shermaarke. He garnered the support of the military and the police and proclaimed a new Somali Democratic Republic. This new entity proclaimed its goal as the unification of all Somali peoples and the end of all clannism in Somalia. Although Somalia initially maintained a nonaligned foreign policy, when Siad Barre came to power, he shifted Somalia's allegiance to the Soviet sphere of influence. In exchange, the Soviet Union sent small arms and light weapons, tanks, aircraft, and advisors to train the Somali National Army (SNA).

As a believer of "scientific socialism," Siad Barre made efforts to bring development to his people. Unfortunately, his irredentist claims on his neighbors' Somali populations created turmoil throughout the region. The idea of a greater Somalia that joined Somalis from Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Kenya consumed the government of Siad Barre. This led to the unsuccessful invasion of the Ogaden region of Ethiopia and both tacit and direct support of Somali rebel groups in the surrounding countries.

Somalia's military buildup during the 1970s allowed the government to field one of the largest and best-trained militaries in Africa. With the assistance of Soviet advisors, equipment, and material, Somalia began to consider means of achieving its stated intention of uniting all Somalis into a Greater Somalia. Histori-

cally, Somalia's irredentist claim on the Ogaden of Ethiopia emanated from Ethiopia's seizure of the area after the defeat of Italy in World War II. The Ogaden contained a large population of Somalis under foreign domination and became the focus of Somalia's military buildup. In 1977, Somalia sent its forces into Ethiopia and initially made substantial gains. As Somalia succeeded in capturing territory in the Ogaden, the Soviet Union pulled its support from Somalia and began reinforcing Ethiopia. This transition led to a reversal of Somalia's gains and forced Somalia to withdraw in defeat. (See also Lewis 2002.)

Conflict Background

Somalia's unsuccessful war against Ethiopia over the contested Ogaden region initiated a long period of rebellion against the leadership of Siad Barre. After Somalia's loss in the Ogaden, several groups challenged his leadership and formed in opposition to his rule. This sparked a coup attempt in April 1978 by military members of the Majerteyn clan. Barre and his supporters prevailed and unleashed a vicious campaign against military and civilian members of the Majerteyn clan. This reprisal began a cycle of violence against those groups that challenged his leadership. An insurgency began with this coup attempt. Although the initial coup failed, it put in motion a chain of events that led to his overthrow. After Barre realized that members of the Majerteyn clan were responsible for the coup attempt, he began a campaign against the entire clan. Later, as more clans realized that his tactics included manipulating clan differences, the rebellion grew to include the Isaaq clans of the north. Both groups experienced the wrath of Siad Barre as his secret police massacred their people (Lyons and Samatar 1995, 17).

Because of Barre's campaign of violence against the Majerteyn clan, thousands of people fled to the relative safety of Ethiopia. While in Ethiopia, Colonel Abdullahi Yusef formed the Somali Democratic Salvation Front (SSDF) with material and tacit support from the government

of Ethiopia. Although the SSDF initially received support from Somalis, it eventually lost support because of its ties with the Ethiopian government (Adam 1995, 76; Lyons and Samatar 1995, 17).

The goal of the Ogaden war was to unite the Somali people. Ogadeni Somalis lost their independence when Ethiopia seized the region during the colonial period. After Somalia's loss to Ethiopia, many of the Ogadeni Somalis fled Ethiopia, fearing reprisal from the Ethiopian government. As they fled, Siad Barre offered sanctuary in Somalia; however, this gesture came at the expense of the northern Isaaq clan displaced by these arriving Ogadenis. This calculated move by Siad Barre drew the scorn of the Isaaq clan and sparked the creation of the Somali National Movement (SNM), a movement primarily focused on the overthrow of the Siad Barre regime (Adam 1995, 76; Lyons and Samatar 1995, 18).

The SNM operated out of Ethiopia, just like the SSDF, until the governments of Ethiopia and Somalia agreed that it was in their mutual interest to end support of each other's rebel movements. Ethiopia found itself in the midst of the civil war against Eritrean separatists, while Somalia increasingly found itself embattled by various clan-based Somali groups. The treaty of nonaggression and noninterference obliged Ethiopia to end support of all Somali groups; accordingly, the SNM and other groups changed strategies with the loss of their bases in Ethiopia. The peace accord between Ethiopia and Somalia triggered the decline of Somalia. With the loss of its bases in Ethiopia, the SNM began a military campaign against the Siad Barre regime. The SNM captured Burao and Hargeisa in May 1989. Barre sent a full contingent of soldiers and equipment, including the air force. The air force began an indiscriminate aerial bombardment of Hargeisa and destroyed more than 50 percent of the city. The bombardment spared no one and became another crime against humanity, recognized but practically ignored by the international community (Adam 1995, 76; Lewis 2002, 262; Lyons and Samatar 1995, 18).

With instability mounting throughout north and central Somalia, Siad Barre's government began to unravel, continuing its descent into the status of a failed state. Other groups that were upset about the policies and practices of the Barre regime sensed the weakness of the central government and began to organize against the regime. Disaffected Ogadenis formed the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) and began attacks on the government at Afmadu in March 1989. Rebel groups now covered the majority of the country from the north, throughout the central region, and into the south, including parts of Juba and Benadir (Lyons and Samatar 1995, 18).

At this point, the Majerteyn, Ogadeni, and Isaaq clans now openly rejected the leadership of Siad Barre, and the Hawiye clan joined in the open struggle against the government to protect its interests. Members of the SNM had created the United Somali Congress (USC) in 1987 in Rome. Although they shared a common distrust and hatred of the Barre regime, they realized his wrath when Hawiye clan members in the Somali Army mutinied in Galkayu, triggering a murderous response from the military. Despite the shared resolve against the government, factions within the USC differed on how to cooperate with other groups, including the SNM. These factions included General Mohammed Farah Aidede, who believed the USC should cooperate with the SNM (Adam 1995, 77; Lyons and Samatar 1995, 19).

The trend of clan-based rebel movements weakened the fabric of Somali society, and people began to turn to the clans for protection and welfare. As Barre retaliated against the various clans, the Marehan clan dominated the military because it was the only clan loyal to Barre. This accelerated the perception of the other clan groups that regime change was the only way to end the reprisals by the Barre regime and bring stability back to Somalia. Although all the clan groups agreed that the Barre regime should be overthrown, cooperation between the clan groups remained limited and difficult (Lyons and Samatar 1995, 19).

In January 1991, Siad Barre fled Mogadishu after the combined forces of the USC (jointly led by Mohammed Farah Aided and Ali Mahdi) entered the capital. After the fall of Mogadishu, neither Aided nor Mahdi could agree on how to share power. Aided, who was of the Habar Gidr subclan, and Mahdi, who was of the Abgal subclan, each received support from their clans to lead the country. Aided's clan enjoyed the support of the SNM in the north. Mahdi's clan were the original inhabitants of the Mogadishu area, whereas Aided's clan settled in the area later. While Aided pursued Barre south of Mogadishu, Mahdi declared himself the head of the new government of Somalia. Aided did not recognize the proclamation, and this led to a division of Mogadishu between the Habar Gidr and the Abgal subclans. After fleeing the capital, Barre made one last attempt to reclaim power. He gathered his forces south of the capital and made one last push to take the city back from the USC. His attempt failed, and Barre fled into exile. This led to further bloodshed, a failed UN intervention, and additional years of suffering for the people of Somalia (Lewis 2002, 264).

Before meetings to discuss a cease-fire, Aided (representing the United Somali Congress), Ahmed Omar Jess (representing the Somali Patriotic Movement), Mohamed Nur Aliyow (representing the Somali Democratic Movement [SDM]), and Abdi Warsame (representing the Southern Somali National Movement [SSNM]) came together to formulate a common strategy for the discussions. The parties signed the cease-fire agreement on March 3, 1992, in which all parties agreed to end hostilities and maintain the status quo (Clarke and Herbst 1997, 7).

As the world witnessed the human tragedy of the famine in Somalia, pressure mounted on the international community to intervene to halt the fighting and facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance. The end of the Cold War opened the way for the United Nations to take a stronger role in dealing with international peace and security as envisioned in its charter. With the sup-

port of the United Nations, the United States launched an invasion of Somalia with the primary purpose of bringing about the conditions necessary to deliver humanitarian assistance to those areas in the south most devastated by famine (Lewis 2002, 267–75; Lyons and Samatar 1995, 29–35)

After Somalia descended into violence, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Arab League, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) all discussed the situation in Somalia. The United Nations actively participated in Somalia after the collapse of the Barre regime but could not fully operate in the lawless environment. Due to the violence, the United Nations removed its personnel from the country on several occasions. On January 23, 1992, the United Nations began its official involvement by passing Security Council Resolution 733. The resolution urged all the parties to cease hostilities, created an arms embargo, and requested humanitarian assistance.

During the early 1990s, at the height of the post-Cold War euphoria for United Nations involvement, Somalia became the testing grounds for UN and member state humanitarian intervention. On April 24, 1992, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 751, creating the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) to monitor a cease-fire between the Somali factions headed by Ali Mahdi and Mohammed Farah Aided. Gradually, the mission grew from fifty members to more than 4,000 as the mission transitioned between a peacekeeping mission and a humanitarian mission to provide food to those suffering from a famine. Cooperation between the United Nations and its specialized agencies escalated to mitigate the suffering of the Somali people. Unfortunately, the Somali factions decided to continue the civil conflict, which led to a considerable escalation in international involvement.

Because of the deteriorating security situation, the UN Security Council authorized the use of force in its Resolution 794. The Unified

Task Force (UNITAF), led by the United States, was deployed to Mogadishu on December 9, 1992, in response to Security Council Resolution 794. UNITAF's primary responsibility was to secure the capital and provide a safe environment for the distribution of humanitarian assistance. Upon the realization of these mandates, the United Nations began the transition between UNITAF and UNOSOM II (as embodied in Security Council Resolution 814).

UNOSOM II attempted to continue the successes realized by UNITAF by maintaining security and continuing the humanitarian work started earlier. However, General Aideed escalated the violence by directly attacking UNOSOM II forces. In June 1993, Aideed's forces attacked Pakistani soldiers, and in October 1993, U.S. soldiers supporting UNOSOM II died in a protracted battle with Aideed's forces. The attack on the U.S. soldiers started the gradual withdrawal of peacekeeping forces, and UNOSOM II completely withdrew in March 1995 (Howe 1996; United Nations Operation in Somalia, n.d.).

The Insurgents

This section discusses the clan-based groups and attempts to provide insight into their creation, leadership, composition, and goals. The three core rebel groups are the United Somali Congress, the Somali National Movement, and the Somali Salvation Democratic Front. These groups played a crucial role in the overthrow of Siad Barre. They also competed for leadership within Somalia after the fall of his government.

The United Somali Congress, composed of members of the Hawiye clan, initially formed from two conferences, one held in Rome (1987) and one in Ethiopia (1989). The USC formed at a time when the state had ceased to function properly. Since its inception, USC suffered from internal divisions, and when Jiumale died in mid-1990, a bitter conflict ensued between the USC's military wing leader, General Aidid (of the Habir Gedir subclan) and its Manifesto

representative, Ali Mahdi (of the Abgal subclan). The USC seized control of Mogadishu in 1991 and expelled Barre. Once Barre had left Mogadishu, conflict between the two leaders for control of the USC and national leadership led to internecine wars, in June and September 1991 and March 1992, between the two subclans. The competing groups destroyed large parts of the capital city. Mohamed Farah Aideed (also allied with the SNM) maintained control over southern Mogadishu and some regions in central Somalia, whereas self-proclaimed interim president Ali Mahdi Mohamed maintained control of northern Mogadishu. The inability of any one group or person to fill the leadership vacuum paved the way for creeping warlordism in southern Somalia. A third faction of the USC continued to exist in Mogadishu—a nonviolent opposition called the Manifesto Group. The weakening military power of the Barre regime had allowed a loyal opposition to issue a manifesto during his last year. However, the rapid success of the USC, facilitated by the success of the Manifesto Group, left the USC without a developed, politically mature party program and organization. To maximize support, Aideed's group created the Somali National Alliance (SNA), which included the USC, the SPM, the SDM, and the SSNM (Adam 1995, 77; Ahmed 1999, 242; Lyons and Samatar 1995, 79; Woodward 2003, 71).

The Somali National Movement, composed of a group of businesspersons, religious leaders, intellectuals, and former army officers drawn from of the Isaaq clan, led the opposition of Siad Barre in the late 1980s. The SNM formed in 1981 with support from Ethiopia during much of the 1980s. In 1988, the SNM occupied much of northern Somalia and suffered brutal reprisal attacks from Siad Barre. The SNM won control of the north (former British Somaliland) in 1991 and declared the territory the independent (but as yet unrecognized) Republic of Somaliland. Drawing support primarily from the Isaaq clans of the Togdher region, the SNM was launched in

Table 1: Civil War in Somalia

War:	Rebel alliance (SNM-USC-SPM) vs. government
Dates:	1988–1991 and 1992–present
Casualties:	500,000
Regime type prior to war:	–7 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	Collapse of central authority (Interregnum –77)
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$170 (1989; GNP)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$500 (2003)
Insurgents:	SNM, USC, SPM, and others
Issue:	Ideological struggle for control of central government
Rebel funding:	Neighboring countries, Soviet Union, United States
Role of geography:	Rebels destroyed agricultural sector, causing famine.
Role of resources:	Land played a significant role in clan politics.
Immediate outcome:	Overthrow of government, failed humanitarian intervention, ongoing
Outcome after 5 years:	Anarchy, no central government
Role of UN:	Facilitated humanitarian intervention, peacekeeping mission
Role of regional organization:	IGADD, OAU involved in peace talks
Refugees:	800,000 refugees, 2 million IDPs
Prospects for peace:	Unlikely in the near future

Sources: Institute for Security Studies (n.d.); Metz 1992, 134; Polity IV Project 2003; United States Committee for Refugees 1997.

London (political) and Ethiopia (military) and had announced it would coordinate efforts with the SSDF. The SNM expressed several Isaaq grievances, which included inadequate political representation, neglect in development, and economic controls that adversely affected trade with the Gulf states. Following the formation of the SNM, the Barre government intensified its repressive policies against the Isaaq. To create animosity between clans, Barre posted senior military officers in the Somali army from Isaaq clans in Majertejn regions as the government waged war against the Isaaq people (Ahmed 1999, 242; Lewis 2002, 252; Lyons and Samatar 1995, 78; Woodward 2003, 69).

The Somali Salvation Democratic Front, mainly composed of members of the Majertejn subclan of Darod clan, was led by General Mohamed Abshir Musse, and its regional stronghold was in northeastern Somalia. The SSDF was formed in 1979 by Colonel Yusuf Abdullahi, following Siad Barre's attacks on the Majertejn in retaliation for the coup attempt, and was supported by Ethiopia in the 1980s. Tensions with Aideed led the SSDF generally to side with the Ali

Mahdi's Somali Salvation Alliance (SSA). A smaller SSDF group is based in Kismayu, among the Hert subclan, and is found there with the SPM faction under Colonel Jess. Those mainly Mudugh-based Majertejn clansmen associated with the unsuccessful attempted coup of 1978 had by late 1981 formed the SSDF, a guerrilla organization that transferred its operational headquarters to Ethiopia and set up a powerful radio transmitter in the following year to spread propaganda. In June of that year, with military support, SSDF forces pushed across the Ethiopian border and seized control of a small area inside Somalia. The government's reaction to the coup attempt, the formation of the SSDF, and other incursions into government-held territory was repression and vicious reprisals against the Majertejn clan (Ahmed 1999, 242; Lewis 2002, 251–52; Lyons and Samatar 1995, 78; Woodward 2003, 69).

Several smaller groups also participated in the Somali civil war. Many of the following groups participated in the various peace conferences. The Somali Patriotic Movement, a grouping of Ogadeni subclans (of the Darod clan), attempted to lay claim to the region

around the southern port of Kismayu, thereby triggering conflict with other Ogadeni sub-clans. Ahmed Omar Jess led one faction, which was allied with Aideed's SNA. Adan Abdullahi Nur (Gabiyo) led another faction, allied with Ali Mahdi's SSA and with General Mohamed Siad Hersi (Morgan). A group of Ogaden clan soldiers and officers defected from Siyad's army in 1989 and formed the SPM. A splinter SPM faction headed by Umar Jess and based in the Kismayu area allied with the Aideed faction of the USC. The Ogadeni-led SPM also worked with the SNM, formed in 1989 following the arrest of General Nur (Gabiyo), then minister of defense and the highest-ranking Ogadeni in government (Adam 1995, 77; Ahmed 1999, 242; Lyons and Samatar 1995, 78; Woodward 2003, 71).

The Somali Democratic Movement is an organization based among the Rahanwein people (the agriculturalists of Somalia, who suffered some of the worse consequences of the famine), active around the town of Baidoa; the organization split and reformed a number of times in the period 1992–1994. At different times, various factions have been associated with the SSA and the SNA. The Southern Somali National Movement is a Dir clan movement based among the Bimaal subclan in southern coastal Somalia. The movement split into factions, one allied with Aideed's SNA and the other with Ali Mahdi's SSA. The Somali African Muki Organization (SAMO) represents minority populations (mainly farmers) of Bantu origin in the southern riverine regions, the most vulnerable victims of the war and famine. These farmers operated outside the clan system. One faction allied with the Somali Salvation Alliance, and another allied with the Somali National Alliance. The Somali Democratic Alliance (SDA) is a Gadabursi (Dir clan) organization from the northern Somaliland region around Boroma. Originally formed in 1989, it initially opposed the SNM's policy of independence and participated in the Addis Ababa talks. The SDA allied with the Somali Salvation Alliance and now

controls Somaliland with the United Somali Front (USF) and the SNM (Adam 1995, 77; Lyons and Samatar 1995, 77–78; Institute for Security Studies n.d.).

The Somali National Democratic Union (SNDU) is a Darod Faction allied with the SSA. General Omar Haji Mohamed Siad Hersi (Morgan) led the Somali National Front (SNF), which is composed of Marehan (part of the Darod and Siad Barre's clan) and allied with the SSA. The Somali National Union (SNU) is a Reer-Hamar group supported by many coastal, urban Somalis (outside the clan system). Historically these urbanized groups have weak clan links to the rest of Somalia but strong trading links to the Indian Ocean. As a relatively wealthy minority, they suffered greatly during the civil war and from banditry. Different factions of the SNU allied with the SSA and SNA. The United Somali Front is an Issa group (Dir Clan) based in the far northwest (Somaliland). The Issa broke with the SNM in 1991 and has had close relations with the government of Djibouti. The United Somali Party is a Dolbahante-Warsangali subclan (of the Darod clan) movement. This subclan straddles the border between northern Somaliland and southern Somalia, and the USP has been in conflict with the SNM. The party allied with the SSA (Adam 1995, 77; Lyons and Samatar 1995, 77–79).

Geography

Somalia is located in eastern Africa, also known as the Horn of Africa. Somalia borders the approach to the Bab el Mandeb, the strategic area near the opening to the route through the Red Sea to the Suez Canal. Due to its strategic importance, the United States and its allies maintain a naval presence in the region. This presence is predicated on the fact that Somalia has a weak central government and no organized naval contingent to protect the approach. In light of increased terrorist threats and the bombing of the USS *Cole* in Yemen, it is clear that the areas off the coast of Somalia have become a haven for terrorists. Continued concern that Somalia and



its territorial waters are a risk to international peace and security has made it necessary for international monitoring of the region.

Somalia has a population of about 8.6 million, a July 2005 estimate derived from an official census taken in 1975 by the Somali government. Due to the lack of a fully functioning

central government, the presence of nomads, and the movement of refugees owing to famine and clan warfare, population numbers are only estimates. Although the majority of the Somali population identifies themselves as Somalis, clan-based designations caused many of the conflicts within Somalia. Clan-based rivalries es-

calated throughout the conflict and continue to the present day.

The climate and geography of Somalia affect the distribution of economic resources, which contributed to the civil conflict. In the northern part of the country, the people relied on animal husbandry for their survival. They would raise cattle, camels, and other animals and export them to regional markets, including those in Yemen and Saudi Arabia. In the south, especially between the Jubba and Shabeelle rivers, the people relied on agriculture to support their economy. The war devastated both economies. In the south, Barre's supporters destroyed the crops during their retreat from Mogadishu, creating a famine. In the north, the livestock industry suffered from low commodity prices after Saudi Arabia barred Somali animals from its territory because a disease was found among its stocks. Low livestock prices and increasing conflict after the signing of the nonaggression treaty with Ethiopia contributed to the escalation of the conflict.

Somalia possesses many natural resources: uranium and largely unexploited reserves of iron ore, tin, gypsum, bauxite, copper, salt, natural gas, and probably oil reserves. Somalia also contends with recurring droughts, frequent dust storms over the eastern plains in summer, and floods during the rainy season. The natural resources and environmental hazards in Somalia contributed to the vulnerability of the regimes in Somalia. Droughts limited the amount of food the country could produce. The regime's destruction of crops as they fled the capital magnified the natural hazards. Although Somalia is a large country with natural resources, it had not been able to benefit from these resources because of lack of capital and other problems related to lack of development.

Tactics

Tactics in the civil war ranged from conventional warfare to guerrilla warfare. The rebels initially received support from Ethiopia; however, when Siad Barre made peace with Haile Mengistu

Miriam, the rebels lost their patron. Without the support of Ethiopia, the rebels began an all-out attack on the Barre regime. To maintain their momentum, they used confiscated and abandoned military equipment. Due to the patronage of the United States and the Soviet Union and its war with Ethiopia, Somalia possessed a large quantity of military hardware. Also, the rapid demobilization of the Ethiopian military after its war with Somalia provided a large, inexpensive supply of weapons for rebel forces. Rebel groups relied on the availability of second-hand weapons, as well as weapons smuggled into the country in violation of the United Nations weapons embargo.

All sides in the conflict used tactics to terrorize the civilian population. Clan-based rivalries fueled murder, torture, rape, and destruction throughout Somalia. These tactics forced clan groups to organize militia and other military-style organizations to defend their interests. Without these protections, their people suffered the murderous rage of the various ethnic groups. Somalia's system of compensation for crimes committed against other Somalis complicated the civil war. When a Somali of one clan dies by the hand of another, Somali heritage requires monetary compensation or retribution by the same crime. The civil war stretched this system to the limit because a shortage of blood money increased the cycle of violence, leading to system collapse.

The regions (Somaliland and Puntland) achieved peace because they put aside this cycle of violence through concerted efforts at reconciliation among the inhabitants. Conciliation efforts, such as using a council of elders to settle disputes, led to a more stable situation, in which state institutions reappeared to run services that the central government had operated in the past.

Causes of the War

First, the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union provided Somalia with ample foreign aid and weapons to conduct

inter- and intrastate conflict. Initially, Somalia received foreign and military aid from the Soviet Union. During its war with Ethiopia, Somalia severed its ties with the Soviet Union because the latter would not provide the assistance Somalia requested to defeat Ethiopia and unite the Ogaden Somalis with their homeland. The United States filled the vacuum created by the Soviet Union's departure. Although the United States did not provide foreign and military aid at the same level as the Soviet Union had, Somalia was still able to purchase the military equipment it needed to destabilize the region.

Second, ethnic and clan cleavages contributed to the civil war in Somalia. Although Somalia is the most homogeneous state in Africa, the Somali people subdivide into several clans, sub-clans, and clan groups. These divisions exist down to the family level. The unification of British and Italian Somaliland forced the various clans to work together to create a common Somali identity; however, clan rivalries require all disputes to be settled with blood, if necessary. Therefore, when one clan achieves superiority over another or all others, it is possible to manipulate clan sensitivities. Siad Barre chose to manipulate the fragile peace between the clans to benefit his own. What ensued was a deadly civil war that pitted Somali against Somali for superiority and leadership.

Third, artificial borders contributed to the civil war in Somalia. At independence, Somalis lived in Somalia, Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Kenya. An ethnic boundary across sovereign boundaries, especially in Africa, where the sanctity of colonial boundaries was part of the Organization of African Unity charter, creates temptations to preserve unity. Africa decided during the creation of the Organization of African Unity that colonial borders are inviolable, despite their limitations; otherwise, interstate war would continually exist. Therefore, states acceding to the charter agreed to a higher prevalence of internal conflict rather than interstate conflict. Somalia, one of the worst cases of internal strife, maintained its continuity partially be-

cause of its ethnic homogeneity and partially because of its desire to realize pan-Somali unity. Although the people of Somalia did not create this idea, the leaders of the country never forgot their Somali brethren in neighboring Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Kenya. Somalia's irredentist claims caused the death of millions and threatened the stability of the entire region. The Congress of Berlin, which partitioned Africa, clearly did not take into consideration the delicacies of African lineage. Their lack of insight led to catastrophic consequences not only in Somalia, but in all of Africa.

Fourth, despotic rule contributed to the civil war in Somalia. After Somalia's devastating loss to Ethiopia in the Ogaden war, Siad Barre chose to maintain his control over the country by using tactics that discriminated against other clans. His brutality in dealing with the Isaaq and the Majerteyn clans led to animosity among the clans and destroyed the concept of Somali unity. Because of his manipulation of clan and subclan identity, the country descended into anarchy.

Fifth, external intervention by the United States and the Soviet Union contributed to the civil war in Somalia. Both countries provided substantial military and financial assistance. During the years following independence, the Soviet Union provided millions of dollars in military assistance. Not only did the Soviet Union train the Somali military, it also provided substantial equipment and material. With this infusion of military resources, Somalia began to realize that pan-Somali union might be possible through the use of force. Rather than negotiating autonomy for its Somali brethren in Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya, Somalia possessed the military resources to annex these regions militarily. In 1977, Somalia began a campaign to annex the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, the largest concentration of Somalis outside Somalia. This action was counterproductive to Soviet interests because the Soviets also supported Ethiopia; therefore, the Soviets began to limit the ability of Somalia to continue to build its military. Siad Barre was infuriated that the Soviet Union

would limit its military support at the very moment Somalia needed it the most. Thus strained, the relationship between Somalia and the Soviet Union ended. To fill the void left by the termination of the Somali–Soviet relationship, Somalia sought out the assistance of the United States. The United States gladly accepted a patron–client relationship with Somalia; however, it did not provide the same level of military assistance, choosing to focus on humanitarian and development-related assistance instead. The United States would not become a party to Somalia’s war with Ethiopia, even though Ethiopia was part of the Soviet sphere of influence in Africa. The Cold War rivalry facilitated the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia, a conflict that led to the civil war in Somalia (Lyons and Samatar 1995, 26).

Finally, decolonization from the United Kingdom and Italy occurred rapidly and did not allow for adequate transfers of sovereignty. The indigenous population did not possess the skills to maintain the bureaucracy that the colonial powers had created. Throughout the period of decolonization in Africa, colonial powers notoriously refused to adequately prepare their subjects for independence. The main colonial powers in Africa were the United Kingdom, France, Portugal, and Italy. Throughout the colonial period, the colonial powers subjugated the indigenous peoples to treatment as second-class citizens who could not rise above a certain level in their own countries. Citizens from the metropolis, educated at home, ran the civil service, the economy, and the military. Indigenous peoples participated in these institutions but did not run them, nor did they receive training to run them. Many colonial powers believed that they would have ample time to make the transition from subjugation to autonomy and eventually to independence. However, the indigenous peoples determined the timeline for independence with their resolve, and the colonial powers left without providing a means of efficient self-rule. Somalia suffered the same fate to which many of its fellow African nations succumbed. During the

period of decolonization, Italy, France and the United Kingdom tried to determine how best to deal with independence. Italy and the United Kingdom agreed that Italian and British Somaliland might fare better as one independent state. Before this could be arranged, both entities declared independence and shortly thereafter agreed to form a union of their two polities. This rapid transition left no time for training the military, the civil service, or the health care and education sectors. The lack of training and the rapid transfer of sovereignty contributed to the weak nature of the Somali state and allowed a despotic rule to rise to power, eventually committing the country to a war that would begin the slow collapse of the Somali state (Ahmed 1999, 239).

Outcome *Conflict Status*

Since October 8, 2004, and the release of the UN secretary-general’s report S/2004/804, the situation in Somalia continues to transform as the Transitional Federal Government attempts to relocate in Mogadishu. Despite attempts to relocate the government from Kenya to Somalia, the security situation in the former capital remains insecure. Because of the danger, several members of the government recommended relocation to a safer city such as Hargeisa or Kismayu. This option received little support, for the majority agree that Mogadishu must be the capital of Somalia to ensure legitimacy in the eyes of all Somalis.

The Somali National Reconciliation Conference concluded on October 14, 2004. Colonel Abdullahi Yusef Ahmed won the vote for president. He chose as prime minister Ali Mohammed Gedi, who proceeded to create the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia. The prime minister formed a cabinet, but the members of conference who chose the leadership rebelled against his choice, believing that he had not followed the formula devised for fairly representing all clans and subclans. The

The Transitional Federal Government

The Transitional Federal Government, formulated during peace talks in neighboring Djibouti, continues to guide the country from war to peace. Unfortunately, the TFG fails to make substantial progress toward asserting their legitimate role as the sole government in Somalia. Warlordism continues to limit its ability to relocate to Mogadishu and perform its duties. In October 2004, Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed was elected transitional federal president of Somalia for a five-year period. In December 2004, Ali Mohamed Gedi became prime minister. The cabinet, consisting of ninety ministers and deputy ministers, was appointed in January 2005. The Transitional Federal Assembly, established in August 2004, elected Shariff Hassan Sheilh Adan as speaker of the assembly. These organizations were established during long negotiations and represent the hopes of the Somali people for peace.

After fourteen attempts to make peace, Somali factions finally are optimistic that the current Transitional Federal Government can lead the transition from war to peace. Unfortunately, thirteen other attempts failed to lead the country to peace, prosperity, and sustainable development. In addition, the current Transitional Federal Government does not encompass Somaliland and Puntland, which complicates peace efforts. Because of security concerns, the central government does not function out of the former capital of Mogadishu. Instead, it operates out of a small city not threatened by instability. This decision has strained relations between various factions. Although this new Transitional Federal Government began to take responsibility for state institutions, such as its seat at the United Nations, negotiation of natural resource contracts with multinational corporations, formation of a military, and signing of free trade agreements, the people of Somalia have not experienced the benefits they expect from a central government.

The tsunami of December 26, 2004, as it did in Southeast Asia, destroyed poor coastal areas of Somali. Despite being thousands of miles away from the epicenter near Indonesia, Somalia felt the impact of the tsunami. Without an operational central government, the only assistance to coastal communities was from international organizations and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The new Transitional Federal Government must rise up from the ashes of Somalia and bring hope to its people (United Nations Security Council 2005a, 2005b; United States Department of State 2005).

prime minister capitulated and submitted a larger cabinet that included additional members to meet the requirements of fair distribution of personnel.

Due to the deteriorating security situation in Mogadishu, the TFG's relocation plan to move from Nairobi to Mogadishu initially failed. The TFG proceeded to petition the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) for military support in reclaiming Mogadishu from the warlords. IGAD was actively involved in the peace process through the IGAD Facilitation Committee. With the realization of peace, the TFG believe IGAD could bring about the realization of a Somalian central government seated in Mogadishu. The "troika" of IGAD, the United Nations, and the IGAD Partners Forum began the process of planning a support mission to

create the conditions necessary for the TFG to relocate to Mogadishu. On October 14, IGAD held a Special Summit on Somalia where the Facilitation Committee became the Coordination and Monitoring Committee for Somalia to spearhead the peace support mission to Somalia. On October 25, 2004, the president asked the African Union Peace and Security Council to also commit troops to a peace support mission to relocate the TFG to Mogadishu. On February 7, 2005, the African Union authorized IGAD to deploy a peace and support mission to Somalia. To this point, the political will has not materialized, as many donor countries will not fully commit their forces until the TFG has an agreement with the warlords who do not support a peaceful transition. As evidence, an armed group has been operating inside Somalia with

the goal of assassinating all leaders in the country who support the TFG. In 2005, General Mohammed Abdi Mohamed, Colonel Mahamond Batar, and Muhammed Hassan Tako, supporters of the TFG, were assassinated (United Nations Security Council 2005a, 2005b).

Also complicating issues in Somalia was the devastating tsunami of December 26, 2004. Although most of the world's attention was focused on Southeast Asia, the area of Somalia called Puntland declared a state of emergency in response to the disaster. More than 150 lives were lost, 18,000 households affected, and 54,000 people displaced. Because it was the peak fishing season, many families' only livelihood was destroyed when their boats were lost. In addition, many fishermen never returned. To assist relief efforts and to help realize the TFG, the United Nations supports the country through its focal point for activities in Somalia, the United Nations Political Office for Somalia (UNPOS) (United Nations Security Council 2005a, 2005b).

The TFG is attempting to normalize the situation in Somalia by taking on the more traditional roles of the state. To accomplish what experts thought impossible, the TFG returned to Somalia, to the city of Jowhar, because the leaders of the government believed Mogadishu lacked adequate security. In addition, the TFG began recruiting a security force, prepared to negotiate natural resource contracts, and signed a trade pact with Kenya. These activities provide a glimmer of hope for the future of Somalia (Reuters 2005a, 2005b, 2005c; CNN 2005).

The year 2006 brought additional challenges to the fragile peace in Somalia. Famine returned to the southern regions, creating another humanitarian disaster. The UN estimates that 2.1 million Somalis depend totally on international aid; without a functioning central government, the people of Somalia remain vulnerable to human and natural disasters. Additional UN estimates reveal that as many as 250,000 internally displaced persons reside in and around Mogadishu, and 370,000–400,000

internally displaced persons reside in Somalia as a whole. With these challenges facing the people of Somalia, security, no matter who provides it, becomes a valuable commodity. In the face of these challenges, the Islamic Court Union (ICU) provided security to the people of Somalia. By providing a functioning legal system and security based on Shari'a law, the ICU gained many supporters. However, many outsiders question the means by which security has been provided. The ICU maintains a well-armed militia supplied by those who abrogate the UN arms embargo on Somalia that has been in place since the initial conflict. These militias police the jurisdictions of the eleven courts forming the ICU and are known for their brutality in enforcing Shari'a law. Stories of killings, amputations, and other violent sentences remind observers of the root causes of the rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan.

Despite significant progress in forming a transitional government, Somalia again reverted to violence in early 2006. In some of the most intense fighting since the beginning of the civil war, the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counterterrorism (ARPCT), a grouping of secular clans of Somalia, many of whom participated in the earlier fighting, clashed with the Islamic militias of the Islamic Court Union, who provided stability within Mogadishu and the surrounding areas through the provision of Shari'a law in eleven jurisdictions. The Islamic Court Union provides basic services to the impoverished slums of Mogadishu, bringing security through the provision of Shari'a law and by the creation of Islamic Court militias. This provision of services threatened the position of the ARPCT, as the people of Mogadishu saw the Islamic Court Union militias as providing the security that the ARPCT could not. The poor of Mogadishu traded their secular leaders for religious groups who brought stability through the provision of services and Shari'a law. The ARPCT, which initially formed in February 2006 in an attempt to destroy terrorism, could not provide the same

level of security. Despite unsubstantiated reports of support from the United States, ostensibly to capture al-Qaeda terrorists wanted for the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania as well as the suicide bombings of an Israeli hotel in Kenya, the ARPCT has lost several bloody battles with the Islamic Court Union militias. Making the situation worse in Somalia is yet another famine in southern Somalia. Years of war have made the southern parts of Somalia particularly vulnerable to famine. The ongoing violence in the capital makes it difficult to deliver needed humanitarian aid to the peoples in the south. The continuing suffering of the people of Somalia serve no one's interests as Somalia slips farther away from the prospects for peace.

On May 31, 2006, the United Nations Security Council demanded a cessation to hostilities in Mogadishu for the second time in a month. The council urged the parties to the dispute to reach a negotiated settlement to the dispute within the framework of the Transitional Federal Charter. To achieve this, the disputants must finalize the national security and stabilization plan. Before the violence, the disputants had made progress toward reconciliation. For example, they had agreed on a transitional charter, and parliament was functioning in an attempt to draft a constitution. These were the first signs of a functioning centralized government in the more than fifteen years since the civil conflict began. With the active participation of IGAD and the AU, the region and world were optimistic that peace was forming in Somalia. The arms embargo on Somalia since 1992 remains in force despite its inability to stop the flow of arms across the border. Despite calls by the Security Council for member states to cease the flow of arms, the embargo continues to be violated. Somalia again finds itself at a critical moment in its history, in which the parties to the dispute must address their differences in order to realize peace, prosperity and sustainable development. Without peace, the future of Somalia remains uncertain, and the continuation of conflict threatens the progress toward peace

gained over the past fifteen-plus years (United Nations Operation in Somalia n.d.).

Duration Tactics

Throughout the conflict in Somalia, the clans used animosity between themselves to fuel rivalry and prolong the conflict. Despite multiple efforts to manage the conflict, violence continues. Those clans that do not find peace to be in their interests stifle peace efforts through fear and intimidation. These clans contribute to the existence of a stateless society. Lack of cooperation and continued violence prevent the realization of peace throughout Somalia. The autonomous regions, Puntland and Somaliland, maintain peace and security and enjoy moderate economic growth because of organic peace initiatives formed from traditional methods of reconciliation. Somali culture respects the role of elders, as does much of sub-Saharan Africa, so it is no surprise that those clans who wanted peace would turn to their elders to realize it.

After fourteen attempts at peace, the current TFG represents the transition between warlord-based politics and business-related politics. The years during which warlords controlled Somalia did not provide business interests with the security necessary to operate efficiently. Although business interests enjoyed the nonexistent regulatory environment, to realize larger gains these interests require minimal government services. The availability of electricity, roads, and security only improve the business climate, as long as the government does not begin regulating business activities. In the post-civil war era, peace did not provide motivation to end conflict, as the parties to the dispute would not benefit from peace. Warlords and business interests both benefited from the status quo. As business interests evolved, they realized that the warlords did not provide the environment necessary for them to realize the full potential of their business activities. As this realization grew, the warlords' tactics of promoting anarchy no longer benefited the business sector. These events changed the duration tactics within Somalia and led to increased

Black Hawk Down

The popular movie *Black Hawk Down*, based on the book written by Mark Bowden, depicts the chaotic events of June 19, 1992, in which seventeen Americans died after a failed operation. The movie depicted not only the bravery of the American soldiers but also the role of the international community in rescuing the troops from their situation. International forces quickly organized their troops, APCs, and tanks into a column and went to rescue the surrounded Americans. At great risk to their personal well-being, these international troops extracted the Americans and brought to an end this deadly event.

America's support for Somalia in the 1980s prolonged the inevitable collapse of the Barre regime and the total collapse of the Somali state. Somalia's descent into anarchy continued despite the unprecedented response of the international community. America's role in the humanitarian intervention was to provide food to a country beset by famine created by its ongoing civil war. Unfortunately, humanitarian success did not translate into military success when mission objectives changed to focus on long-term security. At this point, many realized that certain Somali factions would not support peace unless they remained in power. Once Mohammed Farah Aided's network was identified as a threat to the peace and stability, the United States began to dismantle the network's infrastructure. In a battle immortalized in newspaper, book, and film, the world saw Task Force Ranger battle Aided's forces in the center of Mogadishu. American casualties mounted as they fought through the night. When the sun rose, American soldiers realized the magnitude of the battle as an international force fought their way to the center of Mogadishu to rescue the Americans. The full impact of the event was visible on American foreign policy into the new millennium.

Although Task Force Ranger accomplished its mission, Americans awoke to the realization that Somalia was no longer a humanitarian intervention but a military operation to influence the outcome of a civil war. After the events depicted in *Black Hawk Down*, President Bill Clinton made the decision to withdraw U.S. forces from Somalia. Shortly after the withdrawal, the UN force found itself in a downward-spiraling situation and withdrew as well, leaving Somalia in the hands of warlords uninterested in peace. A Somalia Syndrome settled over American foreign policy, and U.S. inaction in Rwanda, Zaire, Liberia, and other African hot spots led to the death of millions (Bowden 2000; Lewis 2002).

support for peace and the installation of a new government (Lortan 2000, 1–3).

External Military Intervention

The United States and the United Nations intervened in Somalia to address conditions caused by the civil war, including famine, disease, and desertification. Although the mandate of the U.S.-led United Nations intervention defined the delivery of humanitarian assistance as the primary concern of the mission, those involved understood that the humanitarian disaster stemmed from human causes, not natural ones. Although the United Nations and the United States intervened in Somalia for noble reasons, the intervention plunged the country deeper into chaos. After the international community

withdrew from country, official external military intervention stopped. During the period following the failed humanitarian intervention, warring clans continued fighting, with no clear successor to the Barre regime.

Although Somalia's neighbors did not officially intervene in the conflict, the collapse of the Somali state prevented an accurate accounting of the actions of its neighbors. Each neighbor suffered from Barre's irredentist claims on its territory and did not initially respond to assist its neighbor. During the Ethiopia–Eritrea war, the two sides not only fought over territory but also fought a proxy war between rival Somali factions. This extension of their war complicated the situation in Somalia and led to the deaths of hundreds of Somalis. As time elapsed, Somalia's



Somali refugees crouch beside the body of a person who died at the refugee camp in Baidoa, Somalia, in 1992. Drought, famine, and civil war contributed to widespread starvation in Somalia and the death of hundreds of thousands of people. (Peter Turnley/Corbis)

neighbors realized that the collapse of the Somali state affected their security. Somalia's neighbors, along with the international community, became concerned that the lawless nature of Somalia created a security vacuum in the region. Nonstate actors often shift their operations to collapsed states because of the lack of a central authority to police their activities. The United States and its allies began to patrol the coast off the Horn of Africa in response to the bombing of the USS *Cole* in Yemen and the increase of terrorist operations globally. Djibouti houses U.S. and allied troops in response to the increased terrorist operations in the region (Lortan 2000, 1–3).

Ethiopia is the central actor in external intervention in Somalia despite its involvement in reconciliation efforts. Ethiopia supports a weak decentralized government in Somalia that cannot threaten Ethiopia's security. Ethiopia intervened in Somalia by capturing three districts in

the Gedo region. Egypt is interested in a strong centralized government in Somalia to distract Ethiopia from developing its Nile River assets. The development of these resources would impact the downstream resources Egypt relies on for its economic survival. The war in Ethiopia–Eritrea led to proxy battles in Somalia. Eritrea supported anti-Ethiopia groups, whereas Libya and Sudan supported anti-U.S. groups. Yemen has strong commercial ties with various factions (Farah, Hussein, and Lind 2002, 327).

Conflict Management Efforts

Organizations at the international, regional, and subregional levels attempted to manage the conflict in Somalia. Despite active participation by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (now the African Union), and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, a peaceful settlement to the dispute did not materialize.

The United Nations sponsored national reconciliation talks between the warring parties in 1991. Fifteen factions attended these conferences in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in January and March 1991. These conferences produced the Addis Ababa accords, which the parties never implemented, owing to distrust between the warlords who controlled Somalia. Complicating matters was Somaliland's declaration of independence and Puntland's autonomy from Southern Somalia (Farah, Hussein, and Lind 2002, 328).

As the parties to the dispute failed to implement the first Addis Ababa accords, they decided to hold another reconciliation conference, Addis Ababa II. The conference occurred in March 1993 (Lyons and Samatar 1995, 49–53).

The United Nations began its involvement with Security Council Resolution 733, which provided for a general embargo on Somalia to help bring about conditions necessary to the peaceful settlement of the dispute. Later, Security Council Resolution 751 created UNITAF, led by the United States. The UN Security Council designed the mission to bring peace to Somalia and stem the famine affecting all of Somalia. This mission led to UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II (Farah, Hussein, and Lind 2002, 328; Lewis 2002, 267–75).

Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda constitute the Intergovernmental Authority on Development. The IGAD replaced the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development in 1996. The organization formed in 1986 to determine a united approach to the problems of Eastern Africa (IGAD website). The IGAD plays a central role in the reestablishment of a recognized, central government in Somalia. Djibouti hosted the conference where Somalis negotiated the creation of the Transitional Government. The IGAD plans to send in a stabilization force to bring peace to the capital. Uganda and Sudan plan to lead this aspect of the mission.

The heads of state and government of the Organization of African Unity proclaimed on September 9, 1999, their intention to create an African Union (AU) as outlined in the Sirte Dec-

laration (AU website). During the active phase of the civil conflict in Somalia, the OAU played an important role in the implementation of Security Council resolutions. Today, the AU actively supports the efforts of the IGAD in Somalia. At the regional level, these two African organizations facilitated the peace effort at every step. The African Union agreed to provide a peacekeeping force upon the successful deployment of an IGAD force. Continued violence and the inability of IGAD to deploy its forces delay plans to deploy these troops. Also, the front line states, Djibouti, Kenya and Ethiopia, offered to contribute the bulk of the AU force. This composition created substantial debate among the TFG, for many do not trust these states to deploy their forces throughout Somalia.

Conclusion

Somalia's ethnic homogeneity initially created strong bonds between the clans of Somalia; however, when Siad Barre decided to exploit the differences between the clans through the use of retribution and murder, the identity of Somalis crumbled under the weight of hatred and animosity. Many predicted that ethnic homogeneity meant that Somalia was destined for stability and economic prosperity, but for a variety of reasons the state collapsed and spiraled into obscurity. Despite good intentions, the international community failed to address the root causes of the conflict, and anarchy continues to define Somalia. With the creation of a new government, a new chapter of Somali history begins. The future of Somalia remains bleak; however, the success or failure of the new government will determine whether prospects for peace will improve.

After decades of civil war, the people of Somalia see new hope on the horizon. Through the efforts of countless diplomats, civil servants, academics, politicians, soldiers, elders, and regular civil servants, a new government exists. Although it will be difficult to maintain momentum (the first attempt failed), this new government will strive to create a presence in Mogadishu, to reach out to its

people, including Somaliland and Puntland, and to bring civility back to Somalia. This grand achievement will be for naught without the strong political, economic, and, if necessary, military support of the entire international community.

Kyle Wilson

Chronology

- 1887 Great Britain establishes a protectorate over Somaliland.
- 1889 Italy establishes a protectorate over south-central Somalia.
- June 26, 1960 British Somaliland becomes independent.
- July 1, 1960 Italian Somaliland and Somalia become independent.
- October 21, 1969 Siad Barre seizes power.
- October 21, 1972 Written script for Somali language is established.
- July 23, 1977 War with Ethiopia begins.
- April 8, 1978 Coup attempt against Siad Barre.
- December 1990 Uprising begins against Siad Barre regime.
- May 18, 1991 Former British Somaliland declares independence.
- January 27, 1992 Siad Barre leaves Mogadishu.
- April 24, 1992 UNOSOM I peacekeeping mission begins.
- December 3, 1992 UNITAF mission begins.
- March 26, 1993 UNOSOM II peacekeeping mission begins.
- May 2, 2000 Arta Peace Conference is held in Djibouti.
- February 26, 2003 Nairobi Peace Conference is held in Kenya.
- August 22, 2004 Current transitional government forms.
- October 10, 2004 Abdullahi Yusef Ahmed is elected president.
- November 3, 2004 Ali Muhammad Gedi is appointed prime minister.
- October 25, 2005 Yusef requests African Union troops.
- February 7, 2005 African Union approves IGAD peace support mission.
- February 2006 Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counterterrorism created to combat terrorism in Somalia.
- May 31, 2006 UN Security Council calls for a cessation of hostilities between the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counterterrorism and the Islamic Court Union.

List of Acronyms

- ARPCT: Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counterterrorism
- ICU: Islamic Court Union
- IGAD: Intergovernmental Authority on Development
- NGO: nongovernmental organization
- OAU: Organization of African Unity
- OIC: Organization of the Islamic Conference
- SAMO: Somali African Muki Organization
- SDA: Somali Democratic Alliance
- SDM: Somali Democratic Movement (Somali National Alliance)
- SNA: Somali National Army
- SNA: Somali National Alliance
- SNDU: Somali National Democratic Union
- SNF: Somali National Front
- SNM: Somali National Movement
- SNU: Somali National Union
- SPM: Somali Patriotic Movement (Somali National Alliance)
- SSA: Somali Salvation Alliance
- SSDF: Somali Salvation Democratic Front
- SSNM: Southern Somali National Movement (Somali National Alliance)
- TFG: Transitional Federal Government
- UNITAF: Unified Task Force (UN)
- UNOSOM: United Nations Operation in Somalia
- UNPOS: United Nations Political Office for Somalia
- USC: United Somali Congress (Somali National Alliance)
- USF: United Somali Front
- USP: United Somali Party

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South Africa (1976–1994)

Introduction

The struggle to end white minority rule in South Africa and the accompanying policy of apartheid lead to one of the most protracted civil conflicts in African history. Unlike most civil wars, however, the conflict evolved from one of peaceful protest into guerrilla warfare over a period of several years. The persistence of various rebel groups was largely due to the international isolation of South Africa during the apartheid era. Isolation provided a basis for support of the rebels, both from within the region and as part of the broader Cold War. Ultimately, the persistence of the rebels and important national and regional political changes led to the end of apartheid and the advent of majority rule.

Country Background

On May 31, 1910, the Union of South Africa became an independent state within the British Commonwealth. In 1961, South Africa left the Commonwealth and became the Republic of South Africa (RSA) (Saunders 2002b, 966). Afrikaner nationalists, who had fought both British rule and competition from blacks, formed the National Party (NP) in 1912. After more moderate members of the NP allied themselves with the South Africa Party (SAP), eventually forming the United Party (UP), a

group of ultranationalists under the leadership of Daniel Malan formed a more reactionary NP. When the NP took power in 1948, it began to institute the policy of apartheid (which means separateness in Afrikaans). Apartheid ultimately led to civil war.

In the years immediately before the civil war began, the level of democracy in South Africa depended directly on the color of one's skin. South Africa's polity score was +4 on a scale of -10 to +10 (Marshall and Jagers 2002). South Africa had a relatively high polity score, for an authoritarian state, before the civil war because of the broad range of civil and political rights granted to whites. Blacks, by contrast, were denied suffrage, whereas Indians and coloreds were progressively stripped of their limited freedoms. During the course of the civil war, South Africa's polity score remained +4. After the advent of majority rule in 1994, the country's polity score increased to +8. Today, the polity score stands at +9.

From an economic standpoint, South Africa has always been one of the most developed states in sub-Saharan Africa. In 1976, the year the guerrilla war began, the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita was US \$7,536 (Heston, Summers, and Aten, 2002). Early in the civil war, the South African economy continued to grow, in part because the government initiated import substitution industrialization (ISI)

in anticipation of international sanctions. However, international pressure eventually began to take its toll. Although economic sanctions against the South African government were often ineffective, international lending institutions began to consider South Africa a poor credit risk in 1985 (Lieberfeld 1999, 34). As a result, GDP per capita five years after the civil war ended stood at US \$7,460 (Heston, Summers, and Aten, 2002). One of the major factors that prevented real GDP from falling even further was the presence of valuable natural resources in South Africa, especially diamonds (Harsch, 1987, 54).

Although GDP per capita is comparatively high in South Africa, it is important to recognize that, during the apartheid era, the vast majority of material wealth was concentrated in the hands of the white population. In the era of black African majority rule, income disparity is a lingering problem. Whites in South Africa continue to earn more than 50 percent of available income (Van Buren 2002, 976). As a result, the level of income inequality in South Africa is among the highest in the world (Doyle and Sambanis 2000).

Conflict Background

There is some degree of debate over how to classify the South African civil war. Some scholars classify the war as an ethnic conflict (see Doyle and Sambanis 2000). Other authors point out that the African National Congress (ANC) was founded on principles of nonracialism (see Davis 1987, 4). Although black nationalism was a contending force in rebel politics, it was certainly not the only, or even the primary, political force in play. In addition, classification of the South African civil war as an ethnic war ignores the ethnic diversity among blacks and whites in South Africa.

Perhaps the most intuitive way to classify the South African civil war is to consider the primary goal of the rebels. The Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955, became the official political

platform of the ANC. The preamble to the Freedom Charter reads as follows:

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this Freedom Charter;

And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won (ANC Website, 2005).

As the Freedom Charter indicates, the principal goal of those who rebelled against apartheid was liberation from white rule and democracy. As a result, this article treats the South African civil war as a struggle between two contending ideologies: the supremacist ideology of apartheid and the liberation ideology of the rebels.

In addition to the debate over classification of the South African civil war, there is some question as to when the war began. The main rebel group, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), formed in 1961 (Motlhabi 1988, 73). Umkhonto we Sizwe, sometimes called MK after a group of earlier volunteers known as Amadelakufe (those who do not fear death), carried out its first attacks against government installations in December 1961. The early portion of MK's history, however, was characterized by infrequent attacks that tended to focus strictly on economic targets. It was not until

June 16, 1976, in the wake of the Soweto massacre, that the MK began to target political infrastructure, including police stations and other government buildings. On April 26, 1994, the civil war ended with the first free elections in South Africa.

The South African civil war is also unique in the number of battles fought in neighboring countries. One of the best examples of direct South African military intervention is Angola. South Africa intervened on the side of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) in order to counter the Soviet Union, who backed the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA). In addition, the ANC had offices in the capital city of Luanda (Garzdecki 2002, 35). Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe were all subject to South African military incursions (Davis 1987, 42–46). Finally, South Africa

attempted to dominate Namibia as an illegitimate trust territory (Saunders 2002a, 727).

The Insurgents

In reality, several groups in South Africa attempted in one way or another to undermine the apartheid system of government. By restricting the definition of *rebel* to “one who takes up arms against the government,” it is possible to narrow the discussion to three main groups. The best-known of these groups is the African National Congress. Once called the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), the ANC was founded in 1912 with the primary goal of advancing the interests of nonwhite elites. In its early history, the ANC preferred a constitutionalist approach, choosing negotiation with the South African government over confrontation (Davis 1987, 5). After the NP initiated apartheid,

Table 1: Civil War in South Africa

War:	ANC–MK vs. government
Dates:	June 1976–April 1994
Casualties:	100,000
Regime type prior to war:	Polity score of 4 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	Polity score of 8 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$7,536 (constant 1996 dollars) significantly lower for nonwhite population
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$7,460 (constant 1996 dollars); significantly lower for nonwhite population
Insurgents:	ANC (African National Congress), Umkhonto we Sizwe
Issue:	Ending white minority rule, apartheid
Rebel Funding:	Soviet aid (for military operations), international fund-raising (for overall ANC mission)
Role of geography:	Rebels used rain forest cover in bases outside South Africa.
Role of resources:	Gold, diamonds, and strategic resources helped government resist multilateral sanctions.
Immediate outcome:	Transition to majority rule, elections
Outcome after 5 years:	Democracy, lingering violence
Role of UN:	None within South Africa; monitoring of Cuban and South African withdrawal from Angola
Role of regional organizations:	OAU supported ANC; SADCC attempted to achieve economic independence from South Africa.
Refugees:	Not applicable, although forced displacement of blacks was common
Prospects for peace:	Favorable

Sources: Doyle and Sambanis (2000); Heston, Summers, and Aten (2002); Marshall and Jagers (2002).

the ANC turned to nonviolent protest in an attempt to alter government policy. It was at this time that a founding member of the ANC Youth League, Nelson Mandela, rose to prominence within the organization.

It was not until the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in November 1961 that the ANC became a true rebel group in the sense that it sought to use controlled violence to bring down the existing government. Ironically, it was the results of a protest led by a rival group called the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) that played a major role in the ANC decision to take up arms against the government. The PAC organized a protest against the pass laws, which prohibited travel outside of racially segregated areas without a government-issued pass. In Sharpsville, the police responded to the protest by killing sixty-seven blacks (Thompson 1995, 210). In response to a large demonstration in Cape Town, the army and the police jailed more than 17,000 protesters. Soon afterward, the government banned both the ANC and the PAC.

On December 16, 1961, MK attacked several government installations in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and Durban. At the same time, the organization distributed leaflets announcing the MK and explaining its decision to take up arms.

The second rebel group in South Africa was the aforementioned PAC. The PAC formed April 6, 1959, as the Africanist alternative to the ANC (Davis 1987, 10). The basic ideological divide between the ANC and the PAC centered on the issue of “racial purity” within the anti-apartheid movement. Africanists argued that freedom required the development of strong black nationalism. The ANC, by contrast, considered itself a “big tent” movement, willing to accommodate coloreds, Indians, and even whites.

The PAC launched its own guerrilla organization called Poqo (Pure). Initially, Poqo participated in several bombing campaigns in the early 1960s. However, the PAC suffered a series of setbacks that also harmed Poqo. The ANC’s major advantage was that it had been at least partially

prepared to reorganize underground well before the PAC and the ANC were outlawed in 1960. The PAC, by contrast, had been in existence only since 1959. In addition, Poqo demonstrated more initial willingness to attack white civilians directly (Muthien 1990, 81). This decreased the legitimacy of Poqo among moderates.

A third rebel organization is the South African Communist Party (SACP). Forced underground by the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act, the SACP formed well-developed covert networks (Davis 1987, 9). In addition, members of the SACP sought to coordinate protest activity with the ANC, which was still legal at the time. Although many ANC members were quite suspicious of the Communists, they also recognized that they could benefit from SACP know-how if the ANC were ever forced underground. As a result, members of the SACP took on many important leadership roles within the ANC and MK. For example, Joe Slovo, SACP chairman, was a respected member of the ANC Revolutionary Council (Ellis and Sechaba 1992, 56). For its part, the apartheid government used the SACP–ANC alliance for its own ends, claiming that South Africa was a target of the world Communist revolution. The validity of the government’s assertion, however, was probably overstated (see sidebar, “The SACP and the ANC”).

Of course, no rebel group can exist without an adequate source of funding. The ANC did not have access to South Africa’s mineral wealth. Money to support day-to-day (nonmilitary) operations came from a variety of sources. First, the ANC raised some money and supplies from its own projects, including fund-raising cultural tours and ANC-owned farms in Zambia (Davis 1987, 73). Several of the Nordic countries provided funding for education, including scholarships for study abroad. International organizations pledged additional support.

Most of the money for the US \$50 million annual military budget came from the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe (Davis

The SACP and the ANC

One of the National Party's most powerful arguments against the economic isolation of South Africa was the idea that the government was one of the final lines of defense against communism in sub-Saharan Africa. The NP fanned anticommunist flames by pointing out the cozy relationship between the ANC and the SACP. Upon closer examination, however, the extent of this relationship seems to have been greatly exaggerated.

First, documentary evidence suggests that Nelson Mandela sought Soviet support only after he recognized that it had been previously given to noncommunist and anticommunist states (Meli 1989, 149). In fact, most of the members of the ANC Youth League, which Mandela helped to found, were initially highly suspicious of Communists (Kempton 1989, 156).

Second, the ANC and the SACP shared a common enemy. Common hatred of the NP formed one of the primary bases of the ANC–SACP relationship (Ellis and Sechaba 1992, 26). The fact that the ANC became more radicalized in the 1960s and 1970s can be traced as easily to its response to reactionary NP policy as it can to SACP influence. In fact, the Suppression of Communism Act that forced the SACP underground also forced it directly into league with the ANC. Finally, many members of the SACP recognized that the transition to socialism might not be the only acceptable goal in South Africa. Multiracial democracy was also an acceptable goal (Kempton 1989, 162).

Although the NP may have exaggerated the amount of power held by the SACP within the ANC, there certainly was a relationship between the two groups. The SACP played a strong role in drafting the Freedom Charter and held important positions on the ANC Executive Committee and within MK. It is even possible that the SACP held a level of influence within the ANC disproportionate to its numbers. The overall evidence, however, suggests that the relationship between the ANC and the SACP was based much more on common interest than common ideology (Ellis and Sechaba 1992; Kempton 1989; Meli 1989).

1987, 74). In addition, the ANC was able to raise significant amounts of cash from wealthy South African expatriates. The ANC also conducted fund-raising activities among South African blacks and sympathetic whites. Finally, the ANC often funneled international donations of food and equipment to Umkhonto we Sizwe.

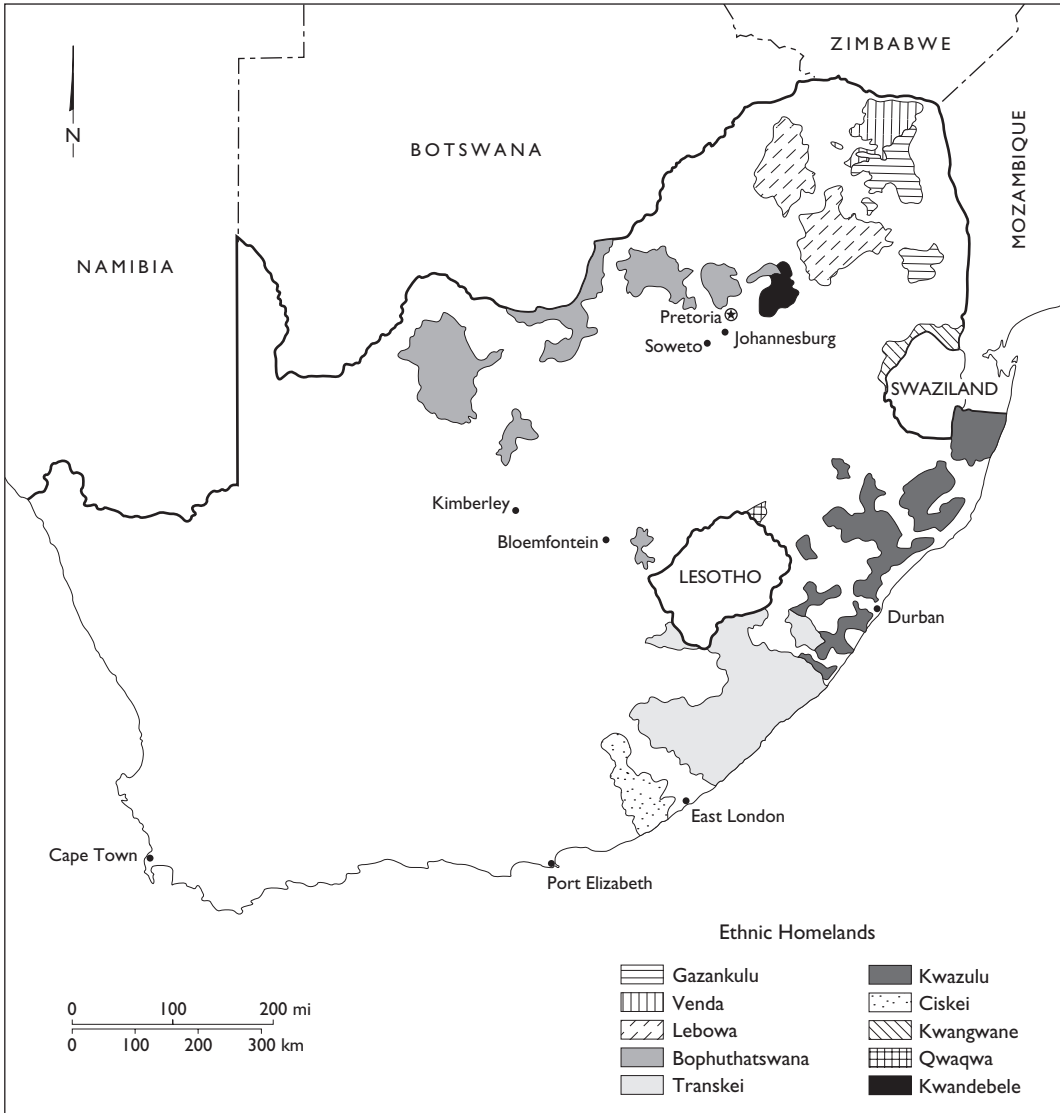
Geography

Both political and physical geography played an important role in the South African civil war. As the ANC was charged with the task of setting up an entire government in exile, it would be impossible to use physical geography to completely obscure the location of all critical ANC centers. As a result, political geography played a key role. Given the ability of South Africa to project its military might into other states, the rebels needed to choose their base locations carefully. Namibia was under direct South African control for portions of the war. Botswana, Zimbabwe,

and Mozambique provided tempting targets for direct South African raids. Lesotho was completely surrounded by South African territory, and Swaziland was almost completely engulfed.

As a consequence of these geopolitical concerns, most of the key ANC military and non-military bases were located in Angola, Tanzania, and Zambia. For example, MK operated twelve training and transit camps in Angola between 1976 and 1989 (ANC 1997). The main political headquarters of the ANC was located in Lusaka, Zambia. A major MK operations base was located near Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (Davis 1987, 48–49). Even at this distance from South Africa, many ANC and MK bases were destroyed by ground or aerial attack.

The ANC had a political presence in Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland, and Lesotho. These political offices were often unofficial and carefully hidden, for they were within easy range of attack by the South African



Defense Force (SADF). Collectively, these states were also the principal transit points for MK rebels making their way from Angola, Zambia, or Tanzania to South Africa. ANC leaders had learned the hard way that it was necessary to trade convenient access to South Africa for relative safety. In 1963, South African police raided an MK camp in the suburb of Rivonia near Johannesburg. Rivonia, at the time, was MK’s national headquarters (Davis 1987, 17). Several critical ANC leaders, including Nelson Mandela, were captured in the raid.

Physical geography was also very important to the rebels. Several years after the civil war ended, the MK highlighted the importance of physical geography in the conflict by revealing that MK training camps taught courses in military topography (ANC 1997). Because government security forces had an advantage in technology, rebels attempting to return to South Africa had to take advantage of the rough, bushy terrain that lies on the frontier between South Africa and many of its neighbors. Working in small units allowed the MK

to cross the border with less chance of detection (Feit 1971, 236).

Tactics

Umkhonto we Sizwe's basic strategy focused on four principal types of targets. One of these was key government installations and infrastructure, including South African Police installations and personnel (Muthien 1990, 83). MK also attacked and damaged government-owned railways and power stations. The goal of these "challenge attacks" was to demonstrate to the white populace that the government could not protect them from the rebel movement (Davis 1987, 121). The overall hope was that pressure from white citizens for protection would force the government to the negotiating table.

Economic targets were also frequently subject to guerrilla attacks. There is overlap here with the government infrastructure category, as the ANC considered the railways economic targets. However, the rebels also attacked white South African businesses. Most of these attacks were carried out at night to minimize the potential for white civilian casualties. The ANC was committed enough to avoiding civilian categories that it became the first national liberation movement to sign the Geneva Convention and its Optional Protocol of 1977 (ANC 1980). However, because many of the preferred economic targets were located in heavily populated areas, it was not uncommon for civilians to die in ANC attacks.

A third popular set of MK targets were those designed to gain direct support among South African blacks. These "linkage attacks" were direct responses to popular protest against elements of white rule (Davis 1987, 151). For example, on October 15, 1980, MK targeted and destroyed a railway line in the Dube area. The ANC considered this attack part of its support of community resistance, as Soweto community leaders had called for a boycott of the rail line in response to rent increases in the area (ANC 1997). Because whites possessed a virtual monopoly on South African media, linkage attacks

were one of the few ways that the ANC–MK could inform community leaders that the rebels were working on their behalf.

Linkage attacks became even more important as the South African government attempted to drive a wedge between blacks, coloreds, and Indians by establishing a tricameral parliament that included the latter two groups. The United Democratic Front (UDF), which originally formed in an effort to block the tricameral parliament, became a key coordinating actor in the township revolts that began in the mid-1980s (Seekings 2000, 121). The various groups organized under the UDF would work to foster a popular uprising. MK would ensure that protests were buttressed by guerrilla force. In addition, the UDF directly aided MK by increasing the size and number of safe havens within the townships (Davis 1987, 89).

The fourth common target set consisted of those individuals whom the ANC considered to be collaborating with the apartheid regime. Former members of the ANC, as well as prosecuting attorneys and other prosecution witnesses, became targets of MK attacks. One example of an attack on collaborators was the assassination of Abel Mthembu on April 14, 1978. Mthembu, a former ANC deputy president, had turned state evidence at a key trial of ANC members (ANC 1997).

If the overall strategy was to attack infrastructure, people, and institutions associated with apartheid, the dominant tactic was guerrilla warfare. Given the sophistication of South African border security, it was possible for MK rebels to return to the country from the various training camps only if they traveled in small groups (often five or fewer). Similarly, the rebels attacked their targets in small groups as well. By attacking in groups of between three and five members, the rebels had a better chance of avoiding detention and capture. When possible, MK planted timed explosives and land mines to allow the rebels to return to the underground before the government became aware of the attack.

As is the case with most guerrilla movements, the ability to obtain adequate supplies of small arms was critical in Umkhonto we Sizwe's effort to end apartheid. MK relied on two basic sources of weapons. The most reliable source of small arms for the rebels was the Soviet Union. The Soviets provided Skorpion VZOR 61 machine pistols from Czechoslovakia, Tokarev T-33 pistols, Makarov SL pistols, and AK-47 rifles (Davis 1987, 71). The Soviets also supplied hand grenades, antitank land mines, and antipersonnel land mines.

Armed with Soviet weapons, the rebels were no match for the conventional superiority of the government forces. In addition, MK experienced severe weapons shortages because of the difficulty in smuggling small arms across the border. After 1985, MK officers were instructed to recruit their own resistance cells from among the general population rather than attempting to reconnect with other foreign-trained rebels (Davis 1987, 124). This created further weapons shortages, since a single foreign-trained rebel possessed only the weapons that he was able to smuggle into the country.

With restricted access to Soviet weapons within South Africa, the rebels turned to theft as a second source of small arms. South African history has produced a society where gun ownership is very common. Often, black domestic workers were able to gain access to caches of small arms that subsequently found their way into MK hands. Local police departments, especially in those areas where blacks had access to weapons, were also very popular targets.

For its part, the government used a variety of demographic, legal, and military tactics in an attempt to maintain the political status quo in South Africa. First, it is necessary to recognize that the apartheid system itself was part of the South African government's attempts to quell any potential rebellion. A series of pass laws made it very difficult for most blacks to gain access to white urban areas. Only blacks who carried a specially endorsed urban pass were allowed to remain in the cities, under the terms of

the Urban Areas Act (Beck 2000, 128). The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 essentially eliminated political rights for blacks outside of the land reserved for blacks under the 1936 Land Act. The ultimate goal of the South African government was to confer independence on the ten Bantustans (homelands) that occupied approximately 13.7 percent of South African land (Beck 2000, 134). From a military perspective, the Bantustans served as a form of buffer between the black and white populations.

Second, the South African government used destabilization techniques on neighboring countries to make it more difficult for MK and the ANC to find sanctuary. South Africa supported the UNITA in the Angolan civil war in an attempt to thwart the MPLA. As the MPLA supported both South African and Namibian rebels, its defeat would have been a significant victory for South Africa. South Africa also supported rebel movements in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Lesotho. The strategy of destabilization was at least partially successful. Mozambique agreed in 1984 to expel the ANC from its territory in exchange for a cessation of South African support of the Resistência Nacional de Mocambique (RENAMO). South Africa successfully included ANC expulsion from Angola in the terms of its final withdrawal in 1989 (Garzdecki 2002, 36).

The destabilization policy, although partially successful, was also self-defeating. By fostering instability in neighboring states, the government effectively made it more difficult for those states to comply with South African desires to deny asylum to the ANC. Weak political and military institutions in South Africa's neighboring countries made them attractive transit routes for MK. In addition, South Africa did not always keep its side of the bargain. For example, the RSA continued to support Renamo in Mozambique even after the 1984 agreement. As a result, there was little incentive for the Mozambican government, which sympathized with the Marxist and liberation components of ANC thought, to actively root out rebels from its territory.

The RSA augmented its destabilization strategy by fostering economic dependence on the part of South Africa's neighbors. Lesotho, which is entirely surrounded by South Africa, required access to transportation infrastructure, electricity, and food from the RSA. Almost all of Swaziland's trade traveled through South Africa, and remittances from Swazi laborers in the RSA were a critical source of income. Mozambique required the use of South African ports. Each of these states was also dependent on food imports and technical expertise from South Africa. South Africa used threats of withdrawal of this assistance to encourage more favorable policies in the neighboring states (Davis 1987, 41).

When destabilization efforts failed to eliminate the ANC as a threat, the SADF was willing to use force directly against the ANC in the sanctuary states. Several ANC bases in Angola were destroyed by SADF air raids (ANC 1997). The SADF also raided ANC offices and MK bases in Mozambique, Lesotho, Zambia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe. South African military superiority, coupled with weak foreign governments, made it difficult for the RSA's neighbors to resist incursions.

In addition to the RSA's ability to project its military power abroad, South Africa made the protection of its own border a key element of its antirebel strategy. Combining numerical and technological superiority, the SADF and the SAP (South African Police) were often successful in capturing MK recruits as they attempted to flee South Africa. Many fully trained rebels were also captured as they attempted to reenter the country. The RSA's border strategy also made it difficult for the rebels to smuggle arms into South Africa.

The South African military also used human intelligence to supplement its military might. Especially in the early days of MK, the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) found it relatively easy to infiltrate the ranks of rebel organizations. Thousands of arrests occurred inside South Africa as a result of these efforts. Infiltration of MK units outside of South Africa

also provided the South African National Defense Force (SANDF) with the location of several rebel bases. Eventually, the ANC adapted to government tactics by giving more autonomy to smaller localized units and limiting the amount of critical information held by any single resistance cell.

The NP government realized over time that military action alone would not be sufficient to quell the rapidly spreading rebellion in South Africa. As a result, the government instituted a series of reforms of the apartheid system that were designed to pacify the disenfranchised while maintaining white authority. For example, the government allowed the formation of African trade unions in the early 1980s. The government also relaxed some of the provisions of the Group Areas Act by allowing blacks and their families to reside permanently in African townships within white urban areas. The RSA also relaxed restrictions on interracial marriage.

The success of apartheid reforms in muting rebel opposition, however, was limited for two reasons. First, most of the government's reforms did little to alter "grand" apartheid. For example, the government attempted to grant artificial independence to the Bantustans at the same time that it allowed some Africans more freedom of movement. Most Africans recognized that independence for the Bantustans would result in permanent subjugation of blacks in South Africa. Second, incremental reforms raised expectations for further changes to the apartheid system.

The government also altered apartheid in an attempt to thwart the rebels by pitting various disenfranchised groups in South Africa against each other. One example of this tactic is the tricameral parliament mentioned earlier. By giving Indians and coloreds a limited voice in RSA policy, the government hoped that these groups would turn against black South Africans. This strategy had limited success, in part because of the limited nature of colored and Indian representation and in part because of the efforts of the UDF to discredit government policy.

Somewhat more successfully, the central government also attempted to pit various black groups against each other. The roots of this strategy date to the very beginning of apartheid, when Indians and coloreds were treated as homogeneous groups, but blacks were subdivided into smaller groups for classification purposes. One primary example of this strategy was the formation of Inkatha “hit squads” under the partial direction of the SAP. Fortunately for the MK, the government strategy was limited in part by the unity fostered by the UDF. Although it would be erroneous to suggest that all disenfranchised groups were united by a common strategy, organizations like the UDF and the ANC were able to draw on the existence of a common enemy to partially unify opposition to apartheid.

Causes of the War

In general terms, the principle cause of the South African civil war was the National Party’s apartheid policy. The word *apartheid*, which means separateness in Afrikaans, took on two principal forms. Petty apartheid consisted of those policies that affected the day-to-day lives of nonwhite South Africans. Grand apartheid, by contrast, concerned the distribution of political rights and territorial relations in South Africa (Beck 2000, 126). The apartheid system relied on a basic racial classification system. The NP divided the population into four groups: African, colored, white, and Indian. Only those classified as white were entitled to the full set of civil and political rights in the RSA.

It is important to recognize that apartheid represented a comprehensive set of interwoven policies. From 1948, when the NP successfully took control of the South African government, through parts of the 1970s, apartheid was gradually imposed through a series of government acts. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act represented early attempts to maintain racial purity by prohibiting intermarriage and sexual relations between the

racers. The 1950 Population Registration Act formed the basis of the South African racial classification system, and the Group Area Act segregated residential and commercial areas by race. The 1956 Native Resettlement Act resulted in the forced relocation of millions of Africans (Beck 2000, 127). Each of these pieces of legislation augmented the existing pass laws that restricted the movement of nonwhites. In 1952, the government expanded the pass laws to include women. Primary, secondary, and—eventually—postsecondary education were also subject to racial segregation. Finally, the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act, as mentioned above, completed the process of confining most nonwhites to a series of ten Bantustans.

Despite the repressive and degrading nature of apartheid, the ANC’s initial policy focused on working within the white system. It took a series of events to convince the ANC and other opposition groups that nonviolent constitutionalist opposition should be abandoned in favor of guerrilla war. First, the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 demonstrated that the NP government was willing to respond to protests with violence. As a result of Sharpeville, 71 blacks were killed, and more than 200 blacks were injured (Davis 1987, 12). The riots that followed Sharpeville resulted in further government crackdowns on opposition groups.

Second, the decision by the government to ban the ANC and the PAC in the wake of the Sharpeville and the violence that followed destroyed any remaining opposition links to the government. The Unlawful Organizations Act of 1960 was a crushing setback for those members of the ANC who would have preferred to continue the current strategy of attempting to negotiate with the government while pursuing civil disobedience. Once the ANC was forced underground, it became clear that nonviolence would not produce the desired result of securing political rights for nonwhites within the existing government structure.

Although Sharpeville opened the door to violent resistance against apartheid, the Soweto



Students protest the mandatory use of the Dutch-based Afrikaans language in South African schools in Soweto on June 16, 1976. Police opened fire on the protesters when tear gas failed to curb them. At least six people (including four whites) were killed, and at least forty were injured in the day-long riot. (Bettmann/Corbis)

massacre made civil war inevitable. Before Soweto, MK conducted extremely limited operations against a relatively small number of government installations. In 1975, the white minister of Bantu education declared that social studies and math would be conducted in Afrikaans in all Bantu secondary schools (Beck 2000, 160). In response, nearly 20,000 secondary students marched in protest against the government order on June 16, 1976. SAP personnel fired into the crowd of students, setting in motion a series of riots and crackdowns that resulted in nearly 200 deaths within a few days. Nearly 150 buildings and 150 vehicles were also destroyed (Davis 1987, 36). Hundreds more were killed during the remainder of 1976. The Soweto massacre also resulted in a flood of new

MK recruits. Many of these recruits were well-educated blacks who had become increasingly responsive to the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) of the early 1970s.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

The township revolts that began in Sharpeville in 1984 marked the beginning of the end for the apartheid regime. President Pieter Willem Botha imposed a state of emergency in parts of the RSA in July 1985 and a nationwide state of emergency in June 1986 (Beck 2000, 176). More than 30,000 people were detained as a result of Botha's orders. Many of those detained died in SAP custody from torture or general neglect.

The suspension of political rights associated with the state of emergency was partially successful in bringing the townships under government control.

Although the township revolts did not topple apartheid directly, they did serve to increase international attention to the plight of a majority of the South African people. Before the revolts, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was the first organization to impose significant sanctions against South Africa in the form of an oil embargo (Beck 2000, 156). South Africa used the high price of gold to circumvent the boycott, purchasing oil from Iran before the 1979 revolution. The commonwealth imposed sanctions on South Africa in 1985. In 1986, the United States passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act over President Reagan's veto. Although Reagan refused to completely implement the act, he did place restrictions on technology transfer between the United States and South Africa. The European community also imposed sanctions on the apartheid regime in South Africa. The United Nations Security Council, however, refused to respond to calls from the General Assembly for the imposition of comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa. Veto threats from the United States, the United Kingdom, and France prevented the UN from moving beyond the arms embargo mandated by Security Council Resolution 418 in 1977.

Economic sanctions, although important in furthering the economic isolation of South Africa, were not enough to end apartheid. As mentioned earlier, the role of international lending institutions, coupled with divestment on the part of some multinational corporations, began to cripple the South African economy (Beck 2000, 178). South African debt skyrocketed as international banks refused to refinance poorly performing loans. The overall economic decline, in turn, convinced many white-owned businesses in South Africa that it would be better to survive under majority rule than to go bankrupt under apartheid.

In 1989, F. W. de Klerk replaced Botha as the head of the NP. On February 2, 1990, de Klerk

announced the release of Nelson Mandela from prison. The government also legalized the UDF, the ANC, the PAC, and the SACP. Throughout 1991, de Klerk eliminated most of the policies that collectively made up apartheid. One might have expected the ANC to take advantage of government weakness by attempting to forcibly remove the last vestiges of apartheid. The imminent collapse of the Soviet Union, coupled with ongoing battles with the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and internal political wrangling over ANC policy, forced the rebels to the negotiating table. In December 1991, 228 delegates met in Johannesburg under the auspices of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) (Thompson 1995, 247). The PAC and the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) refused to join the negotiations.

The failure of a second round of CODESA talks threw the entire transition process into doubt. In addition, a massacre led by members of the IFP, supported by the SAP, reinforced ANC suspicions of NP sincerity at the negotiating table. A series of secret meetings, however, maintained critical communications during the crisis and set the stage for a return to the negotiating table (Beck 2000, 187). Despite attempts by white extremist groups to disrupt the negotiations, the participating parties were able to agree on an interim constitution in November 1993. South Africa's inaugural democratic elections were scheduled for April 26, 1994.

From April 26 to April 29, South Africans witnessed the first truly democratic elections in SAP history. The ANC garnered 67.2 percent of the vote, the NP secured 20.4 percent, and the IFP received 10.5 percent. Despite some irregularities, observers declared that the overall election was free and fair. On May 9, 1994, the South African National Assembly elected Nelson Mandela president.

Duration Tactics

The South African civil war lasted almost twenty years. There are several interrelated explanations for the conflict's long duration. First, although

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

In 1993, South Africa promulgated an interim constitution designed in part to facilitate the transition between majority and minority in South Africa. It was clear to those who drafted the constitution that political change would not be enough to heal the damage caused by decades of political struggle. Chapter 16 of the interim constitution states:

This Constitution provides a historic bridge between the past of a deeply divided society characterized by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice, and a future founded on the recognition of human rights, democracy and peaceful coexistence and development opportunities for all South Africans, irrespective of color, race, class, belief or sex.

. . . In order to advance such reconciliation and reconstruction, amnesty shall be granted in respect of acts, omissions and offenses associated with political objectives and committed in the course of the conflicts of the past.

Ultimately, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established to trade truthfulness from all participants in the South African conflict for amnesty with respect to crimes that may have been committed. However, the ANC, former President de Klerk, and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) mounted legal challenges against release of the findings of the commission. Both parties were concerned about the condemnations made in the commission's final report. The various parties were unable to reach a settlement that would allow publication of the report until January 2003 (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2003).

The final report of the commission was critical of all sides in the conflict. With respect to the apartheid government, the commission found various criminal acts, including extrajudicial killing of political opponents and widespread torture (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2003). The IFP was found responsible for acts of collusion with the government in its efforts to persecute the ANC—specifically, the IFP established a paramilitary hit squad in cooperation with the SADF that was responsible for attacks against civilian members of the ANC and the United Democratic Front (UDF). The Commission also found the ANC responsible for several human rights violations, including acts contrary to the Geneva Conventions and Protocol, which the ANC had agreed to follow (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa 2003; South African Interim Constitution 1993).

the South African government had success in limiting rebel activity, it was never able to completely decapitate the ANC or MK. Several key leaders, Oliver Tambo most noteworthy among them, were able to escape South Africa and secure sanctuary in other states. In the wake of the Soweto massacre, Tambo made the fateful decision to move the resistance movement back into Africa (from London). The new wave of government violence during and after Soweto provided MK with a source of new recruits.

Second, in a related fashion, the willingness of several states to allow MK bases in their territory prevented the SADF from achieving an early victory. Had the MK been forced to train inside South Africa, it almost certainly would have

been quickly defeated. Early government efforts to infiltrate the ANC and MK inside South Africa clearly demonstrate that rebels benefited from their ability to train at a distance. At the same time, however, MK reliance on bases outside South Africa made it much more difficult to gather a significant number of rebels inside the country, which served to lengthen the war.

Third, it took a significant amount of time for the international community to pressure the NP to abandon apartheid. For example, the United States, which was worried about the existing Communist foothold in Southern Africa, did not want to allow Africa's most developed state to fall under Communist control. Although it is doubtful that South Africa would have become a

Marxist state under ANC rule, the NP was quite effective at convincing the West that the ANC was part of the Communist threat. As a result, it took almost ten years for the first meaningful sanctions to be levied against South Africa. International lending institutions, as well as multinational corporations, also were slow to react. An abundance of natural resources and (at times) inexpensive labor acted as a magnet for multinational corporations.

Fourth, it took a great deal of time for Africans in South Africa to mobilize against apartheid. The government's monopoly on the media prevented many Africans, Indians, and coloreds from recognizing that a rebellion even existed. Poor access to education, low wages, and restrictions on freedom of movement created conditions under which most nonwhites were more concerned about day-to-day survival than about the broader liberation movement. As education opportunities for blacks increase, however, more individuals became receptive to efforts by the BCM and the UDF to raise awareness about political issues. The township revolts of the mid-1980s resulted in large part from the increase in African political awareness.

Finally, conflict both among the rebels and within the NP resulted in a significantly longer conflict. A series of mutinies within MK camps in 1984 demonstrated that the rebels were not always united. In total, the ANC executed at least thirty-four of its members for various offenses in the camps (SAPA 1996). The willingness of the IFP to collaborate with the South African Defense Force also lengthened the conflict by perpetuating black-on-black violence. (During the apartheid era, the military was called the South African Defense Force. After the transition to majority rule, the SADF was renamed the South African National Defense Force). Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the IFP, believed that apartheid could be attacked from within the existing system by using the homeland governments to gain leverage with the NP. Whites were also intensely divided on issues related to apartheid. Extreme right-wing groups both in-

side and outside the NP attempted to disrupt the transition to multiracial democracy throughout the negotiation process.

External Military Intervention

The portion of the South African civil war that took place within the RSA was free from direct, armed external intervention. In fact, it was far more common during the South African civil war for the RSA to intervene directly in other countries (see earlier section, "Duration Tactics"). However, indirect intervention on the part of the Soviet Union was one of the keys to MK survival. The Soviet Union provided MK rebels with most of their weapons and funding. In addition, Soviet intelligence was critical to Umkhonto we Sizwe's ability to avoid detection, to strike government targets, and to gain information about SAP and SADF movements. Finally, the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe provided advanced military training to hundreds of rebels. The anti-apartheid movement fit well with the Soviet strategy of assisting national liberation movements.

In contrast to the conflict within South Africa, there was direct military intervention by foreign powers outside the RSA. The most notorious example of foreign intervention occurred in the Angolan civil war. South Africa itself intervened directly in Angola beginning in August 1975. MPLA control of the majority of Angolan territory provided safe haven for the ANC–MK and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which was fighting against South Africa for Namibian independence (Garzdecki 2002, 35). By October 1975, the SANDF had advanced to within 100 miles of the Angolan capital.

In response to the South African offensive, the Soviet Union, which had earlier provided direct military support via Cuban troops, arranged for massive reinforcements from Cuba. Cuban troops allied with the MPLA were able to push the SADF into Namibia. In effect, Cuban intervention in Angola benefited the ANC and the SWAPO as much as it did the MPLA. In

1985, South Africa became party to the Lusaka Accord, which provided for an end to Angolan support of the ANC and SWAPO and a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, in exchange for South African withdrawal from Angola and independence for Namibia. Despite this agreement, South Africa continued incursions into Angola as part of its “hot pursuit” policy against insurgents.

Conflict Management Efforts

In spite of the amount of international attention on the conflict in South Africa, there were few actual attempts to mediate the conflict. The bulk of international efforts were aimed at ending apartheid, which implied support for the rebels. The United Nations Security Council imposed an arms embargo on South Africa, and the General Assembly (GA) was quite active in establishing plans of action to end apartheid. The GA, beginning with Resolution 721 (VIII) of 1953, adopted annual resolutions condemning apartheid. The GA also established the Special Committee Against Apartheid and used parliamentary procedure to expel South Africa from the GA, over the objections of several Western states.

India did propose tripartite negotiations between itself, Pakistan, and the RSA over the issue of the treatment of Indians in South Africa in 1949. The proposed talks failed, however, after the passage of the Group Areas Act. The British Commonwealth sent the Eminent Persons Group to South Africa in 1986 in an attempt to bridge the gap between the ANC and the NP (Beck 2000, 176). However, the talks broke down once it became clear that the Eminent Persons Group would not suggest an end to commonwealth sanctions against South Africa without an end to the policy of apartheid.

Conclusion

The crumbling and ultimate collapse of apartheid have been compared to the crumbling of the Berlin Wall. Along with the wave of inde-

pendence from colonial rule that swept through much of sub-Saharan Africa in the 1960s, the end of apartheid clearly stands as one of the most critical events in the history of modern Africa. The transition from white minority rule to relatively stable democracy is also a tremendous achievement on a continent where various forms of dictatorship and instability remain common. For the first time in multiple generations, the majority of South Africans have the opportunity to take advantage of the country’s bountiful natural resources.

Despite South Africa’s immense promise, however, democratic consolidation and political stability are by no means assured. Perhaps the most enduring legacy of the apartheid era is the degree of income equality that continues to plague the country. GDP per capita remains significantly higher among whites. In addition, the slow pace of land reform means that many Africans remain trapped in the homelands while whites continue to control the most productive land. One of the greatest potential sources of political instability in the RSA is that blacks will forcibly evict whites from the land. Future stability will depend on the ability of the government to foster income and territorial equality.

From a military perspective, the greatest challenge to South African stability is the integration of former MK rebels into the new South African Defense Force. Existing integration efforts have been fraught with difficulty, including difficulties associated with developing a list of MK personnel eligible for integration. In addition, many rebels who trained in the former Soviet bloc have had difficulty obtaining rank commensurate with their training and experience.

Trevor Rubenzer

Chronology

1910 Union of South Africa becomes an independent state within the British Commonwealth.

1912 South Africa Party (SAP) splits; National Party (NP) formed; South African native

- National Congress (SANNC) formed; SANNC later renamed African National Congress (ANC).
- 1913 Land Act passes in spite of ANC protest; Africans are prohibited from purchasing land outside of native reserve areas and leasing land owned by whites.
- 1933 Afrikaner nationalists form a more reactionary version of the NP.
- 1948 National Party wins plurality of seats in elections, forms ruling coalition.
- 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act is passed.
- 1950 Immorality Act prohibits interracial sexual relations; Population Registration Act provides for the classification of every South African by race; Group Areas Act divides residential and commercial areas by race; Suppression of Communism Act results in banning of South African Communist Party.
- 1953 Public Safety Act and Criminal Amendment Act provide broad emergency powers to the government, along with the ability to punish acts of protest.
- 1955 ANC adopts Freedom Charter.
- 1956 Native Resettlement Act eliminates remaining African property rights; millions of blacks are forcibly relocated.
- 1959 Bantu Self-Government Act restricts African political rights to the homelands; PAC forms.
- March 21, 1960 PAC leads demonstration against pass laws in Sharpeville and other South African cities; police fire on protesters, killing seventy-one blacks and wounding more than 200.
- April 8, 1960 Unlawful Organizations Act passes; ANC and PAC are banned; SAP arrests thousands of suspected ANC and PAC members.
- June 1961 Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) is established by the ANC national executive.
- December 16, 1961 MK announces its existence with a series of bombings, coupled with the distribution of leaflets, in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and Durban.
- 1962 Mandela sentenced to five years in prison for having previously left South Africa illegally.
- June 1963 General Law Amendment Act allows the SAP to hold individuals for up to ninety days without reason.
- June 12, 1963 Government announces arrest of 3,246 PAC members, essentially decapitating the organization.
- July 1963 Rivonia raid results in the capture of key members of the ANC–MK leadership.
- October 1963 Rivonia trial begins; Mandela ultimately sentenced to life in prison; Oliver Tambo becomes the “face” of the ANC; Tambo sets up ANC offices in London; little rebel activity for more than a decade.
- 1969 Bureau of State Security (BOSS) is created.
- 1975 ANC begins to form new cells inside South Africa.
- November 11, 1975 MK is invited to form training bases in Angola.
- January 1, 1976 UN establishes Centre Against Apartheid.
- June 16, 1976 Soweto massacre; secondary school students gather in Soweto to protest the imposition of Afrikaans as the official language of instruction; SAP opens fire on protesters, more than 200 killed within a few days; hundreds of buildings and vehicles are destroyed; Soweto riots spread throughout South Africa during 1976–1977.
- November–December 1976 MK forms first training bases in Angola; number and intensity of MK attacks increase; more than 150 separate attacks between 1976 and 1982.
- November 4, 1977 UN Security Council imposes arms embargo on South Africa.
- June 1, 1980 MK attacks South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation facilities; attacks cause more than 58 million rand in damage.
- August 20, 1983 United Democratic Front (UDF) is launched.
- 1984 Township revolts begin in Sharpeville; rebels affiliated with the UDF or the BCM begin to take control of the townships.
- March Mozambique signs nonaggression pact with RSA, agrees to expel ANC in exchange for cessation of RSA support of Renamo.
- March 21, 1985 SAP opens fire on unarmed blacks attending the twenty-fifth anniversary commemoration of the Sharpeville massacre; nineteen people are killed. Commonwealth imposes economic sanctions on South Africa.
- July 1985 P. W. Botha declares state of emergency in township areas, extended to the entire RSA in June 1986.
- July 26, 1985 UN Security Council passes nonbinding resolution encouraging member states to impose sanctions on South Africa.
- June 12, 1986 Botha declares nationwide state of emergency; tens of thousands are arrested.
- September 1986 U.S. Congress passes Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act over

- President Reagan's veto; however, the act is never fully implemented.
- 1987 International lending institutions refuse to extend poorly performing South African loans. Multinational divestment intensifies.
- January 1989 F. W. de Klerk assumes power.
- February 2, 1990 De Klerk announces release of Mandela and legalization of ANC, PAC, SACP, and UDF; violence erupts between ANC-UDF and IFP; 700 people die in the conflict/
- February 11, 1990 Mandela is released from prison after twenty-seven years.
- August 1, 1990 MK suspends operations.
- December 20, 1991 Formal negotiations take place between the government and eighteen other parties under the auspices of CODESA.
- 1992 Whites voice support for de Klerk's reform proposals in a general election.
- May 1992 Second Round of CODESA talks fail to produce a result.
- April 1993 Multiparty negotiations on South Africa's future resume.
- June 25, 1993 Two thousand white extremists attack the Johannesburg World Trade Center (site of the negotiations). No injuries are reported.
- July 1993 Negotiations result in a date of April 27, 1994, for South Africa's first democratic elections; IFP refuses to accept negotiations.
- December 1993 RSA parliament approves negotiation results; de Klerk and Mandela are awarded Nobel Peace Prize.
- April 19, 1994 Buthezi agrees to IFP participation in South African elections in exchange for assurances of nondiscrimination.
- April 26-29, 1994 Elections are held; ANC secures 67.2 percent of vote.
- May 9, 1994 Newly constituted South African National Assembly chooses Nelson Mandela to be South Africa's first postapartheid president.

Glossary

Africanism: An ideology grounded in black nationalism. In South Africa, Africanists believed that the struggle against apartheid ought to be conducted by indigenous Africans. The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) were two of the principal proponents of Africanist thought in South Africa.

- apartheid:** Meaning "separateness" in Afrikaans, the policy implemented by the National Party from 1948-1994 that was designed to ensure white supremacy through the imposition of racial segregation, restrictions on political rights and freedoms, and separate education and development policies for nonwhites.
- Bantustan:** Homeland reserved for a specific Bantu-speaking ethnic group; also referred to simply as homelands.
- grand apartheid:** Policies designed to control the political and territorial rights of nonwhites in a manner that would ultimately lead to a white majority in South Africa.
- import substitution industrialization (ISI):** A development strategy that relies on encouraging domestic production in place of imports. Governments that favor ISI often impose heavy tariffs and quotas on imports in order to protect developing industry. In South Africa, international trade sanctions temporarily bolstered the South African economy by eliminating competition from foreign producers.
- nonracialism:** An ideology grounded in the idea that South Africa could exist as a multiracial state, including whites. All individuals, regardless of race, who opposed apartheid would be allowed to participate in the struggle for liberation.
- pass laws:** A series of government acts that restricted the movement of nonwhites outside the Bantustans. The pass laws initially applied only to men but were later extended to women.
- petty apartheid:** Policies designed to control the day-to-day life of nonwhites. For example, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act restricted interracial marriage.

List of Acronyms

- ANC: African National Congress
 AZAPO: Azanian People's Organization
 BCM: Black Consciousness Movement
 BOSS: Bureau of State Security
 CODESA: Convention for a Democratic South Africa
 GA: General Assembly (UN)
 GDP: gross domestic product
 IFP: Inkatha Freedom Party
 ISI: import substitution industrialization
 MK: Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation)
 MPLA: Popular Movement of Angolan Liberty (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola)

NP: National Party
 OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
 PAC: Pan Africanist Congress
 RENAMO: Resistência Nacional de Mocambique
 RSA: Republic of South Africa
 SACP: South African Communist Party
 SADF: South African Defense Force
 SANDF: South African National Defense Force
 SANNC: South African Native National Congress
 SAP: South Africa Party
 SAP: South African Police
 SWAPO: South West Africa People's Organization
 UDF: United Democratic Front
 UNITA: National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola)
 UP: United Party

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Sri Lanka (1972–Present)

Introduction

Since the early 1970s, and more intensely since 1983, Sri Lanka's Sinhalese-dominated government has been locked in a secessionist conflict with elements of its Tamil minority. Although a military and political stalemate has supported a cease-fire since February 2002, a return to all-out war seems more likely than an agreement on a lasting peace. The war originated as Sri Lankan government policies and anti-Tamil riots cumulatively undermined the security of the Tamil population. In turn, the Sinhalese–Tamil conflict generated intra-Tamil and intra-Sinhalese conflicts. Both have produced far more death and suffering than the supposedly central interethnic conflict. Chances for an early end to the war were dashed by the rise of the radical and ferocious Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)—in which India's intervention was crucial. The Sinhalese–Tamil conflict is unlikely to end without the decline or reform of the LTTE, which maintains a stranglehold on the Tamil population of the contested regions. After reviewing background information on Sri Lanka, this article summarizes the history of the conflict. It then analyzes the sources of the conflict, the strategies and tactics employed by the two sides, and the barriers to resolving the conflict.

Country Background

The teardrop-shaped island of Sri Lanka lies 20–40 miles off the southern tip of India, across

the Palk Strait. Its maximum north-south height is about 270 miles, and its maximum east-west width is about 170 miles. Much of the island—including much of the northern and eastern conflict zone—is thickly forested.

In 2003, the population was 19.3 million, up from 15.8 million in 1985. There are four major ethnic groups: The Sinhalese make up 74 percent of the population; the Sri Lankan Tamils, 12.6 percent; the Indian Tamils, 5.6 percent; and the Sri Lankan Muslims, 7.1 percent. (These proportions are from the last complete census, taken in 1981. They are not estimated to have changed much, although emigration may have produced some decline in the Sri Lankan Tamil share.) The Sinhalese and Tamils are most strongly distinguished by language and religion, but also by political history and culture. Sinhalese speak their own language (Sinhala), and are overwhelmingly Buddhist. The Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils and most Muslims are native Tamil speakers. The Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils are also overwhelmingly Hindu. On the basis of religion, the Muslims identify themselves as a distinct ethnic group (Kearney 1985, 899; Senaratne 1997, 21–24). In this chapter, Sri Lankan Tamils are referred to simply as Tamils, and Sri Lankan Muslims as Muslims, unless otherwise noted.

At the time of the 1981 census, prewar ethnic settlement patterns had changed little. Sri Lankan Tamils were and are concentrated in the north and to a lesser extent the east. Over half the



Sri Lankan Tamils are in the north, and the majority of these are in Jaffna district. The Indian Tamils are concentrated in the central highland districts and in the Sri Lankan Tamil-dominated northern districts. The Muslim population was concentrated in four heavily Sri Lankan Tamil

districts—the east coast districts of Amparai (Muslim plurality), Batticaloa, and Trincomalee, and northern Mannar district (Kearney 1985, 899–902). Jaffna, Kilinochchi, Mannar, Mullaitivu, and Vavuniya districts together constitute the Northern Province, and Amparai, Batticaloa,

and Trincomalee districts the Eastern Province. In the 1981 census, the Northern Province was 91.7 percent Tamil (including a small proportion of Indian Tamils), 3.2 percent Sinhalese, and 5.0 percent Muslim, and the Eastern Province was 42.4 percent Tamil (including a small proportion of Indian Tamils), 25.1 percent Sinhalese, and 32.5 percent Muslim. The war produced waves of Tamil, Sinhalese, and Muslim refugee flows into and out of the north and east, along with a separation of ethnic groups in the war-torn north and east. Initially, Tamils fled riots and pogroms in the Sinhalese-dominated south, going to the north or abroad. Later, the LTTE sought to cement control by driving Sinhalese and Muslims from the north and parts of the east; at the same time, many Tamils fled back south, abroad, or to displaced persons camps to escape the fighting and the brutal wartime regimes of the government forces and the LTTE.

Since independence in 1948, Sri Lanka has had functioning democratic institutions. Political violence has been common since the late 1970s and early 1980s, particularly around election times. Since 1979, legal rights have been formally restricted under various emergency security laws. Informally, the major combatants have violated rights on a huge scale.

In 2003, Sri Lankan per capita income, measured in terms of purchasing power, was about \$3,000 (2003 dollars)—a level similar to that in China. From 1977, Sri Lanka opened up its economy, generating annual GDP growth of around 5 percent. Manufacturing and especially services have grown significantly, although 35 percent of the workforce remains employed in agriculture (Asian Development Bank 2005).

Conflict Background

Beginning in the tenth century, and particularly in the thirteenth century, Tamils from southern India invaded Sri Lanka and settled along the northern and eastern coasts. The Sinhalese population was driven back to the central highlands and the southern and western coasts, although

significant Sinhalese communities remained in parts of the east. In the early sixteenth century, when Europeans began penetrating the region, there were a number of Tamil and Sinhalese kingdoms—Tamil in the north and east, and Sinhalese elsewhere. The Muslim population is descended from Arab, Indian Muslim, and Malay traders that settled on the island.

Under British rule (1815–1948), the country was increasingly run by English-speaking, largely Christianized, and culturally Anglicized local elites—later disparaged as “black Englishmen.” They were mostly Sinhalese but also included many Tamils and other minorities. Sinhalese national identity is intertwined with Buddhism, which, having been largely expelled from its Indian birthplace, was viewed as having found a saving refuge in Sri Lanka. British rule was thus associated with threats to the two primary markers of Sinhalese ethnicity—the Sinhala language and Buddhism. Both because the British viewed Tamils as more politically reliable, and because Tamils tended to be better educated and more entrepreneurial, Tamils became disproportionately represented in the colonial administration, the professions, and commerce. The British also brought in Indian Tamils to work tea and rubber plantations in the hitherto Sinhalese-dominated central highlands. After independence in 1948, the Sinhalese sought to reassert their majority status, and the Sri Lankan Tamils sought to defend their positions, status, and identity. Although the Sri Lankan Tamils feared a tyranny of the Sinhalese majority, the Sinhalese feared domination by a combination of the local Tamils and the giant Tamil community of South India.

The first postindependence government was formed by the United National Party (UNP), the party of the Anglicized elite. The UNP was nonsectarian and secular in principle and technocratic in orientation. Nevertheless, its Citizenship Act of 1948 disenfranchised the Indian Tamils of the central highlands on the basis that they were Indians rather than natives. (In 1964, by agreement with India, about half of the

“stateless” Indian Tamils were given citizenship. Still more became citizens in 1984. The process of granting citizenship to all resident Indian Tamils was completed in 2003.) This was resented by the Tamils of the north and east. Tamils also felt threatened by government irrigation programs to resettle poor peasants—overwhelmingly Sinhalese—in less densely populated north-central and eastern regions.

The year 1956 was Buddhism’s 2,500-year anniversary. There was a great outpouring of Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism, and elections were won by a Sinhalese nationalist splinter of the UNP, the Sri Lankan Freedom Party (SLFP). The 1956 Language Act, in addition to making Sinhala the official language, required government employees to show Sinhala competence within three years. A nonviolent protest by Tamil legislators was attacked by a Sinhalese mob, leading to a week of interethnic rioting. In the following years, Sinhalese language proficiency requirements largely purged the civil service of Tamils. The 1956 elections also showed that the autonomy-oriented Federal Party had become the strongest Tamil party. The Federal Party’s demands for regional self-rule did not clearly reject separatism; and from the mid-1950s, it claimed not only the Tamil-dominated Northern Province but also the ethnically heterogeneous Eastern Province as integral parts of the Tamils’ traditional homelands. This combination of vagueness and far-reaching goals provoked both Tamils and Sinhalese.

In 1957, SLFP leader S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike and Federal Party leader S. Chelvanayakam tentatively agreed to allow limited regional autonomy and official use of the Tamil language in the north and east and to address Tamil grievances on the land settlement and citizenship issues. But the agreement broke down amid dueling protests over the language issue. This triggered another round of rioting, in which hundreds died—mostly Tamils. (Following the riots, a bill was passed authorizing the use of Tamil as an official language in the north and east. The necessary implementing legislation, though, was only

The Bandaranaike Family

S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was the son of a knighted member of the local Anglicized elite. Returning to Ceylon from Oxford, Bandaranaike converted to Buddhism and got involved in politics. He founded the SLFP in 1951. Coming to power on rising Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism in 1956, Bandaranaike sought to reconcile the Language Act with a deal granting the Tamils limited language rights and autonomy. Following a backlash from his own movement and anti-Tamil rioting, Bandaranaike was assassinated in 1959. He was succeeded by his wife, S.R.D. Bandaranaike, the world’s first female prime minister. She served as prime minister in 1960–1965, 1970–1977, and 1994–2000. In her first two terms, she continued to support the Sinhala-only language policy, along with related policies to increase Sinhalese representation in government, education, and skilled positions generally. The Bandaranaiques’ daughter, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, was elected president in 1994 and appointed her mother to a third term as prime minister. Initially, Kumaratunga sought accommodation with the LTTE. After the LTTE broke off negotiations and returned to war in 1995, she became more skeptical about subsequent peace efforts. At a 1999 campaign rally, she was injured in an LTTE suicide bombing.

passed in 1966.) Soon after, Bandaranaike was assassinated for insufficient loyalty to the Sinhalese nationalist cause and was succeeded as SLFP leader by his wife, S.R.D. Bandaranaike. In response to the 1961 Tamil nonviolent campaign for language rights in state employment, state services, and education, the government banned the Federal Party and arrested its leaders. In 1968, SLFP-led opposition prevented creation of district councils, which had been agreed upon by the UNP and Tamil political leaders (De Silva 1981, 1986; Kearney 1967).

Influenced by international ideological trends as well as local frustrations, the 1970s saw a pronounced radicalization among both Sinhalese and Tamils. After the 1970 election, in April–June 1971, the radical Marxist–Sinhalese

nationalist National Liberation Front (JVP) mounted an unsuccessful armed uprising. Thousands of police, troops, and rebels were involved in fighting across the Sinhalese parts of the country. The new 1972 constitution changed the country's name from Ceylon to Sri Lanka, retained Sinhalese as the official language, and recognized Buddhism as the majority religion. Mass protests by Tamils led to clashes and arrests of demonstrators. Throughout the 1970s, S.R.D. Bandaranaike's government nationalized many key industries and gave preference to Sinhalese in hiring. Starting in 1970, affirmative action policies in university admissions disproportionately reduced access for Tamils. This measure radicalized many younger Tamils.

In 1972, the first armed Tamil groups emerged—the Tamil New Tigers (renamed the LTTE in 1976) and what later became the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO). Also in 1972, the Federal Party and other parties and organizations formed the Tamil United Front, which increasingly advanced independence as a goal. In 1976, renamed the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), its Vaddukodai Resolution demanded an independent Tamil state of Eelam and appeared to endorse the use of violence. The TULF didn't see that it was writing its own epitaph. The Tigers' most sensational early attack—a sign of things to come—was the 1975 murder of Jaffna Mayor A. Durraipah, a prominent Tamil supporter of the SLFP (McGowan 1992, 149–77; O'Ballance 1989, 2–14; Senaratne 1997, 24–28, 56–61, 76).

In the 1977 elections, the UNP won a huge victory, while the TULF swept the Tamil-majority districts on an independence platform. UNP leader J. R. Jayawardene became prime minister and later president. Postelection violence between UNP and SLFP supporters spiraled into anti-Tamil riots across the island. Around 100 Tamils were killed. Jayawardene began to reverse the statist economic policies of previous SLFP governments and reached out to the West for assistance. Jayawardene also promised better treatment of Tamils. The new 1978 constitution pro-

vided for the use of the Tamil language in government services, but the atmosphere did not improve.

The deepening political disputes and anti-Tamil riots raised hackles in India. In India's Tamil Nadu province, political parties, civil society organizations, and notables helped to set up Sri Lankan Tamil militant bases. The Indian government, fearing secessionist tendencies among India's own Tamils and unhappy with Jayawardene's Western-oriented diplomacy, allowed the process to go forward. Tamil armed groups, like many other revolutionary groups of the time, also received training in Soviet-backed, Palestinian-run camps in Lebanon. Tamil attacks intensified from April 1978, when the LTTE killed four policemen in Jaffna. In September, the LTTE blew up a civilian airliner near Colombo. Continued attacks on police led the government to declare a state of emergency in Jaffna. As government forces heavy-handedly rooted about, the armed Tamil groups melted away. Many fled across the Palk Strait to India.

Tamil attacks again intensified from 1981, now focusing more on intimidating moderate Tamils. By this time, there were five significant Tamil armed groups or paramilitaries. Along with the LTTE and TELO, there were also the Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students (EROS), the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), and the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF). In 1980, District Development Councils had been created to devolve power from the central government. In the run-up to the 1981 council elections, Tamil paramilitary attacks on police and moderate Tamils triggered rioting in Jaffna by police and UNP supporters. Anti-Tamil riots again broke out but this time were stopped quickly by the government (Kearney 1985; O'Ballance 1989, 14–20; Senaratne 1997, 61–67; Singer 1996, 1147–49).

In 1982, the UNP government substituted a largely rigged referendum on retaining the 1977 parliament for the regular parliamentary

elections—although its victory in the 1982 presidential election indicated that it probably would have retained a reduced majority. This disenfranchised younger voters, further radicalizing many of them. In July 1983, thirteen Sinhalese soldiers were killed in an LTTE ambush in Jaffna. The next day, soldiers retaliated by killing about fifty Tamil civilians in Jaffna. Anti-Tamil rioting then broke out in Colombo, apparently instigated to a large extent by UNP trade union operatives, and then spread out of control throughout the city and elsewhere on the island. For days, the Sri Lankan government and armed forces did not act forcefully to stop the rioting. Hundreds of Tamils died; thousands were wounded; more than 100,000 sought refuge in India; and tens of thousands migrated to the West. The massive violence of 1983 drove large numbers of moderate Tamils into the extremist camp. Soon afterward, the government banned the Marxist-nationalist JVP party, and TULF representatives in parliament were expelled for refusing to take a newly required oath of allegiance to a unified Sri Lanka.

The Indian government, worried about public opinion in Tamil Nadu, began to arm and train the Tamil paramilitaries. Hitherto small, clandestine safe havens and networks of support in Tamil Nadu were now developed on a much larger scale. The riots yielded a mass of new recruits for the Tamil paramilitaries, who were now funneled through the more sophisticated training routines being imparted by Indian intelligence. The estimated number of trained Tamil fighters rose from about 200 before the riots to about 5,000 a year later. The highly skilled expatriate Tamil communities in the West soon developed into formidable nodes of political organization, fund-raising, and even arms and drug smuggling (Gunaratna 1993; Senaratne 1997, 33–50, 67–72).

From 1983, larger and more frequent attacks by the LTTE and other Tamil paramilitaries were followed by more intense government counterinsurgency campaigns. In this brutal fighting,

both Sinhalese and Tamil civilians were targeted and killed in larger numbers. Tamil moderates were more than ever before driven into the hands of the LTTE and lesser militant organizations. Indian intelligence continued to provide Tamil paramilitaries with bases, training, and arms. Tamil fighters, weapons, and supplies were then ferried across the Palk Strait. Also under Indian pressure, inconclusive negotiations between the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil paramilitaries were held in 1984 and 1985. The government rejected Tamil demands for an autonomous region including the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

In the heavily Tamil northern districts, government forces were increasingly confined to their bases. Jaffna and other northern towns fell under Tamil paramilitary control. In these areas, the paramilitaries controlled distinct territories from which they sought to extract resources and manpower. Public intimidation and frequently executions enforced social order, political discipline, and fiscal compliance. In the more ethnically divided eastern districts, Tamil forces had more limited sway in heavily Tamil areas and conducted guerrilla attacks from jungle bases.

While staging attacks against the Sri Lankan security forces and Sinhalese civilians and “disciplining” Tamil politicians and civilians, the armed Tamil groups simultaneously competed with each other to become the “sole legitimate representative” of the Tamil people—to use the 1970s euphemism for one-party dictatorship. The LTTE was most aggressive and successful. Soon after the 1983 riots, the LTTE was at work killing leaders of newly formed Tamil militant groups and forcibly absorbing their cadres. In 1986, the LTTE launched assaults on TELO and then on the EPRLF. Fighting between Tamil militant groups produced casualties comparable to those occurring in the fighting with government security forces—not to mention the much larger numbers of Tamil civilians killed in day-to-day “disciplining” efforts. (Through 1997, the LTTE alone is estimated to have killed about 1,500 members and supporters of other Tamil militant

groups, whereas about 2,500 Tamils were killed fighting with government security forces. Another 40,000 or 50,000 Tamils died violently during this period. It is unknown how many of these were actual or alleged criminals killed by Tamil militants and how many were political killings of various stripes (Senaratne 1997, 75, 85.) By 1987, the LTTE was clearly the dominant militant group. Regionally, the LTTE controlled the northern Tamil heartlands, particularly the Jaffna peninsula, while the other armed groups were stronger in the east. This corresponded to intra-Tamil regional differences, with the Tamils of the homogeneous north more supportive of secession at all costs, and the Tamils of the ethnically divided east more open to some kind of federal compromise. None of the armed Tamil groups had much success in forcibly integrating either the Indian Tamils of the central highlands or the Muslims of the eastern provinces into the secessionist enterprise (Senaratne 1997, 73–87).

In April 1987, the LTTE killed more than 200 Sinhalese civilians in two bloody attacks. The next month, the Sri Lankan government—which had built up a larger military since the early 1980s—launched an all-out conventional offensive to regain lost territory. Under the threat of Indian military intervention, the Sri Lankan government was forced to end the offensive and accept a settlement dictated by the Indian government of Rajiv Gandhi—the Indo-Lankan Accord of July 29, 1987. This combined a cease-fire with a federal solution enforced by a 3,000-strong Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF). Sri Lankan security forces withdrew to their bases. The Tamil paramilitaries were to turn over their weapons to the IPKF, which occupied the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The Northern and Eastern Provinces were to be merged, with a later referendum in the Eastern Province to determine whether the merger would be permanent. Provincial Councils were to be created to allow a high degree of provincial autonomy, above all in the newly created, Tamil-dominated Northeast Province. In addition to policing this

Velupillai Prabhakaran

Born in 1954 in a small town on the Jaffna peninsula, Prabhakaran received a good education and was steeped in Tamil grievances and frustrations. In 1972, at age 18, he was a founder of the Tamil New Tigers, which renamed itself the LTTE four years later. Prabhakaran participated in the 1975 murder of Jaffna Mayor A. Durraipah, a Tamil supporter of the SLFP. Public notices threatened the killing of any Tamils who opposed him. Prabhakaran later received training in India from Indian intelligence. Within the LTTE, Prabhakaran built a cult of personality. New recruits were carefully vetted and trained and took an oath of loyalty to Prabhakaran himself. All received cyanide pills and were expected to commit suicide rather than allow themselves to be interrogated (McGowan 1992, 183–84 ; O'Ballance 1989, 13–14). Over time, surprisingly large numbers have done so. In addition to maintaining secrecy and loyalty, Prabhakaran has proved to be a highly skilled organizer, military leader, and political strategist. He steadily built the LTTE into a sophisticated, flexible, and well-financed military and political organization. He was able to carry on protracted warfare with the Sri Lankan government, the competing Tamil parties and paramilitaries, and even the Indian armed forces. At the same time, he successfully mobilized varying levels of support from foreign governments, Tamil expatriate communities, and Western humanitarian nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The 2002 cease-fire agreement, by creating at least the appearance of progress toward a negotiated peace, established Prabhakaran as an internationally recognized leader with implicit immunity for as long as the “process” continues. In more than thirty years of armed struggle, he is the sole survivor.

agreement, India undertook to respect the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka and to prevent the Tamil paramilitaries from using Indian territory. With the exception of the LTTE, the Tamil paramilitary groups accepted the agreement and cooperated with the IPKF. The LTTE was forced to accept only because the Indian government, for

a time, held LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran under house arrest. The LTTE then made only a token show of turning over its weapons to the Indians (Senaratne 1997, 88–91).

As a deceptive calm descended on the north and east, the rest of Sri Lanka exploded. Mainstream Sinhalese opinion was shocked and outraged at India's forced intervention. Antigovernment demonstrations convulsed the cities. The Marxist-nationalist JVP, functioning underground since 1983, saw an opportunity to take power on the surge of aggrieved Sinhalese nationalism. Instead of attacking the police and armed forces as in 1971, the JVP tried to paralyze the civil administration and the economy by attacking UNP leaders, government personnel, and the country's transportation, communication, and utilities infrastructure, and by intimidating the civilian population into supporting strikes in key economic sectors. When the UNP sought to relegitimize itself by holding presidential and parliamentary elections in 1988–1989, the JVP attacked the opposition parties and intimidated voters. The JVP's all-out assault was reciprocated by government security forces, armed UNP elements, and later armed groups from opposition political parties. Civilians were caught in a storm of violence, much of its indiscriminate, which subsided only with the killing or capture of most of the JVP leadership at the end of 1989. Between 40,000 and 60,000 Sinhalese were killed during the JVP insurrection of 1987–1989 (Senaratne 1997, 103–44). This figure is roughly comparable to the total number of casualties in intra-Tamil conflicts. By comparison, the number of casualties directly due to Sinhalese–Tamil fighting is much smaller.

In the north and east, tensions between the LTTE and IPKF were immediately evident. LTTE supporters inflamed relations with the IPKF, and the Indians armed other Tamil paramilitaries as a counterweight to the LTTE. By October 1987, a new round of LTTE attacks on Sinhalese civilians in the north and east forced the IPKF into the Sri Lankan government's counterinsurgency role. The IPKF had to use heavy weapons to secure

Jaffna. Under the burden of policing the entire north and east, the Indian troop contingent ballooned to around 100,000. The LTTE was driven into the jungles and, in the Jaffna region, the villages and safehouses, but maintained guerrilla operations and imposed a heavy toll on the IPKF.

Other Tamil armed groups—the ENDLF, the EPRLF, and TELO—assumed the leadership of the newly consolidated Northeast Province. They were armed, trained, and pressed into policing and counterinsurgency roles alongside the IPKF. Yet two important factors prevented these groups from gaining enough legitimacy to marginalize the LTTE. First, the IPKF and its allied Tamil paramilitaries, like the Sri Lankan armed forces before them, alienated much of the Tamil populace with heavy-handed methods and poor discipline. Taking advantage of the opportunity, the LTTE frequently designed its operations to elicit maximum collateral damage to Tamil civilian life and property. Second, the ENDLF, the EPRLF, and TELO were widely perceived as corrupt instruments of Indian policy and hence as unreliable representatives of Sri Lankan Tamil interests.

The LTTE's final trump card was the JVP rebellion, which was a far greater threat to the Sri Lankan government. After elections were held in 1988–1989, the main grievance sustaining Sinhalese support for the JVP was the humiliating and apparently ineffective IPKF presence. In April 1989, the Sri Lankan government's appeal for negotiations was rejected by the JVP and accepted by the LTTE. The LTTE duly agreed to a cease-fire and negotiations, giving Sri Lankan President Premadasa an excuse to demand the withdrawal of the IPKF. In March 1990, the IPKF withdrew, having suffered more than 1,000 killed and 3,000 wounded. The LTTE immediately decimated the IPKF's armed Tamil proxies, in the process capturing the weapons stores left by the IPKF. In short, the LTTE emerged from the Indian intervention as a battle-tested, well-supplied organization, lacking any serious Tamil political rivals (IISS 1990, 176–78; Senaratne 1997, 92–101).

After finishing these intra-Tamil mopping-up operations, the LTTE dropped the pretense of negotiations and relaunched the war against the Sri Lankan government. After intense fighting, the Sri Lankan army was able to regain control over the east and much of the north, but the LTTE controlled the Jaffna peninsula. There, a sophisticated LTTE administration developed, enforcing order through a rudimentary police, judicial, penal, and tax system. The LTTE also maintained a significant but less hegemonic presence in the east, where it faced a more difficult environment—large Sinhalese and Muslim populations, a more effective Sri Lankan government and armed forces presence, and residual Tamil paramilitary rivals. From 1990–1994, heavy but indecisive fighting between government forces and the LTTE continued. Many Tamil civilians were killed, which helped to maintain local Tamil support for the LTTE. Meanwhile, the LTTE maintained a barrage of assassinations and terror attacks on Sinhalese civilians. LTTE suicide attacks killed President Premadasa in May 1993 and UNP presidential candidate G. Dissanayake in October 1994, along with dozens of other notables and bystanders.

Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, daughter of S.W.R.D. and S.R.D. Bandaranaike, was elected president in 1994. Seeking a political solution, she offered greater devolution of power. Kumaratunga agreed to lift the blockade of the LTTE-controlled north amid a cease-fire and negotiations with the LTTE. She struggled to develop a plan to devolve power and then to push it through the parliament. At the same time, she built up the army's capabilities while trying to improve discipline. The LTTE, after initially declaring that it might accept a "substantive alternative" to independence, showed little interest in an autonomy deal. After using the brief lull to increase its strength and try to extract unilateral military concessions from the government, the LTTE returned to war in April 1995, with the sinking of two Sri Lankan naval vessels.

The Sri Lankan armed forces went on the offensive, taking control of the main contested cities of the north and east, including Jaffna. Rather than risk its strength in a frontal battle with government forces, the LTTE withdrew to the jungles to prosecute a low-intensity war. The LTTE was able to shoot down a number of military transports, sink a number of navy ships, and strike the oil storage facility at Colombo's airport. In January 1996, a little over a month after Jaffna fell to government forces, the LTTE exploded a huge bomb outside the central bank building in Colombo, killing close to 100 people and injuring more than 1,000. Similar attacks followed, including a truck-bomb attack on Sri Lanka's most sacred Buddhist temple, in Kandy. In January 1998, government-sponsored elections sought to return local government to Tamils. The LTTE responded by assassinating the newly-elected TULF mayor, S. Yogeswaran, along with other Tamil municipal officials. In December 1999, in an LTTE attack on a campaign rally that killed twenty-six, President Kumaratunga herself lost an eye (*Economist*, October 22, 1994, 41; *Economist*, February 7, 1998, 41; IISS 1996, 207–208).

Meanwhile, the Sri Lankan army had become overextended. By 1998, the LTTE was able to fight the Sri Lankan army to a standstill in large-unit engagements. In 1999–2000, the LTTE retook much of the Jaffna peninsula, although not Jaffna city. A military stalemate ensued. The LTTE continued its bloody campaign of suicide assassinations, killing both Sinhalese and moderate Tamil politicians. President Kumaratunga sought to press ahead with her autonomy plan, in which extensive powers would be devolved to the provinces. The Northern and Eastern Provinces would be consolidated pending a later referendum in the ethnically heterogeneous Eastern Province. Parliamentary resistance led to political stalemate. The LTTE conditioned negotiations on a withdrawal of government forces. In July 2001, thirteen LTTE fighters struck the country's main airport, destroying eight military planes

and about half the jets of the national civilian air carrier, Air Lanka.

With President Kumaratunga now turning against concessions to the LTTE, the December 2001 parliamentary elections were won by the opposition UNP. In February 2002, Norwegian-brokered talks were opened amid a cease-fire and an end to the economic blockade of LTTE-held regions. The new prime minister, Ranil Wickremesinghe, was willing to give the LTTE a dominant political role in a regional autonomy compromise that would preserve Sri Lanka's territorial integrity. The LTTE agreed in principle to accept some kind of devolution of power to an interim administration in the north and east but refused to rule out independence.

The cease-fire left the LTTE as the *de facto* government in the areas it controlled, including most of the Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu districts in the North. The LTTE didn't agree to disarm but only to stop smuggling in additional military supplies to its forces. The Sri Lankan government agreed to disarm non-LTTE paramilitaries that it had hitherto supported while allowing LTTE political cadres to function openly in areas of the north and east controlled by the Sri Lankan armed forces. Both parties are obligated to cease all violations of civil liberties, including forced conscription, extortion, intimidation, and other "control" measures routinely used by the LTTE. From May 2002, both Wickremesinghe and Kumaratunga explicitly refused to allow a *de facto* LTTE-run state to be created as long as core issues of Sri Lanka's territorial integrity and the powers, structure, and governance practices of autonomous provincial institutions remained unsettled.

Nevertheless, the LTTE has taken advantage of the agreement precisely to consolidate its exclusive control over a *de facto* statelet. The LTTE continued to assassinate its political enemies, both Tamil and non-Tamil, while the Sri Lankan state withdrew its support from anti-LTTE Tamil groups. During the cease-fire, LTTE troop and supporter strength has risen rapidly—largely through forcible induction of

teenagers. Peace and the end of the blockade also increased tax revenues in LTTE-controlled regions, compensating for eroding foreign revenue sources. In April 2003, following two clashes at sea that showed the LTTE resupplying its forces in contravention of the cease-fire agreement, the LTTE withdrew from talks with the Sri Lankan government—although it did not return to war. (As of June 2005, the Nordic-run Sri Lankan Monitoring Mission [SLMM] reported 3,006 LTTE violations of the agreement, as against 132 by the Sri Lankan government. The LTTE violations also have been much more severe, reflecting a policy of violently subjugating the civilian population of the north and east. Last, the SLMM numbers are significant underestimates, leaving out incidents that are unverified—including almost all of the many assassinations and killings carried out by the LTTE.)

The LTTE's immediate pretext for suspending talks was the government's refusal to withdraw the army from positions that guaranteed continued control of Jaffna city. In October 2003, however, it became clear that negotiations broke down over the powers and governance of the projected autonomous Northeast Province. As a condition for resuming peace talks, the LTTE demanded that an Interim Self-Governing Authority be created in the north and east prior to final status talks. This would give the LTTE control over local security forces and external finance and trade and thus over a functionally independent state administration. On the other hand, the Sri Lankan government is willing to offer substantial self-government but wants transparent, democratic governance that doesn't threaten its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In November 2003, President Kumaratunga declared a state of emergency and suspended the UNP-controlled parliament, arguing that Wickremesinghe's cease-fire concessions were allowing the LTTE to set up a *de facto* state. Fresh parliamentary elections in April 2004 were narrowly won by Kumaratunga's SFLP–JVP alliance,

which is far more skeptical that a negotiated settlement with the LTTE can lead to anything but the break-up of Sri Lanka. Through some combination of genuine support and crushing intimidation, the LTTE-backed Tamil National Alliance (TNA)—a coalition of Tamil parties that agreed to recognize the LTTE's vanguard role in representing the Tamils—swept most of the seats in heavily Tamil districts of the north and east. This departs from the LTTE's traditional strategy of violently opposing Tamil participation in elections. At the same time, the LTTE struggled to crush a rebellion by its eastern command, led by Colonel Karuna. The tsunami of December 26, 2004, took more than 30,000 lives in Sri Lanka and devastated large parts of the east coast. In 2006, more frequent and intense LTTE attacks and Sri Lankan army responses appeared to shatter the fragile peace efforts (*Economist*, November 8, 2003, 41, March 27, 2004, 43, February 26, 2005, 40; Ganguly 2004; IISS 2003, 279–84; SIPRI 2004, 107–108).

To summarize, the war started as a secessionist conflict, with elements of the Sri Lankan Tamil population taking up arms in pursuit of an independent state in the north and east. The war is commonly viewed as starting with the intensified Tamil paramilitary activity that followed the anti-Tamil riots of July 1983. However, armed, active Tamil paramilitaries began forming on a small scale from 1972. The scale and intensity of fighting grew gradually through the mid- to late 1970s and early 1980s before intensifying qualitatively from 1983. The most significant international intervention was that of India, initially in allowing Tamil armed groups to set up safe havens in cooperation with Tamil Nadu authorities in the late 1970s, then in actively arming and training the Tamil groups from the early 1980s, and finally in the abortive effort to use the IPKF to impose an autonomy settlement in 1987–1990. The modern Sinhalese–Tamil conflict echoes, in both popular and elite historical memories, the precolonial centuries of rivalry between the Sinhalese and Tamil kingdoms.

The Insurgents

Beginning in the early 1970s, a number of Tamil paramilitary organizations initiated an armed struggle against the Sri Lankan state. Over time, the LTTE took an exclusive, dominating position. By the early 1980s, the LTTE had emerged as the most formidable Tamil paramilitary group. By the time Indian forces were forcibly introduced in 1987, the LTTE had become the dominant paramilitary group. In 1987–1990, Indian efforts to enforce a compromise settlement, by building up more moderate and dependent Tamil militant organizations, were defeated by the LTTE; and after the IPKF withdrew in 1990, the LTTE virtually exterminated its Tamil rivals, becoming the only significant military force engaged in armed struggle against the Sri Lankan state. The LTTE has always carried on a dual struggle, fighting rival Tamil moderates and extremists as well as the Sri Lankan state. Its struggle against rival Tamils has been highly successful. This effort continues just as much to deny the Tamils an alternative representative as to deny the Sri Lankan government an alternative negotiating partner.

In the early and mid-1970s, the Sri Lankan military was small and poorly armed. This made it possible for the Tigers and other nascent Tamil paramilitaries to rely on local stocks of guns and ammunition and on supplies taken from Sri Lankan security forces. Beginning in the late 1970s, funds and arms were procured in India's Tamil Nadu province and smuggled across the Palk Strait. From 1983, Indian intelligence agencies provided extensive funding, training, and weapons supplies to Tamil militant organizations, including the LTTE.

In the early 1980s, the LTTE and other Tamil paramilitaries sought to diversify their sources of external support. They reinforced local ties in Tamil Nadu separate from those controlled by the Indian state. They developed fund-raising networks among the well-off Tamil communities of Western Europe, North America, and Australia. They also became involved in the drug trade. All of these sources, particularly the Tamil

Table 1: Sri Lanka's Sinhalese–Tamil Ethnic Conflict

War:	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and other Tamil paramilitaries vs. government
Dates:	Starting on small scale in 1972, intensifying from July 1983; ongoing, but at much reduced level since February 2002 cease-fire; intensifying again in 2006
Casualties:	Approximately 120,000, including 50,000 killed in intra-Sinhalese violence and tens of thousands more in intra-Tamil violence
Regime type prior to war:	Democracy
Regime type during war:	Democracy
Regime type after war:	War ongoing; still democracy
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$305 in 1982 (1982 dollars)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$347 in 1987 (1982 dollars)
Insurgents:	LTTE; before 1990, other Tamil paramilitaries
Issue:	Ethnic conflict over creation of independent Tamil state in Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka
Rebel funding:	Rebels aided by Indian government and Tamil communities in India and the West, in varying degrees over time; also self-financed through drug smuggling, kidnapping, and extortion rackets.
Role of geography:	Rebels hid in jungles.
Role of resources:	None
Immediate outcome:	Escalating internal ethnic conflict
Outcome after 5 years:	Indian intervention, which intensified rather than ended conflict
Role of UN:	None
Role of regional organization:	None
Refugees:	As of 2003, 386,000 internally displaced, 122,000 refugees
Prospects for peace:	Unfavorable without more effective military and political actions against LTTE, or LTTE leadership change

Sources: CIA 2005; IISS 1985–1990; SIPRI 2004, 107; UNHCR 2004.

communities of the West, have proven more reliable than the Indian state. Thus, from the early 1980s, Tamil paramilitaries had access to heavier and more sophisticated weaponry as well as better communications equipment and supplies. This includes the famous cyanide capsules, which LTTE fighters carry with them in case they are captured and subject to interrogation.

From the mid-1990s and again after September 11, 2001, the Sri Lankan government has had some success in getting the United States and other governments to crack down on the Tamil diaspora fund-raising infrastructure. These efforts have been helped by the LTTE's growing reputation for ideological extremism, operational ferocity, and terrorism. Even for Tamils in Sri Lanka and abroad, the LTTE's negative characteristics have increasingly overshadowed those

of the Sri Lankan state. However, the LTTE continues to wipe out, marginalize, or absorb alternative Tamil political leaders and organizations. As long as Prabhakaran remains in control, it is also difficult to imagine Tamil political alternatives emerging from within the LTTE.

The LTTE has always used low-intensity warfare: guerrilla attacks on police and military units; political assassinations of Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim leaders; extortion and intimidation of Tamil "host" populations; terror attacks on Sinhalese and Muslim populations; and ethnic cleansing of Sinhalese and Muslim populations in the north and east. Since the mid-1980s, it has acquired the capability to mount conventional operations using large units, heavier weapons, and sophisticated tactics. Since the departure of the IPKF, its capabilities have in-



Tamil Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran inspects his troops in the Wannu region in northern Sri Lanka on February 20, 2004. (AFP/Getty Images)

creased, its conventional operations have become more daring and successful, its ethnic cleansing efforts have become systematic, and its low-intensity attacks have become deadlier and more sensational.

The jungles of the north and east have provided good cover for guerrilla activity. This has been especially important during periods when the LTTE has been driven from Jaffna and other Tamil cities and towns, first by the IPKF and, from 1995, by the Sri Lankan military. During these periods, the LTTE preserved its organization and cadres against a superior enemy while sustaining guerrilla and terror operations. Later, the LTTE used jungle terrain to advantage in conventional operations. In 1999–2000, the LTTE was able to cut off and overrun an overextended enemy. This allowed the LTTE to retake much of the Jaffna peninsula.

Signature LTTE low-intensity tactics include suicide assassinations of major political leaders

(e.g., Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Sri Lankan President Premadasa, and also the attempted assassination of President Kumaratunga); large-scale terrorist attacks (e.g., the April 1987 attacks in Colombo and Trincomalee, which killed more than 200, and the January 1996 bombing of the central bank, which killed 100 and wounded more than 1,000); and destructive attacks on high-value infrastructure and military targets (e.g., oil storage and refining facilities, military and civilian jets, military and civilian ships). The LTTE has been adept at using huge homemade land mines to destroy passing military and civilian vehicles. (The LTTE absorbed these and other methods—both directly and by example—from Palestinian terrorist groups and Hezbollah. Over time, its skill in their use has become second to none.)

The LTTE also has well-known organizational and strategic habits. Although its ferocity is legendary, it is reputed to be honest rather than

corrupt. This has made the LTTE more acceptable to the Tamil population, even though the LTTE has violently suppressed all political alternatives. The LTTE has basically enserfed the Tamil population in the areas it controls, mostly in the north. It uses a combination of indoctrination and force to extract manpower and resources while exterminating any political or military rivals. Where its control is contested by the Sri Lankan armed forces and by Sinhalese and Muslim communities—as in most of the east—it does its best to impose a similar control in Tamil-populated areas and to expand those areas by terrorizing and “cleansing” Sinhalese and Muslims.

In its struggle against the Sri Lankan government, the LTTE has always been willing to agree to cease-fires and, where possible, has used them to obtain substantive concessions. Yet it has never renounced the objective of independence in all of the Northern and Eastern Provinces and has always backed out of previous agreements when the balance of power shifted in its favor. There is little reason to believe that the present cease-fire will hold once the LTTE feels it can achieve more by returning to open warfare (Singer 1996, 1149–50).

The tactics of the Sri Lankan state and armed forces have often played into the hands of the LTTE. During the prewar and early wartime periods, and above all in 1983, the Sri Lankan government, police, and military did not act decisively to protect Tamil civilians during riots. In some important cases, paramilitary, police, and military forces actually fomented and participated in riots. Police and military forces often responded to guerrilla attacks by targeting Tamil bystanders. Organized counterinsurgency and conventional offensives have often caused significant unnecessary civilian casualties. The extent of the “dirty war” against Tamils can also be gauged from what Sri Lankan security forces were willing to do to their fellow Sinhalese during the second JVP insurrection. Only from the mid-1980s did increased resources and training begin to build up more capable and disciplined

armed forces. Improved conventional performance is evident from the mid-1990s, although the LTTE was able to regain the conventional initiative as recently as 1999–2000. Given that Sri Lanka is an island, and that India withdrew support from 1987, it is remarkable that the LTTE has been able to maintain the financial and logistical base necessary to sustain its extensive and sophisticated capabilities.

Causes of the War

The potential for Sinhalese–Tamil conflict was rooted in ethnic differences and settlement patterns, along with collective aspirations, grievances, and inequalities deriving from the pre-colonial and colonial periods. The ethnic division is defined by religious and linguistic differences. The division is historically associated with different precolonial political and sociocultural histories, including centuries of elite-level conflict and rivalry. The colonial period, particularly the late period of British rule, can be said to have “modernized” the ethnic division, that is, to have increased social integration and interdependence to the point where the ethnic division became more strongly felt at the mass level. Eventually, waning colonialism added democracy and ethnic politics to the intensified interdependence and more strongly felt inequality. Political tensions—between Sinhalese asserting their majority status and Tamils defending their minority rights—were inevitable. Settlement patterns gave the ethnic division a territorial dimension. With Tamils an overwhelming majority on the Jaffna peninsula and in some other regions of the north and east, Tamil pursuit of minority rights had the potential to seek territorial self-determination, as opposed to integration on the basis of equality. The centuries-long history of separate Tamil kingdoms in the north and east provided obvious precedents.

As shown by the long period of peace following independence, large-scale violent conflict was far from a foregone conclusion. Two factors are primarily responsible for igniting the war.

First, the intrusive, sometimes aggressive policies and weak capacities of the Sri Lankan state were responsible for a cumulative assault on the economic and physical security of the Tamils. At least from 1956, and arguably as early as 1948, the Sinhalese electorate and leadership, in an effort to assert majority rights and to rectify ethnic inequalities, imposed significant economic and status losses on the Tamil minority. Tamils did not see any clear, enforceable limits to this slow-motion marginalization process. Tamil civilian leaders abetted the trend by insisting on far-reaching autonomy goals and territorial claims. Most importantly, the Sinhalese-dominated police and security forces were undisciplined, and the Sinhalese political leadership often lacked the will to stop anti-Tamil riots. In some cases, most importantly in 1983, government elements were complicit in starting the riots.

Second, the Indian intervention turned what might have been a smaller, shorter bout of ethnic violence into a more intense, interminable conflict. In the late 1970s, Indian governments allowed Tamil Nadu to be turned into a safe haven for political organization, fund-raising, training, and arms smuggling—with the active involvement of the Tamil Nadu authorities. Then, from 1983, Indian intelligence directly trained and supplied the Tamil paramilitaries. This process transformed small, poorly armed and trained bands into large, sophisticated paramilitary organizations. During this formative period of relative military vulnerability, Indian safe haven put the “vital organs” of the Tamil paramilitaries beyond the reach of the Sri Lankan security forces. The India-based infrastructure made it possible to capitalize on the effects of the 1983 riots, raising the insurgency to qualitatively new levels of intensity.

The Indian intervention is related to the broader issue of the expected balance of power. Suppose both sides perceive that one side has clear military superiority. Then, responsible leaderships should find it easier to make a deal that recognizes the prerogatives of the strong

and the residual rights of the weak, while avoiding the potentially high costs of violent conflict. (This argument holds only when both sides possess leaderships that are accountable to their constituents or at least concerned with their well-being. Thus, a leadership concerned primarily with its own power and seeing competitive or diversionary gain in conflict, or one whose ideological extremism makes it unconcerned with the costs of achieving its goals, may calculate that an adverse balance of power is not a sufficient reason to avoid war. At least until the late 1970s, it can be argued that both the Sinhalese and the Tamil leaderships were concerned with minimizing the costs imposed on their respective ethnic constituencies.) On the other hand, if the balance of power is less clear, it will be easier for both sides to perceive a significant probability of military victory and a low probability of catastrophic defeat, and hence more difficult for both sides to make significant compromises. This should increase the probability of war. In retrospect, a high level of uncertainty seems to have existed prior to the 1987 introduction of the IPKF. Sinhalese formed the overwhelming majority, but Tamils counted on receiving aid from India or at least from the 50 million Tamils of South India. Each side could thus perceive that it had a good chance of insisting on its “minimum” conditions at a time when giving in to the other side seemed to promise unacceptable losses of rights and security. If the leaderships then in control could have seen into the far more catastrophic future, it seems likely that they would have chosen to avoid war by compromising on the outstanding political and economic issues. Indeed, the autonomy arrangements, which Sri Lankan governments have sought to implement unilaterally since the 1990s, roughly coincide with what mainstream Tamil parties demanded through the 1960s.

To summarize, ethnic division and settlement patterns and related expectations and grievances created the potential for territorially based ethnic conflict. This potential was ignited by the reckless policies and weak capacities of

Sinhalese-dominated governments. Sinhalese recklessness and Tamil resistance were stimulated by an unclear balance of power. Last, a limited conflict was transformed into a full-blown war when India provided passive safe haven and then active support to the nascent Tamil insurgency.

Outcome

The onset of war does not explain why war persists for a long time. It is very unusual for wars to last as long as the one in Sri Lanka. Typically, wars end either when one side wins a clear victory or when the war is fought to a clear stalemate. At such points, both sides tend to decide that they do not stand to gain by continuing the war. This leads to a formal or informal peace, which reflects the power balance revealed by the war and the associated changes in conditions. What has made Sri Lanka different? The short answer is the LTTE. The LTTE has dominated the Sri Lankan Tamils since the IPKF's withdrawal in 1990. Due to some combination of thirst for exclusive power and ideological extremism, the LTTE under Prabhakaran seems willing and able to continue the war indefinitely. These preferences and capacities, when put into the context of Sri Lanka's ethnic settlement patterns, make it virtually impossible for any Sri Lankan government to make concessions that might satisfy the LTTE.

From its beginnings, the LTTE has fought a two-front war, fighting the Sri Lankan government while trying to monopolize the Tamil political space. Since the withdrawal of the IPKF in 1990, the LTTE has succeeded in crushing or intimidating both moderate and extremist Tamil rivals. Without moderate and robust Tamil political alternatives, there can be no peace without the LTTE's agreement. At the same time, the LTTE's organizational and military capabilities—including the crucial international fundraising and procurement that the Sri Lankan state has been unable to disrupt—have made it possible to sustain the war through thick and

thin. The LTTE military strategy and tactics are as follows. When the enemy seems to be gaining a conventional military advantage or seems willing to make valuable concessions—as with the Sri Lankan state and the IPKF from 1989 to 1990 and the Sri Lankan state from 1994 to 1995 and since 2001—the LTTE agrees to cease-fires and negotiations. During these lulls, the LTTE rearms and resupplies, continues its war against Tamil rivals, refuses to drop its core independence goals, and demands unilateral concessions from the Sri Lankan government. Then, when the balance of power appears to have moved sufficiently in its favor, the LTTE restarts the war, as in 1990 and 1995. The LTTE has thus been willing to continue the war indefinitely, despite both horrific costs for the Tamil population and credible and attractive compromise options. This shows that its leadership is possessed by some combination of ideological extremism and personal power seeking.

In retrospect, what role was played by India's intervention? From the late 1970s, Tamil Nadu and Indian governments provided safe havens. From the early 1980s, India provided significant aid to Tamil paramilitaries. As the Sri Lankan government in turn sought military aid from the United States, the United Kingdom, Israel, Pakistan, and China, Indian support for the Tamil paramilitaries increased. Initial Indian strategy was driven by internal politics in Tamil Nadu and then also by the center's hostility to any foreign involvement in the region. From the early 1980s, India pressured the Sri Lankan government to negotiate a federal solution. At the same time, India built up Tamil paramilitaries to maintain pressure on the Sri Lankan government, while seeking control over the paramilitaries. The April 1987 LTTE attacks intensified the war, leading to direct intervention. As part of the 1987 Indo-Lankan Accords, Indian forces were sent to Sri Lanka to enforce the autonomy agreement. There, until the withdrawal of Indian forces in 1990, they continued to support Tamil paramilitary rivals of the LTTE. However, Indian forces were not even able to defeat the

LTTE directly, much less through the feebler efforts of their Tamil proxies. Overall, India's involvement solidified the domination of the very radicals that India sought to marginalize. This perpetuated the conflict and made it more likely that it would lead to an independent Tamil state—the outcome that Indian strategists most fear. It is hard to think of a more vivid example of how the principal-agent problem, combined with myopia and miscalculation, can produce self-defeating outcomes.

Why didn't the LTTE more quickly restart the war after 2001, given that there seemed little chance for a negotiated peace? The LTTE perceived the local and especially the international environments as threatening. Since the mid-1990s, Sri Lankan governments have made greater efforts to cultivate moderate Tamil political alternatives and to implement local and provincial autonomy. Particularly since 9/11, greater international efforts have been made to cut off LTTE financing and procurement. International assistance also promises to improve the capabilities of the Sri Lankan military. Under these conditions, the LTTE leadership appeared to have calculated that it was wiser to freeze the conflict with the Sri Lankan state, while focusing its energies on denying internal political alternatives to the Sri Lankan Tamils and reducing its dependence on more vulnerable elements of its international support network. This explains the LTTE's unprecedented effort to corral rather than destroy the Tamil political parties—unified in the Tamil National Alliance—in recent elections. It adapted the LTTE to the more controlled contours of the cease-fire-era battlefield, where rhetoric and institutional position can more usefully supplement guns as mechanisms of intra-Tamil control. Such efforts helped to relieve pressure and regain legitimacy on the international diplomatic front. As of late 2006, however, renewed LTTE attacks have been reigniting full-scale war.

Why haven't successive Sri Lankan governments been willing to go beyond various autonomy formulas to grant independence? Funda-

mentally, all sovereign states are loathe to cede territory. In Sri Lanka's case, there are important reinforcing factors. First, the LTTE and other Tamil political organizations have demanded the Eastern as well as the Northern Province, even though Sri Lankan Tamils have not constituted a clear majority of the Eastern Province's population in recent times. Given that the Muslim population of the Eastern Province (32.5 percent in 1981; probably about the same currently) fears for its future under Tamil rule, it supports continued affiliation with the Sri Lankan state. If the Sinhalese (25.1 percent in 1981; probably about the same currently) and Muslims are taken together, then a majority or at least a large minority opposes secession of the Eastern Province. More detail is helpful here. The Tamil population is concentrated in the central Batticaloa district of the Eastern Province. Muslims and Sinhalese together constitute large majorities in Trincomalee district to the north and Amparai district to the south. Government-sponsored irrigation projects significantly increased the Sinhalese share of the Eastern Province's population since independence (Manogaran 1987). However, this does not establish a presumptive Tamil historical claim to the entire province. The Tamil presence in the region is more recent than that of the Sinhalese and has been limited to the coastal areas near Batticaloa and Trincomalee. Second, the Muslims of the coastal areas have in recent times always been comparable in numbers to the Tamils. Last, the Sinhalese have always retained a presence in the interior and in some coastal areas of the East. It is not clear that irrigation-driven settlement of lightly populated interior regions, in which the country's dominant ethnic group has traditionally resided and is proportionately represented, constitutes a seizure of land that is inherently Tamil (De Silva 1995, 75–95). Thus, Sri Lankan governments have always insisted on an Eastern Province referendum, to determine whether the Eastern Province will remain joined to the Northern, or will function as a distinct administrative entity.

Second, Sinhalese elites and masses do not trust that Sri Lankan Tamils will be content even with the entire north and east. They fear that, once a Tamil state is consolidated in the North and East, pressure will shift to the Indian Tamil-populated central highlands, and that such aspirations will sooner or later receive support from the Tamils of South India. Third, the Indian state doesn't support an independent Tamil state. Such a state will tend to create secessionist pressure in the Tamil-populated regions of South India. Without support from the regional hegemon, India, no Tamil state is likely to develop—at least not unless the Sri Lankan armed forces are utterly defeated. Finally, there is the nature of the LTTE itself. Rather than compromise its power and goals, the LTTE has been willing to plunge the Sri Lankan Tamils into an endless nightmare, which over time has far exceeded the violence, discrimination, and hardships of the pre-1983 period. The LTTE has implacably murdered those—among Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims, and its own cadres—that appear to stand in its way. How can such an organization be trusted to follow through on any compromise commitments, or even to rest content with a state encompassing both the Northern and Eastern Provinces?

Two incidents are particularly telling. Prabhakaran chose to fight the IPKF, and later, after the IPKF had withdrawn, assassinated Rajiv Gandhi. Fighting the IPKF meant giving up the most credible possible autonomy compromise to fight an enemy much more formidable than the Sri Lankan military. Later, the killing of the iconic Indian leader could easily have provoked another war with the regional hegemon—which from 1987 to 1990 came closer to wiping out the LTTE than the Sri Lankan state ever did. Nevertheless, Prabhakaran calculated that the policies were acceptable means of protecting his power and maximalist independence goals.

These considerations explain the recent stalemate: The Sri Lankan state is determined to go ahead with autonomy with or without the LTTE; the LTTE, at least until international conditions

became less threatening, stalled on the Sinhalese–Tamil front and focused on the intra-Tamil front. What will happen in the future? Basically, there are three scenarios. The status quo might persist more or less indefinitely, with the LTTE calculating that a quasi-state in the areas it controls is preferable to a return to all-out war. Second, the LTTE may have calculated that power has shifted sufficiently to reward a return to war. Last, a moderate Tamil alternative might arise, either from outside or inside the LTTE, and this may promise a more successful movement toward autonomy. However, as long as Prabhakaran leads the LTTE, the last option is extremely unlikely to develop or to last. If such a compromise option appears to be developing, Prabhakaran can be expected to relaunch the war against the Sri Lankan state and the Sinhalese, in order to remarginalize Tamil moderates and provide cover for intra-Tamil extermination efforts. In 2006, Prabhakaran seems to have abandoned the façade of deadlocked negotiations and returned to war.

Conclusion

Relatively clear policy recommendations follow for the Sri Lankan state and the regional and international great powers. An autonomy solution must be implemented, along with efforts to develop and protect moderate Tamil alternatives to the LTTE. At the same time, international controls to limit LTTE access to funding and supplies, along with continued improvement of the Sri Lankan armed forces' discipline and fighting capacity, are most likely to deter the LTTE. The emergence of Tamil political alternatives along with a credible autonomy option will force the LTTE to choose between peace and political normalization or a return to more intense war against both the Sinhalese state and Tamil rivals. Judging by its previous behavior, the LTTE will almost certainly choose war. Even then, the ground will have been prepared to fight the LTTE under more advantageous conditions, that is, with both a more efficient Sri

Lankan military and serious Tamil political alternatives. It is in this context that leadership change, which is likely only with the death of Prabhakaran, becomes most important. True, this alone will not end the war. On the other hand, it seems just as clear that even a stronger Sri Lankan military and legitimate Tamil political alternatives will not make an autonomy solution stick as long as Prabhakaran controls the LTTE. Once all or part of the LTTE is controlled by leaders willing to compromise for the sake of those it supposedly represents, there will be an internal Tamil mechanism to enforce a compromise settlement (Ganguly 2004, 915–16; IISS 2003, 280–84).

Given the underlying ethnic cleavage and settlement patterns, the war seems likely to end in one of two ways. One is an LTTE military victory, delivering a Tamil state in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The other is an autonomy settlement, depending on the Sri Lankan state's enduring military superiority combined with moderating "regime change" among the Tamils—either moderating leadership change within the LTTE, or the rise of effective moderate Tamil challengers to the LTTE. To support an autonomy settlement, the Sinhalese parties will also have to maintain greater political consensus, and the state better administrative and security capacities, than in the past. The Tamils need leaders who care more about the costs of war and less about personal power and ideological glory. And the Sinhalese-dominated state needs to be powerful enough to impose high costs in a continued war for independence while offering a palatable and credible autonomy alternative.

Shale Horowitz and Buddhika Jayamaha

Chronology

- 1948 Sri Lanka gains independence from British rule.
- 1956 New SLFP government supports making Buddhism the official religion and Sinhalese the official language. Autonomy-oriented Federal Party becomes most popular Tamil party.

- 1957–1959 Tentative agreement to provide limited language rights and autonomy to Tamils breaks down amid Sinhalese opposition and anti-Tamil riots. Prime Minister Bandaranaike is assassinated.
- 1972 New constitution maintains Sinhalese as sole official language, gives official status to Buddhism. Tamil United Front formed, and increasingly advances goal of independence—renamed Tamil United Liberation Front in 1976. Early development of violent paramilitary organizations produces rising wave of violence.
- 1977 Tamil United Liberation Front, running on a platform of Tamil independence, sweeps Tamil-majority districts. Tamil militant attacks and anti-Tamil rioting follow.
- 1981, 1983 Anti-Tamil riots again follow Tamil militant attacks.
- 1984 LTTE violence and government responses escalate, leading to increasing numbers of civilian casualties among both Tamils and Sinhalese.
- 1987 Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) inserted to impose autonomy settlement.
- 1987–1990 War occurs between IPKF and LTTE, and between Sri Lankan government and JVP.
- 1990 IPKF withdraws, and war resumes between Sri Lankan government and LTTE.
- 1994–1995 Chandrika Kumaratunga elected president of Sri Lanka. Cease-fire and negotiations with the LTTE take place.
- 1995 LTTE resumes war. Sri Lankan armed forces go on the offensive.
- 1999–2000 LTTE retakes much of the Jaffna peninsula.
- 2002–2005 Norwegian-brokered cease-fire stops heavy fighting, but negotiations fail to make progress.
- 2006 LTTE attacks reignite war.

List of Acronyms

- EPRLF: Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front
- EROS: Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students
- IPKF: Indian Peacekeeping Force
- JVP: Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (National Liberation Front)
- LTTE: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
- NGO: nongovernmental organization
- PLOTE: People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam
- SLFP: Sri Lankan Freedom Party

SLMM: Sri Lankan Monitoring Mission
 TELO: Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization
 TNA: Tamil National Alliance
 TULF: Tamil United Liberation Front
 UNP: United National Party

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Sudan

(1983–2005)

Introduction

Civil wars have caused almost 20 million deaths over the past fifty years. On average, these wars have lasted over six years (Fearon and Laitin 2003). As many as 90 percent of casualties in civil wars are civilian (Cairns 1997). This is due in part to the heinous nature of civil conflict, in which both rebels and the government's military have been known to use tactics that deliberately target civilians (Azam and Hoeffler 2002). Unfortunately, the most recent civil war in Sudan (1983–2005) stands out as one of the longest and most devastating wars in the world.

The purpose of this article is to provide an in-depth analysis of this conflict. It begins by providing a background of the country, including a focus on its history, cultures, and previous conflicts. It then moves into a more detailed analysis of the conflict, focusing on the insurgent groups, geographical factors, tactics used by both the government and rebels, and the role of external actors. The final section provides an analysis of the conflict's outcome, including a discussion of future prospects for peace in Sudan. While this history of Sudan is one of severe suffering and turmoil, recent developments point toward a more peaceful future for the country.

Country Background

Sudan is a central African state that straddles the cultural and geographic divide of North and

sub-Saharan Africa. It lies directly south of Egypt and borders eight other countries. With an estimated population of 40 million people covering nearly a million square miles (about a quarter of the size of the United States), Sudan is the largest country in Africa. Since gaining independence from Britain in 1956, Sudan has been enveloped in a costly civil war for all but ten years of its existence. The most recent struggle, begun in 1983, has cost more than 2 million lives and has displaced more than 4 million people (CIA 2005).

Sudan has two distinct major cultures, Arab and black African, which have different demographics, religions, historical backgrounds, and political preferences. The northern Sudanese states include the majority of the population (22 million), cover the majority of the country geographically, and include most of the major urban centers (GlobalSecurity.org 2005). Historically, the north was deeply influenced by Egypt during the time of the pharaohs. Later, Islamic and Arabic traders left their mark on the northern Sudanese, who primarily speak Arabic and practice Islam (Althaus 1999).

Compared to northern Sudan, the southern region of the country has experienced far more difficulties in the country's short history. The south, which has a population of around 6 million, has endured the brunt of the civil violence in the country (GlobalSecurity.org 2005). Southern Sudan has a very heterogeneous population;

with some 117 different languages and 50 ethnic groups, it resembles the traditional African heritage (Althaus 1999; Ministry of Guidance and National Information 1983). Due to decades of civil war and neglect by the northern government, southern Sudan has suffered from a severe lack of infrastructural development. The economy is predominantly a rural subsistence economy (GlobalSecurity.org 2005). Christian missionaries in the early 1900s converted many southerners to Christianity (around 10 percent today). However, most practice some form of traditional African religion.

Since gaining independence from Britain, the Sudanese people have consistently endured both repression and poverty. Other than brief periods of democracy (1956–1957, 1965–1968, and 1986–1988), Sudan has suffered under repressive regimes. According to the Polity IV index, which is a measure of a state's regime type, Sudan has been a solid nondemocracy for all but thirteen years from 1956 through 2002 (Marshall and Jagers 2003). This includes the twelve years prior to the onset of the current civil war and all years during the conflict.

Poverty often walks hand in hand with repression, and Sudan is no exception. With a gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of less than US \$300 at the beginning of the war and a current GDP per capita of US \$433, Sudan is among the top 10 percent of poorest countries in the world (CIA 2005). Although it is not the primary cause of internal conflict, poverty has worked to fuel the flames of rebellion while making civilians the major victims of the struggle.

Conflict Background

One must examine both the history of British colonialism and the role of Islamic fundamentalism to understand civil war in Sudan. In the early nineteenth century, Sudan was governed by Egypt, which was part of the Ottoman Empire. Early fault lines developed in the country between the Arab northerners and the black

African southerners, who stood on opposing sides of the slave trade. In 1879, British general Charles Gordon was tasked by the Egyptians with pacifying Sudan and ending the slave trade. In 1885, Gordon was killed trying to quell a revolt led by Muhammad Ahmad al Mahdi, who sought to revive and purify Islam in the state. Al Mahdi, who was successful in the revolution, and his successor, Khalifa Abdallah, established Sudanese nationalism with close ties to the Islamic faith in their thirteen-year rule (Glickman 2000).

Khalifa Abdallah was defeated in 1898 by Lord Kitchener and a British force, which led to the establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1898–1956). This Condominium generally capped internal violence. However, British policies worked to divide the country and can be blamed for much of the violence that followed their withdrawal from the state. These policies included the support of Islamic Sudanese nationalism in northern Sudan in order to prevent the spread of Egyptian influence and to protect British interest in the Suez Canal (Woodward 1990, 20–25). At the same time, the British worked to spread a distinctly African Sudanese identity in southern Sudan, which was safe from the spread of Islam under British occupation. Although the British cannot be blamed for initially establishing the ethnoreligious divide between the north and the south, the sixty years of their administration did little to quell the division and likely worked to further divide the country (Daly 1989, 22; Glickman 2000; Woodward 1990, 4–5, 77–78;). After the withdrawal of Britain in 1956, the south was immediately marginalized and repressed by the north-dominated national government (Daly 1989, 89; Woodward 1990, 107).

Although British policies likely widened the divide between the north and south, the root of the animosity in Sudan is Islamic fundamentalism in the north, which has consistently discriminated against non-Muslim southerners in its attempt to spread Islam throughout the country. The radical Islamist project attempted

to establish a state governed under the Islamic laws of the shari'a and viewed jihad (holy war) as an acceptable strategy for pushing Islam throughout the state. Given the Islamic leadership's view of the universal transcendence of Islamic fundamentalism, there has historically been no possibility of integrating Sudan's diverse populations into a single pluralist state (Lowrie 1993). This view, of course, is unacceptable to non-Muslims in southern Sudan, whose struggle to resist religious repression led to the decades-long civil war in the country (Glickman 2000).

The most recent Sudanese civil war (1983–2005) was directly related to the first Sudanese civil war (1956–1972), which began in the first year of independence and lasted nearly sixteen years. The first conflict erupted when the Sudanese government attempted to enforce Arabic as the country's official language and Islam as the

official religion. The conflict ended in 1972, when the government granted the south extensive autonomy (GlobalSecurity.org, 2005). This peace was to be short-lived. In 1982, the central government reneged on many of its promises of self-rule and imposed Islamic law on the whole country, which led to renewed violence the following year. Additionally, the discovery of vast reserves of oil in southern Sudan intensified the causes of rebellion (Althaus 1999; Glickman 2000). During the first Sudanese civil war (1956–1972), Chevron discovered oil in the area between the northern and southern regions. Seeing that the oil revenue was disproportionately benefiting the north, and distressed by the government's reneging on previous promises, southerners were anxious to start the rebellion anew. The rebel groups originally presented overthrowing the government as their fundamental goal. However, in later years of the conflict, southern



Civilians suffer from starvation and disease in a refugee camp in southern Sudan in August of 1998. More than two million people have died from fighting, disease, and hunger in the civil war that has ravaged Sudan since 1983. (Patrick Robert/Sygma/Corbis)

goals diverged; some wanted complete secession, and others sought regional autonomy, religious freedom, and profits from natural resource extraction, specifically oil (Fisher 1999).

Since the second civil war began in 1983, more 2 million people have died as a result of fighting, disease, and hunger. Another 6 million civilians fled the area, moving mostly to Kenya and Uganda (Althaus 1999). Much of this devastation was due to irresponsible government tactics. According to U.S. government and international human rights officials, the Islamic state in Sudan committed “gross human rights violations” and worked to aggravate wide-scale famine throughout the country (Locante, 1993). Besides deaths, Christian and other religious minorities saw their civil rights continually restricted during the course of the war. Amnesty International reported “disturbing accounts of extrajudicial executions, disappearances and torture” carried out by the Islamic government in the north (Locante 1993). During the war, non-Muslims in government-controlled areas were subject to shari’a, or Islamic law. Under the 1991 penal code, for example, all non-Muslims were banned from most jobs in the government, including the military and judiciary, could not testify against Muslims in courts, and were required to memorize the Qur’an to learn Muslim-based curriculum in the schools (Locante 1993).

The size of both the government’s military and the rebel organizations grew over time owing to aid from outside forces. At the turn of the century, more than 50 percent of the government’s budget was spent on military supplies (Jok and Hutchinson 1999, 136). Aid from countries such as Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Libya also contributed to the growth of government forces (Glickman 2000). The exact size of the rebel organizations was difficult to measure, given that the insurgency was generally unorganized and heavily fractionalized, and alliances between rebel groups sometimes changed on a daily basis. The largest rebel organization in Sudan was the SPLA (Sudan People’s Liberation

Army). Led by John Garang, the SPLA had great success in the early years of the war. After eight years of fighting, it was able to drive the national army out of most of the south (Jok and Hutchinson 1999, 126). In August 1991, the SPLA was split into two warring factions by the Dinka and the Nuer, two of the largest ethnic groups in the south (Johnson 1998; Nyaba 1997). Later, the SPLA broke into three main factions: (1) the SPLA Torit faction, led by John Garang; (2) the SPLA Bahr-al-Gazal faction, led by Carabino Kuany Bol, and (3) the SSIM (South Sudan Independence Movement), led by Riek Machar. In 1997, the last of these three groups (the SSIM) concluded a peace agreement with the government, forming the UDSF (United Democratic Salvation Front) (Fisher 1999; Foek 1998). After forming this alliance, Machar’s SSIM was able to plunder, steal, and destabilize the peace process while the government turned a blind eye due to the alliance (Foek 1998). Most reports considered the Garang-led SPLA faction the main rebel organization in Sudan; however, many other such organizations fell under the rebel group umbrella called the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), to which the SPLA belonged. These included the Sudan Alliance Forces, the Beja Congress Forces, and the New South Brigade (CSIS 2003).

The Cold War played an important role in the Sudanese civil wars, particularly the first war (1956–1978). Prior to the Six Days’ War in 1967, the United Kingdom supported the Sudanese government. Following this war, Sudan was distanced from the West, whereas Soviets moved in to support the government (Cooper 2003). During the height of the Cold War, the U.S. government considered the dictatorship in Khartoum a key African ally due to their staunchly anti-communist stance. Since the 1989 military coup put a fundamentalist Islamic movement in power, Sudan has been considered a supporter of terrorism (Althaus 1999).

The most recent civil war has certainly not been confined to the Sudanese borders. Fleeing civilians in the south journeyed to the neigh-

Table 1: Civil War in Sudan

War:	SPLA and other factions vs. government
Dates:	November 1983–January 2005
Casualties:	2 million (1983–2005)
Regime type prior to war:	–7 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	–6 in 2002, when war was ongoing (score ranges from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$299.90 (constant 2000 dollars)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$289.60 (constant 2000 dollars)
Insurgents:	SPLA (Sudan People’s Liberation Army), several other factions
Issue:	Religion-based struggle for control of central government and/or secession
Rebel funding:	Funding from Ethiopia, Uganda, and Eritrea; indirect aid from the United States
Role of geography:	Large country with few paved roads has retarded government efforts to control rebel groups while encouraging inter-rebel fighting.
Role of resources:	Oil first exported in 1999 raised the stakes of the war.
Immediate outcome:	Peace agreement signed in January 2005.
Outcome after 5 years:	Tenuous peace; atrocities continue in Darfur region.
Role of UN:	Long-term humanitarian aid, currently considering peacekeeping forces.
Role of regional organization:	OAU active in 1990s working for peace; efforts led to 2005 agreement.
Refugees:	4 million since the start of fighting
Prospects for peace:	Favorable but tenuous

Sources: CIA 2005; Marshall and Jagers 2003; World Development Indicators.

boring countries of Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, and Egypt in large numbers. In 1999, U.S. State Department officials estimated that some 350,000 people lived in refugee camps in Kenya and Uganda alone (Althaus 1999). Displacement of peoples resulted in what international humanitarian organizations call the “lost generation” of Sudan, because of the absence of educational opportunities and basic health care and the limited prospects for productive employment (Globalsecurity.org, 2005).

The Insurgents

In response to persistent northern efforts to unify the country by forcing Islam and the Arabic culture upon it, southern political organization and guerrilla movements arose in the early 1960s. The most significant of these groups, the Anya Nya guerrilla movement, appeared in 1962 and eventually became the SLM (Southern Sudan Liberation Movement) in 1971. Pressure from the SLM was a leading factor in the cre-

ation of the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972, which ended the first Sudanese civil war by granting considerable autonomy to the south.

Although this agreement led to eleven years of peace, the root of the problem—northern efforts to establish an Islamic state—remained. Numeiri, the Sudanese government leader during this time, yielded to political pressure from the opposition Umma Party in 1983 by renewing the enforcement of shari’a throughout the country with the passage of the “September laws” (Woodward 1990, 157). These laws led to thousands of public punishments, including floggings, amputations, and executions of non-Islamic southerners (Langewiesche 1994, 27). In his efforts to punish southern rebels, in 1983 Numeiri sent Lieutenant Colonel John Garang to quell a mutiny of government soldiers in the south. Instead of following these orders, Garang encouraged a mutiny, garnered the support of the troops around him, and formed the Sudan People’s Liberation Army, which later led to the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM).

The SPLM was the major force working to overthrow the Sudanese government during the second civil war.

Southern rebels in Sudan received political, military, and logistical support from neighboring countries such as Ethiopia, Uganda, and Eritrea during the civil war (Jok and Hutchinson 1999, 136). The United States also aided the rebels indirectly. In February 1998, for instance, the United States allocated \$20 million in “non-lethal” military assistance to the governments that supported the SPLA rebel groups. Occasional CIA programs also aided the Sudanese rebels (Glickman 2000).

Geography

Sudan is the largest country in Africa, with a land area of nearly 1 million square miles. Bordering countries include Chad and the Central African Republic (west), Egypt and Libya (north), Ethiopia and Eritrea (east), and Kenya, Uganda, and Democratic Republic of the Congo (south). The Red Sea lies along nearly 500 miles of the northeastern border. The Nile River runs northward through the central part of the country, which includes nearly all of the Nile’s great tributaries.

Like its peoples, Sudan’s geography also falls along a north–south divide. Southern Sudan is a Texas-sized area of prairies, woodlands, shallow rivers, and marshes. The people residing in this area, who have more in common with people deep in Africa’s heartland than with those in the northern part of the country, live traditional subsistence lifestyles off the land (Althaus 1999). Southern Sudan has no more than twenty-five miles of paved roads, and the vast majority of the region is without electricity or gas (Foek 1998). In northern Sudan, the geography is extremely diverse, ranging from uninhabitable deserts in areas to the west and east of the Nile, to mountains, clay plains, plateaus, and rich grasslands (Country Studies.com 2005).

Sudan’s diverse geography played a key role in the most recent civil war. Rebel fighting followed a seasonal pattern, with heavy fighting during

the dry season followed by a reduction in fighting during the months of heavy rainfall. The oscillation in rebel commitments between soldiering and farming encouraged disorganization and insubordination among rebel groups. These problems were compounded by the geographic isolation of many rebel units, which led to many independent warlords fighting among themselves as they attempted to overthrow the government (Jok and Hutchinson 1999, 135–36). The recent cultivation of the oil industry in Sudan also placed higher stakes on the civil war. In the last quarter of 1999, Sudan began exporting large amounts of oil from the southern areas via a pipeline extending from the south-central region of the country to Port Sudan along the Red Sea (CIA 2005). The extraction of oil from the south fueled the flames of war as southerners complained that the revenues benefited only the northern areas (Lacey 2005).

Tactics

Both rebel and government tactics acquired an increasing level of sophistication as the war progressed. Traditionally, SPLA forces practiced guerrilla tactics, including hit-and-run raids on government convoys, checkpoints, and towns in order to disrupt supply lines, destroy government equipment, and steal weapons, ammunition, cars, food, and medicines (Jok and Hutchinson 1999, 136; Vasagar 2004). Rebels were generally equipped with automatic weapons stolen from government forces (Foek 1998). In 1996 and 1997, rebel groups boosted their efforts by capturing a substantial number of tanks and armored cars from the Sudanese government (Human Rights Watch 1998). The rebellion also acquired such advanced weapons as Kalashnikov AK-47 assault rifles, rocket-propelled grenade launchers, antitank missiles, and Belgian-made automatic rifles, which rebels claim were stolen from government forces (Vasagar 2004). The improvement of rebel equipment gave rebel organizations better mobility and more consistent resupply capabilities (World Tribune.com 2002).



The recent flow of oil from southern Sudan also gave the rebels a new target. For instance, rebels bombed the newly built oil pipeline in September 1999, exactly twenty days after the first shipment of Sudanese oil was exported to Asia (Fisher 1999). Oil installations were under continuous attack in the later years of the war, despite SPLA warnings to oil companies operating in southern regions that it considered their

operations to be military zones (*Agence France-Presse* 2001).

In recent years, foreign governments have played a key role, aiding rebels with more advanced weapons. Ethiopia provided T-55 tanks in the 1980s, and Uganda provided similar arms via the international arms market during the 1990s. Israel was criticized by the Sudanese government for supplying weapons and training to

the SPLA, including a supply of antitank missiles via the Israeli embassy in Nairobi, Kenya (World Tribune.com 2002). Other supplies of arms and military assistance came from Eritrea and Uganda, which were firmly behind the effort to overthrow the current government (Human Rights Watch 1998). In addition to providing supplies, Ugandan troops were directly involved in antigovernment fighting, engaging the government on Sudanese territory on a number of occasions. The United States also indirectly supported the rebels by providing military support to Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Uganda (Human Rights Watch 1998).

The Sudanese government used a number of tactics to prevent its overthrow. One of its most successful tactics was to fan the flames of internal struggles within the rebel organization. The Sudanese government worked to frame the conflict as a struggle among southern tribes, while seeking peace with all groups individually (Jok and Hutchinson 1999, 128). In the later years of the war, the government worked through northern militia groups to fight the rebel organizations. The government-backed Janjaweed militia, for instance, continues to wreak havoc in the western region of Darfur (see sidebar, “Crisis in Darfur”).

Government weapons came from a variety of sources. Recent arms suppliers included China, Iran, Yemen, South Africa, and former Soviet bloc states such as Kazakhstan. Before it was invaded by the United States in 2003, Iraq provided technical assistance and military training. Malaysia also played an indirect role by providing funds for arms purchases. Until 1995, France supported government forces by sharing satellite intelligence of SPLA movements, providing military training and technical assistance, and aiding the Sudanese government in negotiating access to neighboring Francophone states in order to stage attacks (Human Rights Watch 1998). The recent export of oil also helped the government establish links with arms suppliers. For instance, an agreement signed with Russia in 2002 gave

Sudan rights to manufacture Russian battle tanks in exchange for oil concessions (Human Rights Watch 2003, 457).

Like the rebels’ weaponry, government weapons, too, became more advanced over time. Recent acquisitions of large quantities of light and medium arms and ammunition, medium tanks, artillery, and air power drastically increased the government’s ability to fight rebels. These weapons included MiG fighter planes, Mi-24 helicopter gunships, a modified version of the classic Soviet T-54 tank, and SCUD missiles (Human Rights Watch 1998). Overall, advanced weaponry such as night vision systems and nighttime aerial bombing gave the government a strong edge in military capability over the rebel organizations (World Tribune.com 2002).

Unfortunately, the rebels and the government had in common an utter disregard for civilian casualties. Beginning with the SPLA split between Dinka and Duer fighters in 1991, divisions between southern factions led to vicious attacks on civilian targets. For instance, in 1992 the SPLA-United alliance razed twenty-five Dinka villages, stealing cattle and killing many civilians, including young children (Jok and Hutchinson 1999, 131). Other tactics included extortion, rape, torture, and murder (Foek 1998). A recent report from the international medical organization *Médecins Sans Frontières* (MSF) blamed warring parties on both sides for “appalling civilian mortality from infectious disease and violence” (MSF 2002). Such tactics included rape, murder, assault and the denial of access to humanitarian aid. Government forces were equally culpable in harming civilians. In 2003, for example, human rights groups accused the government of engaging in a scorched-earth policy in the Western Upper Nile of the South, killing or driving out civilians to make room for oil companies, whose revenues were used in part to fund the government forces (Cobb 2003). Unfortunately, disregard for civilian life made the innocent the biggest victims of the Sudanese civil war (Althaus 1999).

Crisis in Darfur

One of the most pressing issues facing Sudan and the international community today is the conflict in a northwest region of Sudan known as Darfur. Demanding that the Sudanese government stop arming the Arab groups in the region, address underdevelopment, and discontinue discrimination, two new rebel groups, the SLM (Sudan Liberation Movement) and later the JEM (Justice and Equality Movement) began a rebellion in February 2003 (IRINnews.org 2005). Unable to directly respond to the crisis itself due to the costly fighting in the south, the government responded by backing armed militias, known as the Janjaweed (U.S. Department of State 2004).

The government-backed Janjaweed militia pursued a scorched-earth policy in Darfur with widespread killing and raping of civilians and the razing of entire villages. For example, in February 2004, a band of militia members and government soldiers attacked the village of Taila, killing 67 people, abducting 16 girls, raping more than 93 females and displacing over 5,000 people (U.S. Department of State 2004). Overall, the violence in Darfur has caused around 180,000 deaths through violence, hunger, and disease, and more than 2 million have fled the region (Thomasson 2005). UN officials have referred to the crisis in Sudan as the world's worst humanitarian crisis (BBC 2005). U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, placing full blame on the Janjaweed and the Sudanese government, has called their actions nothing short of genocide (CNN.com 2004).

Recently, the international community has made moves to lessen the humanitarian suffering and work toward a tenuous peace in Darfur. For example, the AU (African Union) has deployed 2,300 troops to monitor the often broken cease-fire in the Darfur, while the UN WFP (World Food Program) works desperately to distribute food throughout the region. Despite these efforts, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has pleaded adamantly for more international assistance, noting that the WFP faces a chronic shortage of funds (CNN.com 2005); the AU claims that an additional \$466 million will be needed to sufficiently monitor the cease-fire (IRINnews.org 2005). Although failing to do much to disarm the Arab militia, the government of Sudan has also hindered efforts toward peace by denying visas to UN teams and blocking food and health aids from reaching its own people (U.S. Department of State 2004; Thomasson 2005). Ultimately, as Annan warns, a continued crisis in Darfur could help unravel the accord that ended the second Sudanese civil war in early 2005 (BBC 2005; CNN.com 2004; IRINnews.org 2005; Thomasson 2005; U.S. Department of State 2004).

Causes of the War

Most sources report that the conflict in Sudan was simply a fight between Sudan's Arab north and its black African south, or between northern Islam and southern Christian and animist faiths; however, scholars have recently begun to explain that the war was actually far more complicated (Althaus 1999). Scholars such as Douglas Johnson (2003, 5) have recently argued that the root cause of the Sudanese conflict was its traditions of governance rather than a conflict between Arabs and Africans. Beginning with Turkish conquerors in 1821, the governments of Sudan exploited the impoverished Muslim subjects in the north, who "passed on their losses to non-Muslims on the periphery." This tradition of exploitative governance resulted in what

Johnson calls the "Sudanic state," which exploits all civilians, with the south bearing the brunt of this exploitation.

One of the most direct causes of the current divisions in Sudan can be traced to British decisions in the transitional period from colonialism to independent statehood. During this period, the British failed to consider southern needs in preparation for independence. Southern Sudanese leaders were not even invited to participate in the negotiations during the transitional period in the early 1950s. In the postcolonial government constructed in 1953, the Sudanization Committee included only six southern leaders from some 800 available senior administrative positions (Kasfir 1979, 369). This allowed the northern-dominated administration to use

The Lost Boys of Sudan

Good endings can come from bad beginnings, as an inspiring group of young Sudanese refugees known as the “Lost Boys” of Sudan (after the lost boys in *Peter Pan*) have come to show the world. Fleeing the violence of the second Sudanese civil war in the late 1980s, some 33,000 Sudanese children (mostly boys) fled their homes in the mid-1980s after their families were killed by government forces. These children, coming mostly from the Dinka or Nuer tribes of southern Sudan, journeyed hundreds of miles through the East African desert. Thousands miraculously survived the ordeal, finding refugee camps in Ethiopia and Kenya (Messina and Messina 2005).

To survive the journey, the Lost Boys became each other’s families, with the older boys, many just 9 or 10 years old, caring for the younger ones. Many of these children died on the trek, from starvation, thirst, or animal attacks. To survive, the children often had to suck water from mud on the ground, eat leaves and the carcasses of dead animals, and cross crocodile-infested rivers. It is estimated that no more than 50 percent of the Lost Boys (around 10,000) survived the journey, finally finding safety with UN and Red Cross relief workers at the Kakuma refugee camp in 1992 (Walgren 1994).

In 1999, the UN Refugee Agency and the U.S. Department of State collaborated to bring 3,400 of the Lost Boys to the United States for permanent resettlement. Since then, they have been placed throughout the country in cities such as Omaha, Seattle, Richmond, and Grand Rapids. Upon arriving in America, boys under the age of 18 were assigned to foster homes and now attend school. Those over 18 had to go to work, where their low levels of skill forced them to take menial, low-paying jobs. Although the Lost Boys’ transition to America has been rocky at times, overall their story is one of astonishing tragedy and perseverance (Crawley 2000).

the political machinery to force their Islamic agenda upon the entire state. Although southern opposition groups initially tried to redress their grievances within the framework of a unified Sudanese state, religious persecution left non-Muslims with few peaceful options for countering these policies (Bartkus 1999, 136; Wai 1981, 117).

In the early years of the Sudanese state, the northern government passed many measures to repress the non-Muslim population. For instance, in February 1962 the government expelled all Christian missionaries from the country and closed Christian schools (Gurdon 1989, 68). These measures, along with indiscriminate attacks on protesters in southern villages in late 1962, caused sporadic fighting and army mutinies in the south, which transitioned into a full-scale civil war (Hannum 1990, 311). Though the southern Sudanese had little chance of successfully overthrowing the government, the repressive policies of the government left them to choose between the lesser of two evils: Either endure escalating religious

and cultural persecution, or fight (Bartkus 1999, 137).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, three key events led to peace. First, the 1969 coup placed Colonel Jaafar Numeiri in power, who then proposed that Sudan become a secular, socialist state. Second, bloody confrontations in 1971 between the Umma Party and the Ansar Brotherhood, two organizations consistently opposed to compromise with the south, reduced the power of Islamic fundamentalism in the government. Third, strong leadership by rebel leader Joseph Lagu overcame ethnic divisions and personal rivalries among the disparate rebel groups, bringing them together into the stronger Southern Sudanese Liberation Movement (Bartkus 1999, 137). These events led to the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972, which provided for the demobilization of guerrillas and their reintegration into Sudanese society. More important, the agreement granted a great deal of religious and cultural autonomy to the south (see Bartkus 1999, 137–38, for more specific details of the agreement). Due to the enhanced political autonomy,

southern factions were able to live in harmony during the eleven years following the agreement, expressing their disagreements through peaceful, political means (Johnson 1988, 6).

The autonomy and freedom delivered to the south by the northern government was short-lived, however. As Islamic fundamentalists, who opposed the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement from the start, grew in political power, President Numeiri was forced to announce in late summer of 1983 that Sudan would once again become an Islamic state (Ottaway 1987, 891, 893). This announcement was followed by a series of decrees that came to be known as the September laws. These decrees severely restricted the rights of non-Muslims (Ottaway 1987; Woodward 1990, 111). During the first two years after the passage of these laws, thousands of public punishments, including floggings, amputations, and executions, were handed out after extrajudicial trials (Lange-wiesche 1994, 27). Once again, in 1983 Sudan plunged deep into a second civil war pitting non-Islamic southerners against the religious and cultural intolerance of Islamic fundamentalist leaders in Khartoum (Bartkus 1999, 141).

Outcome *Conflict Status*

In the early years of the 1990s, the international community, led by Eritrea, Ethiopia, Uganda, and Kenya, led an effort to bring peace to Sudan. Under the auspices of the IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority for Development), these countries began their mission in 1993. Since then, results have been mixed. In 1994, the IGAD initiative pushed the 1994 DOP (Declaration of Principles) plan, which aimed to identify the elements necessary for a successful peace settlement. This agreement was not signed by the Sudanese government until 1997, after it had lost several major battles to SPLA forces. Also pushing the government toward peace was the National Democratic Alliance, an umbrella coalition of opposition parties in the north and the

south created in 1995. The NDA included opposition groups such as the SPLA, DUP (Democratic Unionist Party), and Umma parties. By uniting rebel and opposition groups into one organization, the Sudanese civil war became more than ever a center–periphery fight rather than a north–south conflict (GlobalSecurity.org 2005).

In addition to signing the DOP plan in 1997, the Sudanese government signed a series of agreements with rebel organizations led by former Garang lieutenant Riek Machar. These included the Khartoum, Nuba Mountains, and Fashoda agreements. Like the IGAD initiative, these agreements called for a measure of autonomy for the south and the right of self-determination (GlobalSecurity.org 2005). Despite the agreements of the early and mid-1990s, the struggle in Sudan continued largely unabated in large areas of the country past the turn of the century.

Great humanitarian crises brought on by war and a drought in 2000–2001 caught the attention of the international community, which provided—and continues to provide—large amounts of humanitarian aid to Sudan to ward off mass starvation (GlobalSecurity.org 2005). Beyond natural disasters, the victimization of civilians by both the government and the rebels came to the attention of the international community in the last decade.

Beginning in early 2002, Sudan saw a series of important agreements that led to a more peaceful country. In June 2002, a round of peace talks began under the previous IGAD initiative. Led by international observer countries, including the United States, the United Kingdom, Norway, and Italy, these talks ended on July 20 with the signing of the Machakos Protocol. This agreement provided for a six-year interim period after which a referendum on self-determination would be held in the south, giving the region a clear choice between a united Sudan and separated states. The agreement also states that the Islamic shari'a law would continue only in the northern regions (GlobalSecurity.org 2005).

Later that summer (August 2002), a second round of talks began between the warring factions to discuss the sharing of power and wealth. This round brought together President Beshir and SPLA-leader John Garang in a historic meeting in Kampala. More important, the talks resulted in the signing of an MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) on October 15, 2002, which called for a complete cessation of fighting for three months. A third agreement in February 2003 strengthened the two sides' stand on the cessation of hostilities (GlobalSecurity.org 2005). This agreement called for the creation of a new international team to verify and monitor compliance with the agreement. These agreements were extremely important to Sudan's long-term stability, given previous studies finding that the inclusion of the international community in the peace negotiation process is crucial to its success (Walter 2002).

The last two years of the civil war brought a series of important agreements, which resulted in peace in much of the country. In January 2004, the government and rebels signed an accord on wealth sharing, which had become a major issue in later years of the fighting (especially since the export of oil in 1999). Later that year, on May 24, 2004, the warring parties signed three key protocols, which provided for six years of autonomy for southern Sudan, to be followed by a referendum on the political future of the region. Finally, in January 2005, a peace agreement signed by southern rebels and the government of Sudan marked the end of the twenty-one-year-long struggle (Crilly 2005). Signed by Sudan's Vice President Ali Osman Taha and SPLA leader John Garang, this agreement called for a permanent cease-fire between the two sides. Additionally, it placed Garang in the post of first vice-president in an important power-sharing deal.

Learning from the previous mistakes of the Rwandan civil war, neither side disbanded its armies under the agreement. This provides a deterrence against possible genocide and at the same time leaves the country in a state of tension,

given that either side could quickly resume the conflict if the peace process hits a snag (Lacey 2005; Njorge and Makgabo 2005; Walter 2002). Despite government reports of repeated violations of the cease-fire by rebel factions, today the majority of Sudan rests in tenuous peace (IRIN-news.org 2005).

Duration Tactics

Two key features of the second Sudanese civil war make it stand out among all civil wars. The first is the widespread atrocities against the civilian population perpetrated by both the government and rebel factions. The second is the duration of the war: twenty-one years. Several factors led to both the intensity and the long duration. One factor was the government's ability to keep southern rebels fighting among themselves. Jok and Hutchinson (1999, 135–36) explain that the Khartoum government skillfully played rebel forces against each other by allying with southern factions as they attempted to gain control of the rebel movement. This led to roughly balanced forces between the warring rebels, which further prolonged the conflict.

A second factor contributing to the duration of the war was the government's inability to handle the guerrilla tactics practiced by Garang's SPLA forces. Moreover, local support for rebel organizations helped them maintain supplies to continue fighting. A third factor was the government's unwillingness to bend in its efforts to extend Islamic law to the entire country. According to SPLA leader John Garang (1987), given the options between peace under Islamic law versus a prolonged and deadly struggle, most southern Sudanese felt that war was better than peace. Further, the government's history of renegeing on promises led to an extremely low level of trust between the warring parties. This highlights the need for an international presence if peace in Sudan is to continue after the January 2005 agreement (Lacey 2005).

Finally, one can look at resources as a factor that contributed to the long duration of the civil war. After beginning exports of oil in June 1999,

the Sudanese government initially claimed that the oil profits would be shared throughout the country and used to build roads, schools, and irrigation projects. The failure of the government to spread the oil wealth to the southern regions, however, strengthened the resolve of the rebel organizations (Fisher 1999). The discovery of oil also raised the stakes—that is, the victor would have control over a large supply of oil reserves; this made both sides more resolved in their struggle (Glickman 2000; Fearon and Laitin 2003).

External Intervention and Conflict Management Efforts

Until recently, the international community overall was neglectful of efforts to end the Sudanese civil war (Althaus 1999). Efforts in both the 1990s and the 2000s were almost exclusively diplomatic, with earlier efforts to promote peace coming exclusively from Sudan's African neighbors. Fortunately, recent efforts by the international community have made significant progress in promoting peace in the region. One of the most significant developments in the peace process in Sudan was a result of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. Following these attacks, the Bush administration placed Sudan on the list of state sponsors of terrorism, making them susceptible to the same U.S. military intervention experienced by other states, including Afghanistan and Iraq (Matheson 2005). Under pressure from both African-American leaders and Christian activists in the United States, who noted the Islamic government's repression of religious rights, the Bush administration worked for peace in the country (Raghavan 2005). The main result of this pressure was to signal to the government of Sudan that military intervention on the side of the rebels was likely, making the government more apt to make concessions to the rebel organization. Ultimately, this pressure led to the agreement in early 2005.

In addition to pressure from the United States, which seemed to be the most significant

conflict management force, other actors in the international community played roles in promoting peace in the country. For instance, the United Nations is currently looking into the logistics of providing a peacekeeping force in Sudan to help make the January 2005 agreement a success. Other countries and organizations, such as South Africa and the African Union (AU), have committed to helping enforce this agreement (Lacey 2005). The vast majority of external efforts, however, have come in the form of humanitarian assistance. Responding to humanitarian crises such as famine in the 1980s, for instance, the UN and several dozen private relief agencies set up Operation Lifeline Sudan to channel food and other aid to the south. This operation, which was originally meant to be a short-term humanitarian fix, was in operation for nearly the entirety of the Sudanese civil war (Althaus 1999). More recent efforts, such as a donors' conference held by Norway in April 2005, are important international efforts to aid the peace process in Sudan.

Conclusion

After twenty-one continuous years of war, prospects for future peace in Sudan may finally be looking up. Although atrocities still continue in the Darfur region, the agreements signed recently bode well for a peaceful future. The root causes of the civil war, including religious repression, unequal distribution of wealth and power, and ethnic discrimination, which have been addressed in recent agreements, must continue to be at the forefront of Sudanese politics if peace is to continue in the country. Fortunately, the recently signed agreement follows policy advice from civil war scholars such as Walter (2002) by establishing a transition period (six years), merging the fighting forces, sharing the oil wealth, and dividing political offices. Specifically, the inclusion of SPLA leader John Garang as one of Mr. Bashir's vice presidents will provide previously the ignored southern groups with a strong voice in government,

which should go a long way to reduce rebel grievances. A second positive sign for the future of peace in Sudan is the increased interest of the international community in establishing and sustaining peace in the country. Kenyan General Lazaro Sumbeiywo, for example, acted as chief mediator during the negotiations leading to the 2005 peace agreement. The efforts of Norway, which held a donors' conference in 2005 to bring significant developmental aid to Sudan during the transitional period, should also help in future efforts to sustain peace (Lacey 2005).

Although general optimism seems warranted regarding the prospects for future peace in Sudan, one might easily have reached the same conclusions at the end of the first Sudanese civil war in 1972. Currently, the most pressing issue in the country is the crisis in Darfur, which must come to a quick and peaceful end before the conflict spreads again throughout the country. If the political leaders have truly learned from the mistakes made during the tenure of peace following the first civil war, we should expect the country to become more peaceful and prosperous as time progresses. However, if strict Islamic fundamentalists are allowed to force their views upon the non-Islamic population in the south, once again we will likely see the country plunged into a long and devastating civil conflict.

Clayton Thyne

Chronology

- 1898–1856 Sudan is ruled by Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.
- 1956 Sudan gains independence from Britain.
- 1956–1972 First Sudanese civil war
- 1983 President Numayri declares the introduction of shari'a (Islamic law) and later martial law. Relations with non-Islamic south deteriorate.
- 1983–1984 Rebels begin to organize SPLA, led by John Garang.
- April 1986 Sadiq al-Mahdi becomes prime minister after Numayri is deposed by a group of officers. Three years of chaotic government begin.
- June 1989 Lieutenant General Omar Hasson al-Bashir (leader of National Salvation Revolution) takes power in a coup, dissolves parliament.
- July 1992 Government offensive seizes southern territory, including SPLA headquarters at Torit.
- February 1993 Government officials and rebels hold first talks in Uganda and Nigeria.
- May 1994 IGAD, a regional conflict-solving body, urges self-determination for the south. Sudanese government quits talks.
- March 1996 Presidential elections begin, Bashir wins.
- April 1996 UN Security Council passes sanctions against Sudan for sponsoring terrorism.
- May 1996 Bashir calls for national reconciliation and peace talks with rebels.
- April 1997 Sudanese government signs deal with SSIM and other rebel groups, isolating SPLA.
- October 1997 Government and SPLA begin peace talks in Kenya.
- November 1997 U.S. government imposes economic sanctions against Sudan.
- August 1998 United States launches missile attack on pharmaceutical plant in Khartoum.
- December 1999 Bashir dissolves National Assembly, declares state of emergency.
- February 2000 Talks resume but end five days later, after rebels accuse government of indiscriminate attacks on civilians.
- December 2000 Bashir reelected for another five years in elections boycotted by main opposition parties.
- September 2001 UN lifts sanctions against Sudan; U.S. sanctions continue.
- February 2001 Islamist leader Hassan al-Turabi arrested after his party, the Popular National Congress, signs Memorandum of Understanding with SPLA.
- March 2001 UN's World Food Program struggles to feed 3 million facing famine.
- January 2002 Government and rebels sign a cease-fire agreement in Switzerland.
- July 2002 Talks between Sudanese government and SPLM yield Machakos Protocol, addressing issues of religion and self-determination. Bashir meets rebel leader John Garang for the first time.
- October 2002 Government and SPLM sign cease-fire during the latest round of peace talks.
- February 2003 Rebels in Darfur rise against government, claiming the region is neglected by the government.

- September–October 2003 Government and SPLA sign security deal, clearing the way for peace talks.
- October 2003 PNC leader Turabi is released from detention, ban on PNC is lifted.
- January 2004 Army moves to stop rebels in Darfur, hundreds of thousands of refugees flee from Darfur to Chad.
- March 2004 UN accuses progovernment Arab Janjaweed militias of genocide in Darfur.
- May 2004 Government and southern rebels agree on power-sharing protocols as part of peace plan.
- January 2005 Garang and chief government negotiator Taha sign a comprehensive peace accord, ending the civil war.
- April 2005 Donors at a conference in Norway pledge \$4.5 billion to help southern Sudan.

List of Acronyms

- AU: African Union
 DOP: Declaration of Principles (1994)
 DUP: Democratic Unionist Party
 GDP: gross domestic product
 IGAD: Intergovernmental Authority for Development
 JEM: Justice and Equality Movement
 MOU: Memorandum of Understanding (2002)
 MSF: Medecins Sans Frontieres
 NDA: National Democratic Alliance
 OAU: Organization for African Unity
 SLM: Southern Sudan Liberation Movement
 SPLA: Sudan People's Liberation Army
 SPLM: Sudan People's Liberation Movement
 SSIM: South Sudan Independence Movement
 SSLM: Southern Sudanese Liberation Movement
 UDSF: United Democratic Salvation Front
 WFP: World Food Program (UN)

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Tajikistan

(1992–1997)

Introduction

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (openness) encouraged the emergence of proreform and anti-Communist political movements in many Central Asian republics. In Tajikistan, one of the Soviet Union's far southeastern republics, Gorbachev's reforms helped to legitimize the demands by several new political parties and groups (opposition movements) for independence, democratic freedoms, regional autonomy, and economic reforms. Following Tajikistan's independence in 1991, these opposition movements were repressed by the neocommunist (government) forces, which led to demonstrations and riots. This civil strife finally led to regional conflict and civil war in 1992.

Following the eruption of civil war in Tajikistan in October 1992, fighting continued sporadically until 1997. Sambanis (2002, 220) lists the Tajikistan civil war as lasting from 1992 to 1994, in October of which a temporary cease-fire was signed, and by which time most of the serious fighting had ended. More frequently the civil war period is seen as 1992–1997. During these years, the temporary cease-fire was violated, and there were periods of intense conflict, until 1997, when an enduring peace accord was signed under UN auspices. The civil war resulted in the deaths of between 50,000 and 60,000 peo-

ple, created a million refugees (700,000 of whom were internally displaced refugees), and prompted large numbers of professionals and skilled workers to emigrate to Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus (see sidebar, "Refugees and Civil War"). Some 55,000 children were orphaned and thousands of women widowed; 26,000 families were left without their primary income earners (Akiner and Barnes 2001). Beyond this immediate human cost was the loss to critical infrastructure, electricity and communication services, and education and health facilities. An estimated 35,000 houses were destroyed, as were about 10 percent of school buildings (see sidebar, "Civil War Affects Civil Education"). In total, about 40 percent of the Tajikistan population was directly affected by the civil war, although some regional populations suffered disproportionately; the majority of those killed, for example, were ethnic Tajiks from the Gharm and Pamir regions.

Following peace talks led by the United Nations and the Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe (OSCE), a peace accord was signed in June 1997 by the neocommunist and opposition parties. The accord created a National Reconciliation Commission (NRC) and set aside 30 percent of the executive positions in the presidential republic for representatives of the secular and Islamist movements that made up the United Tajik Opposition (UTO). The

Refugees and Civil War

Tajikistan's civil war resulted in almost a million refugees; 700,000 people were displaced within the republic itself, and a further 250,000 fled to neighboring countries such as Afghanistan, Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan. However, some of these refugees never returned to Tajikistan, and they then required the assistance of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

For example, the UNHCR has been providing protection to 13,000 refugees in Turkmenistan since 1995. It has assisted the Turkmen government in integrating the refugees into local communities through language courses and vocational training. UNHCR has also given agricultural machinery, including tractors, bulldozers, and water pumps, to these refugees to enable them to become more self-sufficient.

In August 2005, a permanent solution was found for the refugees who had fled Tajikistan for Turkmenistan, when the government of Turkmenistan granted them citizenship. "We are extremely happy and grateful to the Turkmen government for this generous decision," said Annika Linden, chief of mission for the UNHCR in the Turkmen capital, Ashgabat (UNHCR 2005).

Russian troops and border guards previously stationed in Tajikistan were given permanent basing rights, whereas UTO military forces (around 5,000) were integrated into the Tajik army.

Since the cease-fire, low-level conflict between government forces and Islamist groups has continued, including a number of assassinations of political figures. On the whole, however, a return to civil war does not appear likely under the new political order (Akiner and Barnes 2001).

Country Background

Situated in Central Asia, Tajikistan shares its borders with Uzbekistan in the northwest, the

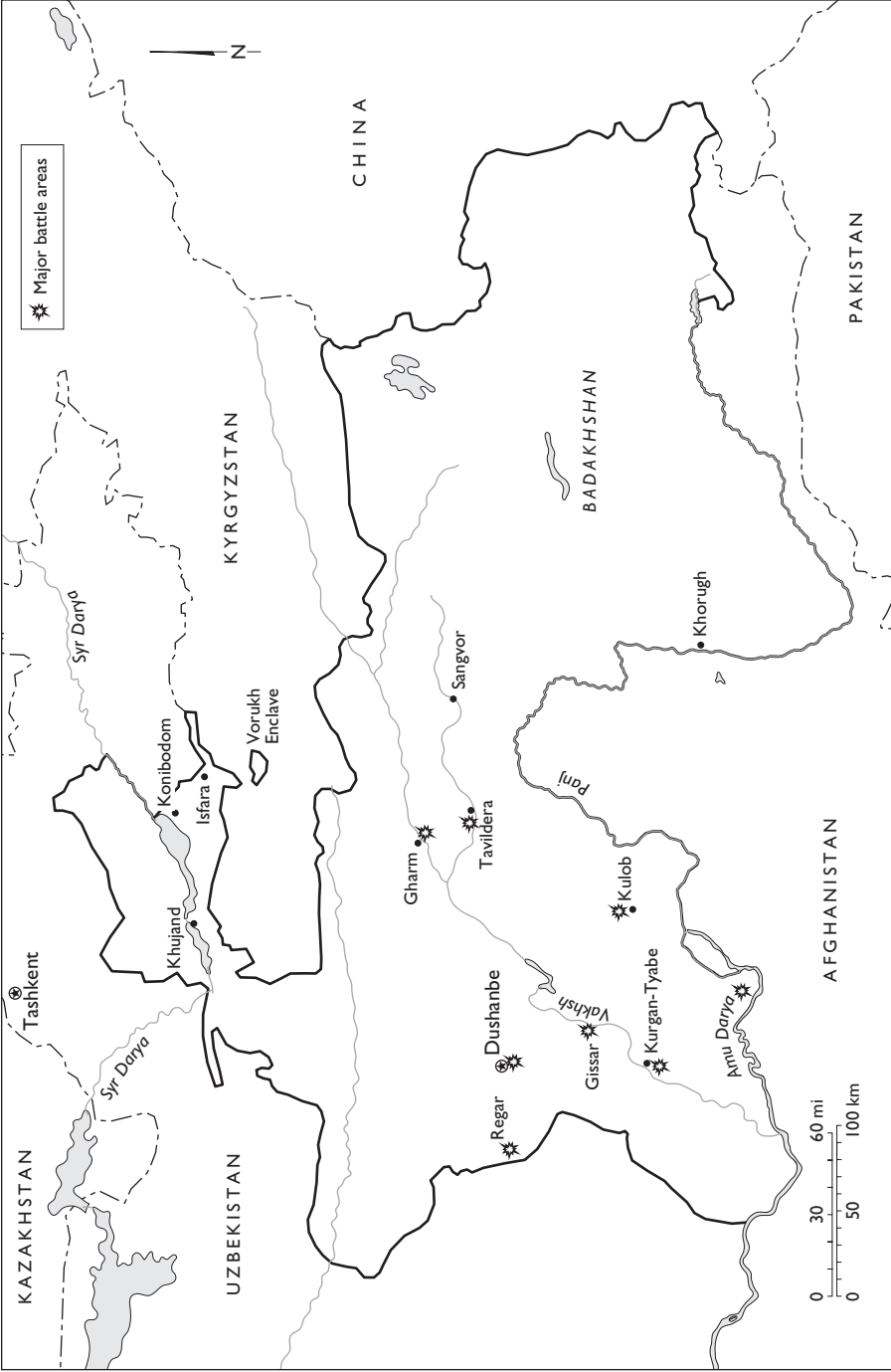
Kyrgyz Republic in the north, China in the east, and Afghanistan in the south. Tajikistan is a mostly (93 percent) mountainous, landlocked country covering an area of 143,000 square kilometers. In fact, Tajikistan is home to some of the highest mountains in the world, which range from 1,000 feet to 27,000 feet. Nearly half of Tajikistan's territory is above 10,000 feet. Tajikistan's mountainous territory defines its main regions: Leninabad (the Fergana valley); the Karategin and Hissar valleys; Khatlon (Kulyab province); Gorno-Badakhshan (defined by the Pamir mountains) and Kurgan-Tyube. Its capital, Dushanbe, is located in the west of the country.

Tajikistan's population in 2006 was about 6.6 million people, most of whom live in rural areas. Additionally, 1 million Tajiks live in Uzbekistan and 4 million in Afghanistan. According to the 2000 census, the breakdown of key ethnic groups of the country is as follows: Tajik, 80 percent; Uzbek, 15 percent; Russian, 1 percent; Kyrgyz, 1 percent; others, 2.6 percent (CIA 2006). Prior to the civil war, Russians made up about 7 percent of the population. The vast majority (85 percent) of the population are Sunni Muslim; only about 5 percent are Shi'a Muslim.

Because two of central Asia's main rivers, the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya, run through Tajikistan, the country is well endowed with water resources. This allows about 80 percent of Tajikistan's arable land to be irrigated and has contributed to Tajikistan's specialization in cotton production (about half of the total agricultural production). There is also substantial hydroelectric power generation, which provides surplus electricity for aluminum production.

Regime Type

The modern state of Tajikistan traces its origins to 1924, when the Soviet Union established it as an "independent" republic within Uzbekistan. In 1929, it became the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. Before real independence in 1991, Tajikistan was ruled as a one-party state by the Tajikistan Communist Party (TCP), primarily by elites



from the northern province of Leninabad but also with the support of the Kulyabis from the south, who were in charge of military affairs. Today, Tajikistan is a presidential republic with a bicameral legislature. The lower chamber has sixty-three deputies (forty-one directly elected, twenty-two proportionally elected), whereas the upper chamber has thirty-three deputies. Local councils indirectly elect twenty-five members, and the president appoints eight.

At independence in 1991 and before the civil war, Tajikistan was rated “partly free” (see Tables 1 and 2). Many members of the new parliament were parliamentarians who either had previously served under Soviet rule or had headed local and regional governments.

Although parliamentary elections were held during the civil war, international observers declined to monitor the 1994 elections because of continued fighting and the elections’ boycott by opposition parties. Unsurprisingly, the elections resulted in a parliament dominated by the TCP, led by President Emomali Rahmonov. Over the course of the civil war, dozens of journalists were murdered; despite constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and the press, independent journalists continued to face harassment and intimidation. For these reasons, the regime type of Tajikistan was rated “not free” in 1995, with a Polity IV rating of -6 (where a fully autocratic regime would score -10).

Following the 1997 peace accord, presidential elections were held in 1999 and parliamentary elections in 2000. Although these elections were peaceful, they were widely considered flawed and unfair. (This is according to the U.S. Department of State [2004], but it could also describe the most recent elections in Tajikistan in 2005.) The supporters of President Rahmonov (who were mostly former members of the old Soviet bureaucracy) limited the ability of the opposition, the UTO, to compete for power. The UTO alleged that the government did not allow some opposition candidates to be registered, excluded UTO representatives from election monitoring commissions, and engaged in widespread vote rigging.

In addition to concerns about the conduct of democratic elections, Tajikistan is still regarded as fairly autocratic because parliament has little true independence; real power lies with the president. According to the constitution, the president appoints and dismisses the prime minister, the government ministers, the regional, provincial, and city chairmen, and the chairman of the National Bank. The president also determines which government ministries to establish or abolish, the composition of the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, the High Economic Court, and state committees, as well as chairing the Security Council and the Council of Justice.

In 2003, President Rahmonov further consolidated his power by using a popular referendum to approve a package of constitutional amendments to increase the powers of the president—the most controversial of which (Article 65) allows the president to serve two seven-year terms instead of the one term agreed to under the 1997 peace accord. This constitutional change allows Rahmonov to seek a further two terms following the expiry of his current term in 2006. These retrograde steps in Tajikistan’s democracy have contributed to a fall in its 2003 rating on the Polity IV variable to -3 (Marshall and Jaggers 2004).

Economic Situation

Tajikistan is one of the least wealthy countries in the world and the poorest nation within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The country’s social development and economic indicators have only just begun to return to the levels seen before the onset of the civil war (see Table 2). Tajikistan’s economic and social recovery also remains vulnerable to external events, such as the typhoid epidemic that struck the capital, Dushanbe, and Southern Tajikistan in 2002. Drought has reduced cereal harvests, whereas ongoing border and customs difficulties with neighboring countries have had a negative impact on cross-border trade.

Although gross domestic product (GDP) has begun to rise slowly since the 1997 peace accord, per capita GDP declined almost two-thirds be-

tween 1990 and 2000. Essential physical infrastructure—shelter, hospitals, schools, water systems, roads, bridges, and energy lines—were severely damaged in the civil war, whereas population displacement and massive destruction of property combined to create housing shortages and property disputes. The growth of the population from 5.3 million in 1990 to 6.6 million in 2006 has placed considerable demands on land and other resources. Because a significant proportion of the population is young, youth unemployment has also become a problem. In 1997, almost 60 percent of people aged sixteen to twenty-nine years were unemployed. More positively, life expectancy at birth remains higher than in many Central Asian republics, and the infant and under-five mortality rates are improving. Literacy was almost universal and well above other countries before the civil war (UNICEF 2005).

The Tajik economy is now in a period of adjustment. By the end of 2000, Tajikistan had achieved full currency convertibility, almost complete price liberalization, and significant progress in small-scale privatization. Institutional reforms—tax reform in 1998, the banking sector's restructuring, and the legal and regulatory development of markets—have helped Tajikistan's macroeconomic indicators improve. Growth rates have been as high as 10 percent, whereas inflation has stabilized at around 11.5 percent per annum. However, the country's external debt has increased substantially, and the economy remains heavily dependent on exports of cotton and aluminum. There are also a substantial underground economy and corruption because of the extensive criminal networks that have infiltrated much of Tajikistan's political and economic life. Tajikistan was ranked among the ten most corrupt countries surveyed by Transparency International in 2004 (Transparency International 2004).

Conflict Background

Although the disintegration of the Soviet Union encouraged Tajikistan's transition to declare in-

dependence in September 1991, it also helped precipitate the civil war that erupted between opposing political and regional factions in October 1992. The collapse of the Soviet Union meant the end of generous budget transfers to Tajikistan (equivalent to about 40 percent of GDP) and the end of ready markets for Tajikistan's goods. Consequently, Tajikistan's economic conditions rapidly deteriorated, leading to protests about the worsening living conditions and the need for economic and political reform.

At the same time, Gorbachev's policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* suggested that these protests would be tolerated. By 1990, a number of political movements and parties opposed to the Communist regime had formed. They included the Rastokhez Popular Movement (RPM), the Democratic Party of Tajikistan (DPT), and the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRP). These organizations and political parties, together with the La'li Badahshon and Nosiri Khusraw societies, formed what became known as the United Tajik Opposition (UTO), or "the opposition" for short. La'li Badahshon is a political party composed mostly of Pamiri people. It advocated greater autonomy for Badakhshan, a mountainous region in eastern Tajikistan.

Following the resignation of the head of the Tajik Communist Party, the democratic and Islamic opposition parties pressured the Tajik Legislature to suspend TCP activities and to declare the republic's independence, which it did on September 9, 1991. This, however, precipitated a strong Communist backlash. The Communists declared a state of emergency, reconstituted the TCP in parliament, and nominated Rahkmon Nabiyev as president for the November elections. (Nabiyev had been the head of the TCP in Tajikistan before being removed by Gorbachev in 1985.) Opposition parties nominated a well-known film director, Davlat Khudonazarov, as their presidential candidate. Nevertheless, Nabiev was elected president of Tajikistan in November 1991 with 57 percent of the vote, against Khudonazarov's 37 percent.



An anticommunist demonstration takes place in Dushanbe, Tajikistan, on October 4, 1991. (Pascal Le Segretain/Sygma/Corbis)

Following the November 1991 presidential election, the legitimacy of Nabiev's presidency began to be called into question as doubts about the conduct of the election were raised and further developments unfolded. Attempts by the ex-communists (Leninabadis and Kulyabis) to remove all opposition members from the parliament and government led to frequent public demonstrations in the capital, Dushanbe, between supporters of the government and the opposition parties. During March and April 1992, opposition supporters held a rally in front of the building of the Central Committee of the TCP. In response, the government launched its own rally in support of the president. In addition, the president created a number of "presidential guard" units, which were drawn from supporters from Kulyab but which also contained some criminal elements. These units were armed with 1,800 Kalashnikov automatic rifles. (These units would later form the basis of the Popular Front of Tajik-

istan [PFT], a political party that, when it came to power, engaged in criminal and violent activities.) On May 5, 1992, opposition supporters stormed the national television station as well as the presidential palace. In so doing, they gained access to the armory. Inevitably, this resulted in armed clashes between the two groups, which continued on the streets of Dushanbe until May 10.

The demonstrations and violence prompted talks between the two sides, which succeeded in reaching an agreement on the formation of a coalition government. The Government of National Reconciliation (GNR) saw several opposition leaders receive a number of key posts. Of eight members, four represented Pamir-Gharm and four Kulob-Leninobod. Leninabad, Kulyab, and the local Uzbeks all refused to recognize the GNR, however, which they declared unconstitutional.

Commanding little authority, the GNR was unable to prevent the civil unrest that followed.

Criminal activities increased as the system of law and order broke down, followed by the gradual disorganization of all municipal services and the economy in general. A released criminal, Sangak Safarov, established himself as a warlord at the head of the Popular Front, a coalition of Soviet-era political elites and criminal elements. The Popular Front attacked opposition sympathizers in the south part of the country. With the support of Uzbekistan, further attacks were launched on the approaches to Dushanbe and on the Regar and Gissar areas, which had small Uzbek populations.

The opposition responded by forming self-defense units—one of which, led by Said Nuri, succeeded in pushing the Popular Front back. In September 1992, a pro-opposition group of youth captured President Nabiev and forced him to resign at gunpoint. These events prompted a joint communiqué from the presidents of Russia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan. The communiqué described the conflict as a threat to the entire Commonwealth of Independent States and stated that intervention would be necessary if the fighting could not be halted (Neumann and Solodovnik 1995).

In November 1992, the situation became untenable for the GNR, and they resigned en masse. Imomali Rahmonov was then appointed chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Executive Committee and proclaimed a civic truce. Despite the truce, the Popular Front (with the support of the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division and the Uzbek air force) continued to bomb opposition strongholds in Kofernihan and subsequently captured opposition positions. The Popular Front's military tactics include brutal reprisals against opposition sympathizers, especially those of Gharmi or Badakhshoni descent.

These attacks pushed opposition forces across the Panj River into Afghanistan and forced democratic and Islamic opposition leaders to take refuge in Moscow, Iran, Afghanistan, and Saudi Arabia. From their positions along the Tajik–Afghan border, opposition forces continued to

fight, forcing hundreds of thousands of people to flee the country.

By the summer of 1993, the civil war had subsided considerably. Nevertheless, Russia's political and military leadership was of the view that a peace settlement was the only solution. The activities of the opposition groupings within the country and ongoing military tension along the border showed Russia that Tajikistan was far from stable and cast doubt on the ability of Rahmonov and his command to restore order. Consequently, in September 1993, Kazakhstan and Russia asked the UN to give the 25,000-strong Russian forces in Tajikistan a mandate to operate as a UN peacekeeping force. Even though this request was rejected by the UN, the director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, Evgeni Primakov, managed to make direct contact with the Tajik opposition in the following months. By March 1994, Anatoli Adamishin, President Yeltsin's envoy to Tajikistan, had met with Akbar Turajonzoda in Teheran.

Although peace efforts continued throughout 1994, they had reached a stalemate by 1995. Then, in 1996, the Taliban captured Kabul, upsetting the regional geopolitical balance. Foreign governments became alarmed that the Taliban might also threaten Tajikistan and therefore began to encourage their respective allies within Tajikistan to begin negotiating an end to the civil war. Factions within Tajikistan also came to understand that ongoing civil conflict might lead to losing the country entirely. Foreign governments subsequently provided practical support to the peace process that sought to achieve a power-sharing compromise to govern the country. With both sides realizing that their ultimate interests were converging, the UN was able to “build a momentum for peace” (Akiner and Barnes 2001). The peace process culminated in the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord, which was signed in Moscow during June 1997 under UN, OSCE, and Russian auspices.

The Insurgents

Distinguishing between the rebels and government forces in the Tajikistan conflict is problematic because, at various stages of the conflict, both sides could be said to have rebelled against the official government. Both the rebels and government forces were essentially political groups formed around regional and historical attachments who could mobilize substantial armed support. Both sides in the Tajikistan conflict largely depended on support from foreign sponsors.

On one side were the old Communist sympathizers and elites from the Leninabad region, who joined with people from the Kulob region in the south, and eventually the Hissaris, to form a new alliance, the People's Front of Tajikistan (PFT). During the Soviet period, Kulobis were generally underrepresented in positions of national authority. As the conflict began, they were able to create armed groups and support the government. As the war continued, the Kulobis began to gain the balance of power in this "government alliance." By the end of the 1990s, the

Kulobi faction had managed to marginalize the Leninabad elites and cement their own power under President Rahmonov. Russia and other Central Asian countries, principally Uzbekistan, supported the progovernment faction financially and militarily.

The opposition forces were a coalition of new opposition political parties that could be identified by their different ideologies—promoting national unity, democracy or Islamic values—and also by the regions that supported them (such as Gharm and Gorno-Badakhshan). The civil war should not, therefore, be seen simply in terms of an ideological struggle. Instead, the various ideological movements—communism, democracy, and Islamism—helped to reinforce people's sense of regional identity.

The first new opposition organization to appear was the Rastokhez Popular Movement, which appeared in 1988 and was composed mainly of Dushanbe-based intellectuals. The RPM's agenda was built on issues of national identity such as the promotion of national culture and recognition of the national language as

Table 1: Civil War in Tajikistan

War:	United Tajik Opposition (UTO) vs. government
Dates:	October 1992–June 1997
Casualties:	50,000–60,000
Regime type prior to war:	–2 (1991; ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	–1 (2000; ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$496 (nominal, 1990)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$252 (nominal, 2003)
Insurgents:	5,000 United Tajik Opposition (UTO) forces
Issue:	Postindependence ideological struggle
Rebel funding:	Regional clans, Iran, Pakistan
Role of geography:	Mountainous terrain reinforced regional rivalries
Role of resources:	Negligible
Immediate outcome:	National peace accord, power-sharing arrangements
Outcome after 5 years:	Relative peace, flawed parliamentary elections
Role of UN:	Established UNMOT, facilitated peace talks
Role of regional organization:	OSCE active in institution and democracy building, drafting constitution, and promotion of human rights
Refugees:	950,000 (700,000 internally displaced)
Prospects for peace:	Reasonable if economic and political reforms are implemented.

Sources: Marshall and Jagers 2004; UNICEF 2005; World Bank 2005.

Table 2: Selected Country Indicators

Indicator	1990	1995	2000	2003
Regime type (Polity IV)	-2 (1991)	-6	-1	-3
Political rights (Freedom House)	5	7	6	6
Civil liberties (Freedom House)	5	7	6	5
Status (Freedom House)	Partly free	Not free	Not free	Not free
Population (million)	5.30	5.84	6.19	6.25
Percentage of under-fives suffering from stunting	..	36% (1995–2003)		
Life expectancy at birth	69	..	67	66
Net primary school enrollment/attendance	..	80% (1996–2003)		
Share of government expenditure on education	4% (1992–2004)			
Share of government expenditure on health	2% (1992–2004)			
GDP (US \$ billions, nominal)	2.63	..	1.06 (2001)	1.64
GDP per capita (US \$)	496	..	171	252
Rate of inflation	153% (1990–2003)			
Military expenditure as share of GDP	0.4% (1992)	1.0%	..	1.3%
Armed forces personnel (thousands)	3 (1992)	18	7 (1999)	7
Share of government expenditure on defense	9% (1992–2004)			

Sources: Freedom House 2004; Marshall and Jagers 2004; UNICEF 2005; World Bank 2005.

the state language. Then followed the formation of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan (DPT) in August 1990 and the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRP) in October 1990. The DPT, as its name suggests, was opposed to Marxist ideology and a totalitarian system of government, aiming instead to introduce democracy, a market economy, and a fairer distribution of power. The IRP aimed for a greater role for Islam in the political life of Tajikistan. With its support base in the southwest part of the country, the IRP was the largest of the opposition parties. Jointly, these three parties formed the UTO.

The UTO forces were supported by Iran and to a lesser extent by Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Davlat Usmon, a UTO leader and former deputy prime minister of Tajikistan, revealed that sympathetic Tajik Afghan mujahideen commanders and a number of Islamic nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) supplied arms, ammunition, and financial support to the UTO. The former allowed the UTO to base themselves across the border in Afghanistan.

It also appears that militant Islamist interests in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia may also have supported the UTO. According to Akiner and Barnes (2001, 93), Pakistan helped Tajik Muslims by providing religious training to refugee children as well as by extending financial assistance through Islamic organizations. Pakistan

allegedly gave covert military aid to the Tajik opposition via governmental and nongovernmental channels (Iji 2001, 369).

Tactics

The PFT's military tactics included brutal attacks on opposition sympathizers, especially those of Gharmi or Badakhshoni descent. Gharm and Pamir villages, which were opposition strongholds, were bombed by the Uzbek air force. With the support of the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division, which numbered about 25,000, the Popular Front managed to capture most of the areas still held by the opposition. According to Neumann and Solodovnik (1995), the 201st Motorized Rifle Division may have provided four tanks and six armored personnel carriers to the Kulyabi forces loyal to Nabiev, and these may have been decisive in their subjugation of Kurgan-Tyube.

Following the collapse of the GNR in 1992, opposition forces retreated across the Panj River into Afghanistan as well as into the difficult terrain of the interior of Gorno-Badakhshon. From their positions along the Tajik-Afghan border, opposition forces continued sniping activity and minor attacks on border posts. The most serious of these occurred on July 13, 1993, when a border post with a contingent of 47 Russian soldiers was attacked; 24 guards were killed and another 18 wounded. In total, close to 300 people, including civilians, insurgents and border guards, were killed in this attack (Neumann and Solodovnik 1995).

Causes of the War

Although there is no consensus on the causes of the Tajikistan civil war, a number of internal (domestic) and external (geopolitical) factors have been suggested. At the domestic level, a set of political and economic grievances, reinforced by history and geography, worked against the emergence of a genuine Tajikistan national identity following its independence from the Soviet Union. Ethnic diversity and the mountainous ter-

rain were contributing factors, while "lootable" natural resources do not appear to have played a role in the emergence of the conflict. External geopolitical factors—the security concerns of Russia and Uzbekistan—aggravated the slide into civil war.

Internal Factors

Regional Factionalism and Lack of Democratic Institutions

Regional factionalism was one of the primary domestic causes of Tajikistan's civil war. Both government and opposition forces had strong regional bases. The government (excommunist) forces were supported by the northern Leninabad and Kulob regions, whereas the UTO drew support from ethnic Tajiks in the Gharm and Qarateguine Valleys east of Dushanbe and from Pamiris who lived in Dushanbe. This regional factionalism was partly the product of Soviet policies and partly the result of Tajikistan's mountainous terrain, which reinforced a sense of regional, rather than national, identity.

Tajikistan was a direct creation of the Soviet Union, but it was created with little regard for the cultural and ethnic basis of the Tajik people. Although there were 1 million Tajiks when the country was formed in the 1920s, only 300,000 found themselves in the newly established state of Tajikistan. The rest were isolated within other national borders. For example, the cities of Bukhara and Samarqand (historically and culturally important to the Tajiks and the majority of whose population was Tajik) were located in the new state of Uzbekistan. This cultural fragmentation was then reinforced by the ongoing Soviet suppression of any emergent Tajik national identity.

The natural barriers provided by Tajikistan's mountain ranges also served to compartmentalize the different regions by making communication and contact between them difficult. This appears to confirm Collier and Hoeffler's (2000) model, which suggests a negative relationship between the degree of geographic dispersion of the population and civil war outbreaks. In other

words, a highly concentrated population is associated with fewer civil war outbreaks, whereas a high degree of dispersion—as a result of geographic features such as mountain ranges—may contribute to a higher risk of conflict.

Applied to Tajikistan, this means that local politics and regional identity became more important than any sense of national identity. Indeed “identity regionalism” is a loose translation of the local term *mahalgari*—blood and geographical origin as a basis of group identity.

When the Leninabad region’s elites ascended to top Communist Party and government positions in Tajikistan in the 1940s, they used *mahalgari* as a policy to maintain regional rivalries and their own position as the most economically developed, most politically privileged region during the Soviet era (Iji 2001, 359). Even following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Leninabad region used their control of the political apparatus to channel as much as 70 percent of the country’s budget into their own regions.

By contrast, many of Tajikistan’s other regions suffered declines in GDP of as much as 60 percent as a result of the loss of Russian subsidies, a reduction in access to credit, a decline in customary markets, and an increase in corruption and crime. (Corruption—nepotism, theft, and bribery—had intensified in the 1980s to the extent that “mafias” were engaged in large-scale illegal economic activities, often with the covert participation of officials.) Such one-sided regional economic development only aggravated the regional and social tensions. For many opposition or antigovernment forces, the Soviet establishment was synonymous with Leninabad rule. When these opposition forces began to demand more equitable regional economic development, political reforms, and national unity, the Leninabad’s hold on power and economic privilege were threatened.

A second aggravating factor in the slide into civil war was the undeveloped nature of Tajikistan’s fledgling democracy following independence. The suddenness of the transition to independence meant that Tajikistan simply did not

have the features essential to a well-developed democratic process: respect for human rights, a free media, an independent judiciary, and an acceptance of political competition through democratic political parties. Frustration at the unevenness of regional economic development and at widespread corruption led to grassroots protest in Dushanbe in February 1990. Faced with a power structure that seemed set on preserving these economic disparities, opposition forces were able to mobilize and focus demands for a truly national Tajikistan society based on democracy, the rule of law, and equality.

But when opposition demands for a more inclusive and democratic political regime moved from social protest to civil unrest, the ex-Communist leaders were not only unwilling to allow these new challenges to their political authority but also unable to prevent the ensuing civil conflict. This supports findings that countries in the middle of the autocracy–democracy spectrum are actually at greater risk of civil war than those at either extreme (Sambanis 2002, 223). Tajikistan—rated close to the middle of this scale in 1991—was not so autocratic that social protest was immediately repressed, but neither was it democratic enough to allow such protest to be seen as legitimate and to be managed in a democratic way.

Other Internal Factors

As already noted, Tajikistan’s mountainous terrain limited the formation of a national identity and tended to reinforce regional animosities based on disparities in regional economic development. These regional animosities were also partly the result of ethnic divisions. Tajikistan is ethnically diverse, and the civil war in part divided it along ethnic lines. Ethnic Uzbeks living in Tajikistan constituted a powerful community of 23 percent of the population. A more even sharing of political and economic power clearly had negative implications for this ethnic group, which were concentrated in the Leninabad (Kulyab) and Kurgan-Tyube regions. The opposition forces were from areas more thoroughly

Tajik and less ethnically mixed (Dunn 1997). It is these regional animosities—a consequence, in part, of the terrain and the ethnic divisions—that defined the warring parties in the Tajikistan civil war.

External Factors: Geopolitics

External factors were also contributing causes of Tajikistan's civil war. The two main external actors were Uzbekistan and Russia, both of whom supported the Soviet-era Tajik government for their own reasons and intervened militarily. In this, they were aided by appeals from Leninabad (government) forces who realized that they would be unable to defeat the opposition alone.

Uzbekistan's president, Islam Karimov, privately feared that any coalition of Tajikistan's government and the Islamic-democratic opposition might be viewed as a model in his own republic (Akbarzadeh 1996). Karimov may also have feared potential territorial claims over Samarkand and Bukhara from forces seeking to regain their national identity. Publicly, however, Karimov played on fears of Islamic fundamentalism to justify military intervention.

The presence within Tajikistan of the Russian military unit, the 201st Motorized Rifle Division, also played a part in drawing Russia into the Tajikistan conflict. Faced with the prospect of cuts to the armed forces and no chance of service in Russia, the division's Russian-speaking officers (most of whom had been born in Tajikistan) managed to play on Russian perceptions that Islamic extremism would have a domino effect in the region, reaching Russia's southern borders (Plater-Zyberk 2004, 8). This threat seemed to be confirmed by an attack on a Russian border post in 1993 and is seen as having strengthened the resolve of Russia to remain militarily involved in Tajikistan (Sherr 1993). When asked why Russian soldiers were dying in Tajikistan, the Russian defense minister stated, "The borders of Tajikistan are the borders of Russia" (Plater-Zyberk 2004, 8). Thus, to secure the CIS generally and Russia in particular required patrolling the Tajik–Afghan border. A

further justification of Russian military support of the Khujandi–PFT alliance was that a mass exodus of Russians and Russian speakers from Tajikistan might be avoided.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

The Tajikistan civil war was brought to a formal end on June 27, 1997, when President Rahmonov and UTO leader Said Abdullo Nuri signed the Tajik National Peace Accord in Moscow. The peace accord established a twenty-six-member National Reconciliation Commission, to be headed by an opposition representative but with seats split evenly between the government and the UTO. The NRC would implement the peace agreement, repatriate and assist refugees, and introduce legislation for fair parliamentary elections, as well as integrating UTO members into 30 percent of ministerial and departmental posts. As part of the peace accord, a general amnesty was declared for all participants in the conflict, and opposition soldiers were integrated into the regular army. Under the auspices of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) and the International Red Cross, a full exchange of prisoners was also to take place.

Following the initial transitional period of the peace accord, presidential and parliamentary elections took place in late 1999 and early 2000. With the departure of most international monitoring bodies, Tajikistan then faced the problems of reconstruction associated with all postconflict situations. This rebuilding process was not helped by the failure to implement all of the important provisions of the peace accord. The demobilization of opposition forces remained incomplete, and the government failed to meet the 30 percent quota of senior government posts to be awarded to the UTO.

Duration Tactics

The intervention of Russia, Uzbekistan, and Iran had a significant impact on the duration and

ending of hostilities in Tajikistan because these states were the strongest external patrons of each side. Although Iran did not intervene militarily in the conflict, it did provide financial and political support to the Islamic opposition.

Until Uzbekistan and Russia became involved militarily, the confrontation between the Khujandi–PFT alliance and the opposition might not have escalated into civil war. This is because both the procommunists and the opposition forces fought one another as ill-organized militias bearing small arms, such that by the early autumn of 1992 neither side could prevail militarily. Once Uzbekistan and Russia intervened militarily, however, a low-level civil conflict developed into a full-scale civil war (Gretsky 2006).

The effect of such external support appears to have persuaded each side that it alone would prevail in the conflict. Consequently, both the government and the opposition parties engaged in peace negotiations only halfheartedly, with neither side seeing the other as legitimate. Russia was determined to continue to support the Rahmonov regime, which it had helped to install. It therefore endorsed the government's attempt to strengthen its own position by holding presidential and parliamentary elections in 1994 and 1995 (Jonson 1998).

It was not until the end of 1995, against the backdrop of a rising Taliban regime in Afghanistan, that both Russia and Iran became seriously interested in settling the conflict in Tajikistan. It was then that Moscow began to have doubts about the prospects for a military solution to the conflict. In the face of the UTO's advances on the battlefield, the disintegrating power of the Rahmonov regime, and the weakening capabilities of its own armed forces, Russia came to perceive the cost of further military involvement in Tajikistan to be too high. The fear of repeating the catastrophic Chechnyan scenario may also have influenced the Russians' change in position (Jonson 1998).

The role of Iran was also important in bringing the conflict to an end. In part, Iran may have

appreciated that a Shi'a Muslim revolution, as had occurred in Iran, was unlikely in Tajikistan, where most Muslims were Sunni. Iran may also have been keen to close down any opportunities for the United States and Turkey to increase their influence in the region—a position Iran shared with Russia. Iran therefore had good reasons to encourage the peace process.

External Military Intervention

The two states to intervene militarily in the Tajikistan civil war were Russia and Uzbekistan. As indicated earlier, the Russian military unit, the 201st Motorized Rifle Division, was already present in Tajikistan when hostilities broke out. The division consists of the 92nd, 191st, and 149th motor rifle regiments, the 401 independent tank battalion, and self-propelled artillery and air defense missile regiments (Plater-Zyberg 2004, 4).

Russia was, in effect, responsible for the maintenance of security and order within Tajikistan, especially along the vulnerable Tajik–Afghan border. The Russian units' main mission was to secure the southern border of Tajikistan, which it shares with Afghanistan and across which opposition forces had been receiving substantial support. The military tactics used by the border forces have been described by Russian general staff personnel as similar to those used by the Soviet army in Afghanistan: reliance on base camps, forward deployment of combat helicopters, and counterinsurgency involving local collaborators (Neumann and Solodovnik 1995).

Military intervention by Uzbekistan also appears to have had a significant impact on the conflict. In the second half of 1992, Uzbekistan allowed the pro–Nabiev Popular Front forces to use its territory for military training and to launch attacks on Dushanbe (Akbarzadeh 1996). The use of Uzbekistan aircraft and tanks also appears to have been decisive in forcing the opposition forces across the border to Afghanistan, as well as encouraging the procommunist militia to force more than 100,000 Tajiks to seek refuge there.

Conflict Management Efforts

Although the main external actors in the Tajikistan civil war were eventually instrumental in initiating negotiations among the opposing sides, the substantial disagreement among them on the way negotiations should proceed risked deadlock. Here, the United Nations came to play an important role.

The UN defined its mandate as mediating between the two warring parties and legitimizing the Kulyabi–UTO peacekeeping formula. The UN was able to bring both sides to the negotiating table and also served as a line of communication between them. The UN secretary-general special envoy to Tajikistan, Ramiro Piriz-Ballón, set up four rounds of negotiations between the opposing sides between April 1994 and May 1995. Russia, Afghanistan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, and Uzbekistan served as observers, and the OSCE and the OIC were also present at the talks (Iji 2001).

The first subsidiary-level talks were held in Moscow in April 1994. However, the Tajik government refused to accept the opposition's proposal for a cease-fire, despite repeated statements by the Russian deputy minister of defense that Tajiks themselves should find a political resolution to the civil war. The first-round talks did achieve agreement that any questions concerning an election or a new constitution would be held over for discussion until the final round of peace talks, under the auspices of the UN.

The subject of the second round of talks, held in June 1994 in Tehran, was a cease-fire. No cease-fire agreement was signed, however, because the government rejected several of the opposition's conditions. The opposition requested that all political prisoners be freed, that all politically motivated prosecutions be dropped, that the official ban on opposition parties be rescinded, and that restrictions on the media be removed.

At the third round, held in October 1994 in Islamabad, the parties did manage to sign the cease-fire agreement, allowing the UN to establish a mission of observers in Tajikistan

(UNMOT). The mission's primary function was to observe the implementation of the agreement, but it also gave much-needed international exposure to the Tajik tragedy.

Although in the middle of peace talks, the government attempted to strengthen its position by proceeding with presidential elections and a referendum on the constitution on November 6. Rahmonov won the election, but opposition parties were excluded, and foreign observers considered the result to have been rigged.

A fourth round of peace talks took place in Almaty in May 1995. The agenda for the fourth round—agreed upon in the first round—included the topic of political and institutional reform. The opposition's reform package proposed the formation of a Council of National Unity, in which each side would have 40 percent of the seats; representatives from ethnic minorities would share the remaining seats. The government rejected the opposition's reform package, arguing that it had already introduced a number of political and economic reforms. It put forward a number of minor items unrelated to the round's formal agenda, including a permanent cease-fire and the repatriation of refugees.

Faced with stalemate, Piriz-Ballón suggested a number of compromises that were seemingly agreed to by both sides. At this point, the Russian deputy foreign minister intervened and persuaded the Tajik government to refuse to sign the compromise statement. As a consequence, the fourth round of the Tajik peace talks did not produce any substantial agreement on fundamental political and constitutional reforms. More seriously, the government's attempts at consolidating its own position slowed down the peace process, and by 1995 attention had shifted away from the negotiating table and back to the battlefield.

Peace talks remained deadlocked until 1996, when the Taliban captured Kabul. This development appears to have reinvigorated peace talks. Foreign governments, now concerned with spillover effects from Taliban rule, began to put

increased pressure on their respective Tajik allies to find a political solution to the war. The Tajik factions also realized that continued warfare could threaten the future independence of the country and that the compromise power-sharing agreement proposed previously was preferable to losing the country entirely. With both sides moving closer to consensus, the UN was able to play a leading role as an international and neutral mediator in the peace negotiations. These concluded with the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord, signed in Moscow in June 1997. It should also be noted that the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe also played an important role. It provided assistance in such areas as institution and democracy building, the drafting of a constitution, and the promotion of human rights.

Having two sets of mediators involved in the Tajikistan conflict management process allowed the burden of peacemaking to be shared and helped to build consensus among the parties. Mediation is usually a complex process requiring a high level of resources; by sharing this burden both the UN and OSCE may have been more effective than either alone. As Hampson (1996, 233) has observed, "Third parties need other third parties."

Conclusion

Although the peace accord of 1997 signaled the end of civil conflict in Tajikistan, Tajikistan's hard-won peace and stability remain at risk. Radical fringe Islamist groups continue to express discontent, a spate of political assassinations has occurred, confrontations between the president and former warlords is ongoing, tensions with neighboring Afghanistan and Uzbekistan remain, and the dominance of the president's own small elite continues to fuel corruption, inefficiency, and economic deterioration (International Crisis Group 2004). The potential for further civil conflict in Tajikistan remains unless three issues are addressed: politi-

cal reform, economic stagnation, and ethnonational tension.

Political reform is necessary if the tensions between President Rahmonov and the opposition party, the IRP, are to be reduced. Although Rahmonov has openly accused members of the IRP of promoting extremist views, he has himself succeeded in changing the constitution so that his presidency could be extended for two more seven-year terms. The IRP, the only Islamic party with government participation in Central Asia, contends that Rahmonov's government is taking the same hard-line, anti-Islamic posture that led to civil war in 1992.

The parliamentary elections held in February 2005 were criticized by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which said the elections fell short of the international standards for transparent and democratic elections (IRIN News Organization 2005). The OSCE said that prominent opposition leaders were barred from the polls, that four independent media outlets were closed before the elections, that a lack of information available to the public prevented voters from learning more about the candidates, that vote-counting procedures were suspect, and that voter turnout appeared to be unrealistically high, casting doubts over the reliability of the figures. Indeed, "[E]lections in Tajikistan remain simply a legitimizing ritual" (Marshall and Jagers 2004).

Tajikistan also faces several economic problems, including corruption, high unemployment, high external debt, and limited structural reforms. Members of the country's security and police forces are alleged to have connections with organized crime groups involved in the drug trade (Freedom House 2005). Rampant illicit trafficking of Afghan opium and heroin through Tajikistan has meant increased levels of narcotics addiction; combined with poverty, it is creating a growing problem with prostitution and HIV/AIDS.

Females are especially disadvantaged in Tajikistan. The civil war stimulated increased violence against women and left many women the

sole providers for their families. Discrimination against women in the workplace has increased because of high unemployment, and this has been accompanied by a contraction in girls' access to education. Poverty and the lack of free education has meant that almost one-fifth of Tajik children between the ages of five and fourteen must work to help support their families rather than attend school (see sidebar, "Civil War Affects Civil Education").

Although Tajikistan's economic and social problems are recognized by the government and civil society organizations, addressing them has been hampered by a lack of resources. Social and economic problems such as corruption, violent crime, and economic distortions threaten Tajikistan's stability and development. In turn, such problems allow more radical political forces to promote their own causes—and not necessarily through peaceful or democratic means.

The residual interregional tensions are a third area that must be addressed if a recurrence of the conflict is to be avoided. For example, the balance of power has shifted following the war in that the Kulobi elites have increased their control over national authorities and business enterprises. This shift can only exacerbate the sense of exclusion felt by those regions that do not enjoy the same levels of political and economic development. It has been suggested that the ongoing political and economic disparities among Tajikistan's regions will result in regional leaders' beginning to make devolutionary, or even secessionist, demands (Akiner and Barnes 2001).

It is also possible that Tajikistan's neighbors will use these internal regional tensions to once again justify intervention in Tajikistan's domestic affairs. For example, the Uzbekistan government may regard its own security as best achieved by installation of a client regime in Tajikistan. To this end, it may support moves by the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan to create an Islamic rebellion within Tajikistan through its associations with Islamic militants in that country.

Civil War Affects Civil Education

It is estimated that the civil war destroyed about 20 percent of Tajikistan's schools, while many more lack sanitary facilities or heat. Heavy damage was inflicted on universities in Dushanbe and Kurgan-Tyube and on vocational schools in Dushanbe, Kofirnigan, and Khatlon. By World Bank estimates, the total loss to the education sector (furniture, equipment, and textbooks) was more than US \$100 million.

But the effects of the civil war in Tajikistan have lingered long after the final shots were fired and will require more than simple reconstruction efforts. Half of Tajikistan's population is under eighteen years of age, two-thirds live in rural areas, and Tajikistan is no longer a place where children can get a free education. According to UNICEF, 18 percent of Tajik children between the ages of five and fourteen are forced to work to help support their families rather than attend and pay for school. Because of low pay, many teachers have sought other jobs. There are also severe shortages of textbooks and other school materials. With economic growth averaging 8 percent per annum over the past five years, however, poverty has been reduced, allowing the state to focus on social reform (Richter 1994; UNICEF 2005).

Despite these political, economic and social problems, it seems that there is still underlying consensus within Tajikistan that the trauma of the civil war should not be repeated, that peaceful development should be the only way forward. This consensus may not be enough by itself to ensure the stability of Tajikistan in the coming years, but it is at least a necessary first step.

John Wilson

Chronology

February 1990 Protests demanding the Communist regime implement economic and democratic reforms take place in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan.

- March 1990 Communist regime refuses permission for opposition parties to participate in elections.
- August 1991 Head of Tajik Communist Party (TCP) resigns following failed coup against Gorbachev and demonstrations in Dushanbe.
- September 9, 1991 Independence from the Soviet Union declared by Tajikistan; state of emergency declared and TCP banned.
- October 1991 State of emergency rescinded; TCP reinstated.
- November 1991 Presidential elections held; Soviet-era Nabiev elected head of new republic.
- March 1992 Opposition proreform parties lead public demonstrations in the capital, Dushanbe.
- April 1991 Antireform, progovernment forces form presidential guard units and are given 1,800 Kalashnikov automatic rifles.
- May 1992 Opposition forces occupy national television station and the presidential palace; armed clashes between the government and opposition forces on the streets of Dushanbe until May 10.
- May 1992 Government of National Reconciliation (GNR) is formed.
- June 1992 The Popular Front, a coalition of Soviet-era political elites and criminal elements, attacks opposition sympathizers in the south of Tajikistan.
- July 1992 Tajikistan signs a treaty of cooperation and assistance with Russia, enabling antigovernment forces to be cleared from Tajikistan by Russian forces.
- November 1992 The GNR resigns; Imomali Rahmonov nominated as chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Executive Committee; civic truce proclaimed.
- December 1992 Civic truce violated when the Popular Front—supported by the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division and the Uzbek air force—pushes opposition forces across the Panj River into Afghanistan.
- July 13, 1993 Russian border post attacked by opposition forces, resulting in the death of 24 guards, 200 villagers, and 60 attackers.
- November 1993 Russian diplomatic efforts begin; Tajik rebels resume fighting in Gorno-Badakhshan.
- April 1994–May 1995 Four rounds of UN-sponsored talks held between the two sides. Russia, Afghanistan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, and Uzbekistan serve as observers; OSCE and OIC are present.
- October 1994 Cease-fire agreement signed in Islamabad; UN establishes a mission of military observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT).
- November 1994 Rahmonov is elected president of Tajikistan, although opposition parties do not contest the election.
- June 1995 Armed conflict continues in southern Tajikistan and on the Afghan border.
- June 1996 Civil war escalates with Russian air attacks on opposition villages in south and central Tajikistan.
- August–November 1996 Heavy fighting in central Tajikistan; rebels advance toward Dushanbe, threaten to take control of eastern parts of the country.
- November 1996 Rahmonov signs new ceasefire agreement with opposition forces; National Reconciliation Council (NRC) is proposed to amend the constitution.
- April 1997 Rahmonov wounded in assassination attempt, but UTO denies involvement.
- June 27, 1997 Civil war officially ends with signing of General Agreement on Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan.

List of Acronyms

- CIS: Commonwealth of Independent States
 DPT: Democratic Party of Tajikistan
 GDP: gross domestic product
 GNR: Government of National Reconciliation
 IRP: Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan
 NRC: National Reconciliation Commission
 NGO: nongovernmental organization
 OSCE: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
 PFT: Popular Front of Tajikistan
 RPM: Rastokhez Popular Movement
 TCP: Tajik Communist Party
 UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
 UNMOT: United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan
 UTO: United Tajik Opposition

Glossary

- autocracy:** A form of government in which unlimited power is held by a single individual or a single party (one-party rule).
- glasnost:** A Russian word meaning “publicity” or “openness.” One of Mikhail Gorbachev’s policies introduced to the Soviet Union in 1985.

government forces: Ex–Communist Party members.

mahalgari: Loosely translated as “identity regionalism”; refers to groups whose main identity is based on blood and geographical origins and whose main loyalty is to the region.

mujahideen: Plural form of *mujahid*, from the Arabic for “struggler”; someone who engages in jihad, or struggle. Sometimes translated as “holy warrior” and more recently used to describe various armed fighters who subscribe to Islamist ideologies.

opposition; rebel forces; insurgents: A coalition of proreform and anticommunist political movements promoting national unity, democracy, or Islamic values.

perestroika: Russian for “restructuring”; refers to the economic transformation of the Soviet economy initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1987.

Polity IV: An indicator of democratic development in which a rating of 10 means full democracy and –10 full autocracy.

Shi’a Muslims: Muslims who believe that Ali ibn Abu Talib (who was the Islamic prophet Muhammad’s cousin) should have followed Muhammad as the direct successor and leader of the Muslims.

Sunni Muslims: The largest denomination of the Islam religion, Sunnis regard the first four caliphs as Rightly Guided Caliphs—caliphs who followed the tradition of the Prophet in terms of their lifestyles and styles of governance.

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Turkey

(1984–1999 and 2004–Present)

Introduction

Turkey's Kurdish insurrection and its primary agent, the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), arose from a confluence of three principal forces, one historical, one political, and one circumstantial. The historical force was Turkey's ancient Kurdish population, whose nationalist ambitions predate the Turkish state itself. Described in Western literature as early as 401 BC by Xenophon, the Kurdish peoples have inhabited the Anatolian steppes since time out of memory. Although the Kurds have never organized as a modern nation-state, nationalist ambitions grew steadily in popularity and fervency throughout the twentieth century. The political force was a burgeoning socialist movement, replete with radical revolutionary elements. Although socialism arose purposefully during Turkey's political liberalization of the 1950s, its early form and character were relatively benign. By 1970s (a time of great political and economic upheaval in Turkey), socialist organizations were diverse and widespread; and although their popular appeal was still slim, they had organized cultivated revolutionary cells and promulgated militant agendas. The PKK would be born from the union of Kurdish nationalism and radical socialism. The circumstantial force was Turkey's military, who in September 1980 instigated a bloodless coup and declared martial law throughout much of the country. The PKK might have been content

to pursue redress through Turkey's legitimate political institutions, or to remain only a minor security threat, had it not been for the actions of the Turkish Armed Forces. To regain order from a state of near anarchy, sweeping arrests of dissidents ensued; and the PKK, feeling itself persecuted and seeing no further hope of accommodation through the (suspended) political process, resorted to armed insurrection.

The following war persisted virtually unabated to the present. Although two unilateral cease-fires were called by the PKK (1993–1994 and 1999–2004), neither was respected by either party and served only to lower the conflict's intensity. The insurrection also experienced increasing frustration on both sides, which served to steadily escalate the war's brutality. For its part, the Turkish government was widely accused of detaining civilians without charges, torturing suspects, carrying out extrajudicial executions, displacing populations, and making no serious efforts to address the "Kurdish question." The PKK, on the other hand, eventually resorted to terrorist tactics against Turkish interests at home and abroad, carrying out ferocious bombings, kidnappings, and assassinations against Turkish nationals, foreign tourists, military personnel, and numerous Kurdish civilians whom it considered government collaborators—at times attacking entire villages for "collaboration." Concerns over Turkey's treatment of the Kurds

have complicated Turkey's admission to the European Union as well as its foreign relations and arms purchases. The PKK has earned Kurdish separatists an ignoble image, making it difficult for legitimate and peaceful Kurdish interest groups to gain sympathy. Not surprisingly, the PKK's tactics have caused it to be classified as a terrorist organization on both United States and European lists.

By 1999, more than 300,000 casualties had accumulated on both sides; deplorably, most were innocent civilians, and a significant number of whom (which will never be known) were neutral Kurds who discovered that neutrality and collaboration with one side or the other amounted to the same thing. More than 8,000 civilians were killed in PKK terrorist actions alone between 1984 and 1999. An unknown number were victims of mystery killings and disappearances attributed to Turkish police, intelligence, gendarmerie, and village guards acting on their own initiative. By 1999, the war's total cost exceeded an estimated US \$200 billion. The war's tremendous human cost was also evident in the more than 300,000 Kurds made refugees by a conflict that frequently saw entire villages destroyed.

By spring 2004, normalcy had finally returned; shady MIT (National Intelligence Organization) agents no longer eavesdropped in local venues; police checkpoints and random personal searches were all but forgotten; PKK guerrillas no longer extorted "taxes" from Kurdish families or impressed their sons and daughters into service; Kurdish shepherds tended their flocks in pastures long cleared of land mines. But in May of that same year, the PKK ended their five-year cease-fire; civil war was declared anew. The repercussions of this for Turkey, the Kurds, and the PKK itself remain to be seen.

Country Background

The 1970s was a period of widespread political, social, and economic upheaval, which would see the decade end with parliamentary breakdown,

conditions of near anarchy, and a military coup to restore order. The country's already stagnating economy was severely hurt by oil shortages after 1973; by 1977, inflation exceeded 50 percent by some estimates, and unemployment had reached a staggering 30 percent (Glazer 1996). Turkey's industrial development slowed as overseas markets closed with increasing energy costs—Turkey's balance of trade reaching US \$4 billion. The government's recovery efforts, which included energy conservation, import reductions, and two major devaluations of the Turkish lira, only reduced production further—and foreign investment was scant because of perceived government incompetence.

Amid this climate of rampant economic crises, radical political camps emerged on both ends of the spectrum, many of the more extreme parties forming strong-arm gangs. Politicized Islam led to sectarian violence (more than 100 Sunni and Alevi died in one day's violence in the town of Kahramanmaraş in 1978, many of the Alevi having been burned alive). By the late 1970s, political strife had become increasing violent and by mid-1980 was claiming more than twenty lives a day (Glazer 1996).

In September 1980, following its inability to elect a new president, Turkey's parliamentary government was overthrown by the armed forces in a bloodless coup. The subsequent military government extended martial law, already in force in Istanbul and the Kurdish provinces, throughout the country. Following the coup, agitators, party leaders, student activists, and suspected militants of all political persuasions were arrested. Trade unions and political parties were abolished. By some estimates, as many as 30,000 people were arrested in the weeks following the coup—10,000 were still being held two years later (Glazer 1996).

In this climate of crackdown, Abdullah Öcalan and his followers fled the country and made contact with Palestinian militants in Lebanon's Bekaa valley, where they formally established the PKK and its first permanent training camps—convinced that the military coup

Table 1: Casualties Resulting from PKK Terrorism and Insurgency 1984–1998

Year	Major terrorist attacks	Civilians killed in major attacks	Civilians wounded in major attack	Civilians killed in other actions	Turkish security forces killed†	Terrorists and insurgents killed‡	Public and private facilities destroyed	Public and private facilities damaged
1984	-	-	-	20	24	11	0	0
1985	-	-	-	82	67	100	1	3
1986	-	-	-	74	43	64	7	3
1987	4	37	3	237	62	107	13	13
1988	2	38	0	81	50	103	13	22
1989	1	24	0	136	153	165	44	44
1990	0	0	0	178	169	350	12	17
1991	1	11	18	170	264	356	26	46
1992	3	70	59	761	755	1055	185	160
1993	6	176	37	1218	671	1699	255	263
1994	1	5	13	1082	1093	4114	134	239
1995	4	48	9	1085	584	2292	36	25
1996	4	35	23	*1000	419	3501	14	65
1997	2	11	19	*800	*300	n/a	60	92
1998	4	16	123	*600	*200	n/a	8	25
Total	32	471	304	7524	4854	13917	808	1017

Sources: Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2003; Facts on International Relations and Security Trends 2005; Institute for Counter-Terrorism Data 2005.

Notes: * Precise data for these years is unavailable.

† Includes military, police, and village guards.

‡ Includes terrorists killed in suicide bombings.

left them no political avenue to their goals, their only choice being armed revolution.

PKK insurgents first penetrated Turkish borders in 1984, just as civilian control was being restored. Although the ensuing conflict was financially very costly, it did not significantly affect Turkey's economic progress. Turkey's 1985 GDP was US \$2.34 billion and had rocketed to US \$154 billion by the first PKK-declared ceasefire in 1993.

Conflict Background

Although Turkey itself has not fought an interstate war since its war of independence (1919–1920), it is a frequent (and enthusiastic) participant in UN and NATO operations and has nearly gone to war with Greece on several occasions. Turkey maintains a high readiness for

war, and its 514,000 men and women under arms represent the second-largest force contribution to NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) after the United States. The country's foreign policy, however, tends to be pragmatic and peace oriented. Turkey has consistently sought diplomatic solutions to achieving stability in its region of the world; a notable exception, however, is the Cyprus crisis.

In 1964, massacres of ethnic Turkish Cypriots by Greek Cypriots in favor of Cyprus's annexation by Greece were reported. Turkey threatened to intervene on behalf of the ethnic Turks in Cyprus but was warned in a letter from U.S. President Lyndon Johnson that should the Soviets oppose Turkey's intervention and enter the conflict against them, the United States would probably not come to their assistance. The so-called Johnson Letter provoked widespread resentment

of the United States in Turkish public opinion, which persisted throughout the 1960s.

Turkey finally did intervene in Cyprus in 1974 (following a Greek-sponsored coup attempt on the island), deploying more than 40,000 troops and 200 tanks to the island and securing ethnic Turkish settlements in the north within a week. The United States countered with a trade embargo that lasted until 1978, which further strained U.S.–Turkish relations and exacerbated Turkey’s struggling economy. As relations with the United States deteriorated, changes in Soviet policy gave Turkey the opportunity and incentive to improve relations with the Soviet Union.

In the end, the Cyprus intervention had little to do with the PKK’s formation that same year; politically, it represents an event that distanced Turkey from the West and brought it closer to the Eastern bloc (until the 1980 coup); however, this did little to enhance leftist sympathies in Turkey. The intervention had broad popular support, low casualties, and came to a quick, satisfying conclusion—consistent with Ankara’s military objectives. The war’s most significant repercussions were the economic constraints imposed by U.S. sanctions—a significant trade partner, and (more importantly) a source of foreign aid. However, considering the economic impact of the 1973 energy crisis and the political impact of a hamstrung parliament and widespread urban violence, the Cyprus incident’s economic effects must be viewed in context.

The Insurgents

Kurdish separatism is an intractable issue between Turks and Kurds and an issue shared by many of Turkey’s neighbors. The Kurds are distributed among a number of states: Turkey (14 million), Iran (6 million), Iraq (4–5 million), and Syria (fewer than 1 million), with smaller concentrations inhabiting Armenia and Azerbaijan. Although the Kurds are a linguistically and culturally distinct people inhabiting a largely contiguous area of land, their political aspirations

are complex. The rural Kurds—who comprise the population’s majority—are organized around hierarchical clans who control their lands in a characteristically feudal arrangement. Disputes between these clans are common and frequently take on the character of bloody feuds. So, although the Kurds are ethnically homogeneous (the source of their nationalism), they are socially heterogeneous, with clan loyalty often overriding loyalty to any greater Kurdish nation (Cornell 2001). This has led others to accurately characterize Kurdish nationalism as akin to Arab nationalism in the early twentieth century; that is, however appealing the idea of a common national identity, the social reality makes its practical realization impossible. To further complicate matters, the PKK, the militant–political voice of Kurdish nationalism, espouses a Marxist-Leninist ideology that understandably disdains both Turkish hegemony in “Kurdistan” and the Kurd’s own feudalistic social arrangement. Naturally, many Kurdish tribal leaders oppose the PKK’s political ideology and are thus reluctant to support it.

The PKK itself is the militant incarnation of the political ideals of one man: Abdullah Öcalan, the PKK’s charismatic founder and chief official. Öcalan was born in the Kurdish province of Sanliurfa in 1949. After failing the entrance exam for Turkey’s revered national military academy, he was accepted into Ankara University and studied political science. Öcalan was attracted to leftist political ideologies early in his university studies and became involved in the Marxist-Leninist and Maoist debate club the Revolutionary Youth Federation (Dev-Genc). These university debate clubs spawned many formal revolutionary organizations; one of these was the TPLA (Turkish People’s Liberation Army), which intended to stage an armed socialist revolution in Turkey’s impoverished Kurdish territories and which Öcalan later joined. The TPLA, however, did not see Kurdish liberation as separate from the country as a whole (viewing the southeastern territories as merely a logical starting point because of perceived social and economic repression in that region and favor-

Table 2: Civil War in Turkey

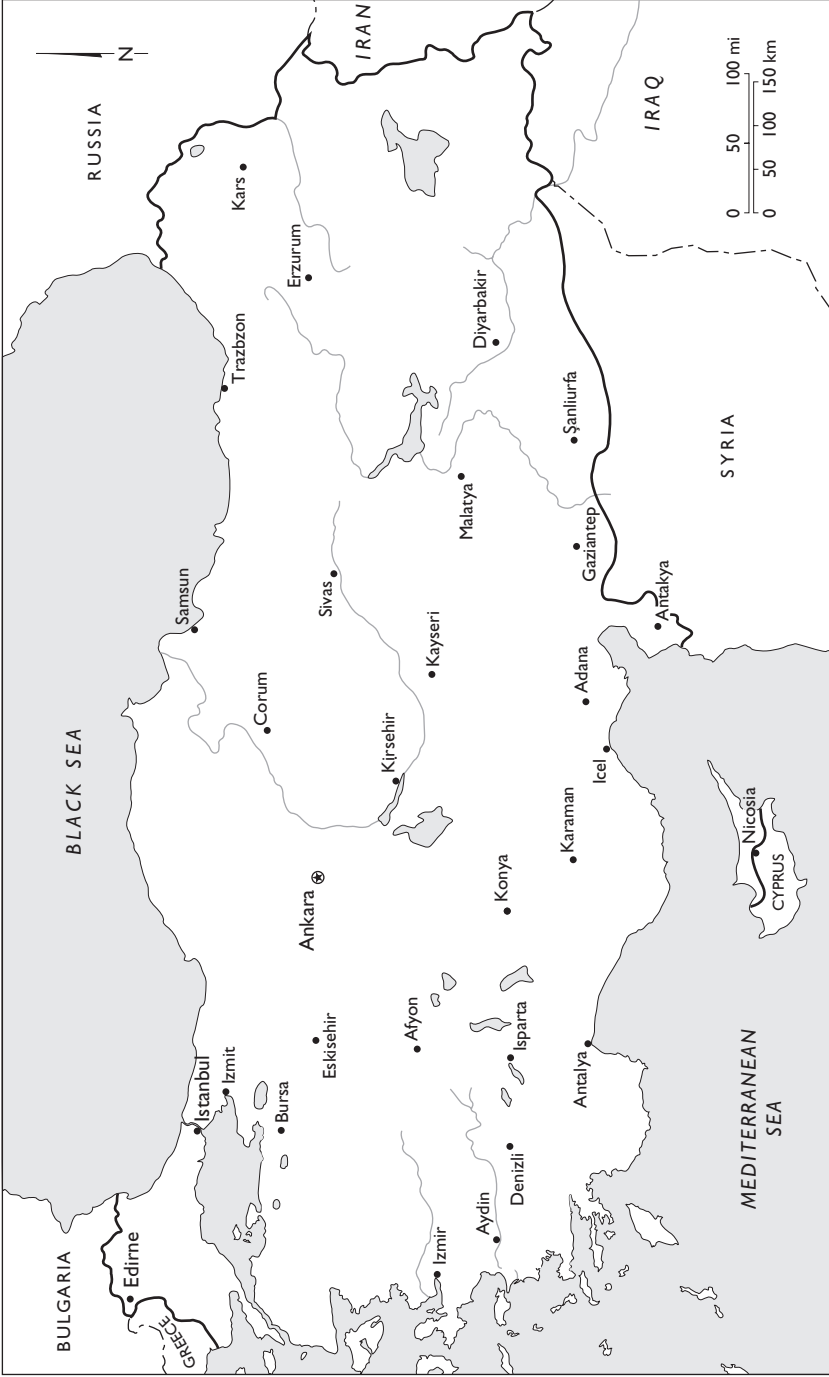
War:	PKK vs. government
Dates:	August 1984–September 1999 and May 2004–present
Casualties:	316,000
Regime type prior to war:	7 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	7 (2003 data; ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$61.5 billion
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	Not applicable
Insurgents:	PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party)
Issue:	National liberation for ethnic Kurdish peoples in southeastern Anatolia
Rebel funding:	Organized crime, private sponsorship, occasional foreign aid.
Role of geography:	Mountainous Anatolian Plateau used for escape, headquarters, and training camps.
Role of resources:	Turkey's Kurdish territories have significant freshwater resources, including hydrological developments by the Turkish government.
Immediate outcome:	Turkish security forces quickly gained control, putting the PKK on the defensive.
Outcome after 5 years:	PKK expands its terrorist activities, begins soliciting aid from socialist states.
Role of UN:	None
Role of regional organization:	EU pressure on Turkey mitigated human rights abuses by security forces.
Refugees:	353,000; 26 percent repatriated since 1999 cease-fire.
Prospects for peace:	Unclear

Sources: CIA 2005; CSIS 2003.

able geography for armed insurrection). Öcalan, himself a Kurd and concerned more with Kurdish separatism itself, left the TPLA with a group of disciples, who called themselves the Apocu (Followers of “Apo,” Abdullah Öcalan), and a preliminary plan for their own socialist–Kurdish revolution.

In 1974, Abdullah Öcalan, along with his brother Kesire Yildirim Öcalan and supporters Haki Karaer, Cemil Bayık, and Kemal Pir, founded the Kurdistan Workers Party as a Marxist-Leninist political party committed to establishing a socialist Kurdish state from the Kurdish portions of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria. Öcalan considered Turkey's Kurdish lands in the southeast to be Kurdistan's largest province and decided to focus his group's initial efforts there. Although they built up the membership, arms, and funding needed for a full-scale revolution, the PKK chose three Kurdish cities for its first wave of agitation: Diyarbakir, Şanlıurfa, and Gaziantep (see map).

Diyarbakir had historical significance as the center of Kurdish revolts going back centuries. Şanlıurfa had an entrenched feudal social structure, and its impoverished population had frequent conflicts with the government. Gaziantep was heavily industrialized and had a poor working class who, the PKK believed, would readily rally to their socialist cause (the PKK also established its first underground headquarters there at this time). In May 1977, the group came into conflict with another Kurdish socialist group, Sterka Sor (Red Star), which culminated in Karaer's assassination. This event marked a change in the PKK's composition and tactics. Following the attack, Abdullah Öcalan's brother, Kesire Yildirim, left the organization, and Öcalan organized counterassassinations of the Sterka Sor's members—effectively destroying the organization. Although the PKK strove to expand its membership and suppress its rivals, it also began trafficking illicit narcotics as a source of funding; Turkey itself, and the Kurdish territories



in particular, formed the principal clandestine drug route between Iran, Afghanistan, and European markets.

In November 1978, the Kurdistan Workers Party was officially formed. The PKK was organized around a president (Abdullah Öcalan) advised by a council of the presidency. A central committee forms the main decision-making body at the party level; individual provincial committees inform local committees, who organize individual cells. (The PKK's original structure remains relatively unchanged to this day, although since Öcalan's capture in 1999, there is no longer an office of the presidency; instead, the party is led by the council of the presidency.)

Because of their increasingly violent Communist agitation and criminal activities, several PKK members were arrested, and in 1979 Öcalan fled to Syria and thence to Lebanon. In Lebanon, Öcalan contacted Palestinian guerrillas and arranged for PKK militants to use their training facilities in Lebanon's Bekaa valley. Following the PKK's Second Party Congress, held in August of 1982, it was agreed that Palestinian-trained PKK guerrillas would begin infiltrating Turkey by late 1984 to initiate an armed uprising among Kurdish peasants.

Geography

Geography both helped and hindered PKK operations. The close proximity of ambivalent states allowed the PKK to withdraw to safety when pursued. Semipermanent mustering and supply bases were established in northern Iraq; and training camps, sometimes far abroad, allowed PKK militants to train in relative security—and in a socially isolated environment that facilitated ideological indoctrination. The disinterest of Turkey's southern neighbors and the simple remoteness of their Turkish borders meant that PKK rebels there were seldom confronted. The northern no-fly zone in Iraq (established at Turkey's behest to minimize Kurdish refugees during Operation Desert Storm in 1991) ensured that Iraq's government could not prosecute the PKK even if they had wanted to.

Although Turkey's military has from time to time crossed the Iraqi border to attack PKK bases or pursue militants, this tends to evoke chastisement from the international community. (Turkey's perennial ambitions for European Union admittance have tended to moderate its tactics in accord with what EU member states will tolerate.)

Most of the region called Northern Kurdistan is straddled by the craggy Taurus mountains, abutted by the Anatolian Plateau's semiarid steppes. The Tauruses dip into Northern Iraq and provide a natural border between the two countries. Vegetation is sparse and shrubby and provides little cover (although the PKK use what foliage exists to maximum effect when setting ambushes). The region experiences harsh winters, which, combined with absent vegetation, tend to reduce (but not arrest) the PKK's countryside guerrilla activity during the colder months. The Taurus mountains' high peaks and narrow passes help conceal PKK movements, and its guerrillas have constructed a complex system of independent caves for concealing themselves and caching supplies.

The same mountainous lands that give refuge to PKK guerrillas tend to hinder the very idea of Kurdish nationalism itself. The Taurus mountains have isolated the Kurds not unlike the Alps isolate the varied peoples of Switzerland. Rural Kurdish communities are remote from one another; their limited interaction over the centuries has fostered cultural idiosyncrasies and linguistic dialects among individual Kurdish enclaves. Many rural Kurds are still organized in feudalistic clans in which family loyalty is to the clan in general and the clan chieftain in particular, and to whom the idea of a Kurdish nation is remote to the point of meaninglessness. Some of these groups share centuries-old animosities that blind them to any idealistic notion of fraternity.

Tactics

PKK tactics, and those used by Turkey to confront them, have understandably evolved over

the conflict's twenty-year history. Tactical changes and responses followed a typical pattern of measure and countermeasure. As the war's tactical evolution is best understood in the context of its various political and strategic developments, these too are discussed.

On the basis of tactical adaptation alone, the war can be divided into four phases according to the tactics employed and the strategic situation. The first phase (1984–1989) was characterized by relatively low-intensity fighting. The PKK was still a small organization with few militants and little support. The Turkish government did not take their threat seriously and opted for a defensive strategy that protected rural villages but failed to steal the PKK's initiative. The second phase (1989–1991) was characterized by a mature PKK—its membership enlarged, its arsenal cached, its training and tactics improved. Frequency and success of PKK attacks increased dramatically, and in response the government hurriedly developed an offense-oriented counterinsurgency program. Much of the countryside was under PKK influence (if not control), and attacks on major cities began. The third phase (1991–1996) was characterized by a maturing counterinsurgency program. Casualties during this phase were highest as the entrenched PKK was driven from its strongholds and the government slowly retook control. The PKK was forced to abandon its semipermanent bases in Turkey early on but operated effectively from foreign bases and roamed freely and fiercely at night. The Turkish military's first cross-border attacks took place, as did the first use of suicide bombings by the PKK. The fourth and final phase (1996–1999) was characterized by containment, with government control restored. Most of the heaviest fighting occurred in northern Iraq, where the PKK still operated and trained recruits at remote bases. Finally, a ceasefire was called in 1999, with Abdullah Öcalan's arrest.

The first phase began in August 1984, when two groups of PKK guerrillas, under the command of Mazlum (Mahsun) Korkmaz, infil-

trated Turkish territory from Syria. Their mission was threefold: first, to reconnoiter the Anatolian Plateau and Turkish security forces, attacking the latter as opportunity afforded; second, to form revolutionary committees and establish cells among the population; and third, to disseminate PKK propaganda. This initial PKK thrust would fail to achieve any of its objectives and would be forced to retreat to northern Iraq—pursued by Turkish border security.

In analyzing their failure, the PKK concluded that, as most of the guerrillas were university students, they did not understand local peoples, customs, or dialects; they were insufficiently trained and equipped to live in the rough Anatolian countryside; they had little information about the land or climate; they were insufficiently armed to fight the Turkish army; and they had inadequate logistics.

Following its defeats, the PKK held its third-party conference in August 1984 to reevaluate its strategy, tactics, and organization. It was decided that PKK military and political activities would be handled by two separate and specialized groups. PKK's armed component was designated the ARGK (Arteshen Rizgariya Gelli Kurdistan—the Kurdistan National Liberation Army). The ARGK adopted a formal military structure and chain of command: Its basic element, the group, consisted of seven to eleven soldiers; three groups formed a unit, and three units formed a platoon; three platoons formed a battalion, three battalions a brigade, and three brigades a regiment. By this time, the PKK had at least one complete regiment under arms (comprising between 1,700 and 2,800 militants), and thousands more sympathizers. The PKK's political component was designated ERNK (Eniya Rizgariya Netewa Kurdistan—Kurdistan People's Liberty Front). ERNK was tasked with some of the ARGK's support, such as recruitment and logistics, but focused on garnering finances and arousing public support for the organization, thus providing ARGK with intelligence, supplies, and refuge when in country. Once a support base was established in the

countryside, ERNK would move into the cities to organize more robust regional supply chains.

The PKK's third Congress also addressed funding issues, and a "tax law" was drafted that allowed militants to extort money from Kurds to support their campaign—the taxes levied as "protection" money from wealthy Kurds. This would remain a source of funding throughout the organization's history, although it tended to hinge on PKK control of the cities and access to their inhabitants. Extortion efforts were later expanded to Kurdish businesspeople in Europe, many of whose murders abroad are believed to be the result of PKK extortion efforts. In addition to narcotics and extortion, the PKK also ran legitimate business and ostensible charities (particularly in Europe) devoted to Kurdish humanitarian relief.

Meanwhile, Turkish tactics were also evolving to deal with the embryonic revolution. Following initial PKK attacks in 1984, the Turkish prime minister, Turgut Özal, and his Motherland Party formed an institution of temporary "village guards." Select Kurds in particularly

violent territories were trained as paramilitaries to protect the lives and property of their fellow villagers. The village guard system was a turning point in the government's fight against the PKK—although it also occasioned the first in a bloody series of conflict escalations. The village guards were intended to fight the PKK while building up government support among the Kurds, and there was even an expectation that the village guards would moderate the PKK's ambitions, as they would be faced with fighting fellow Kurds and, seeing that the government had Kurdish support, more willing to renounce violence. The PKK, however, showed no compunction in attacking the village guards themselves—and, as a retributive measure, retaliated against the guardsmen's families as well. (Through the PKK's deterrent policy of deliberately attacking civilian collaborators, its reputation as a terrorist organization began to grow.) By 1987, PKK forces were attacking entire villages for "collaborating" with the enemy.

The village guard strategy was defensive in nature, however. It sought only to protect lives and property, and to inhibit PKK recruitment activities in the villages themselves. That the Turkish government did not take any concerted military action against the PKK throughout the 1980s emphasizes the Özal administration's belief that the PKK were little more than brigands and were not a threat to the Turkish state. Indeed, unrest in the Kurdish provinces was attributed to economic and social underdevelopment. Moreover the Turkish Land Forces (TLF) themselves were trained, organized, positioned, and equipped to fight a conventional war (which was expected to be defensive in nature), anchoring NATO's right flank. The anticipated battlefield was not the Anatolian plateau but Turkey's northern borders with (Soviet) Armenia and Azerbaijan or its western border with Greece; force distribution and organization reflected this.

In response to escalating PKK violence, the government adopted a second defense-oriented

Table 3:
Kurdish Peoples Living Abroad

Country	Kurdish Population
Germany	500,000–600,000
France	100,000–120,000
Israel	100,000–120,000
Lebanon	80,000–85,000
The Netherlands	70,000–80,000
Switzerland	60,000–70,000
Belgium	50,000–60,000
Austria	50,000–60,000
Sweden	25,000–30,000
United Kingdom	20,000–25,000
Greece	20,000–25,000
United States	15,000–20,000
Denmark	8,000–10,000
Canada	6,000–7,000
Norway	4,000–5,000
Italy	3,000–4,000
Finland	2,000–3,000

Source: CIA 2005.

policy. Echoing strategies used by the United States in Vietnam to drain the Viet Cong's support base, entire Kurdish villages were forcibly relocated. These "evacuations" were intended to move endangered populations to better-controlled areas of the country. Initially, evacuated rural villages were moved to the major cities, but this radical change in environment often left pastoral Kurds bewildered and resentful. The first forced refugees tended to be poorly supported, and many became vagrants. International outcry and governmental attempts to minimize Kurdish malcontent resulted in compensation funds for deported people, state-managed refugee camps, and, later, state-built temporary housing. In all, more than 850 Kurdish hamlets and villages were forcibly evacuated and subsequently burned to deny their property to the PKK. However, the Turkish government stands accused in some cases of burning villages as a punitive measure in areas of PKK sympathy.

Although the village guard strategy did succeed at frustrating PKK operations in villages, it put little pressure on the organization itself. The PKK used this period to accumulate arms, train recruits, and gather foreign support and funding. Developing a specialization in ambush tactics, their preferred targets became soldiers on border patrol and TLF convoys on Turkey's southern highways. Border patrol garrisons themselves also made attractive targets because their small complement and remote locations made them easy to overwhelm.

By the early 1990s (beginning the war's second phase), the TLF was developing a respectable capability in counterinsurgency warfare. Having studied American tactics in Vietnam, the military concluded that U.S. failures resulted from the faulty strategy of killing insurgents faster than they could be replaced, rather than controlling territory. Instead of emulating Vietnam-style search-and-destroy missions, Turkey opted to station large numbers of soldiers in the countryside and develop a visible presence in Kurdish villages. One American tactic in which Turkey took particular interest was the use of helicopters

as air cavalry. Improved battlefield mobility being emphasized, fleets of helicopters rapidly transported soldiers to any area where PKK contact was made. Thus, the Turkish army could concentrate its forces in overwhelming numbers where and when needed, choosing the optimum times for their attacks. Like the United States, Turkey appreciated the value of helicopter gunships to support these operations. During this phase of the conflict, Turkey struggled to expand and modernize its attack helicopter force of American-supplied AH-1 Cobra and AH-64 Apache gunships, though acquisition efforts were frustrated by effective pro-Kurdish lobbying in the U.S. Congress.

By 1996, operations against the PKK had moved out of the villages and into the surrounding hills and mountains. Direct military operations against PKK guerrillas became more common. The military's maturing night-fighting capability prevented PKK guerrillas and cadres from infiltrating villages; therefore, police forces and village guards became less involved in anti-PKK operations, and reports of civilian mistreatment decreased. By some assessments, village life returned to normal. Because large-scale military operations were now conducted away from populated areas, civilian casualties were minimized.

Turkish tactics during this fourth period emphasized open-country warfare and tended to favor combined arms operations, including commandos and infantry transported by helicopter (usually the UH-1 Iroquois or the UH-60 Black Hawk) or by armored personnel carriers (APCs) supported by attack helicopters. The multirole F-16s of the Turkish air force provided aerial bombardment and close air support. As Turkish air attacks increased, the PKK also began using FIM-92 Stinger missiles of German origin. The Stingers' battlefield effect was negligible, however, as they were seldom seen in fighting or captured in caches and were probably in very short supply.

This same year saw a dramatic change in PKK tactics that many interpreted as a sign of desper-

ation: suicide bombings. Between 1996 and 1999, PKK terrorists carried out sixteen successful suicide attacks, killing twenty people. Targets varied from tourists to police headquarters to government and military facilities. Female suicide bombers were used for the first attacks—with explosives strapped to their bellies as if pregnant.

Meanwhile, by the mid-1990s Turkey had more than 70,000 village guards under arms, who served in a high-risk capacity but were paid an attractive salary (Ismet 1995). They were typically lightly armed with Russian or Turkish-made automatic rifles. Participation in the village guards was ostensibly voluntary, although recruiters often considered refusal to join as a sign of PKK sympathy or collaboration. Widespread allegations of corrupt village guards also began emerging. Some village guards being found guilty of consorting with the PKK, participating in their extortion and tax collecting activities, and even fighting alongside them. Other village guards being accused of extrajudicial violence against Kurdish villagers they believed to be PKK conspirators, which included unsupervised searches, interrogations, and occasional extrajudicial executions. It must be appreciated that, among widespread reports of civilian deaths and disappearances, it was often unclear which side was responsible.

In response to growing complaints of mistreatment, by 1994 the Turkish military issued its “Guide to Principles of Behaviors.” Distributed specifically to soldiers in Turkey’s southeast, the guide encouraged soldiers and officers to familiarize themselves with and respect local peoples and customs; among other things, the guide laid down strict guidelines for searches and interrogations, specifically prohibiting village guards from performing such activities unsupervised. Acknowledging that abuses were inevitable in a conflict of this kind, the Turkish government also established a fund to compensate civilians for any damage to property resulting from searches or collateral damage, later extended to compensate civilians whose property had been damaged

or destroyed by the PKK. Critics argue, however, that these guidelines were not consistently applied or enforced and compensation funds insufficient. Although breaching the 1994 principles was considered a violation of military discipline and law—risking dishonorable discharge, up to five years of hard labor, and forfeiture of future public office—the conviction rate equaled only about 3 percent of cases filed (U.S. Department of State 1997).

In 1996, the Turkish military and police began special training in human rights for new recruits and officers and enlisted personnel in the field. The Turkish military also adopted a policy of “appropriate force,” whereby greater attention was paid to the size and composition of an enemy body and the proportional force of arms required to destroy it. As a result, collateral damage reportedly declined. To improve its army’s image among Kurds, Turkey also began tasking its soldiers with “goodwill” missions, using the military construction corps to make visible infrastructural improvements in the Kurdish territories. In this way, Ankara intended to confront much of the region’s underdevelopment (which many still believed was behind the rebellion) while putting a government face on these improvements to win the Kurdish people’s hearts and minds.

Casualties on both sides of the fighting peaked in 1996 but declined as the PKK’s popular support diminished and government forces took control of the countryside; at this point, the conflict entered its fourth phase. The PKK suffered a severe blow when Syria finally bowed to Turkish pressure and agreed to evict the PKK from its territory. Northern Iraq was considered too dangerous for the PKK leadership, so Abdullah Öcalan and his council went into hiding. Öcalan applied for political asylum across Europe but was consistently denied. His eventual capture by a joint Turkish, American, and Israeli effort forced the war’s second cease-fire in 1999. Öcalan’s highly central role in the PKK prevented the organization from functioning without him for some time.

Causes of the War

Turkey's Kurdish insurrection had no single cause, although historical circumstances played a key role. First was the ideological notion of Kurdish nationalism: that Kurds, being a linguistically and culturally distinct people, ought to be afforded self-government. These ideas were not new and followed the wave of nationalist movements that swept across Europe in the late nineteenth century, breaking upon Levantine shores by the World War I to inspire the Arab revolt. The Turkish state itself was originally conceived and fought for under nationalism's banner, with the Kurds embraced under the label "Mountain Turks." Among Kurds, nationalist sentiment was most pronounced among educated Kurds living in cities. Rural Kurds (who represent the population's majority) in their close-knit feudalistic clans found nationalism's claim of a monolithic Kurdish identity much less convincing, and clan leaders found such ideas threatening to their positions. So, although the Kurds are ethnically homogeneous (the source of their nationalism), they are socially heterogeneous, with clan loyalty often overriding loyalty to any greater Kurdish nation (Cornell 2001). Nevertheless, Kurdish nationalism's advocates have persisted throughout Turkey's history. Turkish politics has always had an undercurrent of Kurdish nationalism, though the nationalists themselves are divided over whether autonomy (greater self-government within the Turkish state) or separatism (seceding from the Turkish state altogether) is the appropriate solution.

The second ideological issue was the influence of leftist political ideology. Turkey's first military coup d'état (in 1960) was primarily a reaction to what the military perceived to be growing authoritarianism in the government. (When Turkey's democratically elected government tried to extend its influence to the military itself by interfering with promotions and appointments, the military's reaction was, in a sense, one of self-defense). Following the coup, the military junta drafted a new liberal constitution (Turkey's Second Republic) that allowed or-

ganizations on the extreme left (previously excluded) to form legal political parties. Although the Second Republic constitution did help expand the influence of radical ideologies, it should be remarked that leftist organizations have always been an extremely marginal element of Turkish politics. For example, in the 1980 elections, just prior to the September coup, only four of Turkey's seven Marxist-oriented parties managed to gather 1 percent of the national vote (Tartter 1996).

Turkey's economic problems throughout the 1970s made leftist economic theories and political ideologies more attractive to many Turks, particularly university students. Several student movements with Marxist, Leninist, or Maoist ideologies took part in revolutionary activities to bring about a socialist Turkish state. Among these organizations, one in particular, the Turkish People's Liberation Army (TPLA), was intent on starting a revolution in Turkey's southeast—the most underdeveloped part of the country—convinced that, if they were successful, other socialist states, particularly the Soviet Union, would come to their aid. Abdullah Öcalan was originally a member of the TPLA, but because they did not see Kurdish separatism as a distinct objective, Öcalan and many followers splintered from the group and formed their own organization combining Marxist-Leninist ideology with Kurdish nationalism.

This is where historical circumstances intervene. Öcalan might have been more willing to pursue his goals politically in the Turkish parliament had the entire country not had such little faith in it, or if the military had not intervened when it did and abolished political parties. Anatolia's southeast was attractive from a Marxist perspective because of its underdeveloped feudal countryside and industrializing cities with large burgeoning (and perceivably exploited) working class. Leninist ideology made Kurdish separatism all the more convincing and imperative, for it saw the Kurds as an exploited nation, imperially subjugated by the Turkish state. What was generally perceived as

an ineffective government when Öcalan's following was formed came to be perceived as an oppressive, authoritarian, military, government by the time the PKK began guerrilla operations in earnest in 1984.

Outcome

Following Abdullah Öcalan's capture and the subsequent 1999 PKK cease-fire, many observers believed the conflict was over, at least in terms of its previous scale and intensity, but Turkey's bloody conflict with the PKK is still going on. Violence diminished during two unilateral cease-fires called by the PKK. The first (1993–1994) was intended to boost dwindling PKK moral in late 1992 following the increasing success of village guards and Turkey's military. The second PKK cease-fire was called by Öcalan after his capture by Turkish security forces in Kenya. During that cease-fire, the longest and most successful yet, the PKK changed its name to KADEK (Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress) at its 2002 party conference and proclaimed a commitment to nonviolence in support of Kurdish rights—particularly to pursue its goals legitimately through Turkey's parliament. However, the KADEK surrendered neither their arms nor any of their members to Turkish justice; they retained their foreign bases and the ability to resume formal hostilities at any time. Although the KADEK claimed these conditions were necessary for purposes of self-defense, many saw this as an indication that the group was not fully committed to a peaceful, democratic solution. Moreover, during the cease-fire's intervening years, terrorist attacks continued sporadically in Turkish cities. Although KADEK never formally acknowledged complicity in any of them, their organization was linked to several (according to Turkish security). The KADEK changed its name to Kongra-Gel (KGK) in 2003 in an attempt to disassociate itself with alleged violence committed under the KADEK label, although Kongra-Gel has been linked to at least one terrorist attack since then.

Conflict Status

Charging that Ankara's concessions were symbolic and that meaningful change was not happening swiftly enough, in 2004 Kongra-Gel changed its name back to PKK and resumed guerrilla operations against Turkish security forces from its bases and training camps in northern Iraq, which had never been dismantled. Turkey's military implored the United States and the Iraqi government to put pressure on the PKK's Iraqi operations, but although the United States in particular concurred that the PKK needed to be dealt with, it did nothing, as its forces were occupied with suppressing Iraq's own insurgency. Finally, with tacit approval from the United States, Turkey quietly resumed its cross-border attacks against PKK bases in March 2005. The PKK presently has an estimated 4,000 to 5,000 militants, of which 500 are believed to be in Turkey, 500 in Iran and 4,000 in northern Iraq (U.S. Department of State 2005). The organization was expelled from Syria under a joint Turkish–Syrian agreement in October 1998 and still has thousands of sympathizers in Turkey and Europe.

Duration Tactics

Why has Turkey's Kurdish insurrection persisted (at various levels of intensity) for nineteen years? The first reason is the war's evolutionary nature; the conflict did not erupt spontaneously but escalated very gradually. This was partly because of the PKK's own beleaguered development. Although its goals and purposes seemed clear at the outset, putting these ideas into action was another matter. The PKK's Kurdish worker's revolution was confronted with a couple of false starts and constantly reevaluated and adjusted its tactics. The Turkish government was slow to react to the PKK threat and, by underestimating the PKK's early popularity and tenacity, was complacent in mounting a concerted opposition, thus giving the PKK's forces time to perfect its tactics while expanding its organization and sphere of influence.



Guerrilla fighters of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) listen to instructions from their team commander in a camp near Arbil in northern Iraq on August 11, 2005. The Kurdish conflict in Turkey has claimed some thirty-seven thousand lives since 1984, when the PKK took up arms for Kurdish self-rule in southeastern Turkey. (Mustafa Ozer/AFP/Getty Images)

Even after the Turkish government seized the initiative, its prosecution of the PKK was impeded by the ease with which Kurdish fighters could melt away across Turkey's borders. Thus, the war degenerated into a stalemate in which, although the military tended to have control of the villages and much of the countryside, insurgents were still free to launch attacks from positions of relative safety and increase their reliance on terrorist tactics.

Throughout this, the PKK endeavored to improve its funding situation, finding a lucrative source in the smuggling of illicit narcotics (particularly opiates and hashish) into Europe. The PKK was organizationally well-suited to this task. Its operations were clandestine to begin with, and it was organized into isolated cells that could conceivably carry out any mission while benefiting from compartmentalized security. PKK mili-

tants roamed over a territory where drug smuggling was already pervasive, said territory being a major corridor for opium smuggled from Iran and Iraq to Europe. The PKK's logistical network, once established, could move narcotics as speedily and surreptitiously as it did arms and supplies. Clandestine cells in the cities often were devoted to drug processing, and their refined product was transported to İstanbul or other port cities and thence to Cyprus, a narcotics nexus for drugs entering Europe. No precise data exist on any of the PKK's illegal fund-raising activities, though the drug trade is believed to be its primary and most lucrative source of funding—one from which it continues to profit.

External Military Intervention

Although no foreign arms have intervened on the PKK's behalf (the cause of Kurdish sepa-

ratism being no more popular in Syria, Iraq, and Iran than it is in Turkey), all three countries have disputes with Turkey on issues ranging from territorial claims to water rights to oil exploration. These three states have tended to pressure the Turkish government by contributing funds or arms to the PKK and by ignoring PKK bases in their respective territories.

Turkey's hydrological projects in southeast Anatolia are a particular bone of contention. Dams along the Euphrates River restrict Syria's and Iraq's freshwater supply, thus frustrating their own efforts to expand agriculture along the Euphrates. Syria in particular has a history of enthusiastically supporting anti-Turkish forces from Armenian terrorists to Kurdish guerrillas; and this support seems to be linked to progress or regress in Syria's ongoing water negotiations with Turkey.

Iran and Turkey share a pronounced ideological animosity. Turkey is a progressive, Western-oriented, secular Islamic republic; Iran is an Eastern-oriented Islamic theocracy—and each country strongly associates its politics with its national character. Although Iran ignored the PKK throughout much of the 1980s (finding their atheistic Marxist-Leninist orientation understandably unsavory), by the early 1990s the PKK was reforming its image. By that time, the PKK had begun to realize that far too many Kurds also found the PKK's atheistic ideology untenable, and thus the organization began to downplay the atheistic teachings of Marx and to pepper their propaganda with Islamist rhetoric. Their new goal of an Islamic Kurdish state was greeted by Tehran, and training facilities were constructed just across the Iranian border.

Overall, the tacit support the PKK received from Turkey's neighbors certainly extended the war. Although Turkey's military typically managed to secure the Turkish countryside, the guerrillas were always able to withdraw across borders into accommodating states. By the early 1990s, the PKK had no permanent or even semipermanent bases in Turkey itself; nearly all guerrilla operations were organized and staged from abroad.

The complacency and complicity of Turkey's neighbors certainly extended the war by a decade—one that witnessed the war's bloodiest actions on both sides, as well as its greatest humanitarian cost to so many neutral Kurds, to whom the war had brought nothing but persecution, misery, and death.

Conflict Management Efforts

Conflict management efforts on the part of other governments, NGOs, or the UN have been minimal. Turkey has insisted throughout the conflict that the PKK is an internal security concern; unwilling to lend legitimacy to the PKK's activities, Turkey has repeatedly downplayed the conflict's guerrilla aspects, has emphasized the PKK as a terrorist organization, and has stated emphatically that government was winning the fight. Turkey has never participated in any cease-fire with the PKK or any form of negotiation and would regard any third party's intervention as legitimizing what the Turkish foreign ministry continues to call "the world's most notorious terrorist organization" (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2003).

For its part, the PKK rejects the terrorist label, insisting that it does not attack civilians and that it conducts its war in strict accordance with the four Geneva Conventions (Öcalan 1995)—although the PKK's definition of *civilian* tends to be narrower than the Geneva Conventions permit, as it excludes elected and appointed (unarmed) representatives of the state in Kurdish provinces, and its attacks are consistently carried out with reckless disregard for civilian casualties.

However, foreign states (particularly the United States, Turkey's principal arms provider) and the EU have certainly influenced the conflict. Kurdish and human rights lobbies in the United States consistently seek to block sales and transfers to Turkey of arms that might be used in the Kurdish conflict. The EU has voiced particular concern over allegations of human rights abuses by Turkish security forces, and at Turkey's incursions into northern Iraq, which are considered violations of international law

and the 1991 imposed northern no-fly zone. These objections certainly have positively affected the war's humanitarian aspects, for international pressure has resulted in better human rights training and an overall reduction in abuses. This likely served to improve the government's image in Kurdish eyes and frustrated PKK recruitment and propaganda efforts. However, the international condemnation evoked by Turkey's cross-border attacks has tended to restrain their frequency, duration, and intensity—which has likely served only to aid the PKK and prolong the war.

Conclusion

To consider the future of Turkey's violent struggle with the PKK is to consider two separate outcomes: the military consequences of the war itself and the future of Turkey's Kurdish peoples. The Middle East's Kurds are among its most ancient populations (described by Herodotus and Xenophon in the fifth century BC), but they have never in recorded history had a country of their own. For more than 2,500 years, they have lived as citizens of one mighty empire or another: the Persian, the Seleucid, the Persian (again), and finally the Ottoman.

After World War I, President Woodrow Wilson listed among his Fourteen Points the self-determination of all nations (including the Kurds), but British and French interests in territory and oil left the Kurds divided between the European postwar mandates. The Kurds fought alongside and supported Atatürk in Turkey's war of independence (1919–1920), not wishing their lands to come under Armenian or Russian control. However, they quickly fell victim to Turkey's assimilationist programs, which sought a singular and cohesive Westernized culture. For brief periods, speaking Kurdish and wearing Kurdish dress were imprisonable offenses in Turkey. Kurdish nationalists were active in Turkish politics from the republic's founding but divided when it came to appropriate goals. When leftist theories of armed revolution overlapped

the plight of Turkey's impoverished Kurds, all it took was a visionary, charismatic, and ruthless leader to cement them with Kurdish nationalist aspirations.

Turkey's constitution lists the state's territorial integrity as one of three "irrevocable" constitutional articles, and thus the government will make no concessions with respect to an independent Kurdish state, which convinced the PKK that armed insurrection was its only hope. After nearly a decade of guerrilla warfare and terrorism, however, the PKK was no closer to its goal. If any solution exists to the Kurdish question, it will likely come about only with a more cohesive Kurdish political unity.

Although the PKK recently resumed its insurgency, its guerrilla war shows little hope of succeeding if the newly formed Iraqi government or the resident United States military force works to drive the PKK from northern Iraq. Deprived of these bases, the militants have no other refuge from which to stage their attacks. How long it will take for the PKK to be removed from Iraq, however, depends on how quickly Iraq's own insurgency is suppressed. In the five years since the 1999 cease-fire, Turkey has striven to secure its southeastern provinces, making future attempts at infiltration unlikely. Unfortunately, it is likely that, even if the PKK's guerrilla forces are decisively defeated, its terrorist elements may long endure. The organization still has many cells throughout Turkish cities and maintains its involvement in organized crime.

As for the Kurds themselves, Turkey's fight with the PKK has given Kurdish separatism a bad name and has probably hindered what might otherwise have been a constructive dialogue between Turks and Kurds. One positive outcome, however, is that the conflict has induced the Turkish government to treat the Kurds and Kurdish culture with greater respect—if for no other reason than to retain their loyalty. The government's Southeast Anatolian Project (GAP), which is finally coming to fruition, should create more jobs and im-

prove the region's standard of living, thus eliminating one of the war's key contributing factors.

What is most encouraging for the Kurdish people is that, over the years, the Turkish state has come to see itself differently—no longer as the political expression of the Turkish nation but as a modern civil consociation capable of embracing diverse peoples under a common rule of law. This transformation parallels nationalism's general decline the world over. As ethnopolitics loses its coherence for the Turks, perhaps in time it will for the Kurds as well.

Peter Finn

Chronology

- 1971 Turkish military takes power in Turkey's second coup; constitution is amended to limit civil rights.
- 1978 Martial Law is declared in thirteen southeastern Turkish provinces. Abdullah Öcalan establishes PKK.
- 1980 Turkish military instigates a bloodless coup; Kurdish nationalists suffer harsher repression as political parties are abolished and dissidents arrested.
- 1984 PKK begins guerrilla operations against Turkish government; military personnel and police forces are its primary targets. First phase of conflict begins, characterized by relatively low-intensity fighting.
- 1985 Village guards established in response to initial PKK attacks.
- 1988 Turkish government gives its governor-general of the Kurdish provinces authority to evacuate villages and deport the population.
- 1989 Turgut Özal is elected president. Second phase of conflict begins. PKK insurgency gains membership and momentum. Turkish military begins offense-orientated counterinsurgency program.
- 1990–1991 Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm is mounted. Northern Iraqi Kurds revolt against Iraqi government; uprising is suppressed, thousands of Kurds flee to Turkey and Iran. Turkish military begins attacking PKK bases in northern Iraq. Third phase of conflict begins; Turkish counterinsurgency efforts gain momentum.
- 1992 Iraqi Kurds support the Turkish military and attack PKK bases in Northern Iraq.
- 1993–1994 PKK declares unilateral cease-fire and drops demands for Kurdish independence. After Turkish president Özal dies, negotiations end and conflict resumes. PKK begins to moderate Marxist-Leninist rhetoric for greater Muslim appeal. Turkey begins combined air and ground operations against PKK camps in Northern Iraq.
- 1994 Turkey begins air strikes against PKK bases in northern Iraq.
- 1996 First PKK suicide bombings occur. Turkey declares new security zone in northern Iraq. Conflict transitions into fourth phase.
- 1997 Turkey invades northern Iraq with more than 50,000 troops in ten-week-long Operation Hammer; an estimated 3,000 PKK guerrillas are killed.
- 1998–1999 Kurdish commandos arrest Abdullah Öcalan in Kenya. Turkish court sentences Öcalan to death. PKK declares a second cease-fire.
- 2004 PKK cease-fire keeps conflict intensity low, but is respected by neither side. PKK abrogates its second cease-fire; conflict resumes.
- 2005 Turkish forces recommence attacks against PKK bases in northern Iraq; their land forces make incursions into Iraq's northern territory in hot pursuit of PKK insurgents.

List of Acronyms

- AH-1: Bell-Textron Cobra/Super Cobra/King Cobra
- AH-64: Boeing Apache attack helicopter
- APC: armored personnel carrier
- ARGK: Kurdistan National Liberation Army
- CHP: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
- Dev-Genc: Revolutionary Youth Federation
- DHKP/C: Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front
- DP: Democratic Party
- ERNK: Eniya Rizgariya Netewa Kurdistan (Kurdistan People's Liberty Front)
- EU: European Union
- GAP: Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesim (Southeastern Anatolian Project)
- GDP: gross domestic product
- KADEK: Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress
- KGK: Kongra-Gel

MIT: Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı (National Intelligence Organization)
 NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 NGO: nongovernmental organization
 PKK: Partîye Karkêran Kurdistan (Kurdistan Workers Party)
 TAF: Turkish Armed Forces
 TPLA: Turkish People's Liberation Army
 TLF: Turkish Land Forces
 UH-1: Bell Iroquois utility helicopter (a.k.a. Huey)

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Uganda (1986–Present)

Introduction

Uganda is situated in a region of Africa that has been directly affected by many recent and ongoing civil wars. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda, and the Central African Republic have all experienced internal armed conflicts since the end of the Cold War. Uganda is a particularly tragic case. Once regarded by British colonial authorities as the “pearl of Africa,” the country seems to have been caught in an endless cycle of internal violent struggles since its accession to independence in 1962. In the last forty years, governments in Kampala have been removed by military coups, by foreign invasion, and by armed rebellion.

Still, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) considers Uganda a positive model because its yearly economic growth rate rose to an average of 5 percent following monetary reform in 1987. Indeed, the website of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC News) presents Uganda as a country that “has rebounded from the abyss of civil war and economic catastrophe to become relatively peaceful, stable and prosperous” (BBC 2005). For many observers of economic development in Africa, Uganda represents something of a success story.

Country Background

The British connection with Uganda is an essential part of Uganda’s history and current international relations. Following decades of contact with foreign traders and missionaries, much of the territory known today as Uganda became a British protectorate in 1894. In the context of the decolonization movements following World War II, the British granted internal self-government to Uganda in 1961. Prime Minister Milton Obote led the country to formal independence on October 9, 1962.

Political life in Uganda during the following years was marked by a struggle between supporters of a centralized state and supporters of a loose federation that recognized various tribal kingdoms. Backed by his largely Langi and Acholi soldiers from the north of Uganda, Obote eventually took over all government powers in February 1966 and then proceeded to appoint himself president in a new republic that abolished the traditional kingdoms. Despite Obote’s attempts in the late 1960s to broaden his military-based rule by gaining popular support with the partial nationalization of major industries and banks, it was not long before his army commander, Idi Amin, staged a coup in January 1971 while Obote was attending a Commonwealth Conference in Singapore.

Over the next eight years, Idi Amin generally eliminated democratic institutions and ruled by decree. Many analysts consider that his reign of terror crippled the economy and forced “the state into little more than an instrument of plunder” (Brett 1995, 137). Economic decline, social disintegration, and massive human rights violations characterized the country during most of the 1970s (U.S. Department of State 2005a, 3). Although exiled activists threatened Amin throughout his reign, it was dissension within the army that ultimately led to his downfall. Having dealt with a mutiny in the late summer of 1978, Amin proceeded to send some units into northwest Tanzania. The Tanzanian army responded by expelling the invaders, joining up with Ugandan exiles, and then moving on to take Kampala in April 1979. Amin fled to Libya and later to Saudi Arabia, where he lived in exile until his death in July 2003.

Following the ousting of Amin, attempts to establish an interim government in Kampala were unsuccessful. Elections were eventually held at the end of 1980, and Milton Obote returned to power amid allegations of electoral fraud. Massive human rights violations continued under Obote’s second term, and his security forces are accused of laying waste to much of the country in their campaign against the rebel National Resistance Army (NRA) led by Yoweri Museveni (U.S. Department of State 2005a, 3). The area north of Kampala known as the Luwero Triangle was the site of particularly brutal atrocities committed by Obote’s forces.

Obote’s rule finally came to an end when one of his army brigades, composed largely of Acholi fighters, took Kampala and established a military government. The leader of the new regime, General Tito Okello, promised to end the tribal rivalries and hold fair elections. However, human rights abuses continued as the Okello government ravaged the countryside in an attempt to destroy the NRA’s support (U.S. Department of State 2005a, 3).

Ignoring a cease-fire he had signed in December 1985, Museveni and his NRA proceeded to seize power by force in Kampala on January 26,

1986. The political grouping created by Museveni, the National Resistance Movement (NRM), has controlled the government ever since. Museveni is credited with putting an end to the abuses of previous governments as well as initiating economic liberalization and reforms in accordance with the requests of the IMF, the World Bank, and donor governments. Most of Uganda’s industry is related to agricultural production, and almost of all the country’s foreign exchange earnings come from agricultural products. Coffee, of which Uganda is Africa’s leading producer, accounted for about 19 percent of the country’s exports in 2002, whereas fish accounted for 17 percent (U.S. Department of State 2005a, 3).

Although the government’s economic performance has been applauded internationally, the political situation has raised some concerns. Since taking power in 1986, Museveni has pledged to rid the country of dictatorship, mismanagement, and the cycle of violence that characterized its postindependence history (Bøås 2004, 296). Given the social makeup of the country, Museveni believes multiparty democracy will only create political polarization that will be based on ethnic affiliation. His view is that industrialization and the creation of socioeconomic classes will eventually provide a solid base for party politics (Bøås 2004, 297; Museveni 2000, 95–96). The government has therefore been based on a “movement” system that severely restricts the activities of political parties. The current constitution, which was adopted in 1995, provides for an elected executive president, along with a relatively independent parliament and judiciary. The constitution was recently amended to remove the provision that limited the president to two five-year terms. Although it has been viewed with considerable skepticism by international observers, this amendment allowed President Museveni to be a candidate in the presidential elections that were held in February 2006. Museveni was declared the winner in the election, but his leadership style has been generally characterized as corrupt and unethical.

Democracy in Uganda

Dr. Kizza Besigye challenged President Museveni in the presidential elections of March 2001 and lost. He appealed to the Supreme Court, which ruled by majority decision that the fraud and violence during the elections were not sufficient to set aside the results. Besigye then fled into exile and returned in October 2005 to run again for president. Several days after his return, he was arrested on treason and rape charges and remanded to Luzira Prison near Kampala. His arrest provoked demonstrations and looting in Kampala. Although Besigye was eventually released from prison after several weeks, human rights observers were concerned that the authorities would obstruct his campaign rallies because he was Museveni's main challenger in the first multiparty presidential elections in twenty-five years (Human Rights Watch 2005).

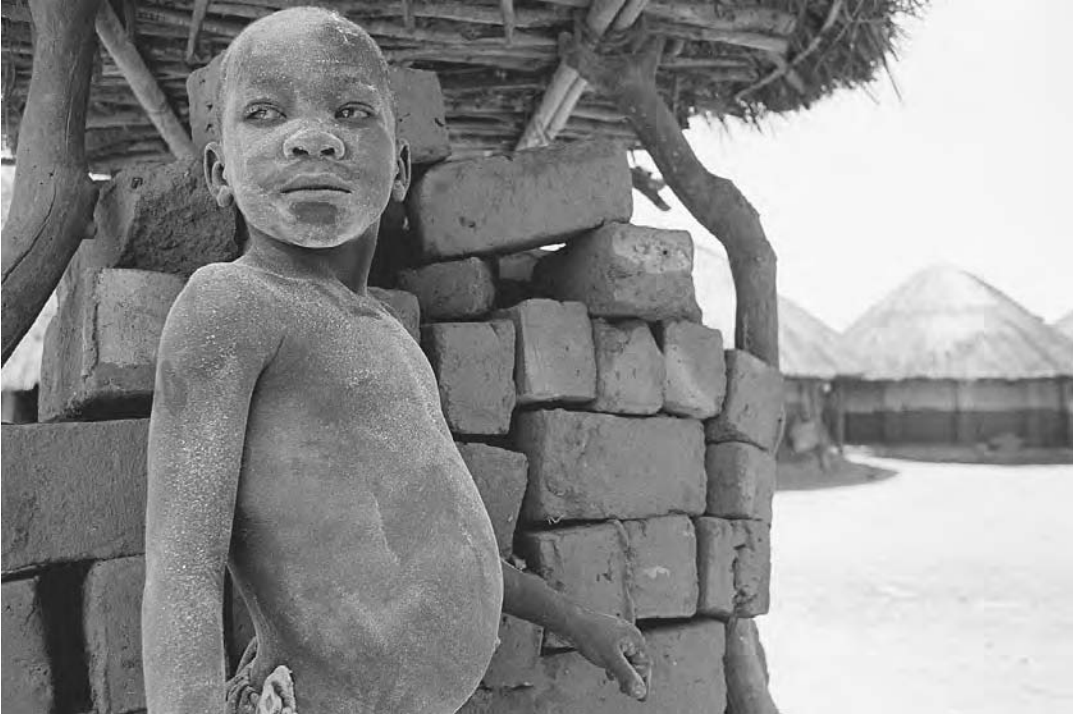
Conflict Background

Uganda's troubled postindependence history is intimately linked with continuous violence and conflict. Indeed, it is somewhat difficult to distinguish periods when rebel groups are active from periods when the insurgents are regrouping or reforming under different movements. Nevertheless, according to some conflict specialists, there have been three civil wars in Uganda up to the end of the Cold War: a one-month armed conflict in 1966 that resulted in 2,000 deaths, a twelve-month conflict in 1978–1979 that resulted in a similar number of deaths, and a seventy-two-month conflict in 1980–1986 that resulted in 300,000 deaths and around 347,000 displaced persons (Doyle and Sambanis 2000). These statistics should be supplemented by a new post-1986 civil war involving several anti-Museveni movements. Despite the relatively positive economic developments in Uganda since Museveni took power, continuous fighting has unfortunately drained much of the national budget. The recent conflict areas have been concentrated primarily in northern Uganda and the region around the Rwenzori Mountains in western Uganda.

According to the U.S. Department of State, the “vicious and cult-like” Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) continues to “murder and kidnap civilians” in northern Uganda (U.S. Department of State 2005a, 4). The rebel movement is estimated as having roughly 1,500 lightly armed troops, although many are child soldiers (IISS 2004, 248). Some analysts believe the number of LRA fighters may be as high as 4,000 (SIPRI 2004, 112.) The LRA faces Museveni’s army, the Uganda People’s Defense Force (UPDF), a relatively modern force that includes roughly 40,000–45,000 troops (IISS 2004, 248). The conflict in the north has resulted in massive population displacement. At more than 1.3 million people (USCRI 2005, 11; most other sources provide higher numbers), the estimates for displaced persons far exceed the numbers relating to earlier conflict periods. The situation in northern Uganda is such that war has become an integral part of the politics of daily life; the local population and soldiers live by and suffer from the economy of war (Bøås 2004, 286). More than half the population of the Gulu and Kitgum districts are living in camps made for displaced persons (most estimates are considerably higher; see, for example, World Vision 2004, 4). The creation of these government-organized temporary settlements has paradoxically contributed to the further impoverishment of locals. Fields that were once relatively fertile are now lying empty, and locals have become dependent on other sources of food and income generation (Bøås 2004, 286).

Uganda’s northern neighbor, Sudan, has also been implicated in the LRA’s insurgency. Since around 1994, Sudan has allegedly been aiding the LRA and conducting a proxy war against Kampala, partly motivated by Khartoum’s perception that Museveni was aiding the Sudanese People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) in their struggle against the Sudanese government (Prunier 2004, 365).

The spillover effect has not been limited to the northern borders of Uganda. Several rebel groups operating from the chaotic regions of eastern DRC have mounted attacks in the mountainous southwestern areas of Uganda. To



A child stands outside a hut in an internally displaced persons camp in northern Uganda in November 2004. Two decades of civil war in Uganda have led to chronic internal displacement. (Silvia Morara/Corbis)

the extent that these groups have benefited from foreign support, they have implicated the Kinshasa government and the possibility that it may have conducted a proxy war through Ugandan dissidents. This threat has motivated Kampala to send the UPDF across the border in controversial incursions into DRC. The engagement in the resource-rich eastern regions of DRC was slowly replaced by economic motivations.

Kigali has also recently been implicated in supporting these anti-Museveni armed groups based in eastern DRC, as the relations between Museveni and Rwanda's president Paul Kagame have soured. It should be remembered that Kagame, as leader of the Rwandan Patriotic Army, launched his exiled rebel forces from Uganda and managed to take power in Rwanda by July 1994 as the country spiraled out of control with genocidal mass killings. Although the forces of the new Kigali regime pursued the sol-

diers of the old regime in the eastern regions of ex-Zaire (DRC), the UPDF took advantage of the situation and attacked the anti-Museveni movements based on the border regions of ex-Zaire (Prunier 2004, 374). The September 1996 Rwandan military operation against the refugee camps in the South Kivu region eventually expanded such that the Rwandans found themselves operating with Ugandan troops against an alliance of rebel and governmental troops from the region. According to some analysts, the multistate attack on ex-Zaire turned the regional proxy conflicts into a continental problem (Prunier 2004, 374). By late 1998, the UPDF, along with Congolese rebels was even threatening to advance to Kinshasa before the air forces of Namibia, Angola, and Sudan began airlifting soldiers and bombing operations to help President Kabila's regime (Prunier 2004, 380). A peace agreement was signed in Sirte (Libya) be-

Table 1: Civil War in Uganda

War:	Various insurgent groups vs. government
Dates:	July 1986–present
Casualties:	more than 7,000
Regime type prior to war:	–7 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy]); movement system that prohibits opposition political parties
Regime type after war:	Not applicable
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$465 (estimated)
GDP per capita year after war:	US \$465 (estimated)
Insurgents:	Lord’s Resistance Army, Allied Democratic Forces, and others
Issue:	Alienation of northern Acholi, Islamic revolution
Rebel funding:	Diaspora, Sudan
Role of geography:	Rebels hide in bush and rough terrain.
Role of resources:	Not significant
Immediate outcome:	Not applicable
Outcome after 5 years:	Not applicable
Role of UN:	Humanitarian relief aid
Role of regional organization:	No direct role
Refugees:	703,500 (excluding 1,330,000 internally displaced persons)
Prospects for peace:	Favorable

Sources: Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Marshall and Jagers 2002; SIPRI 2004, 112; USCRI 2005, 11; U.S. Department of State, 2005a.

tween Museveni and Kabila on April 17, 1999. Yet tensions have now risen between Kampala and Kigali following years of military cooperation and presence in the chaotic and resource-rich regions of DRC.

The Insurgents

The Rebel Groups

There have been numerous Ugandan rebel groups over the last decades, and it would be of limited use to describe all of them here. As the most prominent of the rebel movements that are currently active, the LRA is described in some detail following. The Holy Spirit Movement Force (HSMF) is also described because some observers claim that the LRA is related to or inspired by this earlier, sect-like, armed movement that was created in the wake of Museveni’s seizure of power. Several other rebel groups are also covered to provide a fuller picture of the current difficulties in establishing a central government in Kampala that accommodates the

various ethnic or religious aspirations in modern-day Uganda.

The Holy Spirit Movement Force (HSMF)

This millenarian guerrilla movement was active during the period 1986–1987 as it fought the Museveni regime, mainly in northern Uganda. It was allegedly created on August 6, 1986, when the spirit Lakwena ordered a mystical young prophetess, Alice Auma, to stop healing the sick and to start raising an army for an antigovernment crusade (Bøås 2004, 289; Van Acker 2004, 346). Alice capitalized on powerful feelings of guilt, collective despair, and the need for spiritual cleansing to create a movement that contained elements of both a cult and a military organization (Brett 1995, 146). As members had to undergo ritual purification to be cleansed of past sins, the HSMF offered redemption to Acholi who believed they were being punished for atrocities committed by Acholi soldiers under Obote and Okello (Westbrook 2000, 3).

Operations guided by the Holy Spirit Tactics often disregarded basic military principles because soldiers were taught they had become invincible through the power of spiritual redemption (Van Acker 2004, 347). At a more practical level, the HSMF received arms in November 1986 from another rebel group, the Ugandan People's Democratic Army (UPDA; see section following) but later broke away with many of its soldiers (Brett 1995, 146). The bitter and disoriented Acholi soldiers of the HSMF eventually made their way south almost to Jinja in October 1987 before being stopped by the Uganda People's Defense Force (Prunier 2004, 366; Westbrook 2000, 2). Following this defeat some 80 kilometers east of Kampala, the wounded Alice took refuge in Kenya, and the movement has apparently ceased to exist.

The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)

Some observers believe that the LRA is a new incarnation of the HSMF (Bøås 2004, 289; Prunier 2004, 366), whereas others see it as a distinct organization with both differences and similarities (Westbrook 2000, 4). The LRA is sometimes perceived as having vacillated between following Lakwena's beliefs, adopting Christian fundamentalist ideas, and incorporating Muslim rituals (Westbrook 2000, 4). This bizarre movement was created by Alice's cousin (or nephew), Joseph Kony, who claimed to have similar spiritual visions as he began to lead a small guerrilla war in almost impenetrable terrain in north Acholi near the Sudanese border (Prunier 2004, 366).

In its early years, the LRA seems to have used a version of the Holy Spirit Tactics, although it was less clearly articulated and its political vision was apparently more ambiguous (Van Acker 2004, 348). When the leadership of the UPDA signed a peace accord with the UPDF in 1988, several dissenting commanders left the UPDA and decided to join the LRA insurrection. In due course, they persuaded Kony to adopt guerrilla (or terror) tactics over Holy Spirit Tactics (Van Acker 2004, 348).

After the failure of talks with Minister Betty Bigombe in 1994, Kony was invited to Juba in south Sudan, where he allegedly obtained significant military aid from the Sudanese government following a symbolic acceptance of Islam by some of his fighters (e.g., name changes and some religious conversions). Sudan rapidly turned the motley group of rebels into a "coherent, well-supplied military enterprise" (Van Acker 2004, 338) that included more than 2,000 well-equipped troops (Prunier 2004, 366–67) that could contribute to its fight against the SPLA. However, the Sudanese army has occasionally been frustrated in its attempts to bolster the LRA; instead of pinning down the UPDF in key sectors or wearing it down with effective ambushes, the rebels have preferred to terrorize villages and murder civilians in Acholi (Van Acker 2004, 376).

It is therefore far from clear that much of the Acholi people support the LRA (Van Acker 2004, 352). Observers suspect that its support comes mainly from the diaspora Acholi (Bøås 2004, 290; Westbrook 2000, 5). More recently, the LRA's insurrection has shown signs of slowing down, as the rebels are becoming more officer heavy due to casualties, capture, and defections, as well as a lessened capacity to regenerate (ICG 2005, 2). This is partly the result of the protocol signed between Uganda and Sudan in 2002 that allows the UPDF to pursue the LRA into southern Sudan up to an agreed "red line" (Van Acker 2004, 352). As a result, the LRA no longer maintains a fixed headquarters in southern Sudan, even though command and control remains intact (ICG 2005, 3). In August 2006 it signed a truce with the government that will hopefully bring an end to one of Africa's most tragic conflicts.

The Ugandan National Liberation Army (UNLA)

This group consists of Okello's primarily Acholi soldiers who withdrew to Sudan following the NRA's victory in January 1986 (Westbrook 2000, 3).

The Uganda People's Democratic Movement/Army (UPDM/A)

Once the NRM took control of the entire country in April 1986, a relative peace was established until the UPDA (formed by Acholi exiles) launched an attack from Sudan in July 1986 (Westbrook 2000, 3). The UPDA was based in the refugee camps of southern Sudan, whereas the political leadership was entrenched in London; it apparently did not enjoy widespread support in Acholi. Yet former UNLA soldiers joined it after the fall of Gulu and Kitgum to the NRA; consequently, they greatly expanded the existing brigades (Van Acker 2004, 342).

The UPDA eventually came out of the bush following a peace agreement on June 3, 1988 (Brett 1995, 147). However, a large contingent of disenfranchised members stayed in the bush after the accord. Joseph Kony apparently joined the UPDA in early 1987 as a young "spiritual mobilizer" (Van Acker 2004, 347) before going on to form the LRA.

The Allied Democratic Forces (ADF)

Some observers believe this rebel group was created as a result of the proxy war between Sudan and Uganda; it is a coalition formed from a variety of anti-Museveni movements aided by Sudan (and DRC) and active on Uganda's western border with DRC (Hovil and Werker 2005, 13). Its roots are apparently found in a group of Islamic activists from the Tabliq movement who went underground after their release from prison in the 1990s (Bøås 2004, 293). They reappeared in February 1995 in the western district of Bunyoro, conducting military training with Sudanese help, but they escaped after an intervention by the UPDF. (Their peak period was in 2000, when they had an estimated 1,000 fighters who asserted their presence in areas such as Bundibugyo near the Rwenzori Mountains [Bøås 2004, 293].) The ADF was greatly weakened in 2002 (Prunier 2004, 381). Recent estimates place their strength at roughly 200 lightly armed fighters (IISS 2004, 377).

The Allied Democratic Movement (ADM)

This is a Baganda guerrilla movement created in London in January 1995 in the tradition of the Kabaka Yekka (a monarchist party of the 1960s) to fight Museveni's regime and restore the Baganda king (Prunier 2004, 361). It recruited primarily among the majority of Baganda who are Christians (Prunier 2004, 371).

The National Army for the Liberation of Uganda (NALU)

Created in 1988, this guerrilla movement follows in the tradition of the Rwenzururu movement created by the Bakonjo, who fought the British colonial authorities for autonomy from Bunyoro (western Uganda). The Rwenzururu leaders signed an armistice with the Obote regime in August 1982. Yet, one of the leaders, Amon Bazira, obtained help from Presidents Mobutu and Moi to start a revival of the movement after Museveni's rise to power in 1986. The new movement apparently never had the popular appeal of Rwenzururu, but it had enough financing to pose a threat to Museveni. It disappeared after Bazira was shot dead in Nairobi in 1992; many of its members allegedly joined the ADF.

The Ugandan Muslim Liberation Army (UMLA)

This Islamic anti-Museveni guerrilla group declared war on the Museveni regime in January 1995. It was apparently supported by the Baganda Muslims, who during the 1981–1986 bush war had provided key support to the NRA (Prunier 2004, 370). By recruiting among the minority of Baganda who were Muslim, along with non-Baganda Muslims throughout Uganda, the UMLA complemented the ADM and its Anglo-Protestant leaders in the overall Baganda struggle against Museveni (Prunier 2004, 371). Its first military operations were defeated near Lake Albert in February 1995, and the survivors fled near Bunia in ex-Zaire. In Bunia, they apparently made contact with Sudanese army officials supplying the Rwandan Interahamwe and

the West Nile Bank Liberation Front (WBNLF; see following); the Sudanese allegedly began helping the UMLA and fusing it with the ADM (Prunier 2004, 372–73).

The West Nile Bank Liberation Front (WBNLF)

This anti-Museveni guerrilla movement was created in November 1994 in Faradje (in the former Zaire) by Juma Oris (a former commander under Idi Amin), following a secret deal between Khartoum and Kinshasa that allowed the Sudanese army to reorganize former Kakwa and Aringa soldiers on the Zairian side of the West Nile region (Prunier 2004, 367).

The rebels surrendered en masse to the UPDF during the 1997 fighting in northeast Zaire. Remnants were ambushed by the SPLA as they tried to join up with Sudanese forces in Yei (southern Sudan) in March 1997, while survivors of the ambush fled to the Sudanese army garrison in Juba (Prunier 2004, 376–77). The WBNLF faded away following the 1999 Sirte agreement, and their current strength is estimated at more than 1,000 soldiers (IISS 2004, 377).

The People's Redemption Army (PRA)

The NRM alleges that the PRA is a new Rwandan-backed rebel movement consisting of former ADF fighters, supporters of the opposition candidate in the 2001 presidential elections (Kizza Besigye), and dissatisfied soldiers (Bøås 2004, 294; Van Acker 2004, 353). This rebel group is allegedly led by Colonel Samson Mande and Colonel Anthony Kyakable, who are receiving Rwandan support to train forces in Ituri together with the ADF (Bøås 2004, 294).

Geography

Uganda is endowed with ample fertile land, regular rainfall, and mineral deposits. This is one of the main reasons it appeared destined for rapid economic growth following the colonial period. Unfortunately, this potential has not been realized, and the rich and varied landscape

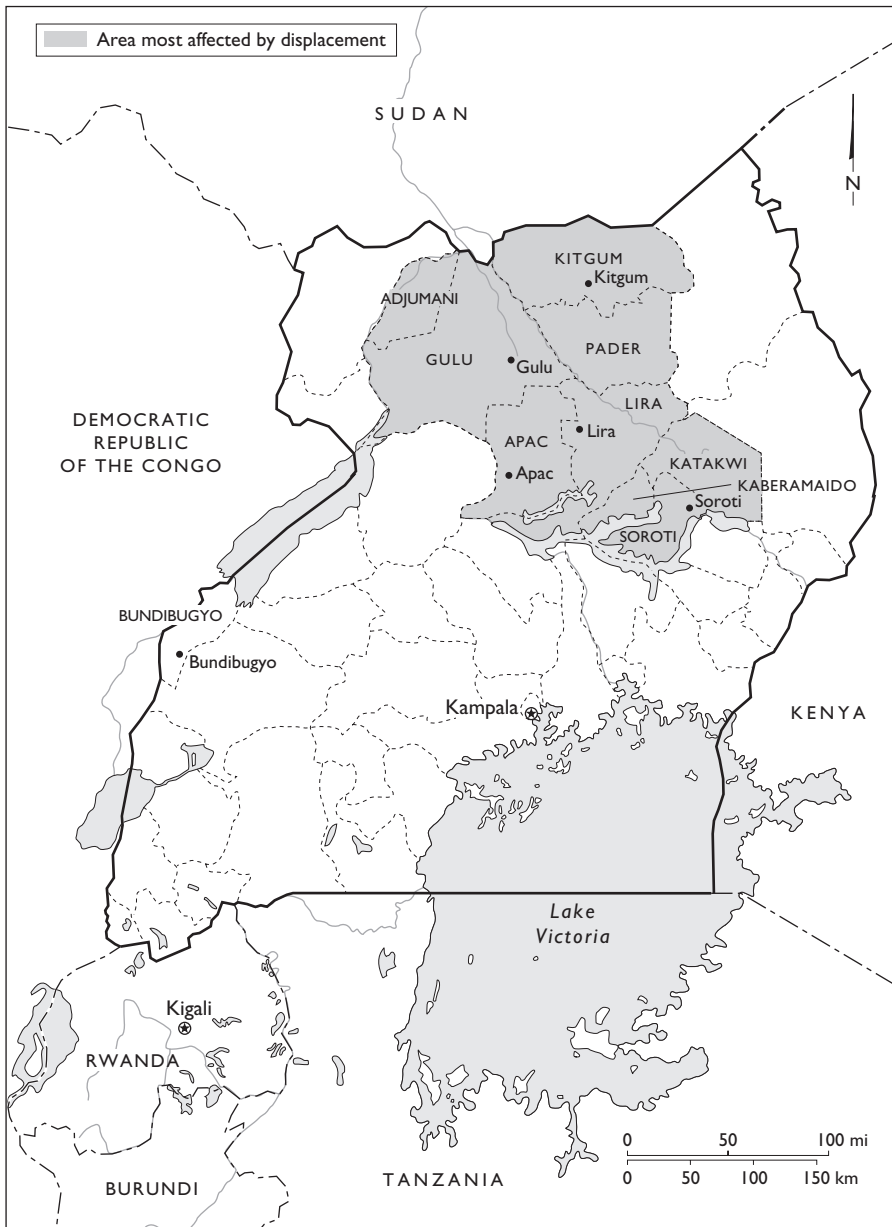
that was once admired by locals and foreigners alike has now ironically facilitated the activities of insurgents.

With Lake Victoria and the Victoria Nile River, which flows through the country, Uganda has plenty of water sources. The country enjoys a tropical climate that is tempered by an average altitude of 1,000 meters. Mountain ranges are found in the extreme west and east of the country. At 5,109 meters, Mount Stanley in the Rwenzori Mountains is the country's highest peak. In between the mountain ranges are lush and fertile fields on the shores of Lake Victoria. The land varies considerably in the northeast, where it becomes semidesert.

The Acholi region of northern Uganda does not hold any known reserves of key strategic resources, but this may change as the oil wealth of southern Sudan is unlocked following the 2004 peace agreement between Khartoum and the SPLA. To date, all three of the Acholi-inhabited districts (Gulu, Kitgum, and Pader) have been marginalized from mainstream development (Van Acker 2004, 336).

The current armed conflict has been taking place primarily in the districts of Kitgum and Gulu, with several recent attacks in the neighboring Pader and Lira districts. As the largest district in Uganda (16,136 square kilometers), Kitgum shares a long border with Sudan. Its seasons are basically divided into rainy and dry periods. During the rainy periods, tall, green grasses and thick brush characterize the landscape. The population, essentially rural, is estimated at close to half a million people. Gulu district is situated to the southwest of Kitgum, and it shares a small border with Sudan. The elevations of the land range from 351 to 1,341 meters. Its population is almost as large as the one in Kitgum (Westbrook 2000, 2).

The operational capacity of the insurgents in the north has clearly been helped by the proximity of Sudan, a large country with its own internal conflicts and somewhat uncontrolled border regions. To the extent that the northern parts of Uganda are relatively far from the capital, which



is situated in traditional Baganda territory, the geographic distances have helped the rebels maintain a prolonged insurrection. Another striking feature of the Acholi-inhabited northern region is that it appears “empty,” owing to the existence of protected camps where villagers are assembled by force and supposedly provided with government protection (Van Acker 2004,

343). Like many governments in similar situations, Kampala has pursued this policy to make it more difficult for the insurgents to hide among the civilians.

The civil war in Uganda has also recently affected areas outside the underdeveloped north and particularly the southwestern regions near the Rwenzori Mountains. It is clear that the ADF

chose western Uganda as a base of operations partly because of the mountainous terrain (Bøås 2004, 293) and lush forests. The proximity of DRC's chaotic provinces is clearly a factor that facilitates the activities of insurgent groups.

Tactics

Over the years, the LRA has become notorious for the mutilation and summary execution of civilians, as well as the abduction of children for use as foot soldiers (Van Acker 2004, 335). The LRA remains committed to terror tactics, and it is not concerned about controlling territory. Indeed, the suffering of Acholi civilians at the hands of the LRA is characterized by attacks on villages and looting, along with mutilation and mass abductions (ICG 2005, 2). An estimated 20,000 children have been violently abducted to serve in its ranks (World Vision 2004, 4). Movement of LRA commanders between Uganda and Sudan has been common in order to evade capture and to reorganize (ICG 2005, 5).

The LRA allegedly began wholesale kidnapping after the failed 1994 talks with Bigombe (Van Acker 2004, 337). Given that the LRA is essentially an Acholi resistance movement, it may seem strange that Acholi civilians are its main victims. This is part of the difficulty in understanding the political objectives of the rebel group. Most analysts agree that Kony and his commanders have not been particularly clear in their political objectives. It appears that the LRA is simply trying to wreak havoc with brutal attacks that portray the government as incapable of protecting the internally displaced persons (ICG 2005, 1). To achieve these ends, LRA attacks are generally carried out by small groups using machetes and light arms. The rebel group sustains itself by stealing food, punishing collaboration with the government, prolonging a de facto state of emergency, and maintaining visibility with spectacular actions (ICG 2005, 2).

In dealing with this unusual and senselessly violent insurgency, the government has alternated between applying military pressure on the rebels, thinning out their ranks with

amnesty offers, and reviving the political process through negotiations (Van Acker 2004, 337). In terms of protecting civilians, the government has assembled people into camps that are protected by local home guards (Van Acker 2004, 343). To many observers, the camps indicate the existence of a de facto state of emergency. Yet many Acholi perceive them to be a method of earmarking the north as a labor reserve for sugar cane and tea plantations. Indeed, Acholi often express fears of hidden government intentions relating to land ownership (Van Acker 2004, 343).

Although the government has established protected camps for the villagers, it also encourages former fighters to turn themselves in at a regional reception center (ICG 2005, 3). In the past, it has been reported that rebels who did not receive external assistance had to live off the local population and eventually turned into gangs that rob civilians (Brett 1995, 149). This is one of the important issues that must be addressed in order to resolve the current conflict in the north.

In the western parts of Uganda, the ADF leadership and membership have remained relatively obscure over the years, thereby helping to keep their internal and external contacts safe from intelligence agents. The obscurity also adds a mythological dimension to the ADF (Bøås 2004, 292). By operating in non-Acholi territory that is considered the heartland of the NRM, the ADF's strongest asset is that it raises questions about the legitimacy of Museveni's new Uganda (Bøås 2004, 293).

Faced with insurrections in the north and to the west, Kampala has sought to modernize its military with the purchase of new equipment. For example, the UPDF can now count on main battle tanks (152 T-54/55), fighter jets (six MiG-21, five MiG-23) and helicopter gunships (six Mi-24) acquired in recent years (IISS 2004, 248). Although these purchases are intended ostensibly to make the army more effective in general combat operations, at least two complications should be noted. At slightly over 2 percent

of GDP, the amount of military spending has risen over the last few years to levels that have attracted some concern from key Western donors (Bøås 2004, 343). The spending has also been linked to military corruption, which has had a negative impact on the UPDF's ability to put down the insurrections. Indeed, many examples of military procurement have not resulted in the increased combat advantage sought by the UPDF. Top defense officials, including Museveni's half-brother Major General Salim Saleh, have been implicated in the associated corruption scandals (Tangri and Mwenda 2003, 540–43).

Causes of the War

The almost constant internal armed conflicts that have plagued Uganda since independence are undoubtedly caused by a variety of factors. Yet several recurring themes can be pointed out. Although many civil wars on the African continent have been the result of secessionist movements and ideological or religious differences, Uganda's civil wars are best characterized as the result of ethnic differences and their connected political and economic tensions. A succession of repressive regimes since the British pulled out in 1962 has only added to the country's inability to build a national cohesive bond that unites the competing ethnic groups.

The fact that the country does not have a common language understood by the majority of its inhabitants is a reflection of the divisions between the numerous ethnic groups. Swahili has been promoted at various periods as a unifying African language, yet it has not developed as Uganda's national language (Ofcansky 1996, 72–73). The country's official language is English, and it is used essentially in urban circles related to government, media, commerce, and academia. The majority of inhabitants, however, do not speak English: Instead, they communicate in more than thirty distinct languages and dialects (Kasozi 1994, 227–34). Without a common language, it is clearly difficult for political leaders to

communicate directly to the entire population and for the country to develop a sense of shared history and political aspirations that can lead to national integration. The traditional ethnic allegiances are consequently easier to exploit by opportunistic elites.

Deep cultural cleavages exist between the Bantu central and southwest parts of the country and the Nilotic northern parts (Bøås 2004, 285). For example, northern Ugandans, who served as a reservoir for cheap labor and British colonial soldiers, resent the perceived preferential treatment accorded to the southern Baganda population (Van Acker 2004, 341). Some argue that the Acholi were relatively marginal to early British colonial rule and that they were largely viewed as a tribe of inferior order (Bøås 2004, 287). These types of dynamics are present throughout the country with the various ethnic groups. The overall result is a national political culture in which there is a perception that an ethnic group's best survival strategy is to displace the ruling ethnic group and seize power.

Indeed, for much of its history since independence, military force in Uganda has not been subject to genuine control by civilian authorities (Brett 1995, 129). Furthermore, frequent changes in the composition of the military have resulted in the regular rotation of low-skilled persons from specific ethnic groups in and out of civilian life (Van Acker 2004, 338–39). Some commentators point to Idi Amin's 1972 order for Acholi and Langi soldiers to return to barracks, only to be massacred, as the event that "firmly introduced competitive retaliation on an ethnic basis" (Van Acker 2004, 340).

In terms of the current civil war, it is necessary to set the violence in the context of the NRA's victory after a six-year bush war. Acholi soldiers were disproportionately represented in President Obote's armies in the 1960s and 1980s. Many Ugandans consequently blamed the Acholi for the atrocities committed in the Luwero Triangle northwest of Kampala during Museveni's bush war against Obote. Given their prominence in Obote's armies, as well as their

active participation in the battles against the NRA when it was taking control of the country, the Acholi were in a difficult situation following Museveni's victory in 1986. After taking power, Museveni immediately ordered all Acholi to hand in their weapons; memories of the retributive actions of Idi Amin in the early 1970s resulted in many young Acholi preferring to keep their weapons and to take to the bush (Bøås 2004, 287–88). Over the ensuing months, members of the formerly well-disciplined NRA avenged themselves upon their former enemies by plundering, murdering, and raping the civilian population in Acholi (Bøås 2004, 287–88). It is against this background that the HSMF was created. The human rights abuses by the NRA in northern Uganda had undoubtedly driven many people into the bush during the initial stages (Brett 1995, 147).

For all the progressive official statements on national harmony, elements within the NRM have tended to blame the Acholi community for the unrest that followed Museveni's 1986 victory, claiming that they never fully accepted his authority because they were deprived of the ability to loot other Ugandans. From this perspective, the causes of the war are largely resource based, with tribal opportunism playing a key role in access to wealth (Westbrook 2000, 6).

It is difficult to apportion blame in a context that involves interethnic tensions within a country. Yet some factors are relatively clear. To the extent that the current armed conflict involves mainly the Acholi people, it should be noted that the economies of the two Acholi districts of Kitgum and Gulu are severely underdeveloped, even by Ugandan standards (Westbrook 2000, 2). Acholi has become a chronic conflict zone partly because of the Acholi's perception that they are excluded from the Ugandan polity (Bøås 2004, 284). From the mass killings by the NRA in 1986 to the characterization of the war as an "Acholi problem," and more recently the use of the displaced persons' camps and the widespread problem of stolen cattle (Westbrook 2000, 7), the collective grievances of the Acholi

reflect considerable mistrust between the north and Kampala. For example, Museveni received less than 20 percent of the people's vote in Acholi during the 1996 presidential elections, even though he won with a large majority throughout Uganda (Westbrook 2000, 4).

Alleged discrimination in terms of the benefits from economic development has aggravated the Acholi sense of exclusion. Some observers argue that the product of economic growth following the monetary reform of 1987 has been distributed in an uneven manner (Oloka-Onyango 2000, 34–35), with most going to NRM officials and cronies while other Ugandans have been left with comparatively little (Bøås 2004, 284; Prunier 2004, 372). This uneven distribution of wealth following a period of relative prosperity adds to the ethnic marginalization that has plagued the country since independence.

Even in terms of humanitarian assistance, the perception of discriminatory treatment is still present. The government has often been accused of not meeting the basic needs of the displaced persons in the protected camps of the north; poor sanitation, limited clean water, congestion, and rampant disease have all attracted international attention (ICG 2005, 11). Acholi complain that the effects of the war have also hit them in another disproportionate manner: The Karamojong in northeast Uganda have conducted frequent armed cattle raids against their Acholi neighbors (Knighton 2003, 427). Indeed, the violent conflicts involving pastoralists in the region are believed to be aggravated by cattle rustling and small arms proliferation through cross-border smuggling (Knighton 2003, 429).

Other, more controversial factors should be considered in an assessment of the causes of civil war in Uganda. Arms proliferation in the region, particularly as a result of the wars in Sudan and DRC, has contributed to the problems of violence in Uganda (Van Acker 2004, 345). Moreover, Sudan's support for the LRA is an important factor, although it has apparently been reduced (ICG 2005, 4), and latest reports suggest

it is coming to an end (*New Vision* 2005a). At a more individual level, a number of officials, both military and civilian, have clearly benefited from supplying the war effort (Westbrook 2000, 7) and may not be interested in encouraging a cessation of hostilities.

The most controversial aspect of national politics in Uganda has arguably been the twenty-year ban on multiparty elections. Museveni consistently argued that the manipulation of ethnic identities by party politics had contributed to the turmoil of the 1970s and 1980s (Bøås 2004, 297). In associating a multiparty system with violence, the NRM suggested it was the sole guarantor of the social revolution needed to end the cycle of violence that dominated the country's history since independence. This image of chaos and violence as the alternative to Museveni's Uganda is regularly used to link political opposition to rebel movements (Bøås 2004, 298). For example, following the defeat of Kizza Besigye, the opposition candidate in the 2001 presidential elections, the NRM attempted to associate his supporters with the insurgency (Bøås 2004, 294). After two decades in power, Museveni's movement appears to be uneasy in addressing political dissent in a manner consistent with international human rights standards. This problem arguably reflects one of the key causes of Uganda's current civil war.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

The current civil war in Uganda has been going on for twenty years. A few comments on the outcome of some of the political violence in the mid-1960s are useful in understanding why it has been difficult to bring peace to the country. Although it was put down with the help of the British military, the 1964 mutiny indicated that a northern group (the soldiers came predominantly from Acholi, Teso, Lango, and West Nile) could exert considerable influence on national politics (Brett 1995, 135). Idi Amin became deputy commander of the army following the

reinstatement of those involved in the uprising. A year later, he was made army commander as Obote responded to accusations that both men were involved in gold and ivory smuggling from Zaire (Brett 1995, 135). Obote then proceeded to abrogate Buganda's autonomy, repealed the constitution, and sent army units to attack the kabaka's palace, forcing the Baganda king into exile. Obote proclaimed himself president as elections were cancelled. A lesson learned for many observers was that force had paid off in the short term. In terms of the country's political future, the army high command had been drawn into partisan politics, thereby damaging any faith in the country's nascent democracy (Brett 1995, 136). The stage was set for the violent political developments of the following decades: A few years later, Idi Amin turned the state into an instrument of extortion and sectional domination. In other words, Ugandan society was decaying as brute force was used for private benefit (Brett 1995, 152).

After twenty years of insurrection in the northern regions of Uganda, the unhealthy political problem just described has contributed to a grave humanitarian crisis. Uganda presently holds the fourth-largest internally displaced population of the world (USCRI 2005, 11). The humanitarian plight of civilians is characterized by a phenomenon known as "night commuters": children who flee their villages every night to sleep in the cities to avoid abduction (World Vision 2004, 5). Their numbers are estimated to be around 32,000–52,000 (U.S. Department of State 2005b, 2). The problem of population displacement is such that United Nations officials consider the crisis to be one of the worst in the world today.

Duration Tactics

Because the LRA does not have the means to overthrow the government in Kampala, it is fighting what may be termed a protracted war. It seeks to wear down the UPDF and gain strength over time. To the extent that Sudan has tried to undermine the government in Kampala, it has

been accused of encouraging prolonged insurrections within the borders of its southern neighbor.

There is another dimension that has probably contributed to the prolongation of the armed conflict. Many sources have alleged that military corruption results in considerable financial gain for army officers and government officials (e.g., Tangri and Mwenda 2003, 539). The implication is that this dynamic of corruption within the UPDF and the NRM is a significant factor in the duration of the civil war.

External Military Intervention

Over the last decade, Sudan, DRC, and Chad have all sent troops on combat operations in the border regions where Ugandan rebel groups have been present. To the extent that Sudan and DRC have led proxy wars against Uganda by assisting anti-Museveni rebel movements, the country's most recent civil war is clearly affected by external military intervention. The extent of Sudan's support for the LRA can be debated, yet there is little doubt that it has contributed in prolonging an insurrection that many thought would have dissipated years ago.

In terms of a foreign military presence that may play a constructive role in the future, the African Union and the United Nations need to consider how observers might be deployed to assembly points pursuant to a cease-fire (ICG 2005, 12). Similarly, it has been suggested that, as the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) deploys 10,000 peacekeepers to Uganda's northern neighbor, the Security Council could ask it to observe LRA movements and report LRA locations (ICG 2005, 12).

Conflict Management Efforts

There have been significant conflict management efforts by national and local leaders since armed opposition groups began challenging Museveni's government in 1986. These efforts have resulted in deals whereby some rebel groups have abandoned their struggles and integrated with national political and military structures. The ef-

Uganda in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

In a decision rendered in December 2005, the International Court of Justice ruled that Uganda had "violated the principle of non-use of force in international relations and the principle of non-intervention" by occupying the Ituri region in eastern DRC and by "actively extending military, logistic, economic and financial support to irregular forces having operated on the territory of the DRC." According to the court, these actions could not be justified by the principle of self-defense. The court also found that the Ugandan army committed "acts of killing, torture and other forms of inhumane treatment of the Congolese civilian population, destroyed villages and civilian buildings, failed to distinguish between civilian and military targets and to protect the civilian population in fighting with other combatants, trained child soldiers, incited ethnic conflict." Although it did not consider that "Uganda's military intervention was carried out in order to obtain access to Congolese resources," the court stated that it had "ample persuasive evidence to conclude that officers and soldiers of the UPDF, including the most high-ranking officers, were involved in the looting, plundering and exploitation of the DRC's natural resources" (ICJ 2005).

forts to negotiate with the LRA have also recently been assisted by key Western states, resulting in a truce that was signed in August 2006.

For more than a decade, Museveni has authorized one of his northern ministers, Betty Bigombe, to pursue direct talks with Kony. Although she had not met directly with him, she visited southern Sudan in 2004. In April 2005, via cellular phones, Kony and Bigombe held the "most comprehensive set of discussions" dealing with cease-fire modalities, aspects of an overall peace deal, and concerns about obstacles to progress; yet fighting continued in Kitgum, Gulu and Pader, despite the contacts between Kony and Bigombe (ICG 2005, 4). (There was concern that Museveni needed to make his offers public and halt military actions in order to give the

process a chance to succeed [ICG 2005, 4]. Along with the recent truce, there have been some other positive results: On May 13, 2005, the Amnesty Commission began to run a national disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration program aimed at helping former rebels to return to civilian life (ICG 2005, 8). This project is funded largely by the Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program that is managed by the World Bank.

In terms of more direct international involvement, a “quartet of interested countries” has been formed, with the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Norway joined since 2005 by the United States. They are trying to promote the peace process. Yet the most prominent example of international involvement has been the recent indictments filed by the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) against five LRA leaders, including Kony and his deputy Vincent Otti (ICC 2005, 1). Local Acholis and diplomats in Kampala are divided on this issue; some feel that justice must be done and that LRA leaders should be prosecuted, whereas others believe that prosecutions will ruin peace efforts and lead to new atrocities (ICG 2005, 9). Although it is likely that the threat of warrants has contributed in applying pressure on the LRA to negotiate and on Sudan to reduce overt support, the effect is unclear now that the indictments have been issued and made public.

Conclusion

The LRA insurgency in the north of Uganda was largely a product of Acholi alienation since 1986. To varying degrees, there is potential for this kind of antagonistic relationship to develop between Kampala and other ethnic groups in various parts of the country. This is one reason why it is important to make sure that the twenty-year-old rebellion in the north has actually ended following the recent truce agreement between the LRA and the government.

A comprehensive settlement strategy concerning the northern insurgency should include

integration packages for destitute LRA members so that they can be reintegrate into society, better governance initiatives that promote the well-being of locals, a stronger humanitarian safety net for the displaced persons, and, more generally, a planning process that normalizes the region and gives northerners more say in government (ICG 2005, 5). Some of these elements may be complicated by the government’s international commitments relating to the ICC’s decision to prosecute key LRA members. Just as the future of the ICC depends partly on the success of its first prosecution attempts, it also needs to show sensitivity to the peace process. It can play a positive role, for example, by helping to identify who exactly is assisting the LRA and providing it with sanctuary and supplies in southern Sudan (ICG 2005, 9).

From a military viewpoint, the UPDF needs to improve its counterinsurgency operations by operating in smaller units and using more sophisticated communications and night vision equipment, along with improving its mobility (ICG 2005, 6). Effective counterinsurgency tactics need to be buttressed by efforts to improve relations with locals, whom the UPDF often accuses of aiding the rebels. As in any peace-support operation, the government has to realize that the “territory” to be captured is “the hearts and minds” of the locals and that this task requires considerable human resources (IISS 2004, 5). Although enhancing the capacity of the local defense units that protect the displaced persons’ camps will improve the situation of civilians (ICG 2005, 6), the larger strategy should consider that an agropastoralist society cannot function if the population is confined to protected camps (Van Acker 2004, 357). This is the dilemma facing Museveni as he tries to increase his political legitimacy in the north part of Uganda.

Indeed, Uganda’s recent history suggests that Kampala’s legitimacy to govern the alienated north will depend on its ability to maintain a respectable human rights record. As documented in numerous reports by international NGOs,

abusive procedures during arrests and detention have contributed to an absence of trust among locals (Van Acker 2004, 356).

Yet respect for human rights standards alone will not necessarily solve the problems that have repeatedly led to civil war in Uganda. The treatment of civilians should be placed in a wider perspective that considers the regional political complexities. Uganda is located in a part of the world where the viability of states is complicated by the porous nature of national borders. The DRC, for example, is perhaps an extreme example of a state that exerts limited control over its geographic frontiers. The problem is accentuated because ethnic solidarities across the borders are sometimes stronger than formal citizenship affiliations. This transnational factor can be used to mobilize ethnic solidarity networks by emphasizing feelings of political neglect (Prunier 2004, 383). It is in this way that some of the unstable states in the region, including Uganda, have seen their local problems transformed into regional problems.

From this standpoint, the spread of Islam is one of the factors that have guided Khartoum's support for anti-Museveni movements. Even though some Ugandans have been pushed to Islamic groups because of social and economic marginalization rather than any desire to adopt the shari'a system (Prunier 2004, 382), the effects of militant Islam in Uganda should not be ignored.

In order to ensure that the insurgency in the north has finally ended, pressure is needed on Sudan to make sure that Kony has no option but to negotiate and bring his long rebellion to a definite close (ICG 2005, 2). The recent signing of a protocol providing for the Sudanese armed forces and the SPLA to join in the hunt for the LRA is an indication that Sudan decided to cooperate more fully with international efforts to bring an end to the LRA's insurgency (New Vision 2005a). With such positive developments, the LRA's days are numbered. Indeed, the truce it has accepted appears to have put an end to the country's civil war and will allow all of Uganda

to develop so that it can perhaps one day fulfill its potential to be a "pearl of Africa."

Michael Barutciski

Chronology

- October 9, 1962 Uganda becomes independent.
- February 1966 Milton Obote suspends constitution.
- January 1971 Idi Amin overthrows Obote.
- August 1972 Amin orders expulsion of Asians from Uganda.
- July 1976 Israeli commandos raid Entebbe Airport to rescue hostages taken by Palestinian terrorists.
- April 1979 Amin overthrown by Tanzanian army and Ugandan rebels.
- December 1980 Obote returns to power after winning elections.
- July 1985 Obote overthrown by Acholi army officers, who set up Military Council.
- January 1986 Yoweri Museveni and his NRA take Kampala and overthrow Military Council.
- April 1986 NRA controls all of Uganda.
- July 1986 UPDA rebels launch attack against NRA from Sudan.
- October 1987 HSMF defeated by NRA 80 kilometers from Kampala.
- March 1988 UPDA signs peace accord.
- April 1991 Operation North launched against LRA.
- February 1994 Negotiations between Betty Bigombe and LRA break down.
- May 1996 Museveni wins presidential elections.
- March 2001 Museveni wins presidential elections. Sudan signs protocol allowing Ugandan troops to engage LRA in southern Sudan. Operation Iron Fist launched against LRA.
- June 2003 Ugandan troops withdraw from DRC.
- February 2004 LRA attacks a displaced persons' camp, killing more than 300 civilians.
- August 2005 Constitutional amendment passed allowing incumbent president to hold office for more than two terms.
- October 2005 ICC announces warrants of arrest issued against LRA commanders.
- February 2006 Museveni wins presidential elections.
- August 2006 Truce signed between LRA and government.

List of Acronyms

ADF: Allied Democratic Forces
 ADM: Allied Democratic Movement
 DRC: Democratic Republic of the Congo
 HSMF: Holy Spirit Movement Force
 ICC: International Criminal Court
 IMF: International Monetary Fund
 LRA: Lord's Resistance Army
 NALU: National Army for the Liberation of Uganda
 NGO: nongovernmental organization
 NRA/M: National Resistance Army/Movement
 PRA: People's Redemption Army
 UMLA: Ugandan Muslim Liberation Army
 UNLA: Ugandan National Liberation Army
 UPDF: Uganda People's Defense Force
 UPDM/A: Ugandan People's Democratic Movement/Army
 UNMIS: United Nations Mission in the Sudan
 SPLA: Sudanese People's Liberation Army
 WNBLF: West Nile Bank Liberation Front

Glossary

Acholi: A people and a territory in northern Uganda.
Baganda: The people of Bugunda.
Buganda: The traditional territory of the Baganda people, in the center of the country around Kampala.
kabaka: The king of Buganda.

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Yemen

(1962–1970)

Introduction

Certainly before the civil war but also during and afterward, North Yemen was among the poorest and most undeveloped countries in the world. Leading up to the 1962 revolution that overthrew the 1,000-year-old theocratic government system, North Yemen was, by dint of both government policy and geography, isolated to the extreme, with minimal links not only to Western states but also to Arab countries. Some little trade originated in the country's rudimentary ports, but the economy was by and large based entirely on subsistence agriculture, which, coupled with its almost nonexistent transport and communications infrastructure, left its population in a state of severe poverty. Such government administration as existed was almost entirely restricted to resource extraction among the cities and large towns, whereas large sections of the country—primarily the mountains and deserts of the north and east—were controlled by a multitude of warring tribes and effectively outside the control of the central government.

To complicate matters, its inhabitants suffered from the singular misfortune of residing on what amounted to the battleground of the Arab cold war (Kerr 1971). Although many of the grievances that led up to the 1962 revolution were real and reflected homegrown conflicts within Yemeni society, the “civil war,” for its first five years at least, was fought mainly by Egyptian

troops on the side of the fledgling republic and with Saudi funding among the supporters of the ousted royal family. What might have been yet another relatively minor armed conflict in an unstable regional backwater was transformed into something totally different by regional geopolitics, as the struggle between royalists and republicans became a battle by proxy in which “a fiery front dividing the whole Arab World” pitted the Arab monarchies against the revolutionary republics (Dresch 2000, 89–91). The war, which resulted in some 200,000 deaths and the devastation of large swaths of the countryside, was prolonged and perpetuated by external intervention. Despite multiple attempts at mediation under the sponsorship of both third parties and the participants themselves, the war itself did not so much end as die out after the departure of Egyptian troops in the aftermath of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and the subsequent ending of Saudi subsidies to the royalist forces. The final reconciliation, achieved by Yemeni politicians under Saudi auspices in 1970, maintained the republic but produced a weak state with low levels of administrative capacity and minimal physical control over its own territory.

Country Background

Yemen as a geographic region has existed for millenia, and when the former northern and

southern republics united in 1990 to form the current Republic of Yemen, they brought into political existence a country based on the model of a modern state that comprised much of historical geographic Yemen. This article focuses on the civil war waged in what was the northern republic from 1962 to 1970.

Administration of geographical Yemen has long been notoriously difficult. Its mountainous terrain provided refuge for heterodox interpretations of Islam and enabled the resident tribes to maintain a high degree of autonomy, resulting in near endemic tribal conflict. It was in this context at the end of the ninth century that several of the tribes of the north invited a well-respected Zaydi (a branch of Shi'a Islam) jurist to take up residence as imam in the city of Saada to act as a mediator between the tribes, which formed the starting point of the Zaydi Imamate. The institution and doctrine of the imamate remained essentially constant throughout the subsequent 1,000 years (Stookey 1978, 79).

During the first half of the twentieth century, Yemen remained one of the most insular societies in the world. The country's awkward mountainous geography made it difficult for the major European powers (not to mention local authorities) to subdue its tribesmen and administer the territory. In any event, there were not sufficient incentives for the great powers to bear this cost: Yemen had neither lucrative natural resources (small deposits of oil were only discovered in the 1980s) nor key strategic sites. After the withdrawal of the Turks at the end of World War I, the contemporary imam, Yahya bin Muhammad of the Hamid al-Din Dynasty, embarked on a campaign of territorial acquisition. This campaign broke the power of the strongest tribal confederation of the Red Sea coast and brought grudging acquiescence from many of the tribes of the north and east. This expansionary drive came to a halt, however, in the 1930s. After losing a war with Saudi forces, the imam signed the Treaty of Taif in 1934 that ceded to the fledgling Saudi kingdom some of his northern territories,

which would become prominent rebel staging grounds during the civil war. In the same year, the imam signed the Treaty of Sanaa with Britain, accepting the status quo and recognizing implicitly the lines of territorial demarcation agreed to by the British and Ottomans in 1905.

Government policy kept Yemen as isolated from the external world as possible. Furthermore, geography and a disinclination on the part of the imams to invest in basic transport and communications infrastructure meant that the different regions of the country were isolated from one another as well, resulting in a low volume of internal commercial and intellectual exchange (Stookey 1978, 184). Such government administration as existed was essentially extractive in the lowlands and on the coast (generally populated by Sunni Muslims of the Shafai school) but mostly nonexistent in the predominantly Zaydi highlands, where the tribes were sufficiently strong to set their own terms for taxation—that is, minimal when they were paid at all (Peterson 1982, 38–39). Fearing arbitrary tax laws and property confiscation, the small merchant class that existed avoided capital investments in Yemen proper and instead sent profits to Aden and elsewhere. The population was dispersed among approximately 50,000 small hamlets with an average settlement size of fewer than 100 people practicing subsistence agriculture, which employed at least three-quarters of the labor force (Peterson 1982, 13). No statistics were kept, and estimating the size of the economy at the beginning of the revolution would entail wild guesswork. Rough estimates from the end of the war showed the economy producing \$100–\$150 per capita in 1970 prices, or \$350–\$500 per capita at current prices, but given the sizable amount of guesswork and poor data quality, these figures should be read as indicative of magnitude.

Yemen has experienced autocratic rule of varying degrees of severity throughout the twentieth century. The prerevolutionary imamate was an absolute monarchy, with pretensions to

but not the capacity for totalitarianism (polity = -6). The republican regime that took power in 1962 lurched between liberal democratic ideals and autocratic practice, varying frequently according to the strategic needs of the republic's Egyptian allies (polity = 0 in 1962 but deteriorated to -3 by 1966). The republican regime that emerged from the civil war was subject to subsequent destabilizing events in the form of border conflicts, internal dissent, and coups, which erased any slim chance there may have been that the constitution adopted at the end of 1970 would in fact produce a democratic regime (polity = -3 in 1970, which deteriorated to -4 by 1974).

The revolutionary regime that took power in 1962 was initially modeled closely on the Egyptian system. A revolutionary command council soon gave way to de facto presidential rule under Abdullah al-Sallal, but the strength of the president vis-à-vis his prime minister and his cabinet waxed and waned according to Egyptian needs and the plethora of "temporary" and "permanent" constitutions issued during the Egyptian period. Sallal was deposed bloodlessly shortly after the Egyptian withdrawal in late 1967, at which point a three-man republican council took over and vacillated between a collective executive and a military dictatorship.

The postwar regime was similar in practice to the republican system in place at the end of the war, with a few modifications. The settlement terms in 1970 expanded the republican council and added a royalist, as well as allocating a minority of seats in an appointed consultative council to the former rebels. The collective executive was retained in the 1970 constitution, although the appointed council gave way to an elected legislature, whose members took office in 1971. A weak and deadlocked government eventually fell to a military coup in 1974, the assassination of the new president in 1977, the assassination of the subsequent president shortly thereafter in 1978 by elements of the southern republic, and the rise to the presidency of Ali Abdullah Salih in 1978.

Conflict Background

The Yemeni civil war, which began the night of the coup against the imam on September 26, 1962, and ended formally with the negotiation of the national reconciliation pact in May 1970, was among the most destructive civil wars of the post-World War II era, in which as many as 200,000 people, approximately 5 percent of the population, were killed (Halliday 1974, 118). Although the war began with a revolution that enjoyed at least some initial popular enthusiasm, it was not a revolution to which large components of the population subscribed wholeheartedly. Meanwhile, an underlayer of religious and tribal tension certainly existed, in which many (but not all) Zaydi tribes lined up behind the ousted imam, and most Shafais supported the revolution, if not the particular republican governments in place, which tended to reproduce patterns of Zaydi dominance of key positions of power.

Finally, it was an ideological war to the degree that at least some republicans were fighting for "change" or "progress" and at least some royalists were fighting to protect a traditional religious institution they considered legitimate. What proportion of either side actually fought on behalf of a deeply held ideology is debatable, but if nothing else, Yemen provided the battleground for other peoples' ideological wars in that it was the venue for the Arab cold war, which pitted the revolutionary republics (Egypt in particular) against the conservative monarchies (headed by Saudi Arabia). Republican forces, which began the war with approximately 6,000 poorly trained regulars and never exceeded many more than 10,000 troops (O'Ballance 1971, 86, 136, 199), were dwarfed by the size of their Egyptian allies, whose forces several times reached 70,000 soldiers (O'Ballance 1971, 155; Stookey 1978, 238; Zabarah 1982, 74). On the royalist side, the six to seven "armies" scattered throughout the north and east counted up to approximately 2,000 semitrained soldiers each (i.e., "regular" royalist forces numbered at most 14,000 troops and probably considerably

less at any given time, as the constituent soldiers faded in and out of the fighting). The vast bulk of the royalist forces consisted of tribal irregulars, which constituted up to 30,000 and 80,000 fighters from those Hashid and Bakil tribes that sided with the imam, and whose services of questionable reliability were bought by funds provided almost entirely by Saudi Arabia (O'Ballance 1971, 141, 142 fn. 1). Only after key geopolitical changes in 1967 (the Egyptian loss in the 1967 war with Israel and subsequent withdrawal from Yemen, and the emergence of a revolutionary Marxist regime in the former British possessions in the south) did the Saudi–Egyptian rivalry give way to an eventual settlement as republican forces managed to outlast their royalist opponents, who melted away in the absence of Saudi subsidies.

In the leadup to the 1962 revolution, the imamate was far from a stable institution, with coup attempts in 1948 and 1955. Some religious scholars opposed the centralization of power in the hands of the royal family and the transformation of the imamate from an elected (by them) institution to a hereditary one, and members of other notable families who had previously provided key administrators and candidates for the imamate itself shared these grievances. Some army officers and disaffected intellectuals, meanwhile, despaired of the backwardness of the country and began to argue (circumspectly) for government reform. From the latter group arose the Free Yemeni Party in 1944, a socially conservative organization that began to advocate constitutionalism from its base in Aden and whose leaders would play key roles in subsequent coup attempts and in the republican regime.

By 1962, Yemen was a hot spot of tension and intrigues. The imam, having endured numerous assassination attempts, was in ill health and increasingly unable to undertake his day-to-day administrative responsibilities. The crown prince, meanwhile, had provided ineffective leadership when previously called upon. The officer corps was increasingly politicized, in part

because of the increasing use of Egyptian military trainers who took it upon themselves to offer “ideological training” as well. A group of fifteen lieutenants had formed a Free Officers Organization (modeled after the Egyptian Free Officers) in December 1961 (Peterson 1982, 86), and approximately a fifth of the 400 officers were Nasserist activists (Halliday 1974, 114). The imam was subject to a venomous propaganda assault from Cairo-based radio broadcasts. The tribes were estranged, and some elements of Hashid were alienated. It was within this environment that Imam Ahmad, defying expectations, died peacefully in his sleep on September 19. Badr ascended to the imamate, but his reign lasted only a week amid the numerous conspiracies. A group of army officers moved against the imam on the night of September 26, the next day (prematurely) announcing Badr's death and proclaiming the birth of the Yemen Arab Republic.

The Insurgents

For most of the duration of the war, two administrations—a republican one centered in the capital of Sanaa and a royalist one centered around the imam and the royal family in the mountains of the north—claimed to represent the true government of Yemen, although in practice this was a legalistic claim on the part of both administrations, neither of which actually administered much government machinery at all. Nonetheless, republican forces controlled the capital for the duration of the war, and they were recognized as the legitimate representative of Yemen by the United Nations within three months of the revolution in December 1962.

The rebels comprised the supporters of the imam, commonly referred to as the royalists. Although it was unclear where noncombatants stood in terms of their support for the imamate or the republic, the core of the support for the imam came from the constituent tribes of the two great tribal confederations in the north,

Table 1: Civil War in Yemen

War:	Royalists vs. republicans
Dates:	September 1962–May 1970
Casualties:	200,000
Regime type prior to war:	–6 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	–3 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	Less than US \$500 (1996 prices)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	Less than US \$500 (1996 prices)
Insurgents:	Royalists (supporters of the ousted imam)
Issue:	Ideological struggle for central government; proxy war between regional powers
Rebel funding:	Foreign aid (principally Saudi)
Role of geography:	Rebels based in the mountains
Role of resources:	No significant natural resources
Immediate outcome:	Saudi-brokered settlement favorable to government
Outcome after 5 years:	Coup and military government
Role of UN:	Failed mediation and peacekeeping mission
Role of regional organization:	Arab League sporadically active
Refugees:	Some internal displacement
Prospects for peace:	Continued instability

Hashid and Bakil (though a not insignificant portion of Hashid sided with the republic). Most of the tribesmen were Zaydis, and so the imam could in theory invoke religious doctrine to call upon their support. Many continued to view the imamate as the legitimate form of authority beyond the tribe, which was one of the factors that enabled the long-running effort at counterrevolution (Stookey 1978, 211–12). Although this may have been sufficient incentive for some of the tribesmen, and whereas many were opposed to what they saw as an invasion by a foreign army (the Egyptian forces), it was clear relatively early on that the large majority fought for material incentives—either for the chance to sack republican-controlled population centers, to despoil Egyptian soldiers, or usually for money or war materiel. On many occasions, the tribesmen offered their services to the highest bidder, and they often switched sides on a temporary basis to maximize their gains (O’Ballance 1971, 90). It was sometimes boasted (or decried, depending on who one asked) that the tribes were “royalist by day and republican by night” (Halliday 1974, 130, 141 fn. 18).

Although some funds and material support came from other conservative Middle Eastern and Islamic states (initially Jordan and Pakistan and later Iran), and although Britain decidedly looked the other way as major royalist supply routes emanated from the south, the vast bulk of the funds provided came from the Saudis. With no natural resources of which to speak and a rural population base living off of subsistence agriculture that produced little surplus that could be taxed, the royalist forces were almost entirely dependent on Saudi funding. The Saudi government, in turn, used this leverage to direct the royalist campaign in ways consistent with Saudi needs.

The royal family was spread loosely throughout the mountains of the north to prosecute the war but were only in sporadic contact and were, regardless, divided into factions. Although all members proclaimed loyalty to Badr as the legal imam, he was not a popular choice. Royalist inability to institute direct administration over its territory and the tribes that lived there persisted throughout the war. Taxes were collected sporadically at best, and movement within tribal



Royalist forces man a recoilless gun on the crest of Algenat Alout in January 1964. (Keystone Features/Getty Images)

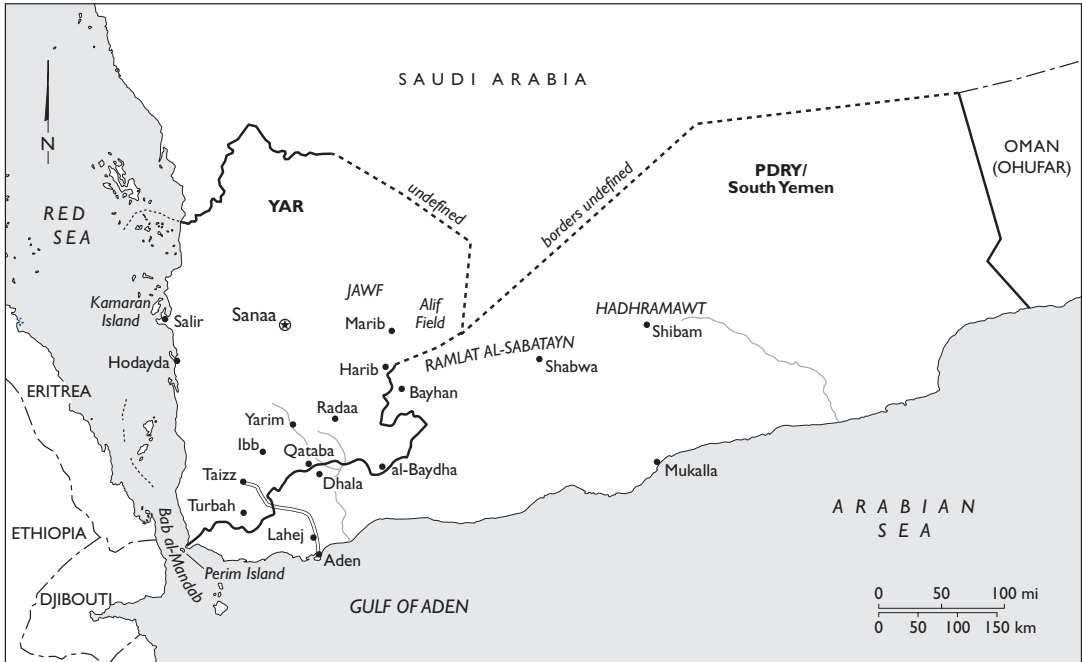
territory took place only as the tribes permitted (Stookey 1978, 239–43).

Geography

Yemen's rugged topography was one of the key factors contributing to the persistence of the civil war. Given the mountainous nature of the terrain to the north, the population was scattered and isolated, public infrastructure in the form of roads and telecommunications was practically nonexistent, and the maneuverability of a conventional army was fraught with logistic problems. During the first few weeks of the war, republican forces consolidated their hold over the Shafai-majority coastal areas (the Tihama) and the triangle between the major cities of Sanaa, Taizz, and Hodayda, where there was essentially no fighting (Dresch 2000, 96). Meanwhile, royalist forces, most often based in caves,

organized themselves in the mountains of the north. From these starting points, the war swung back and forth according to whichever side happened to be waging an offensive campaign (Halliday 1974, 121), although the core republican and royalist territories were set within the first few months after the revolution.

Parallel to the Tihama, the mountains and highlands of the north and east on which the war was fought are composed of broken, difficult terrain. The sheer ruggedness of the rocky mountains throughout Yemen's history had acted as a protective natural barrier to foreign invasions as well as a buffer against the central government. It was also here, primarily in the abundant caves, that the royalist commanders made their bases of operation, although republican forces maintained a few isolated garrisons, most notably in Saada. The imam himself, for



his headquarters, chose a series of caves at Mount Qara in the northwest mountains (forty miles southwest of Saada), where he stayed until being forced to relocate in August 1964. Prince Hassan Hamid al-Din took caves near Amlah (twenty miles east of Saada) for his base, and various other princes spread throughout the northern and eastern regions of the Jawf and Marib. Najran, across the border in Saudi Arabia, became a political and military rallying point for the royalists (O'Ballance 1971, 83–84).

Despite initial successes, it became clear that the conventional army sent by Egypt was ill equipped to fight a war in the mountains. Supply routes were logistically complicated and under constant threat of ambush, and the mountains themselves provided ample shelter and hiding places for royalist forces that quickly adopted guerrilla tactics. The Egyptians turned increasingly to the use of heavy bombers, but the

caves provided both shelter and concealment from aerial raids. Further, one set of caves could often serve essentially as well as another, which meant that the capture of one of the headquarters would merely inconvenience royalist leaders rather than cripple them.

Tactics

The most intense fighting occurred in the initial stages of the war, as both sides attempted to achieve quick, decisive, and total victory in the military and consequently political sense. After this first period, however, the civil war evolved into one of guerrilla tactics on the part of the royalists and counterinsurgency efforts on the part of the republicans and their Egyptian allies. Traditionally, imams called upon tribal warriors for short campaigns on an ad hoc basis, sometimes against foreign invaders, sometimes under the veneer of jihad, but often

The Tribal System in Yemen

The idea of tribes and tribesmen usually conjures images of nomadic livestock herders or Bedouin living in tents in the desert, but the overwhelming majority of tribesmen in Yemen are in fact sedentary farmers who control their own land. This tribal control over the land and the self-reliance that came as a product of subsistence farming have been important in the maintenance of tribal autonomy in Yemen; the tribesmen have maintained political power because they have been both farmers and warriors (Adra 1985, 275–76).

Tribal values focus broadly on cooperation with one's own group (often defined by the particular situation) and autonomy, emphasizing honor, courage, generosity, and self-sufficiency. The large (primarily Zaydi) tribes of the north and east (primarily collected into the Hashid and Bakil confederations, regionally dominant since pre-Islamic times) could form large coalitions for collective action, whereas coordinated activity was more difficult to achieve among the (usually Shafai) tribes of the coast and lowlands (Adra 1985; Dresch 1989; Stookey 1978, 168–84).

The imams were rarely able to subdue the tribes, especially in the highlands, and ruled via a combination of persuasion, bribery, hostage taking, and using one tribe to discipline another. When the civil war broke out, most of the Zaydi tribesmen sided with the imam (although important elements of Hashid fought with the republic), but from the beginning the royalist campaign was hampered by constant bargaining with tribal leaders over the use of tribesmen as warriors and the fees and wages needed to maintain their "armies" in the field and the loyalty of their soldiers.

with strong material inducements in the form of direct payments or license to sack enemy cities (as happened to the capital after the attempted coup in 1948).

Tribesmen followed their own shaykhs, and large forces were inevitably fractious coalitions liable to splinter in short order. Hence, absent

rapid progress or other inducements, the imams could not hope to maintain the cohesion of a large body of warriors, much less a standing army. Small wonder, then, that the initial royalist strategy was to drive straight for the capital to "cut off the head of the snake," bypassing other republican-held territory and population centers along the way. When the attempt to storm Sanaa failed, and especially after the Egyptian offensive of 1963 pushed the imam's supporters firmly back into the mountains, the royalists turned increasingly to guerrilla tactics that, at any rate, were sufficiently familiar to the tribesmen that they could be undertaken with minimal additional military training or discipline. The terrain and the tribesmen, who were the country's most effective fighters, determined the nature of the military tactics (Wenner 1967, 59). In general, aside from a small force assembled under Muhammad bin Hussein, the royalists had no regular army and relied almost totally on tribal forces, acting as guerrillas, the composition of which were subject to negotiation with their respective shaykhs for each contemplated operation (Stookey 1978, 243).

Royalist forces subsisted primarily on small arms, usually Saudi-supplied rifles, supplemented by whatever heavier weapons they could capture from the Egyptians or extract from the Saudis. Meanwhile, republican forces, which up through 1967 essentially meant the Egyptian Expeditionary Force (Yemeni republican troops were generally acknowledged to be ineffective, while tribal auxiliaries were notably unreliable), had access to the full weight of the Soviet-supplied Egyptian armed forces, which included tanks, armored troop carriers, MiGs, and heavy bombers. The nature of the terrain and the enemy they faced, however, substantially nullified the advantage in arms. The tribesmen learned to ambush the tanks and troop carriers in the mountain passes, which regardless were difficult to traverse. Fighter jets were an unnecessary luxury against an insurgency that had no air force. And although bombing raids frightened the tribesmen (initially) and devastated

fields, there was little of intrinsic military value to target, and royalist forces could take cover in the caves and move about by night.

Despite initial successes, it became clear as the war dragged on that militarily the Egyptians were unable to cope with Yemeni conditions, as the increasing reliance on air raids attests (Halliday 1974, 127). Although the Ramadan Offensive of 1963 was a military success, it was precisely so because it was the campaign that most closely approximated a conventional ground war. Once they had pushed the royalists back into the mountains, however, their conventional superiority lost much of its edge, and the Egyptians soon began resorting to counterinsurgency tactics. Troops directed fire into the countryside “at the least excuse” and relied on “vicious air strikes” to deter attacks from hostile tribesmen (O’Ballance 1971, 108). In pursuit of the same goal, the republicans reinstated a new version of the hostage system (imamic practice for keeping order in the countryside included taking hostages from shaykhs as pledges of good conduct) by encouraging the shaykhs to send their sons to Sanaa for school, whereas Egyptian forces sometimes dispensed with the euphemisms and simply took hostages to keep local tribes docile (O’Ballance 1971, 90–93). As the war continued, however, an uneasy stalemate set in, in which republican forces could disrupt royalist supply lines and vice-versa. It was in this context that Egyptian commanders began signing unauthorized local truces with royalist forces to allow supply chains through, which was highly embarrassing to the Egyptian high command (Wenner 1967, 212).

Causes of the War

The revolution of 1962 and subsequent civil war was brought about by domestic conflicts and enabled by external intervention. Internally, Yemen suffered from a number of growing conflicts: between liberal reformers and defenders of the status quo, between the urban population and the rural tribesmen, and between Zaydi and Shafai

Muslims. Although Yemeni in origin, these conflicts were magnified by regional geopolitics, and it is almost certainly without question that these external influences transformed what might have been a relatively limited event into a highly destructive and long-lasting civil war.

Laying aside the relatively small Ismaili and Jewish communities in Yemen, the population was divided almost evenly between Sunni Muslims following the Shafai school of law and Shi’a Muslims following the Zaydi branch. Although doctrinal differences exist, divisions between the two sects were primarily political, as “the average person in Yemen understands very little, if anything, of the doctrinal differences” (Wenner 1967, 35). Zaydis, as cosectarians of the imam, received preferred status over Shafais, who were not recruited for responsible positions in the administration or the armed forces (Stookey 1978, 172–73) and suffered from discrimination and harassment by Zaydi officials (Peterson 1982, 77).

Overlying the sectarian cleavage was the tribal system in Yemen, which tended to reinforce Zaydi dominance. Tribalism was particularly robust in the mountains of the north, where most of the tribesmen were Zaydi. The tribal system became much weaker in the lowlands and along the coast, where most Shafais lived. Although Shafai tribes existed (constituting approximately one-fifth of the tribes in Yemen), they were generally much weaker and less able to act collectively than the Zaydi tribes of the north, particularly those of the Hashid and Bakil confederations. Further, many of the inhabitants of the cities in the lowlands and the coast did not participate in the tribal system, so political divisions between the sects were further strengthened by this urban–rural division (Wenner 1967, 38–39). What small merchant community existed did so in the cities and was primarily Shafai. Yemen under the imams was far from a developmental state, and taxes and duties were designed to extract resources rather than encourage industry or commerce. It is therefore unsurprising that prominent Shafai

merchants were among the key financial backers of the reformers and later the revolutionaries.

Yemen had long been poor and had long been tribal, yet the imamate had persisted for a millennium. What was different was the rest of the world, which had continued to develop and had left Yemen behind. The imams had long maintained a policy of isolationism, perhaps out of unaffected concern for the spiritual well-being of their subjects, but also certainly to preserve their (legally, if not practically) absolutist prerogatives. Yet, following a pattern that repeated itself throughout the Arab states, the imams in the twentieth century began to open Yemen very cautiously to the outside world, seeking to borrow selectively from the military and technological progress that occurred beyond its borders while keeping out cultural and political influences that could upset the status quo. As was the case in the other Arab states, however, it proved a practical impossibility to import science and technology without its attendant political and intellectual baggage.

It was within the context of the Imam's campaign to build up the power of the central government against domestic opposition (i.e., the tribes) and the power of the state against stronger regional entities (i.e., Saudi Arabia and Britain) that Yahya sent the first group of cadets to Iraq for military training in 1936, although the military coup that erupted shortly thereafter caused him to recall the cadets before the end of their training period—despite this cautionary step, these students produced “an inordinate number” of participants in the 1948 and 1955 coups, the assassination attempt of 1961, and the president and several ministers of the first republican government (Peterson 1982, 78; Stookey 1978, 190–91). There had been some mild interactions with outside powers previously, but this mission was to mark the beginning of a long and ambivalent attempt by the imams to enhance their coercive capabilities by building up the army, but with the incompatible aim of keeping the army too weak to challenge their au-

thority. The imams would later acquire military hardware from outside powers but then leave it languishing to rust in crates at the airport or disassemble and hide key components for fear that it could fall into the wrong hands, presumably those of the military, for whom it was ostensibly intended.

Those Yemenis who were able to go abroad—the military cadets, but also those who evaded emigration restrictions to work in the Gulf or Aden—were exposed to startling contrasts provided by life outside the imam's jurisdiction. The comparison was not even with the industrial countries of Europe, but with the developing countries of the Arab world. Yet this may have made the contrasts all the more troubling: The economic, social, and political conditions in these countries were significantly better than those found in Yemen and furthermore had been built up in other Arab and Muslim societies (Stookey 1978, 191). Many Yemenis, especially Shafais who had migrated for work, returned frustrated at the stagnation in Yemen and began to participate directly in political dissent, and those Yemenis who were able to leave the country for education were particularly likely to join the various opposition movements that began sprouting up (Peterson 1982, 72). There was an increased demand for reform among the young and educated, which the old administrative apparatus could not absorb. The country lacked basic infrastructure, and there were no tangible economic developments; and “since the Imam seemed unwilling to move in the direction of reform, the entire system appeared inert” (Zabarah 1982, 43).

It was in this domestic context that the revolutionary movements that had been springing up in the Arab world began to exert influence. Essentially begun by the 1952 Free Officers coup in Egypt, revolutionary Arab nationalism made “remarkable inroads” in Yemen during the reign of Imam Ahmad (Zabarah 1982, 37). Yet Yemen as the regional backwater was far from the locus of the geopolitical struggle, which was focused in the north between “pro-

gressive” and “conservative” regimes (Kerr 1971, 1–10). Yemen was certainly counted among the conservative states, and Imam Ahmad was subject to varying degrees of vilification by the *Voice of the Arabs* broadcast from Egypt. Despite this, the imam in 1956 signed the Arab Solidarity Pact, designed to counter the 1955 Baghdad Pact between Britain and several regional states, with Egypt and Saudi Arabia (both of whom cited the pact as justification for their intervention in the civil war), which among other things sent Yemeni cadets to Egypt for training and brought Egyptian instructors to Yemen. Although the older, Iraqi-trained officers might have been willing to reform the imamate, the new junior officers were exposed to more revolutionary ideas by their instructors, and at least some of the new officers were receptive to these ideas (Stookey 1978, 255). After Egypt and Syria united to form the short-lived United Arab Republic in 1958, Imam Ahmad confederated with them. Yet once Egypt terminated the confederation at the end of 1961, the imamate was targeted again.

After Imam Ahmad died in his sleep on the night of September 19, Badr took over the imamate and appointed himself prime minister in order to undertake a series of reforms. Whether or not he seriously intended to reform the imamate, and whether or not these reforms would have been more successful than his earlier disastrous attempts, turned out to be a moot point when a group of army officers moved against him a week later on the night of September 26. Had this particular group not done so, however, it was likely that another eventually would have; there were several cliques of officers contemplating a coup, as well as subversive groups among Hashid and Bakil (most of which did not know of each other) (O’Ballance 1971, 68). The revolutionaries were comprised of a loose coalition of the urban population: army officers, Shafai merchants, young intellectuals, Free Yemenis, and dissident expatriates. The army officers of course provided the coercive capacity, whereas the merchants provided planning and funds and

and helped smuggle arms and ammunition (Stookey 1978, 225–28).

Within this context, Egyptian influence proved quite important. A large body of the officer corps had formed a Nasserist society, and many were attempting to emulate the Free Officers model that had overthrown the Egyptian monarchy (Halliday 1974, 114). An Egyptian foothold in the Arabian peninsula would be geopolitically advantageous, as it would put Egypt in a position to threaten the conservative regimes there or to take control of the vast oil wealth on the peninsula. Whatever the motive, the Egyptian ambassador was either involved in, or at least had intricate knowledge of, many of the various plots against the imam. Egyptian paratroops were landing in the capital within a day of the proclamation of the republic, and war materiel was landing in the port of Hodayda within two days, and these ships must have been at sea while the coup was taking place (O’Ballance 1971, 67, 84).

Outcome

The civil war that followed the 1962 revolution lasted until 1970, although the outcome was basically established after the republican government was able to survive the departure of the Egyptian armed forces that had done most of the fighting and to break the siege of Sanaa in 1968, which turned out to be the last major push royalist forces were able to muster. After the loss in the 1967 war with Israel, Egypt withdrew its troops from Yemen and left the republican government to fend for itself (although timely assistance from the Soviet Union, the newly independent South Yemen, and Algeria helped to fill part of the gap). With the Egyptian withdrawal, the primary rationale for continued Saudi subsidization of the royalist campaign disappeared. Replacing it was a concern over the radical regime that took power upon independence in South Yemen, and Saudi interests now dictated a rapprochement with whatever government existed in the north in order to contain the south.

Conflict Status

As part of the agreement reached at the Arab League summit meeting at Khartoum in August/September 1967, the Egyptians agreed to withdraw from Yemen, while the Saudis agreed to cut off funding to the royalists, on which both governments made good (in contrast to numerous prior agreements). After the failed last campaign to seize the capital, royalist forces disintegrated quickly as no more funds came in to pay for the tribal irregulars. Sporadic fighting continued for another two years, but republican and royalist representatives (excluding the royal family) were eventually convened in Jiddah in March of 1970, where they were able to reach an agreement on national reconciliation on March 28.

The agreement amalgamated the two governments, but on an unequal basis. Members of the royal family were barred from participating, and the republic survived, with approximately the same governing institutions as had existed since shortly after the Egyptians withdrew. The appointed National Assembly was expanded from forty-five to sixty-three seats, with the additional eighteen seats going to royalist appointees. The republican council, which served as a four-man collective executive under its chair, was expanded to include a royalist. Royalists took up a minority of positions in the council of ministers and ambassadorial postings, and some provisions were made for local administration staying in the hands of whichever side controlled the territory at the time. A conference of “tribal and national” authorities was to be convened, and one of its tasks was to adopt provisions for regional autonomy. After the reconciliation agreement, a permanent constitution was drawn up, submitted for public comment, and promulgated on December 28, 1970. It sought to erect effective barriers against autocracy, provided a bill of rights, stressed the importance of Islam, and made mention of “custom” in an attempt to reassure the tribes (Halliday 1974, 138; Peterson 1982, 130; Stookey 1978, 254; Zabarrah 1982, 108).

Duration Tactics

Internal strife may have caused the 1962 revolution, but external intervention enabled the civil war. Had the events of September 26 occurred without subsequent Egyptian support, it is entirely possible that the imam could have rallied the tribes against the coup plotters, as had happened in 1948 and 1955. Yet, given the Egyptian intervention “to protect the revolution” and the Saudi counterintervention, the 1962 overthrow of the Imam occurred in a fundamentally different political context.

The civil war itself went through three major stages. The most intense fighting occurred from 1962 to 1965, when both sides sought a complete political and military victory. From then until the 1967, the war was in stalemate, with numerous attempts to negotiate an Egyptian–Saudi understanding (the Yemenis were consulted only minimally), and growing dissidence among republicans. The final stage began after the Egyptian defeat in the 1967 war with Israel, after which Egypt withdrew from Yemen and Saudi Arabia ceased funding the royalists. After the last major royalist offensive failed to capture Sanaa, sporadic fighting continued (without serious threat to the republican government) until the reconciliation agreement of 1970 (Halliday 1974, 121).

The country went back and forth between offensive and counteroffensive, and meanwhile, the republic itself went through a large number of constitutions, where institutional changes tended to follow from Egyptian dictates. Although Nasser and Faysal attempted to settle the civil war between themselves on a number of occasions, the agreements generally came to little. The war had certainly reached a stalemate by February 1966, when Britain released a defense white paper that announced that it would withdraw from Aden and the Federation of South Arabia (i.e., its protectorates in what would become South Yemen) by 1968. Whereas an attempt at a settlement (possibly in good faith) was then under negotiation, the British announcement caused Nasser to redouble his com-

mitment to the republic in order to be well positioned to influence whatever new political entity took shape there (O'Ballance 1971, 157). Only after the loss of the war with Israel did Nasser decide to withdraw from Yemen, and then only in a package deal in which Saudi Arabia and Kuwait would cover revenues lost due to the closure of the Suez Canal. As Saudi interests shifted from maintaining a buffer against the Egyptians to containing the radical regime that emerged in South Yemen, attempts at settlement increasingly began to favor conservative trends in the republic as a more realistic option than continuing to prop up the imam.

External Military Intervention

The Yemeni civil war was indelibly linked with foreign intervention. Even had the September revolution caught all outside parties unawares, the rapid deployment by Egypt (and subsequent counterintervention by the Saudi-led conservative monarchies) ensured that what might otherwise have been a relatively mild affair became a long-running, extremely destructive proxy battle (Zabarah 1982, 72, 95). The Egyptian intervention protected the nascent republic from what probably would have been rapid defeat by the northern tribes (Halliday 1974, 120), and only overall Egyptian direction of all levels of the republican government and military held the country together in the early days of the revolution (Peterson 1982, 89).

Though the civil war in Yemen pitted revolutionary republics against conservative monarchies in broad terms, in practice it meant a war fought by Egyptian troops on one side and Saudi money on the other. Nasser seized on the September revolution as an opportunity to regain the initiative in Arab affairs in the wake of the Syrian secession from the United Arab Republic: “[H]is army intervened as the champion of revolutionary progress, while Saudi Arabia and Jordan . . . were put in an ultra-reactionary light in the eyes of their own peoples. Both Syria and Iraq recognized the revolutionaries, but could exert no influence on Yemen and could take no

credit” (Kerr 1971, 40–41). Whether or not prestige or ideology really were the key motivating factors, the vast oil wealth of the sparsely populated peninsula certainly added to the appeal of a foothold in Yemen.

The Saudis, meanwhile, decided that an Egyptian-backed revolution on their borders constituted a mortal threat, especially given early republican pronouncements that “Yemen considers itself at war with Saudi Arabia” and proclamations of intent to create a Republic of the Arabian Peninsula (Dresch 2000, 91; Wenner 1967, 194). Saudi forces were incapable of defending the kingdom’s border against the Egyptian army, and Egyptian aircraft made unopposed bombing sorties into Saudi territory. Saudi counterintervention, in other words, was essentially defensive, and it soon developed that their only effective buffer was the ability of the royalist forces to stave off the Egyptian military, which at times bombed Saudi towns and cities (O'Ballance 1971, 87; Stookey 1978, 247; Wenner 1967, 200 fn. 22).

Events in Yemen did not fail to arouse the interests of the superpowers. The Soviet Union and the eastern bloc countries supported the republic with arms shipments, training, and economic assistance (Zabarah 1982, 79). Although most of this aid did not actually trickle down to the Yemenis themselves—having first been filtered through their Egyptian allies—Soviet aid became relatively more important after the Egyptian withdrawal beginning in late 1967 and was instrumental in helping republican forces withstand the siege of Sanaa.

The United States was uneasy about Soviet aid to the republic and expressed concern about threats to Saudi Arabia, with which it had a special relationship due to the massive oil reserves found in the kingdom. Early in the war, the Kennedy administration promised to support Saudi territorial integrity, and this promise was later backed up by shows of force and military aid, as when in early January 1963 the United States dispatched jet fighters, a destroyer, and paratroopers to Saudi Arabia in response to

Money in Yemen

Yemen under the imams was among the poorest countries on earth—a situation that persists today. The extremely primitive nature of the economy was compounded by the (non)administration of the state's finances. The imams were notoriously tightfisted with state and personal revenues (the distinction barely existed), but it would have been unclear how large the state's financial reserves were, for no statistics, fiscal or otherwise, were kept (O'Ballance 1971, 34–35; Peterson 1982, 70–71).

In addition to a lack of even basic statistics about the population and economy, Yemen had no banking system (nor any banks) and no monetary system. Transactions were conducted in cash, using the Maria Theresa thaler as the currency. The thaler was a heavy silver coin minted in Europe (though later struck from European molds in Yemen) that fluctuated according to the world price in silver. Anecdotes abound on the difficulty and nuisance of using this particular form of currency: Merchants needed to keep huge sacks of the coins to conduct their transactions, government employees had to go to the treasury with a camel or donkey to collect their wages, and dues to international organizations such as the United Nations were paid on the order of tons of coins (at prices prevailing at the time, a pound of the coins was worth approximately \$10 to \$15 US) (O'Ballance 1971, 34; Stookey 1978, 202).

Egyptian bombing raids on Saudi territory (Wenner 1967, 205), and later in 1965, when both the United States and Britain began shipping large consignments of fighter jets and other military equipment to the kingdom (Zabarah 1982, 99). Despite these shows of support for Saudi Arabia and concern over increasing amounts of Soviet aid flowing to republican forces, the United States recognized the republic on December 19, 1962 (United Nations recognition followed the day after), possibly in an attempt to disassociate itself from “feudal regimes,” possibly to scare its conservative allies into re-

form, and possibly to grant Nasser the option to withdraw gracefully. In any event, it became clear later that American recognition was part of a tacit agreement with Egypt in which the latter was to withdraw from Yemen in return for recognition of the republic and cessation of Saudi aid to the royalists, although the sincerity of Egyptian intentions was subsequently put to doubt (Wenner 1967, 203).

After Egyptian troops began arriving in republican-held territory, Egyptian officers quickly took control of most substantial elements of the military campaign, as well as administration of the country. Almost from the beginning, the Egyptian Expeditionary Force “fought the war as foreign invaders rather than as allies of the young republic” (Halliday 1974, 127), which caused considerable resentment among the erstwhile tribal forces they used as irregulars as well as among more independent-minded politicians, who increasingly joined dissident groups and attended conferences aimed at national reconciliation convened independently. Egypt maintained control of aid inflows, which meant that most of what was earmarked for the republic by other Arab or Soviet bloc countries was actually used or distributed by Egypt itself (O'Ballance 1971, 107, 163–64). The president of the republic, Abdullah al-Sallal, was called to Cairo frequently for “consultations” and was sometimes detained there when his presence in Yemen was problematic for Egyptian strategy (as, for instance, when he was kept in Cairo for approximately a year in 1965–1966). Other key politicians were frequently detained in a similar fashion, to be released when it served Egyptian interests.

Royalist forces, meanwhile, were heavily dependent on Saudi funding and support, and this aid varied in volume according to whether or not an attempted settlement was in the works or if royalist maneuvering displeased the Saudi government sufficiently. Aid came in “massive doses” of money and arms when it appeared necessary, but supplies tended to slack off whenever Saudi Arabia believed it necessary to permit

Egyptian forces the opportunity to extract themselves from Yemen (Stookey 1978, 247; Zabarah 1982, 75–76).

The war dragged on longer than Nasser may have calculated initially, and insofar as Yemen was “a testing ground for the struggle for influence between the forces of revolution and conservatism,” Egypt became mired in what was sometimes called “Nasser’s Vietnam” (Kerr 1971, 111). Egyptian troop totals expanded and contracted over the course of the war in line with changes in Egyptian strategy. More than 3,000 troops had landed within a few days of the revolution, and by the end of 1962, 15,000–20,000 soldiers were stationed there. The number climbed to 30,000 by the middle of 1963 in the context of the Ramadan Offensive and by mid-1964 reached 50,000. More than 70,000 Egyptian soldiers were in Yemen in August 1965, after which Egyptian troops began to withdraw under the stipulations of the Jiddah Agreement. After the British announcement in February 1966 that it would be evacuating the south by 1968, Egyptian strategy again changed as its reduced force of 20,000 soldiers mostly withdrew into the Sanaa-Taizz-Hodayda triangle to wait out the British (and the royalists). Troop totals again rose and by the end of 1966 reached 60,000–70,000. Egypt began withdrawing its soldiers in the leadup to the war with Israel in 1967 and just before the war in June had perhaps 15,000 troops in Yemen. After the loss, troop levels rose again slightly to 25,000 at the beginning of July but were finally withdrawn according to the conditions of the Khartoum Agreement beginning in October 1967. Troop figures are scattered throughout a wide variety of sources. The strengths of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force were not published, and given its dispersion through Yemen and troop rotations, the total number was often difficult to assess accurately (O’Ballance 1971, 97). Figures cited (and intervening totals) can be found in Dresch (2000, 90), Halliday (1974, 118), O’Ballance (1971, 84, 97–98, 128, 155–57, 168, 182–83), Wenner (1967, 198, 206–207, 210), and Zabarah (1982, 74, 99).

Saudi policy at this point began to shift. The Soviet Union, Syria, and Algeria began to fill some of the gap left by the departing Egyptians in terms of arms and money; the Federation of South Arabia had collapsed, and the radical National Liberation Front had taken over in what became South Yemen (and in fact began sending volunteers to fight alongside the republicans and to help in forming increasingly radicalized popular militias). The imam and the royal family were becoming liabilities, and Saudi policy shifted from support for the royalists to willingness to deal with conservative elements among the republicans to help contain South Yemen (Stookey 1978, 252).

Conflict Management Efforts

Initial mediation efforts took the form of a letter from President John F. Kennedy to the leaders of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, and the republican government (but not to the imam, whose government still enjoyed official American recognition) in late November 1962, proposing that Egypt would withdraw all its troops and materiel from Yemen, while the Saudi, Jordanian, and British-protected South Arabian Federation governments would cease all assistance to royalist forces. Both Saudi Arabia and Egypt rejected the initiative the next day, however (Wenner 1967, 199–200). This initial effort thwarted, Kennedy sent a mission under Ellsworth Bunker to the region in March 1963, while the United Nations sent its own mission under Ralph Bunche. Neither made any attempts to see royalist representatives, and it was within this context that Egypt drastically increased the number of troops in Yemen during the Ramadan Offensive (probably to present a *fait accompli* to the missions). By mid-April, however, Bunker was able to extract a commitment from both Saudi Arabia and Egypt to establish a “disengagement.” The secretary-general of the United Nations, U Thant, was subsequently able to announce the agreement to the Security Council on April 30, 1963, in which Saudi Arabia pledged to cease all aid to the imam, and Egypt agreed to a phased

withdrawal of its troops and not to take punitive action against royalist forces or breach Saudi territory. The two countries and the republican government consented to the creation of a team of United Nations observers, the costs of which would be born equally by Egypt and Saudi Arabia (Wenner 1967, 206–207).

An advance team of the United Nations Yemen Observer Mission (UNYOM) arrived in mid-June, although actual operations did not begin until the beginning of July. It was to be constituted as a 200-member force, although it was significantly smaller in practice, with as few as twenty-five members. It was “far too small to carry out even an observation role properly,” especially since it was tasked with ensuring that no Saudi aid crossed the long Saudi–Yemeni frontier and that no new Egyptian troops entered to replace those departing (O’Ballance 1971, 103–105; Wenner 1967, 208). In mid-August, the commander of the force resigned, complaining of inadequate support, managerial incompetence of the Secretariat, neglect of his reports, and an unrealistic attitude toward UNYOM’s capabilities (UNYOM, for instance, was prohibited from any contact with royalist forces until late August). In early November, U Thant announced that Egypt and Saudi Arabia were willing to continue funding an extended mandate, and regular two-month extensions under a series of commanders followed until the mandate was finally allowed to expire in early September 1964 (Wenner 1967, 208–10).

After the failure of the UNYOM mission, attempts at negotiation came either from within the Arab world or from within Yemen itself. Unfortunately, the Arab League, at least early on in the civil war, was unable to play a useful role in conflict mediation because it was itself rent by the geopolitical jockeying of its various member states:

By the end of January 1963 . . . members of the League had fallen into a long and complex pattern of quarrels. Iraq refused to recognize Kuwait, and on this account had recalled its ambassadors from all other League members.

Egypt had never recognized the Syrian regime, and had broken off diplomatic relations with Jordan. After the Yemeni republican revolution, diplomatic relations between Saudi Arabia and Egypt were broken off as well. Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon recognized the Yemeni republicans; Saudi Arabia and Jordan still recognized the royalists (Kerr 1971, 40).

Yet inter-Arab relations appeared on the mend by the time of the Arab League summit meeting in Cairo in January of 1964, and then direct Egyptian–Saudi negotiations at the second summit meeting in Alexandria in September produced a plan similar to the United Nations disengagement plan but with a joint Saudi–Egyptian force playing UNYOM’s role. The two countries agreed to “replace” the leaders of the opposing factions and create a new government. As a result of this agreement, representatives of the two factions met at Erkwit in Sudan from October 30 to November 4. The participants announced that a National Congress would take place in late November, to be attended by tribal, religious, and military leaders (O’Ballance 1971, 131; Wenner 1967, 215). None of these steps had any practical effect, however, and the cease-fire broke down almost immediately (Wenner 1967, 214–15; Zabarrah 1982, 97).

The civil war continued in the wake of the failure of the Erkwit Conference, punctuated by growing republican dissent and occasional attempts to convene peace conferences outside the reach of the republican government or the Egyptian forces. The next attempt at outside mediation, again between Egypt and Saudi Arabia, occurred in late August 1965, when Nasser flew to Jiddah to meet with King Faysal. The Jiddah Peace Plan, announced August 24, contained a number of points that, at least initially, both Egypt and Saudi Arabia appeared intent on implementing. As before, there was to be an Egyptian withdrawal (this time phased over a ten-month period) in exchange for the Saudis withholding all military assistance to the royalists. A transitional council comprised of fifty members of all national interests would decide

on a temporary system of government and prepare a national plebiscite to determine which form of government Yemenis wanted. A joint Saudi–Egyptian committee would supervise the borders and ports to ensure that no further military assistance reached either side (Wenner 1967, 219–21).

The council, composed of twenty-five royalist and twenty-five republican representatives (with liaisons from Egypt and Saudi Arabia), convened in Harad on November 23 and deadlocked almost immediately. Part of the problem, again, was that this was a peace plan authored at the behest of the Egyptian and Saudi heads of state and designed to meet their objectives first and foremost. “Nobody consulted the Yemenis at Jiddah. No one even seemed to consider what the Yemenis might think, except to assume that whatever Nasser and Faysal agreed upon would be acceptable to republicans and royalists” (Kerr 1971, 108). The conference broke for Ramadan in late December and adjourned until February 20, 1966, though in fact it never reconvened. More Egyptian troops and equipment began to arrive in early January, and in late February Nasser announced that Egypt would stay as long as necessary (O’Ballance 1971, 154; Wenner 1967, 221–23).

The Yemeni civil war again reverted to a stalemate, which ultimately was not broken until the 1967 Arab–Israeli War in June. At the Arab League summit begun in late August in Khartoum, Nasser agreed to withdraw his troops, after which Faysal agreed to end the subsidies paid to the royalists. Egypt began its withdrawal by mid-October and completed it soon thereafter. The last Saudi aid to the royalists had ceased by March of 1968, after the failure of the siege of Sanaa (O’Ballance 1971, 186–87, 200).

Over the course of 1968 and 1969, conservative elements within the republic were able to dismantle leftist power bases and began to negotiate a final rapprochement with some of the key tribal shaykhs (Halliday 1974, 137). Yemeni republican delegates to an Islamic Conference being held in Jiddah in March 1970 were subse-

quently able, under Saudi auspices, to meet with senior royalists (excluding the royal family) to reach agreement on national reconciliation, which was announced March 28 and which was to mark an end to polemics and a final cease-fire (Halliday 1974, 138; Stookey 1978, 255; Zabarah 1982, 108).

Conclusion

By the time the civil war was over, Yemen had been relegated to the familiar position of regional backwater—the Saudi–Egyptian geopolitical struggle had ceased, and the rest of the world had long since ceased to care. The new government inherited a wasted economy, a weak security apparatus, and minimal administrative capacity. The state remained impoverished, and the government was unable to meet its own budgetary needs without foreign assistance (Peterson 1982, 16; Stookey 1978, 258–62).

Given its poverty and weakness, it was little wonder that Yemen suffered from significant political instability, including a coup in 1974, an assassinated president in 1977, and another one in 1978. Though Yemen did achieve some degree of political stability under President Ali Abdullah Salih from 1978 on, it only rarely entered Western consciousness as something other than a political curio as “one of the two Yemens.” Although Yemen did attain positive coverage when the northern and southern republics united in 1990 and subsequently held reasonably respectable parliamentary elections in 1993, the short civil war of 1994 served as a reminder that Yemen was a far from stable place. The country lapsed into the background again until the bombing of an American destroyer in Aden in 2000 and the September 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center put Yemen back on the map as a potential ally in (or site for) the “war on terror.”

The contemporary campaign against extremist groups—either transnational or homegrown offshoots—is often fought in poor countries that are either failed or in danger of failing. The

focus has expanded beyond particularly salient sites, such as Afghanistan, to include less well-known countries, for example, in and around the horn of Africa (Burrowes 2005), where the focus has shifted increasingly to state building: improving the capacity of governments to actually govern the territories they claim. Many people, particularly those tasked with selling the war on terror to their own publics, cite poverty and lack of freedom as the key sources of militancy. To the degree that this claim is true, a policy of propping up friendly dictators is unlikely to produce long-term security gains. Countries such as Yemen—impoverished, insecure, and difficult to administer—will continue for the foreseeable future to be venues for the war on terror. Success will probably be defined in terms of security outcomes, but whether this security comes from police crackdowns or from tangible economic and political development will likely determine how long this security will last.

Daniel Corstange

Chronology

- September 19, 1962 Imam Ahmad dies. Crown Prince Muhammad al-Badr succeeds to the imamate.
- September 26, 1962 Military coup d'état overthrows imamate.
- September 27, 1962 Yemen Arab Republic is declared; Egyptian troops begin to arrive.
- November 27, 1962 Kennedy peace proposals are announced but rejected the next day.
- December 19, 1962 United States recognizes the republic; UN recognition follows the next day.
- July 1963 United Nations Yemen Observation Mission arrives in Yemen.
- August 26, 1964 Imam's headquarters captured, but imam escapes.
- September 4, 1964 United Nations Yemen Observation Mission withdraws.
- September 1964 Direct negotiations occur between Egypt and Saudi Arabia for the first time at the Second Arab League Summit Conference in Alexandria.
- October 30–November 4, 1964 Erkwit Conference is held.
- April 30–May 5, 1965 Khamir National Peace Conference is held.
- August 24, 1965 Jiddah peace plan agreed upon between Egypt and Saudi Arabia.
- November 23–December 24, 1965 Harad Conference is held.
- February 20, 1966 Britain issues defense white paper announcing its withdrawal from Aden and the Federation of South Arabia by 1968.
- June 1967 June War: Israeli forces occupy Egypt's Sinai Peninsula.
- August 31, 1967 Egyptian–Saudi agreement reached at Khartoum Summit Conference.
- November 3, 1967 Sallal leaves for exile and is formally deposed two days later.
- November 30, 1967 National Liberation Front assumes power in South Yemen.
- December 1, 1967–February 8, 1968 Siege of Sanaa.
- March 28, 1970 Royalist–republican negotiations culminate in a national reconciliation pact.
- July 1970 Saudi Arabia and Yemen establish normal diplomatic relations.
- December 28, 1970 Permanent constitution promulgated.
- March 1971 First popular elections in Yemeni history are held for the Consultative Council.

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Zimbabwe

(1972–1979)

Introduction

Between 1972 and 1979, black African nationalists fought the white-ruled Rhodesian government for control of the country now known as Zimbabwe. The Rhodesian/Zimbabwean civil war could be variously described as an ethnic conflict (white Africans versus black Africans), an ideological battle for control of the state (procapitalist government versus socialist rebels), or a war against a repressive regime. Yet to reduce this conflict to any one of these paradigms would be to obscure a complex reality that touched on all these themes and others; for example, the importance of geography, transnationalization of conflict, foreign intervention, mediation, and international attempts at conflict management.

Ultimately, the nationalists were successful in bringing about majority rule and ending the reign of an oppressive regime that had become an international pariah. However, the legacy of the conflict would include an armed, organized, and ethnically divided African society that would fall back into conflict four years later, and the entrenchment of a one-party state under President Robert Mugabe that would become increasingly authoritarian over time. That a civil war fought along ethnic lines would lead to renewed ethnic conflict within the victorious coalition highlights the complexity and danger of activating ethnicity as an

organizational strategy and a source of political identity.

Country Background

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country in southern Africa situated between South Africa, Botswana, Mozambique, and Zambia. Before the colonial period, two main ethnic groups resided in the country: the Shona, who make up roughly 82 percent of the population, and the Ndebele, who constitute another 14 percent. The Ndebele, who are concentrated in the southwestern regions of the country, migrated up from South Africa during the 1830s, conquered the Shona, and established a kingdom across much of the area of modern-day Zimbabwe.

Geographically, Zimbabwe is relatively flat in the west and mountainous in the east, near the border with Mozambique. The Zambezi River marks the border with Zambia, and the Limpopo River defines the southern frontier with South Africa. Most people are employed in agriculture, with the main cash crops being tobacco and cotton, although mining activity (gold, coal, copper, nickel) makes up a significant share of the economy.

Although Robert Moffatt was the first British citizen to reach the country in 1854, he was followed by his son-in-law, the famous explorer David Livingstone. Christian missionaries soon

began to arrive, and news of the natural and mineral wealth of Zimbabwe reached England. Cecil Rhodes (see sidebar, “Cecil Rhodes”), who had made a fortune in South Africa’s Kimberly mines, soon became interested in Zimbabwe for economic reasons, and under the British South African Company took the country in the name of the British Empire in 1890, after which it was named Southern Rhodesia (Zambia was called Northern Rhodesia). Although it soon became apparent that mining prospects were limited, hundreds of British settlers took residence in Rhodesia after the colonial government made generous land offers.

The conflict in Zimbabwe pitted the white settler government against black African guerrilla fighters. Before the conflict, black Africans had been systematically disenfranchised by the minority white government through strict requirements on voter eligibility that barred all but a

handful of black citizens from the polls. The expropriation of land resources by settlers also limited black economic prospects. At the end of the war, universal franchise was granted with significant power-sharing guarantees for the white population, and in 1980 Robert Mugabe, head of the Zimbabwe African National Union, became the country’s first black African head of state. However, despite the euphoria that followed the first election, Mugabe quickly moved to impose one-party rule and silence his opponents, including Africans who had fought with him during the civil war. During the most intense phase of the conflict, from 1976 to 1979, thousands of white settlers emigrated from Zimbabwe, taking much of their wealth and expertise with them, causing GDP (gross domestic product) to fall substantially. Since 1980, frequent attacks on white farms and mismanagement of redistributed lands have led to food shortages and famine.

Cecil Rhodes

The name *Zimbabwe* is a Shona term meaning “Stone House” or “House of the Chief,” referring to ruins that mark the capital of the ancient kingdom of Great Zimbabwe. However, until liberation from white rule in 1980, the country was referred to as Rhodesia after the political and business leader, Cecil Rhodes, who conquered the area for Great Britain. It was also called Southern Rhodesia before present-day Zambia, formerly known as Northern Rhodesia, gained independence.

Cecil Rhodes is undoubtedly one of the most important and controversial figures in African colonial history. Rhodes was born in England in 1853 but moved to South Africa in 1870 to reunite with his brother. While in South Africa, Rhodes successfully invested in diamond mining—he was a cofounder of the DeBeers mining company—and rose to prominence in the region as a successful entrepreneur. In addition to his business success, he became an influential figure in the British colonial government, eventually becoming prime minister of the Cape Colony.

Rhodes’s interest in the region that is now known as Zimbabwe was partly for his own commercial interests and partly due to his belief in the expansion of the British Empire. His writings suggest that he firmly believed in the superiority of European, and particularly British, culture, and he supported British efforts to acquire continuous holdings from Cape Town to Cairo. Under suspicious circumstances, in 1888 Rhodes convinced the Ndebele king, Lobengula, to grant him mining concessions in the area, but his intention to take the region for the British Crown quickly became clear. Under the British South Africa Company, Rhodes received a royal charter in 1889, with which he raised his own private army, invaded Mashonaland and Matabeleland, and deposed Lobengula (who later died of smallpox). His conquests took him farther north as well, into modern-day Zambia. Lured by Rhodes’s promise of mining and farming wealth, white settlers quickly took holdings in the new colony, displacing the black African population and sowing the seeds of future conflict.

Rhodes’s poor health was a constant problem for him. He died of heart failure in 1902 at the age of forty-nine. As part of his will, Rhodes established the prestigious Rhodes Scholarship, which, unlike the country he conquered, still bears his name (Roberts 1987).

The legacy of the war continues to shape Zimbabwean politics. Most important, although the conflict succeeded in putting an end to a discriminatory system that denied black Africans their basic human rights, ethnic relations have never fully healed. To this day, black African resentment over decades of ill treatment and the continued economic dominance of the white minority sporadically boils over into violence. Moreover, relations between the Shona and the Ndebele minority are often strained.

Conflict Background

Dissatisfaction with white settler rule and the acquisition of the most productive agricultural lands by British settlers led to a mass uprising by both the Ndebele and the Shona in 1896. This conflict, known as the First Chimurenga, or uprising, would inspire the Second Chimurenga, from the mid-1960s through the end of white rule in 1980. The unequal distribution of land was perhaps the most contentious issue during both chimurengas and remains a hot political issue to this day. Whites, who made up a small fraction of the population, owned most of the land and settled in the most agriculturally productive regions of the country.

Not only did the white settlers dominate in agriculture, mining, and urban enterprises, they also dominated the colonial government, despite their status as a small minority. By the early 1960s, black nationalist parties demanding majority rule and land redistribution began to turn to violent tactics, beginning with acts of sabotage and rioting. Although Great Britain was growing sympathetic to the idea of independence and greater African representation, the white settler government, led by the Rhodesian Front (RF) prime minister, Ian Smith, was not willing to compromise. In 1965, the Rhodesian government made a unilateral declaration of independence, freeing itself from British rule but retaining white dominance over the government.

From the mid- to late 1960s, two main rebel factions, the Zimbabwe African National Union

(ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), fought against the Rhodesian government. ZANU was concentrated in the north and east of the country and made extensive use of bases in neighboring Mozambique. ZAPU fought from bases in Zambia and Botswana and concentrated its efforts in the southwestern parts of Zimbabwe. The rebel factions were split along ethnic lines, with ZAPU drawing its support mainly from Ndebele regions and ZANU being a largely Shona party. Although there were attempts to unify the parties in later stages of the conflict, these efforts were short lived and of limited success.

The first shots were fired on April 28, 1966, when a small group of guerrillas crossed the Zambia–Rhodesia border and engaged the Rhodesian Security Forces (RSF) in the town of Sinoia. However, major guerrilla offensives did not begin until late 1972, when ZANU conducted a number of strikes in the northeast. The fighting escalated over the next few years, with the most intense fighting occurring during the final years of the conflict. The rebels were not successful in taking control of significant parts of Zimbabwe, but they were able to cause serious disruption across the country, eventually forcing the government to grant most of their demands as embodied in the Lancaster House Agreement of 1980.

Norma Kriger (1992) estimates that by the end of the war, there were roughly 20,000 ZANU and 8,000 ZAPU guerrillas. She also writes that between December 1972 and early 1979, more than 6,000 rebels had been killed, along with 760 Rhodesian security personnel, 3,845 black civilians, and 310 white civilians. In addition to the dead, the conflict caused tens of thousands of refugees to flee to nearby countries, where refugee camps became a source of rebel supplies, recruits, and subsequent targets for RSF cross-border offensives.

There were efforts at peace before the implementation of a final agreement. In 1978, the white regime signed an agreement to form a coalition government with the United African

Table 1: Civil War in Zimbabwe

War:	ZAPU and ZANU rebels vs. government
Dates:	December 1972–December 1979
Casualties:	27,000
Regime type prior to war:	4 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
Regime type after war:	5 (ranging from –10 [authoritarian] to 10 [democracy])
GDP per capita year war began:	US \$1,481 (constant 1990)
GDP per capita 5 years after war:	US \$1,466 (constant 1990)
Insurgents:	ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union), ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union)
Issue:	Ideological/ethnic struggle for control of central government
Rebel funding:	Soviet and Chinese aid, revolutionary taxation
Role of geography:	Safe havens in bordering countries (Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana)
Role of resources:	Conflict over distribution of farmland
Immediate outcome:	UK-brokered peace settlement leading to 1980 elections, ZANU leader Robert Mugabe elected president
Outcome after 5 years:	Renewed conflict between ZAPU and ZANU partisans
Role of UN:	Facilitated peace talks; no peacekeepers
Role of regional organization:	None; frontline states participated in multilateral talks.
Refugees:	198,000
Prospects for peace:	Unfavorable

Sources: Heston, Summers, and Aten 2006; Polity IV Project 2006.

National Congress (UANC), with Bishop Abel Muzorewa as the new Prime Minister. However, this agreement was rejected by ZANU and ZAPU, who saw Muzorewa's "black" government as a front, with real political power still in the hands of whites. The war officially ended in a negotiated settlement of December 21, 1979. Under pressure from neighboring states, the United Kingdom, and the United States, the parties to the conflict came to an agreement that granted universal suffrage, in effect ending white settler rule. However, substantial constitutional guarantees were given to ensure the protection of white economic and political interests, along with their physical safety.

The Insurgents

The primary rebel organizations were the military wings of ZAPU and ZANU: the Zimbabwean People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) and the Zimbabwean African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), respectively. Following the banning of ZAPU as a legitimate civic or-

ganization in 1962, the party moved to more militant tactics, and ZIPRA was founded in Zambia under the leadership of Joshua Nkomo. Nkomo was born in 1918, was educated at missionary schools, and attended the University of Fort Hare in South Africa. Studying at the first university open to black Africans on the continent, Nkomo was part of a cohort that included many of the most significant figures in the various African independence movements, among them Kenneth Kaunda (later president of Zambia), Nelson Mandela (later president of South Africa), Seretse Khama (later president of Botswana), and Julius Nyerere (later president of Tanzania), as well as two individuals who would form the core leadership of the Zimbabwean nationalist movement, Herbert Chitepo and Robert Mugabe.

In 1963, ZANU split from ZAPU under the political leadership of Ndabini Sithole. Although the split may be attributed to personal animosities within the leadership, over time the split has come to be understood as motivated by ethnic cleavages within ZAPU. Although ethnic

Table 2: Refugees from Zimbabwe in the Frontline States

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Botswana	80	1,100	4,000	17,760	22,530
Mozambique	14,500	30,000	42,400	100,000	150,000
Zambia	N/A	120	30,000	45,320	25,000

Sources: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Data for earlier periods not available.

lines of division were never absolutely clear in practice, ZAPU was mostly composed of ethnic Ndebele, and ZANU was predominantly Shona. Another group, the largely nonviolent United African National Congress, led by Archbishop Abel Muzorewa, was much more moderate than the radical ZANU and ZAPU. Before the final peace agreement, Muzorewa would be asked to head the Rhodesian government, although most black Africans dismissed this government as merely a black façade of the white regime.

In the early years (1964–1977), rebels relied upon a mixture of popular mobilization and coercive recruitment. Political rallies espousing socialism and black nationalism drew several thousand people into the cause. Press-ganging and abductions were also common recruitment tactics employed by both ZIPRA and ZANLA forces (Kriger 1992). However, large-scale coercive recruitment had been largely abandoned by 1977. To begin with, there was international outrage over the practice, and it failed to generate loyal soldiers. Specifically, Preston (2004) argues that international media portrayal of two events—ZANLA’s abduction of hundreds of children from a Catholic missionary school in 1973 and ZIPRA’s similar raid on the Manama secondary school in 1977—brought international condemnation. Once under arms, unwilling soldiers would often desert at the first opportunity, in many instances providing intelligence to the RSF about their former captors. Several of these “turned” rebels wound up in the RSF, including in the elite counterinsurgency force, the Selous Scouts (see sidebar, “The Selous Scouts”).

Another reason coercive recruiting tactics were abandoned is that the deteriorating economic sit-

uation in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe—the product of the ongoing insurgency and international sanctions against Rhodesia—made joining rebel forces more attractive to young Zimbabweans. Preston notes also that between 1975 and 1978, real GDP decreased by 12 percent, with an even larger drop (20 percent) in real wages. Further, by 1976 Rhodesia/Zimbabwe was graduating 50,000 black African students per year with no job prospects and no access to farmable land. Indeed, an *Economist* report on the Manama incident demonstrates that the alleged “kidnappings” may have been facilitated by this economic logic:

The Rhodesian government says they [the recruits] were forced to go at gunpoint: the Botswana government says that 384 youngsters who arrived all claimed to have left Rhodesia willingly. The Rhodesian argument is strengthened by the fact that 10 children, together with two teachers, returned home saying they had escaped. The Botswanan argument is strengthened by the fact that so few managed to get away. It would be hard for four armed men to conduct nearly 400 young people between the ages of 12 and 21 through 12 miles of bush at night if most of them had not been willing to go (*Economist*, 1977a).

The article then goes on to quote several teachers at the academy who reported that students were planning to join the insurgency anyway, due to a lack of employment opportunities. Moreover, constant attacks on rural infrastructure, especially the educational, health care, and freshwater supply systems were generating as many as 50,000 refugees a year (Preston 2004). These highly politicized populations were fertile ground for rebel recruiting efforts.

The Selous Scouts

Cunning, highly mobile, multiethnic, and with unparalleled bush fighting skills, the Selous Scouts were the most feared of all Rhodesian state forces. However, the Selous Scouts came to represent the failure of a counterinsurgency doctrine concerned more with military superiority than with winning the “hearts and minds” of the population. Although responsible for the most significant state victories of the campaign, their often brutal tactics ultimately eroded any remaining support for the government in rural Zimbabwe.

In response to an escalation of insurgent activities in December 1972, the Selous Scouts were formed in 1973 under the direction of Captain Ron Reid-Daly. Reid-Daly had joined the military in 1951 as a member of the Rhodesia Squadron of the British Special Air Services (SAS). His formative experiences as a counterinsurgency specialist came during the British campaign against Communist insurgents in the then British-controlled Federation of Malaya (present-day Malaysia).

The Selous Scouts were a mixed-race fighting force composed of highly motivated volunteers and “turned” guerrilla fighters. There is little argument about their combat capabilities. Skilled at clandestine operations and tracking, the Selous Scouts were responsible for an estimated two-thirds of all enemy combatant deaths. Moreover, the Selous Scouts conducted attacks on guerrilla bases in Mozambique and Zambia, including a 1979 attack on ZIPRA headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, that nearly ended in the death of Joshua Nkomo.

Despite their formidable military capacity, the Selous Scouts were not successful in developing rural support for the Rhodesian government. Most corrosive to their attempts was their use of pseudoguerrilla (also called pseudoterrorist) tactics, which consisted of black African operatives posing as guerrillas to infiltrate rural villages and gather intelligence. In practice, this tactic required all other Rhodesian state forces in the area to evacuate, leaving local populations defenseless against ZIPRA and ZANLA forces. Moreover, Scout units attempted also to discredit guerrilla forces by engaging in acts of intimidation and brutality against villagers.

Outside support was crucial to both ZIPRA and ZANLA and fit patterns representative of the broader struggles of the Cold War and the independence movement in Africa. Self-avowedly socialist (or Marxist, depending on the perspective of the foreign observer) and anti-colonial, both ZIPRA and ZANLA benefited from support from communist countries and other African states. ZIPRA benefited from training and financial support from newly independent African states (e.g., Algeria, Tanzania, Ghana), as well as the Soviet Union and Cuba. Reflecting the competition over leadership of the Communist revolution in the developing world, China offered support to ZANLA in the form of training, weaponry, and operating finances. These ideological differences were also evident in the forces’ strategic doctrines. Following the Soviet line on national liberation, ZIPRA focused its energies more on arming and training a fighting force to engage the RSF in large-

scale, conventional battles. ZANLA, influenced by the Maoist doctrine of sustained peasant rebellion, focused its efforts on undermining the institutions of the state through guerrilla tactics. Operationally, this difference led to a striking asymmetry of force within the country: As of 1977, ZIPRA had some 500 fighters in country; ZANLA counted 3,500 (*Economist*, 1977b).

For the government, South Africa would become a key ally upon which it relied for resources and support. South African police and security forces began operating within Rhodesia/Zimbabwe in 1967, reinforcing Rhodesian forces. Moreover, South African economic aid accounted for 50 percent of the Rhodesian state defense budget. Undoubtedly, the aid of neighboring states served to prolong the war by bolstering the resources of both sides.

“Revolutionary taxation,” or the confiscation of goods from rural villages, was common to both ZIPRA and ZANLA and was another key source

of finances. In the case of Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, there is some debate over the degree to which these rebel groups enjoyed popular support in rural areas and whether or not material support for the rebels was voluntary or amounted to little more than extortion. Kriger (1992) has argued at length that ZIPRA and ZANLA were successful despite their general inability to develop popular support. Partly, this lack of mass support stemmed from the belief that peaceful compromise was preferable to an armed confrontation; also, however, many tribal chiefs who had considerable influence over ordinary people had been bought off by the government. This latter issue led both ZANLA and ZIPRA forces to target the traditional chiefs, who were seen as cooperating with an oppressive regime.

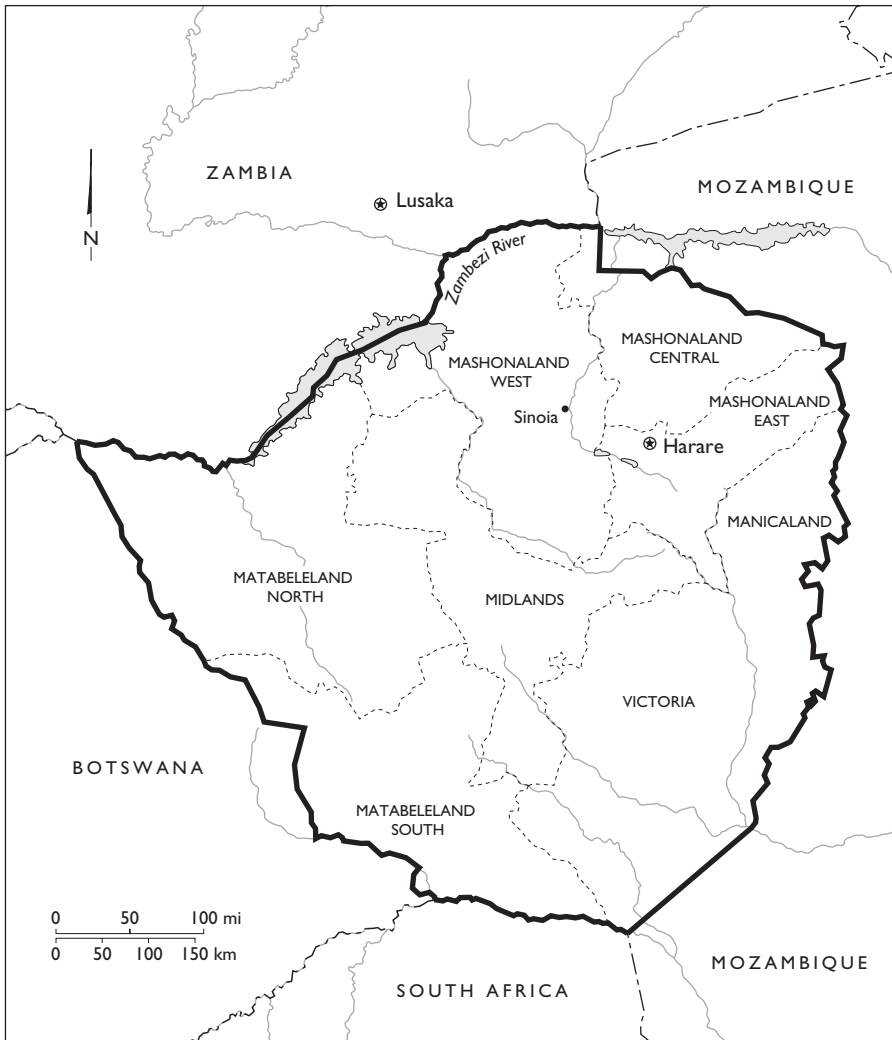
Geography

The geography of Zimbabwe is dominated by two biomes: Moving from west to east, semiarid and sparsely populated savannah gives way to a more densely populated subtropical climate that follows a monsoon pattern, with dense forests and dry months occurring in the winter (summer in the northern Hemisphere). Zimbabwe is largely flat; its most mountainous region is the Eastern Highlands, a range that makes up Rhodesia/Zimbabwe's natural border with Mozambique.

The effects of waging guerrilla war in dense forests were evident. First, Zimbabwe's geography, in addition to patterns of land tenure, created a highly dispersed rural population. With the rural population spread rather thinly over the countryside, Rhodesian state forces were unable to keep remote villages from interacting with rebels. Local knowledge of rural areas clearly favored the indigenous African population over the white settlers as well. Second, the presence of dense forests mitigated many of the advantages in heavy arms and vehicles enjoyed by Rhodesian state forces. This was especially the case during the monsoon season, when rebels were able to take advantage of reduced visibility and diminished state capacity for aerial reconnaissance.

Rhodesian state forces responded in two ways. The first was to concentrate rural populations in protected villages (PVs), ostensibly to separate local populations from rebel forces and better "protect" remote communities from rebel forces. By January 1978, between 350,000 and 700,000 rural Africans had been relocated to some 234 PVs (Beckett 2001). In effect, the PVs were a means of keeping the rural population under control. The second was to develop and train special units in bush fighting and tracking. In 1973, the Rhodesian state formed the Selous Scouts, a mixed-race force composed of highly trained volunteers. For a variety of reasons to be discussed shortly, their tactics were often counterproductive to the goal of building political support for the Rhodesian state, although they were highly effective from a military perspective (see sidebar, "The Selous Scouts").

More salient to the conflict was Rhodesia/Zimbabwe's immediate neighborhood. Bordered to the north, east, and west by newly independent, black African-ruled states and to the south by white-dominated South Africa, both the Rhodesian state and rebel groups benefited from foreign intervention. For ZANU and ZAPU rebels, the benefits came in the form of access to safe havens across the Zambezi River in Zambia (for ZIPRA) and the Mozambican border (for ZANLA). Mozambique would become especially important after the Portuguese government ceded control to Frelimo (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) in 1974. These borders had the added benefit of being composed of natural boundaries (the Zambezi River and mountains near Mozambique) that impeded the mobility of counterinsurgency forces in these areas. To a lesser extent, ZIPRA forces made use of Botswanan territory to avoid the cordon sanitaire, an 864-kilometer corridor of heavily mined territory along the Zambian and Mozambican borders. Despite massive cost to the Rhodesian state (estimated at more than \$2 billion), the cordon sanitaire never managed to halt the flow of rebels into Rhodesian/Zimbabwean



territory. Rebel camps across the border proved invaluable to the insurgency, as rebel units could escape the full force of state repression efforts.

To characterize these havens as entirely safe, however, would be inaccurate. Rebel operations in neighboring countries invited cross-border attacks by Rhodesian security forces and brought about political complications with host governments. Initially, there were limited attacks on external bases by the Selous Scouts, who worked to infiltrate rebel units. But by 1978, attacks on Mozambican and Zambian soil were more extensive, with raids extending as far as Harare. In one infamous incident, the

RSF attacked the Nyadzonia refugee camp in Mozambique, claiming that the camp was sheltering insurgents. However, reports of mass civilian casualties prompted an international outcry and condemnation of the action as violating Mozambican sovereignty.

Moreover, operations in neighboring countries brought rebel groups into political quarrels with host governments. The clearest example of this was Kaunda's 1975 expulsion of the Sithole-led ZANU rebels from Zambia following the assassination of ZANU war council chairman Herbert Chitepo. Chitepo's assassination followed brutal infighting between the

ZANU leadership and rank-and-file field cadres. The infighting, which involved bloody purges of cadres dominated by the Karanga (a clan within the Shona tribe), resulted in a split within ZANU and the rise of Robert Mugabe to a position of leadership. The frontline states (Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, and Tanzania) also had a big role in shaping political developments within the rebel movement. Importantly, these sanctuary governments used the threat of expulsion to force the ZANU and ZAPU factions into a united cause known as the Popular Front (PF). In practice, however, the ZANU and ZAPU components never fully integrated, and internal bickering within the PF meant that it never became a coherent organization. Although the ZANU-PF and ZAPU-PF were formally united and negotiated with the government together, rivalries within the PF prevented a unified black movement. The frontline states would also become instrumental in the peace process as they grew weary of continued fighting along their borders and pushed for compromise.

On balance, access to these cross-border havens was crucial to the rebel war effort, which likely would have been unsuccessful in their absence. Up until the time of the Lancaster House Agreement, rebel forces were still unable to prevent Rhodesian security forces from moving freely across the country; moreover, the rebels had been largely unsuccessful at securing support and protection from rural populations (Kriger 1992). Unable to project conventional military authority on Rhodesian/Zimbabwean territory, the rebels' only lifeline was their access to these havens. This reliance on foreign support, however, had the drawback of limiting the rebel's autonomy from external influence on their tactics and operations.

Tactics

From a tactical perspective, the Rhodesian/Zimbabwean civil war can be broken into three phases: 1972–1975, 1976–1977, and 1978–1979. In many respects, these phases are more similar

than different: Rebel forces employed guerrilla tactics and sabotage throughout, whereas the RSF continuously pursued a policy of isolating rebels from rural populations and using pseudoinurgent infiltrators to compromise rebel units. However, the three phases can be distinguished according to: (a) the dominant form of insurgent activity, and (b) the geographic extent of penetration into Rhodesian/Zimbabwean territory.

For the black African nationalists, their tactics were based on undermining the Rhodesian economy and minimizing direct engagement of the RSF until the final stages of the war. From the perspective of the white settler government, the civil war demonstrated several of the axioms that are foundational to modern counterinsurgency policy: the importance of accurate intelligence and bush fighting capabilities, the necessity of controlling border regions, and most importantly, the centrality of winning the “hearts and minds” of local populations. Unfortunately for the white settler state, this final lesson was learned through failure.

The first phase of the war, 1972–1975, consisted primarily of ZIPRA and ZANLA forces engaging in attacks on isolated communities and intimidation of local black African authorities, particularly tribal chiefs who had been co-opted by the white government. During this period, ZANLA guerrilla forces were responsible for the majority of rebel offensives. Usually organized in groups of fourteen to twenty, ZANLA infiltrators would target remote farms and ranches, often killing black African farmhands (to intimidate others from working with whites) and destroying irrigation and cattle dip systems. Comparatively, violence against white farmers was rare, with rebels focusing their attention on economic infrastructure.

The widening of the second front along the Mozambican border and the diminished role of South African defense forces in 1976–1977 defined the second phase of the war. Although ZANLA forces had been active in Mozambique since 1972, this offensive did not intensify until

Mozambique achieved independence from Portugal and the Mugabe-led ZANU-PF was expelled from Zambia in 1975. This had two effects. First, it intensified the war in Mashonaland and Manikaland, drawing the attention of security forces away from the Zambian border. Also, the move into more densely populated areas allowed the rebels to intensify attacks on the transportation system, with the primary targets being rural buses and private vehicles (Beckett 2001).

The final phase of the war, 1978–1979, was defined by the widening of the rebel offensive and the employment of regular, armored rebel forces on the part of ZIPRA, and heavier engagement of the RSF on Rhodesian/Zimbabwean soil. As mentioned earlier, ZIPRA had made a decision to develop regular forces (as opposed to guerrilla units) in the belief that the war would eventually be won on a conventional battlefield. Prior to the third phase, nationalist guerrillas depended on small arms supplied by the Soviet Union (in the case of ZIPRA) and China (ZANLA), including automatic rifles (AK-47, AK-74) and smaller sidearms (9mm Makarov pistols) (Sibanda 2005). Improvised gasoline bombs and Soviet and Chinese antipersonnel mines constituted the majority of rebel ordnance. In contrast to these earlier phases, during the later years the rebels began utilizing Soviet field artillery (105mm guns) and heavy 82mm mortars, as well as regular infantry units, in attacks on RSF garrisons and white-controlled towns (Brickhill 1995). At the same time, irregular (i.e., guerrilla) forces were for the first time protected from aerial bombings by anti-aircraft guns and mobile surface-to-air missiles.

The experience of the RSF highlights the problem of basing counterinsurgency policy on military, rather than political, concerns. Militarily, the RSF was able to repulse large-scale rebel operations and racked up large body counts and highly favorable kill ratios (between six and fourteen rebel casualties for every one RSF casualty). Most military personnel were deployed de-

fending static positions such as government installations, railways, PVs, and white-owned farms. This meant that only a small fraction of the RSF was involved in frequent armed encounters. To overcome the deficiencies of manpower that arose from this defensive posture, the RSF developed two primary offensive instruments: the Selous Scouts, who were tasked primarily with intelligence gathering but were utilized as strike forces in the later stages of conflict, and airborne, tactical response units known as Fire Forces. The Fire Forces were elite units consisting of light bombers and helicopter-borne troops. Once intelligence on rebel locations was received, these units could be deployed quickly and enjoyed aerial superiority up until the last phase of the war. The Selous Scouts and the Fire Forces were responsible for 75 percent of all rebel casualties (Beckett 2001).

Though the RSF was well-trained and enjoyed a superiority of firepower and numbers, its ultimate failing as a counterinsurgency force lay in its incorrect assessment that the rebel movement was primarily a military problem rather than a political one for the Rhodesian government. This emphasis can be illustrated with two examples. First, the PV (protected village) strategy for separating the rebels from the local population also had the effect of separating black Africans from their agricultural livelihoods and restricting their movements. Moreover, conditions in the PVs were not unlike those in refugee camps, with chronic supply shortages and sanitation problems. For these reasons, PVs became fertile ground for rebel recruitment and in some instances became rebel sanctuaries (Sibanda 2005). The second example was the fact that, although the counterinsurgency campaign was being waged in the countryside, the Rhodesian government emphasized increased political representation for black Africans without addressing the issue of land reform, in which ordinary rural dwellers had a clearer interest. Ultimately, the RSF found that the counterinsurgency campaign could not be won militarily without concrete attempts to ad-



A Rhodesian government soldier holds villagers at gunpoint as he interrogates them about antigovernment guerrilla activity in southern Rhodesia in September 1977. Rhodesia assumed the name Zimbabwe in 1980. (J. Ross Baughman/AP/Wide World Photos)

dress the underlying political and economic sources of support for rebel forces.

Causes of the War

Disentangling the causes of the Rhodesian/Zimbabwean civil war requires separating the conflict from its overlapping anticolonial and Cold War contexts. As has been discussed in previous sections, the civil war was motivated by three principal factors: (1) the economic and political domination of a sizable black African majority by the white African settler minority, (2) an anticolonial conflict between perceived agents of European domination and wrongfully subjugated peoples, and finally (3) a conflict between the market-oriented Rhodesian government and Marxist nationalist groups. In fact, these three explanations are not in tension. Rather, the first cause explains the nature of grievances among the rebel population and its basis of popular support, whereas the second and third causes

help to explain the timing of the conflict and the nature and extent of international involvement.

Land and political representation were at the heart of the struggle in Zimbabwe, as they constituted the primary grievances over which the rebels fought. The Land Tenure Act of 1930 granted the minority white settlers 49 million acres of land and the majority African population just 21 million acres. White settler lands, moreover, were in the most productive and fertile regions of the country. Politically, Africans were greatly underrepresented in government as well. Although the white settler government formally espoused the principle of “racial partnership,” barriers to political participation by blacks, particularly voter eligibility requirements based upon education and income, ensured that most Blacks could not vote and that the legislature consisted of no more than a handful of black representatives. As if economic and political discrimination were not enough, discriminatory policies similar to those in place in South

Africa riled ordinary Africans. As one observer remarked,

Whites in Southern Rhodesia saw themselves as gods. To protect themselves from being desecrated by Africans, so they thought, they put in place rigid separatism in hospitals, hotels, schools, swimming pools, restaurants, toilets and buses. Africans were always served in stores after Whites. At Post Offices, entrances and counters were separate and were not allowed to partake of European alcoholic drinks or beer, even wine for that matter (Quoted in Sibanda 2005, 40).

After World War II, pressure for decolonization and national self-determination mounted—both within Africa and in the colonial centers—which explains the timing of demands for majority rule. Although the United Kingdom formally ruled Southern Rhodesia, the white settler government had considerable autonomy in governing the country. Beginning in the late 1950s, the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC), which was headed by a former trade unionist, Joshua Nkomo, pressed for greater rights for the black majority and eventually took up the cause of universal adult suffrage, which meant an end to white rule. The party demanded that the British colonial government grant majority rule before full independence, although the white minority government was adamantly against the idea. In principle, the British government was sympathetic to the cause of black self-rule, although in practice, implementing expanded rights for the majority population was extremely difficult because of the objections of the settlers.

Widespread protests during February 1959 led to the banning of the SRANC and the tightening of security in Rhodesia. The following year, SRANC members reorganized under the banner of the National Democratic Party (NDP). Peaceful demonstrations organized by the NDP provoked a police backlash and widespread rioting in July 1960, followed by a larger clampdown on dissent. Then, in December 1961, the government banned the NDP as well,

causing many in the African nationalist movement to question the efficacy of nonviolent protest. Leaders began to contemplate a war. Within ten days of the banning of the NDP, Nkomo and his followers established the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), which would subsequently become a major actor in the guerrilla campaign against the Rhodesian security forces. Although ZAPU was banned soon after its founding, its leaders simply went underground or into exile. In preparation for an insurgency, the party began to seek out small arms and send fighters to the Soviet Union for military training; recruitment drives also began in neighboring Zambia. Thereafter, the party began to gravitate more and more toward Marxist ideals, and it drew inspiration from successful models of revolution in Russia, Cuba, and China.

The white settlers were becoming uneasy about stirring African nationalist sentiment, both within Rhodesia as well as across the African continent. In the elections of December 1962, an almost entirely white electorate voted for the ultraconservative party, the Rhodesian Front (RF), to form the government. Headed by Ian Smith, the Rhodesian Front demanded that Britain grant independence to Rhodesia under the current constitution, which guaranteed minority rule. The British, however, were opposed to granting independence without substantial constitutional reforms designed to grant greater political rights to black Africans. The issue came to a head in 1965, when the Smith government issued a unilateral declaration of independence, thereby freeing Rhodesia from British rule and preempting meaningful constitutional reform. Although Britain rejected the declaration, the Rhodesian government viewed itself as ruling an independent nation.

Black Zimbabweans and newly independent African governments across the continent were outraged by the move, and support for a violent struggle mounted. Neighboring Zambia agreed to host rebel factions on its soil to dislodge the minority government. ZANU's military wing,

ZANLA, instigated the first clashes with the RSF at Sinoia on April 28, 1966, a day that is still commemorated as Chimurenga Day in Zimbabwe.

Outcome *Conflict Status*

There were several failed attempts to end the civil war in Zimbabwe. Three negotiated settlements failed in talks before a final deal was struck. Despite the rhetoric of the black nationalists and the uncompromising public declarations of the Rhodesian Front, negotiations began early in the conflict, demonstrating both sides' willingness to find a peaceful solution to the war. The first negotiations were held at Victoria Falls in 1975 but failed quickly, as Smith was still confident of a military victory. The U.S. secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, brokered the second round of negotiations and submitted a settlement plan, but the rebels rejected it on the grounds that it allowed whites to maintain control of key military posts. The next attempt at peace, the Anglo-American initiative, came to an end when Smith struck a side deal with the UANC to allow new elections with black participation. Although Bishop Abel Muzorewa won these elections in 1978 and officially became prime minister, the military was still controlled by whites, and so ZANU-PF and ZAPU-PF rejected the deal.

The civil war in Zimbabwe officially ended with the signing of the Lancaster House Agreement on December 21, 1979. The agreement was signed by the leaders of the Popular Front factions, with Robert Mugabe representing ZANU-PF and Joshua Nkomo representing ZAPU-PF. On the government side, Bishop Muzorewa was the official representative of the Zimbabwean state, although Ian Smith played an active role in the negotiations. With Margaret Thatcher as the new British prime minister, the UK played a much more active role in these final negotiations.

The Lancaster House Agreement was brokered by the British government, who appointed an interim governor, Lord Christopher Soames,

to direct the transition period. It was agreed that elections would be held the following year under the principle of majority rule. However, to get them to agree to the plan, whites would retain 20 seats in the 100-member parliament. It was also agreed that land reform would eventually take place, but the protection of white property would be guaranteed, and fair compensation would be given. Furthermore, during the implementation of the agreement and the 1980 elections, British Commonwealth forces would be on the ground to smooth the transition process and prevent the reignition of fighting.

The elections gave Mugabe and the ZANU a landslide victory. However, to assuage the concerns of the other parties, Mugabe appointed whites to cabinet positions and gave ZAPU leaders, including Nkomo, positions in the administration as well. This "honeymoon" would be short-lived. During the mid-1980s, Mugabe moved to purge his rivals, including his former allies in the ZAPU. Former ZAPU fighters again took up arms, along with other opposition parties, but this uprising was short-lived, and several thousand ethnic Ndebele were slaughtered in Matabeleland. With ZAPU out of the way, Mugabe turned his attention to white farmers. Having held power for more than twenty-five years, Mugabe has periodically encouraged attacks on white farms and the confiscation of farmland for redistribution, mainly to his own supporters.

Duration Tactics

The war lasted from 1972 to late 1979, although rebel forces had engaged in low-level fighting since at least 1966. As mentioned previously, the ability of rebel forces to maintain bases in neighboring countries from which they recruited and trained soldiers was critical to their longevity. Without the protection of the frontline states, the vastly superior RSF would have militarily defeated the rebel movement in its initial phases. Although the rebels enjoyed some sympathy within the local population, the Rhodesian state was adept at co-opting local leaders, gathering intelligence, and disrupting rebel activities. The

RSF's ability to directly engage rebels with its superior military forces, however, was largely confined to its own territory. Limited strikes did occur across the border, especially in Zambia and Mozambique, but the RSF was neither willing nor able to invade these countries with the bulk of its military forces.

The war certainly took a heavy toll on the white government and the settlers. White residents fled the country as the war escalated. Furthermore, international condemnation and sanctions severely harmed the Zimbabwean economy. The assistance of South Africa was critical to the continued functioning of the government—it could not have held out until 1980 without military support from South Africa and access to its markets. Whites certainly viewed black rebel forces as a threat to their livelihoods and even their continued existence in Africa; therefore, they were quite resolute in protecting their interests.

Pressure from the frontline states and from South Africa was critical in pushing the warring parties to the negotiating table. Zambia and Mozambique were hit especially hard by the fighting. Cross-border strikes threatened local citizens in these countries, and the war was an economic disaster for them, particularly for landlocked Zambia, which had lost access to ports on the Indian Ocean. South Africa put pressure on Ian Smith to negotiate as well, fearing that Soviet, Cuban, and Chinese influence in the region would increase the longer the war continued. For similar reasons, the United States also became interested in a quick resolution to the conflict.

However, as Walter (2002, Ch 6) notes, although international pressure was important in forcing both sides to the negotiating table, it was by no means sufficient in getting them to come to an agreement. The government and the rebels attempted negotiations several times since at least 1975, although a final peace would not be agreed to until Lancaster House. Walter (2002) argues that both sides were concerned about their physical safety during and after the implementation of the peace agreement, and that

British commitment to protect both sides was critical. The PF factions feared that if they gave up their external bases and arms, they would be vulnerable to attack by the government. White settlers feared that, were blacks to gain control of the military after a peace accord, they would be subject to reprisals. Therefore, negotiations failed repeatedly until there was a firm commitment on the part of the British to guarantee the security of both demobilized rebels and white Zimbabweans. The British showed their resolve to maintain the peace by their positioning of troops in Zimbabwe and the appointment of Soames as governor.

External Military Intervention

For ZANU–ZANLA and ZAPU–ZIPRA, external support was critical in two respects. First, Soviet and Chinese aid provided them with weapons and training that allowed them a fighting chance against the better-equipped RSF. Second, the assistance of neighboring governments was critical for defensive reasons, as it allowed the rebels a relatively safe place to regroup. For the Rhodesian government, international ostracism coupled with economic sanctions made it clear that the regime could not survive for long. The support of South Africa, also dominated by whites, was critical to the long-term viability of the government. However, for both the rebels and the government, reliance on external support had its costs as well. It meant that external actors with their own agendas easily manipulated them. For example, the frontline states reluctantly pushed ZANU and ZAPU into an agreement to form the PF; pressure from these states also forced the rebels into negotiations with the government despite their ambivalence about doing so. Furthermore, the government's reliance on South Africa for economic and military assistance made it vulnerable to pressure to negotiate on terms that were not entirely its own.

Conflict Management Efforts

Just as external actors were critical to the initiation and continuation of the war, they were also

key to negotiation success. External patrons demanded an end to the war for their own reasons and were able to bring both sides to the table to discuss peace. The United States also pressed for peace and facilitated negotiations, but its role in the final settlement was relatively limited. The UK clearly facilitated the final peace negotiation. The British mediated the Lancaster House Agreement, assumed control over Zimbabwe during the transition period, and provided extensive security guarantees to both sides during the transfer of power.

Conclusion

The civil war in Zimbabwe draws attention to the legacy of colonialism in Africa. Zimbabwe was one of the last outposts of European dominance over African populations, and the white government drew considerable fire from the international community for its racial intolerance. However, the sad irony of the war is that, although black Zimbabweans loathed the white government for its racist policies, the liberation movement was itself divided along ethnic lines. Early on in the conflict, the Ndebele and the Shona formed rival factions, and after the war the Shona-led ZANU established a one-party state.

The war also highlights the importance of external actors to “civil” conflicts. In Zimbabwe, as in several other wars, both the government and the rebels relied heavily upon external patrons for support. Furthermore, the rebels, lacking territory of their own, benefited from external bases in neighboring countries into which the government could not extend its reach. Also important were international sanctions and opprobrium, which imposed heavy costs on the government. However, external support also meant that the warring parties were never completely free from interference by outside actors; although they gained important resources, both the Rhodesian government and the rebels lost a degree of autonomy in directing their own policies. External influences were also important in

prompting both sides to negotiate, and the UK was vital to the success of the final peace deal.

Although Zimbabwe and its neighbor, South Africa, are unique in that a small minority of European settlers dominated a largely black African state, the lessons learned in these conflicts are applicable to conflicts elsewhere. In many multiethnic countries, a particular ethnic group dominates the central government. When political power and economic opportunities are distributed according to ethnic characteristics, disadvantaged groups have strong incentives to rebel. Therefore, efforts to grant political representation and economic opportunities to broad segments of society are vital to ensuring lasting peace.

Cullen S. Hendrix and Idean Salehyan

Chronology

- 1961 Constitutional talks between United Kingdom and South Rhodesia end in the promulgation of a new constitution based on a qualified franchise (repudiating the promise of universal franchise, as was canonized in the 1923 constitution), with majority home rule not guaranteed for another fifteen years. The National Democratic Party, a black African party organized around the expansion of suffrage, rejects the new constitution and is subsequently banned.
- December 1962 Zimbabwean African People’s Union (ZAPU) founded under leadership of Joshua Nkomo. The party is immediately banned, forcing party leadership into exile in Zambia.
- 1963 Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) splits from ZAPU under leadership of Ndabingi Sithole.
- 1965 Ian Smith’s Rhodesian Front government declares independence from Great Britain.
- 1966 United Nations imposes sanctions against Rhodesia’s apartheid regime. Guerrillas based in Zambia engage Rhodesian Security Forces at the Battle of Sinoia, first battle of conflict.
- 1972 ZANLA guerrillas begin infiltrating from bases in Mozambique; war begins.
- 1973 Rhodesian Security Forces launch Operation Hurricane against ZANLA bases in Mozambique.

- 1974 Portugal cedes power to Marxist Frelimo government in Mozambique. Frontline ZANU soldiers rebel against ZANU political leadership, leading to mass executions and infighting.
- 1975 South African government withdraws majority of police and security forces from Rhodesian territory; covert operations continue under the name Operation Polo. ZANU war council chairman Herbert Chipeto is assassinated by car bomb under murky circumstances. Robert Mugabe assumes control of ZANU.
- 1976 Nkomo and Mugabe agree to form alliance known as Patriotic Front; alliance is never fully integrated militarily. U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and South African Prime Minister John Vorster open Geneva Conference; Rhodesian government rejects United Kingdom's offer to appoint transitional government.
- 1978 Rhodesian government announces internal settlement agreement providing for a transitional government with Ian Smith as prime minister but with other portfolios shared between white and black ministers. Fighting intensifies.
- 1979 New constitution for Zimbabwe/Rhodesia is adopted; United Africa National Council (UANC) leader Bishop Abel Muzorewa is elected nation's first black African prime minister. Lancaster House conference convened under mediation of Lord Carrington, UK Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and is attended by representatives of UANC, ZAPU, and ZANU. Agreement is reached on a cease-fire, with new elections to be held in 1980.
- 1980 Patriotic Front alliance breaks to contest elections. ZANU leader Mugabe defeats Nkomo (ZAPU), Muzorewa (UANC), and Sithole (ZANU) and becomes the nation's first internationally recognized president with formal independence from United Kingdom.

List of Acronyms

- GDP: gross domestic product
 Frelimo: Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
 NDP: National Democratic Party
 PF: Popular Front (sometimes listed by faction, ZANU-PF and ZAPU-PF)
 PV: protected village
 RF: Rhodesian Front

- RSF: Rhodesian Security Forces
 SRANC: Southern Rhodesia African National Congress
 UANC: United African National Congress
 ZANLA: Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
 ZANU: Zimbabwe African National Union
 ZAPU: Zimbabwe African People's Union
 ZIPRA: Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

Glossary

- chimurenga:** "Uprising"; refers to the black struggle against white rule.
- frontline states:** Countries that harbored ZANU and ZAPU: Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, and Tanzania.
- Lancaster House Agreement:** Peace agreement (1979) that ended the Zimbabwean civil war.
- Mugabe, Robert:** Head of the Zimbabwe African National Union; later became the first black head of state in Zimbabwe.
- Ndebele:** One of the two major ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. ZAPU supporters were largely from the Ndebele group.
- Nkomo, Joshua:** Head of the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army.
- Shona:** One of the two major ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. ZANU supporters were largely from the Shona ethnic group.
- Smith, Ian:** Rhodesian Front prime minister of Zimbabwe during the civil war.

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CIVIL WARS CHRONOLOGY

Civil Wars and Important International and Security Events 1945–2006

1945

February

Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt meet in Yalta to discuss postwar arrangements.

May

Victory in Europe Day (VE Day).

July

United States conducts the world's first nuclear test. U.S. president Harry Truman, British prime minister Clement Atlee, and Stalin meet at Potsdam to further discuss postwar arrangements. Conference ends the following month.

August

United States drops first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan. Soviet Union declares war on Japan. United States drops second atomic bomb on Nagasaki. Japan surrenders unconditionally to the Allies. Indonesia declares independence.

October

United Nations is founded.

1946

April

Syria declares independence.

July

The Philippines becomes independent.

December

French Fourth Republic is established.

1947

August

Pakistan and India obtain independence.

October

First Kashmir War between India and Pakistan starts; ends in January 1949.

1948

January

Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi is assassinated.

February

Sri Lanka gains independence.

March

Full-scale civil war starts in Costa Rica, continues until April 1948. Belgium, Britain, France, Luxembourg, and The Netherlands sign Treaty of Brussels.

April

Charter of the Organization of American States is signed; Organization of American States (OAS) is established.

May

Israel is declared an independent state. Arab states invade Israel. Israel signs separate armistices in 1949.

June

Berlin blockade starts. Blockade ends in May 1949.

August

Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea) is established.

September

Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea) is established.

1949**January**

Karen separatist insurgency and civil war in Burma (Myanmar) starts.

April

Republic of Ireland is established. North Atlantic Treaty is signed. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is formed.

May

Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) is established.

August

Soviet Union detonates its first atomic bomb.

October

People's Republic of China (PRC, China) is established.

German Democratic Republic (East Germany) is established.

December

Nationalist Party of China (KMT), defeated in Chinese civil war, flees to Taiwan and establishes Taipei as new capital of Republic of China (ROC).

1950**February**

China and the Soviet Union sign Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance.

June

Korean War breaks out.

1951**August**

U.S.–Philippines Mutual Defense Treaty is signed.

September

Australia–New Zealand–United States (ANZUS) Treaty is signed. Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States is signed.

1952**February**

Turkey joins NATO.

April

Under the Treaty of San Francisco, the United States ends its occupation of Japan, Japan gains its full independence.

1953**March**

Stalin dies.

July

Korean War ends.

October

U.S.–South Korea Mutual Defense Treaty is signed.

1954**May**

French forces at Dien Bien Phu surrender to the Viet Minh.

June

Civil war and insurgency in Guatemala start.

Britain and France bomb Egypt to force it to reopen Suez Canal.

August

First Taiwan Straits crisis starts. China stops shelling Quemoy and Matsu islands in May 1955. Second (1958–1959) and third (1995–1996) crises follow.

November

Soviet Union sends troops into Hungary, crushing Hungarian reform movement.

UN General Assembly adopts resolution calling for Britain, France, and Israel to withdraw from Egypt.

July

Japanese Self-Defense Forces are founded.

At Geneva Conference, Vietnam is divided into North Vietnam and South Vietnam.

December

Communist revolution and civil war start in Cuba. Japan becomes a member of the UN.

September

Australia, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States sign Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). SEATO is disbanded in 1977.

1957**January**

Israel withdraws from Sinai Peninsula.

December

Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States and Taiwan is signed.

March

Egypt reopens Suez Canal.

Treaty of Rome is signed. European Economic Community (EEC) is established.

1955**February**

Baghdad Pact is signed. Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and Britain are members of the pact.

August

Federation of Malaya obtains independence.

May

West Germany joins NATO.

Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) is established.

1958**May**

Internal strife in Lebanon and first Lebanese civil war starts (this ends in June 1959).

North American Aerospace Defense Command is created.

1956**March**

Pakistan becomes an Islamic republic.

October

Fifth Republic constitution of France is introduced.

July

Egypt announces nationalization of the Suez Canal Company.

1959**January**

Cuban President Fulgencio Batista is overthrown by Fidel Castro's force. United States recognizes new Cuban government of Castro.

October

Israel invades the Sinai Peninsula.

1960**February**

France detonates its first atomic bomb.

May

U.S. U2 spy plane is shot down by the Soviet Union.

July

Congo (Zaire) experiences secession, anarchy, civil war, and the Belgian Congo crisis until mid-1964.

August

Cyprus obtains independence.

October

Nigeria obtains independence.

1961**January**

United States breaks off diplomatic relations with Cuba.

April

Cuban exiles fail to overthrow Castro at Bay of Pigs.

May

Republic of South Africa comes into existence.

July

Soviet Union and North Korea sign Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance.

China and North Korea sign Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance.

August

Berlin Wall is built.

September

Coup is staged in Syria; the country's withdrawal from United Arab Republic (UAR) is announced.

December

Castro declares Cuba a Communist country.

India invades Goa.

1962**January**

Cuba's membership in the OAS is suspended.

March

The war between Algeria and France ends.

July

Algeria is pronounced independent.

August

Jamaica gains independence.

Trinidad and Tobago gain independence.

September

Military coup takes place in North Yemen, followed by civil war. Egyptian forces complete their withdrawal in October 1967 when royalists no longer pose a threat to the republican government.

October

Cuban missile crisis. China–India war over territorial disputes starts. India declares a unilateral cease-fire in November 1962.

1963**January**

France and Germany sign treaty on Franco-German cooperation (also known as the Elysee Treaty).

June

The United States and the Soviet Union sign Memorandum of Understanding to establish direct “hotline” communications link between the two nations for use in a crisis.

August

United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union sign Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT).

September

Anya-Nya terrorists attack the Sudanese government; first civil war in Sudan takes place. Cease-fire ends military hostilities in March 1972.

November

President John F. Kennedy is assassinated.

December

Civil war breaks out in Cyprus. Withdrawal of Greek and Turkish forces is completed in February 1968.

1964**January**

China and France establish diplomatic relations.

April

Military coup in Laos is followed by the second Laotian civil war. Peace conference in February 1973 leads to formation of provisional government.

August

U.S. destroyers report attacks by North Vietnam in Gulf of Tonkin.

October

China successfully detonates its first atomic bomb.

1965**March**

First American combat troops arrive in South Vietnam.

April

Rebellion starts in the Dominican Republic. Elections supervised by the OAS are held in June 1966.

June

Japan and South Korea sign Treaty on Basic Relations.

August

Second Indo-Pakistani War. Cease-fire is accepted by both countries the following month.

November

Fighting begins on the border between Chad and Sudan after rebellion is instigated in the eastern province of Ouadai. Sporadic fighting continues until late 1972, when rebellion collapses.

1966**March**

French President Charles de Gaulle announces France's complete withdrawal from NATO's military command.

May

Chinese leader Mao Zedong launches Cultural Revolution. China explodes its first hydrogen bomb. Guyana gains independence.

October

Military encounter occurs between Guyana and Venezuela over Venezuela's occupation of Guyana's portion of Ankoko Island.

November

Cuban-assisted guerrilla insurgency occurs in Bolivia; ends in July 1970.

1967**May**

Biafra declares secession and independence from Nigeria. Nigerian forces invade in July 1967; Biafran forces surrender in January 1970.

June

Six Days' War between Israel and Arab starts.

Soviet Union drops diplomatic relations with Israel after Six Days' War.

August

Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is established by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand.

1968**January**

Political liberalization (Prague Spring) starts in Czechoslovakia.

Communist forces launch Tet offensive in South Vietnam.

July

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is signed.

August

Troops of Warsaw Pact countries (except Romania), led by the Soviet Union, invade Czechoslovakia to end political liberalization.

October

Strenuous government efforts to quell Kurdish rebel activity in Iraq leads to serious fighting until January 1970.

1969

March

Military clash occurs between Chinese and Soviet troops over disputed Damansky/Zhenbao Island.

August

British troops are deployed in Northern Ireland.

1970

April

United States invades Cambodia.

October

October Crisis of Québec, Canada, occurs when members of the Front de libération de Québec kidnap British trade commissioner James Cross and Minister of Labor and Vice Premier of Québec Pierre Laporte. Canadian prime minister Pierre Trudeau uses the War Measures Act to increase police power.

Fiji obtains independence.

1971

February

South Vietnamese troops invade Laos with U.S. help.

March

Pakistan sends troops to East Pakistan to suppress an uprising.

August

India and Soviet Union sign Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation.

October

China joins UN and Taiwan is expelled.

December

Bangladesh is established after Pakistani forces surrender in East Pakistan.

1972

January

Pakistan withdraws from the Commonwealth.

February

President Richard Nixon visits China.

March

Bangladesh and India sign Treaty of Friendship.

May

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) take place. Treaty between United States and Soviet Union is signed limiting antiballistic missile (ABM) systems.

July

Simla Agreement on Bilateral Relations between India and Pakistan is signed.

September

Arab terrorists kill Israeli athletes at Olympic Games in Munich.

Martial law is announced by Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos.

1973

January

Denmark, Ireland, and United Kingdom enter European Economic Community.

Ferdinand Marcos becomes president for life of the Philippines.

United States signs peace treaty ending its involvement in Vietnam.

March

Last U.S. soldiers leave Vietnam.

June

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is formally opened in Helsinki.

September

Military coup led by Augusto Pinochet overthrows democratically elected government of Chile.

October

Yom Kippur War between Israel and Arab starts.

1974**March**

Kurdish rebellion under Mullah Mustafa Barazani resumes in Iraq; fighting breaks out. Rebellion is quelled; Iraq proclaims amnesty for Kurds, who are surrounded by April 1, 1975.

July

Turkey lands forces in Cyprus.

Treaty between United States and Soviet Union is signed limiting underground nuclear weapons tests.

November

Irish Republican Army (IRA) bombs Birmingham pub.

1975**March**

Shah decrees Iran a one-party state; by 1976, civil disorder is widespread.

April

Lebanese civil war starts; ends in October 1990.

Pol Pot takes power in Cambodia and establishes Democratic Republic of Kampuchea in 1976. "Killing fields" experienced by Cambodians.

Communist forces capture Saigon; South Vietnam surrenders.

November

Angola obtains independence.

Spanish dictator Francisco Franco dies; Prince Juan Carlos becomes king and head of state.

East Timor declares independence.

December

Indonesia invades East Timor.

1976**January**

Spain and United States sign Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

May

Kurds attack Iraqi forces; conflict continues until the fall of Saddam Hussein.

June

Soweto riots occur in South Africa.

September

Mao Zedong dies.

1977**January**

Civil conflict in El Salvador and the Salvadoran Civil War take place until late 1992.

July

Deng Xiaoping is restored to his offices in China.

September

Panama and United States sign treaty on status of Panama Canal.

Fifteen countries sign Nuclear Non-Proliferation Pact.

November

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat visits Israel.

1978**January**

Armed conflict in Chad erupts. New government is established in June 1982.

March

Israeli forces invade Lebanon.

September

Egypt and Israel sign Camp David peace accords.

December

Crisis occurs between Argentina and Chile over Beagle Channel. Act of Montevideo is signed the following month to ease tensions.

Vietnam invades Cambodia, overthrows Pol Pot regime.

1979**January**

China and United States establish diplomatic relations. Shah of Iran leaves the country for exile.

February

Ayatollah Khomeini becomes religious leader of Iran.

China–Vietnam war starts; ends the following month.

March

Egyptian–Israeli peace treaty is signed in Washington.

April

Yusufu Lule is sworn in as president of Uganda after fall of Idi Amin. Civil war starts in December 1981, continues until 1994.

June

SALT II, treaty between United States and Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic offensive arms, is signed.

October

South Korean President Park Chung Hee is assassinated.

November

Radical students invade U.S. embassy in Iran, take Americans hostage.

December

Soviet Union invades Afghanistan.

1980**January**

Egypt and Israel establish diplomatic relations.

April

United States drops diplomatic relations with Iran.

May

Kwangju Uprising in South Korea is suppressed.

September

Iraq invades Iran. Eight-year-long Iran–Iraq war begins.

October

Syria signs Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with Soviet Union.

1981**January**

American hostages in Teheran are released after 444 days in captivity.

Greece enters European Community.

June

Israel attacks and destroys Iraqi nuclear reactor near Baghdad.

September

Belize gains independence.

October

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat is assassinated; Hosni Mubarak becomes president of Egypt.

December

Wojciech Jaruzelski declares martial law in Poland.

1982**April**

Argentina invades the Falkland Islands.

May

Spain joins NATO.

June

Israel invades South Lebanon.

Argentine troops in the Falkland Islands surrender to British forces.

July

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam begin a campaign of violence against regime in Sri Lanka.

1983**January**

Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela initiate Contadora Group.

March

President Ronald Reagan proposes Strategic Defense Initiative.

May

Accord is signed on Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon.

September

Korean Air Lines jet (KAL 007) shot down by Soviet fighter plane.

October

Suicide bombing of American and French barracks in Beirut takes place.

United States invades Grenada.

First democratic election is held in Argentina after seven years of military rule.

1984**January**

Brunei obtains independence.

October

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is assassinated.

December

Britain and China sign Sino-British Joint Declaration about the future of Hong Kong.

1985**February**

New Zealand declines to allow U.S. guided missile destroyer to visit, under its antinuclear policy.

March

Mikhail Gorbachev becomes general secretary of Soviet Communist Party.

May

Argentina and Chile sign treaty at the Vatican over island disputes in the Beagle Channel.

July

In New Zealand, agents of French secret service sink *Rainbow Warrior*, flagship of environmental group Greenpeace.

November

Argentina and Brazil signed the Foz de Iguazú Declaration.

1986**January**

Portugal and Spain enter the European Community.

February

Single European Act (SEA) is signed.

Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos is ousted.

April

United States launches air attack on Libya.

December

Foreign ministers of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela meet to establish body for political consultation and coordination, later called the Rio Group.

1987**September**

Fighting breaks out in northern region of Curette, People's Republic of the Congo, between government forces and supporters of a former army officer; rebellion ends in July 1988.

November

Bomb explodes on Korean Air Flight 858.

December

Treaty between United States and Soviet Union is signed on elimination of intermediate- and short-range missiles.

1988**July**

USS *Vincennes* shoots down Iran Air Flight 655.

August

Pakistan President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq dies in a plane crash, which also kills U.S. ambassador.

December

Pan Am Flight 103 crashes after a bomb explodes.

1989**January**

Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between Canada and United States takes effect.

Cuban troops begin to withdraw from Angola.

February

Last Soviet troops leave Kabul, Afghanistan.

June

Iranian religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini dies.

Chinese government uses military to suppress democratic movement in Beijing.

Solidarity wins first free election in Poland.

November

Berlin Wall is opened.

In Czechoslovakia, Velvet Revolution begins, peacefully overthrows Communist government.

December

United States invades Panama.

Libyan-trained rebels invade Liberia from Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast).

President Nicolae Ceausescu is overthrown and executed in Romania.

1990**January**

Panama leader General Manuel Noriega is captured by U.S. forces.

February

South African President Frederik Willem de Klerk declares failure of apartheid; Nelson Mandela is released from Victor Verster prison.

West and East Germany reach agreement for two-stage plan of reunification.

Argentina and Britain resume diplomatic relations.

March

Patricio Aylwin becomes first democratically elected Chilean president since 1973.

April

Trinidad, Tobago, and Venezuela sign Delimitation Treaty to settle territorial dispute over the Gulf of Paria.

May

North and South Yemen are united into a single state, the Republic of Yemen.

August

Iraq invades Kuwait.

October

East Germany is absorbed into the Federal Republic of Germany.

November

Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE Treaty) is signed by NATO and Warsaw Pact states.

UN Security Council passes Resolution 678 requiring Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein to withdraw his forces from Kuwait by January 15, 1991.

1991**February**

Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland form the Visegrad Group.

Kuwait is liberated by U.S.-led coalition.

May

Lebanon and Syria sign Treaty of Brotherhood, Cooperation and Coordination.

June

Slovenia and Croatia declare independence from Yugoslavia.

Boris Yeltsin wins first popular presidential election in Russian Federation.

July

Warsaw Treaty Organization is officially dissolved.

Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I) between the United States and the Soviet Union is signed.

August

State Emergency Committee stages unsuccessful coup in the Soviet Union.

September

Soviet Union recognizes independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

October

Agreement reached at Paris conference regarding peace and democracy in Cambodia.

November

Djibouti Civil War starts; continues until July 1993.

December

Commonwealth of Independent States is founded. Gorbachev resigns as president of Soviet Union. Supreme Soviet officially dissolves Soviet Union.

1992**February**

Treaty on European Union (EU; also known as the Maastricht Treaty) is signed.

U.S. president George Bush and Yeltsin hold first meeting since dissolution of the Soviet Union.

March

Bosnia declares independence from Yugoslavia.

June

UN conference on the environment and development (Earth Summit) is held.

July

Cease-fire to halt fighting in Tajikistan is negotiated but soon fails; civil war continues sporadically until June 1997.

September

First democratic election in Angola is held.

October

Peace agreement of Mozambique is signed, ending long civil war.

December

Kim Young-sam wins presidential election in South Korea.

U.S. troops are sent to Somalia.

1993**January**

Czechoslovakia is divided into two independent sovereign states, Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

Treaty between United States and Russia on Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (START II) is signed.

February

Terrorist bomb explodes in World Trade Center in New York.

May

Elections are held in Cambodia under supervision of UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC).

July

In Japanese general election, politicians form first non-Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) government, ending thirty-eight-year dominance of LDP in Japanese politics.

September

Israel and Palestine signed Oslo Accords.

October

In Somalia, eighteen U.S. soldiers and hundreds of Somalis are killed in a gun battle.

In Russia, conflict occurs between forces under Yeltsin and opponents in Russian parliament.

November

Armed clashes occur in Yemen; conflict escalates in January 1994. The civil war ends in July 1994. Official ceremony held for the creation of Eurocorps in Strasbourg.

1994**January**

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) takes effect, includes United States, Canada, and Mexico.

April

Rwanda President Juvenal Habyarimana and Burundi President Cyprian Ntayamira are killed in plane crash. Genocide follows in Rwanda. First multiracial election is held in South Africa.

May

Nelson Mandela becomes first black president of South Africa.

July

North Korean leader Kim Il Sung dies. His son, Kim Jong Il, succeeds him.

Israel and Jordan sign Washington Declaration.

First meeting of ASEAN Regional Forum takes place.

October

United States and North Korea sign Agreed Framework, ending first Korean Peninsula nuclear crisis.

Israel and Jordan sign peace treaty.

December

First Chechen War starts; ends in 1996.

1995**January**

Mercado Commun del Sur (MERCOSUR), customs union between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, takes effect.

Austria, Finland, and Sweden join the EU.

Chinese President Jiang Zemin spells out mainland's stance in Eight-Point Offer to Taiwan.

July

President Bill Clinton announces normalization of U.S. relations with Vietnam.

Muslim civilians are massacred in Srebrenica, a UN "safe area," after its capture by Bosnia Serbs.

October

Second referendum on Quebec's independence is held (the first was held in 1980). Proposal of secession is defeated.

November

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is assassinated.

December

General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (also known as Dayton Peace Accords) is signed.

1996**March**

First direct presidential election is held in Taiwan.

September

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) is opened for signature.

Taliban storm presidential palace in Kabul, capital of Afghanistan.

October

First New Zealand general election under Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system takes place.

November

Switzerland joins NATO's Partnership for Peace.

1997**May**

NATO and Russia sign NATO–Russia Founding Act.

July

Britain hands over sovereignty of Hong Kong to China.

October

Burnham Truce marks end of armed struggle by Bougainville separatists in Papua New Guinea. Permanent cease-fire is signed in April 1998.

1998**April**

British and Irish governments and various Northern Ireland political parties sign Belfast Agreement (also known as the Good Friday Agreement).

May

India announces it has conducted a series of nuclear tests.

Indonesian President Thojib Suharto resigns.

Pakistan announces it has conducted nuclear tests.

August

U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania are bombed by terrorists.

Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA) commits Omagh bombing in Northern Ireland.

October

Israel and Palestine sign Wye River Accords.

Former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet is arrested in London for crimes against humanity and human rights violations. He is released in 2000.

1999**February**

Rambouillet talks held to address conflict in Kosovo but break up the following month.

India and Pakistan sign Lahore Agreement.

March

Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland join NATO. NATO starts bombing Serbia to force it to withdraw from Kosovo.

June

Slobodan Milosevic accepts autonomy plan of Kosovo; Serbian forces withdraw.

September

Peacekeeping troops led by Australia are sent to East Timor to restore order and stop violence.

October

General Pervaiz Musharraf leads military coup and takes control of Pakistan.

Russian ground forces advance into Chechnya.

December

China and Vietnam sign Vietnam–China Treaty on Land Border.

Yeltsin resigns and names Vladimir Putin acting president; Putin is elected president in March 2000.

2000**February**

North Korea and Russia sign new Treaty of Friendship.

March

Chen Shui-bian wins Taiwan presidential election.

May

Coup is staged in Fiji. Two previous coups occurred in 1987.

Israeli troops withdraw from Lebanon.

October

Milosevic is overthrown in Serbia.

2001**January**

Joseph Estrada stands down as president of the Philippines.

February

Treaty of Nice is signed.

April

Black Sea Naval Co-operation Task Group (BLACKSEAFOR) Agreement is signed in Istanbul.

U.S.–Chinese relations are tense after collision of Chinese fighter and American surveillance plane.

Milosevic is transferred to International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

September

Terrorists attack targets in the United States, including the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon.

November

Northern Alliance seizes Kabul in Afghanistan. Alliance had received support from the United States.

Maoist guerrillas launched forty-eight simultaneous attacks on the police and army in Nepal, killing hundreds.

December

Terrorists attack Indian Parliament in New Delhi.

United States grants China permanent normal trade relations status.

2002**January**

United European currency (the Euro) replaces national currency of twelve EU states.

In State of the Union address, President George W. Bush calls Iran, Iraq, and North Korea “the axis of evil.”

April

Cease-fire negotiations are concluded in Angola; Angola civil war ends.

May

NATO–Russia Council is established.

East Timor gains independence.

President Bush and President Putin sign Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT).

June

United States formally withdraws from Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty.

September

Fighting breaks out between Ivory Coast government and rebel soldiers.

Switzerland joins UN.

Bush administration releases National Security Strategy for the United States of America.

October

Two bombs explode in town of Kuta on island of Bali, Indonesia.

Chechen terrorists kidnap hostages in Moscow; three days later, Russians use force to end crisis.

November

China and Association of Southeast Asian Nations sign code of conduct in South China Sea to maintain peace and stability.

UN Security Council passes Resolution 1441, forcing Iraq to disarm.

December

Bush administration releases National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction.

Chile and United States sign the U.S.-Chile Free Trade Agreement.

2003**January**

North Korea withdraws from Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

March

Forces led by the United States invade Iraq.

April

Forces seized control of Baghdad. North Korea admits it has nuclear weapons.

May

President Bush declares major combat phase in Iraq has ended.

July

Inter-American Convention against Terrorism takes effect.

August

Peace agreement ends fourteen years of civil war in Liberia, prompts resignation of former President Charles Taylor, who is exiled to Nigeria.

Negotiated cease-fire between Maoist guerillas and government forces in Nepal breaks down.

October

Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad resigns after twenty-two years in power.

December

Saddam Hussein is captured in Iraq.

2004**March**

Terrorist bombings take place in Madrid.

Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia formally become members of NATO.

May

Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia join the EU.

June

United States transfers sovereignty of Iraq to interim government.

July

International Court of Justice says barrier Israel is building to seal off West Bank violates international law.

U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee releases critical report on the CIA's prewar estimates on Iraq. An inquiry report is critical of prewar British intelligence on Iraq. Independent National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States releases its findings: that the United States had failed to understand the gravity of threat posed by radical Islamists.

August

Extensive fighting between Shi'ite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr's Mehdi Army militia and U.S. and Iraqi forces in Najaf region of Iraq.

Traces of explosives are found in the wreckage of two aircraft that crashed almost simultaneously after departing from Moscow.

September

Chechen terrorists seize school in Beslan, North Ossetia.

November

George W. Bush is reelected president of the United States.

Major U.S.-led offensive is launched against insurgents in Falluja, Iraq.

2005**January**

Elections for a Transitional National Assembly in Iraq are held.

February

In Nepal, King Gyanendra dismisses Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba and his government, declares a state of emergency, and assumes direct power.

North Korea says it is suspending its participation in talks over its nuclear program.

Former Prime Minister of Lebanon Rafik Hariri is killed in Beirut. Cabinet of Prime Minister Omar Karami resigns after anti-Syrian rallies are sparked by the assassination. Calls increase for Syrian troop withdrawal.

April

Iraqi parliament selects Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani as president. Ibrahim Jaafari, a Shi'a, is named prime minister. Syria says it has withdrawn all its military forces from Lebanon as demanded by the UN.

May

European Constitution is rejected in a referendum held in France.

June

European Constitution is rejected in a referendum held in the Netherlands.

July

Four terrorist bombings occur in London. More attempted bombings occur later in month.

August

State of emergency is declared in Sri Lanka after Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar is assassinated.

Israel evacuates settlers from twenty-five settlements in Gaza Strip and West Bank.

Iraqi draft constitution is read to National Assembly.

September

Japan's Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi is reelected.

October

Bombs explode on the island of Bali, Indonesia.

November

Suicide bombers attack three hotels in Jordan.

December

Iraqis go to the polls to choose first full-term government and parliament since the U.S.-led invasion.

2006**January**

Ehud Olmert assumes powers of Israel's Prime Minister Ariel Sharon.

Upsurge of violence occurs in Iraq.

Hamas performs well in Palestinian parliamentary elections.

February

International protests sparked by publication of cartoons depicting the prophet Muhammad.

April

Rebels seeking to oust President Idriss Deby of Chad battle government forces on outskirts of N'Djamena, the capital. Chad cuts diplomatic ties with Sudan, accusing it of backing rebels.

May

Government in Khartoum, the capital of Sudan, and main rebel faction in Darfur sign peace accord; however, two smaller rebel groups reject the deal.

July

As major Israeli offensive is under way in Gaza Strip, Hezbollah fighters based in southern Lebanon attack an Israeli military checkpoint, capturing two soldiers. In response, Israel launches invasion of southern Lebanon that continues for the next five weeks. North Korean missile tests prompt an international outcry.

September

A ceremony to transfer operational command from U.S.-led forces to Iraq's new army is postponed.

October

North Korea claims it has tested a nuclear weapon.

Senate and House of Representatives in midterm elections. These election results are influenced by the ongoing violence and destruction in Iraq.

November

Saddam Hussein is found guilty of crimes against humanity and is sentenced to death. The Democratic party wins control of the U.S.

Paul Bellamy

(The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of his employer)

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