

Armed Conflict and Its International Dimensions, 1946–2004*

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In 2004, there were 30 active armed conflicts, up by one from 2003. Despite this slight increase, the number of armed conflicts remains lower than at any time since the early 1970s. While seven of the conflicts from 2003 were no longer active, one entirely new conflict broke out and seven conflicts restarted, three with action taken by new rebel groups and four by previously recorded actors. A total of 228 armed conflicts have been recorded after World War II and 118 after the end of the Cold War. The vast majority of them have been fought within states. However, a little over one-fifth of the internal conflicts are internationalized in the sense that outside states contribute troops to the conflict. Less overt support, involving, for example, financial and logistic assistance, is found much more frequently. This type of support was present in nearly three-quarters of the armed conflicts after the end of the Cold War. Both governments and rebels receive support from outside states, usually neighboring states. Outside support for governments fighting rebel movements is almost always provided by other governments, not by other rebel movements.

The Year 2004

Since the end of World War II, there have been 228 armed conflicts active in 148 locations throughout the world.¹ During the

16 years after the end of the Cold War, there were 118 conflicts in 80 locations. The annual numbers of conflicts in this period – by intensity and by type – are given in Tables I and II respectively. Figure 1 displays the trend in armed conflict by type back to 1946. The highest number of armed conflicts was recorded in 1991 and 1992, with 51 active conflicts.

In 2004, there were 30 ongoing armed conflicts in 22 locations. After four years of steady decline, the number of armed conflicts increased, but only by one. Despite this slight increase, the number remains at a level corresponding to the low figures of the 1970s, and the probability of any state being involved in conflict is the lowest since the early 1950s (Gleditsch et al., 2002).

During the year, a new armed conflict broke out in northern Nigeria. A small group

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¹ For definitions of key concepts, see Appendix 1.

Table I. Armed Conflicts and Conflict Locations, 1989–2004

<i>Level of conflict</i>	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	1989–2004 ^a
Minor	12	17	20	23	17	19	14	20	18	13	14	14	13	13	8	13	56
Intermediate	15	16	13	10	15	18	18	15	15	12	14	11	12	14	16	10	13
War	17	16	18	18	13	8	6	6	7	14	13	12	11	5	5	7	49
All conflicts	44	49	51	51	45	45	38	41	40	39	41	37	36	32	29	30	118
All locations	36	36	38	38	32	34	30	31	30	32	31	28	29	24	22	22	80

^a At the highest level recorded.

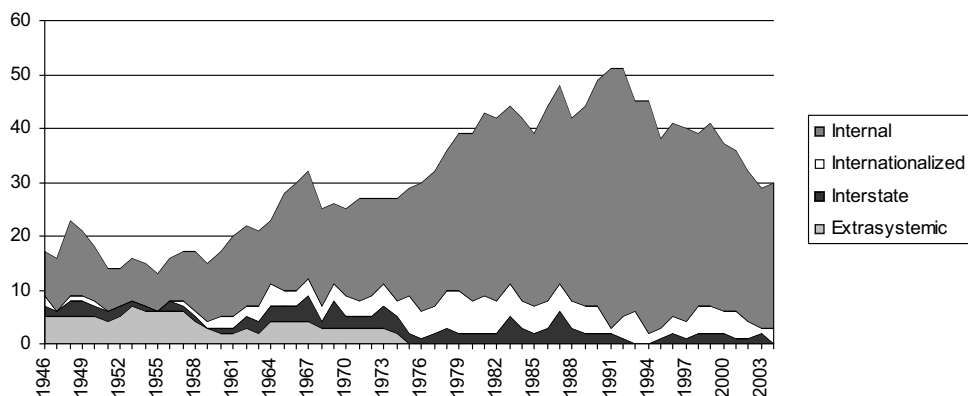
Table II. Interstate and Intrastate Armed Conflicts, 1989–2004^a

<i>Type of conflict</i>	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	1989–2004
Intrastate	38	44	49	47	40	44	36	37	37	33	34	31	30	28	25	27	90
Internationalized Intrastate ^b	4	3	0	3	5	1	1	2	2	4	5	4	5	3	2	3	21
Interstate	2	2	2	1	0	0	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	0	7
All conflicts	44	49	51	51	45	45	38	41	40	39	41	37	36	32	29	30	118

^a For data back to 1946, see <http://www.prio.no/cwp/ArmedConflict>.

^b The category 'Internationalized Intrastate' has been renamed and recoded (prior to 2002, it was called 'Intrastate with foreign intervention' and included fewer conflicts) in order to be consistent with the terminology used in the database at <http://www.prio.no/cwp/ArmedConflict/>. In an Internationalized Intrastate armed conflict, the government, the opposition, or both sides receive military support from other governments.

Figure 1. Number of Armed Conflicts by Type, 1946–2004



of Islamic militants, Ahlul Sunnah Jamaa (Followers of the Prophet), staged an uprising against the Nigerian regime, aiming to carve out areas around several northern cities to establish an Islamic state. This is the first time after the Cold War period that an armed conflict has been recorded in Nigeria. For years, there has been bloody fighting between ethnic groups, causing thousands of deaths. Since this fighting has not involved the government, no conflict has been included in the UCDP list.²

Three conflicts restarted with action by new rebel groups. In Haiti, the most recent conflict was recorded in 1991. In early 2004, opposition to President Jean-Bertrand Aristide became increasingly violent. The rebel group RARF (Front de Résistance Artibonite: Revolutionary Artibonite Resistance) proclaimed a provisional president of northern Haiti and announced that the goal was to take the national palace in Port-au-Prince and compel Aristide to resign. The rebellion spread, eventually forcing Aristide to leave the country on 29 February. In September, the violence recommenced when the

rebel group OP Lavalas (Chimères) demanded that the interim government should step down and return Aristide to power.

After the US-led coalition seized power in Iraq in the spring of 2003, thus ending an interstate conflict to be discussed below, numerous loosely organized and probably uncoordinated groups initiated attacks against the new regime. In 2004, specific groups could be identified and linked to violent acts. During the year, Iraq remained unstable with clashes and bomb blasts occurring on a daily basis. Power was transferred from the occupation forces to the Iraqi Transitional Council on 28 June. The US-led coalition forces remained in the country and continued to support the new Iraqi regime, making up the vast majority of troops on the government side in the conflict.³

In Uzbekistan, a conflict was last recorded in 2000, when IMU (Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan) was fighting the government. In 2004, a group called JIG (Jihad Islamic Group) surfaced, aiming to overthrow Uzbekistan's constitutional system and install Islamic rule. The group was founded by former IMU members returning home after fighting alongside Al-Qaeda against the

² We code such confrontations as non-state conflicts. Our data on non-state conflicts and one-sided violence (violence targeted at civilians, e.g. massacres) will be published annually in the *Human Security Report* (Mack, 2005).

³ For a full list of states contributing troops, see Appendix 1.

USA in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The group launched a series of attacks in the Uzbek capital Tashkent in late March 2004, pushing the government to crack down hard on political as well as Muslim opposition in the country. By late 2004, JIG appeared to have been defeated.

During the year, four conflicts were restarted by previously recorded actors. In Africa, two neglected territorial conflicts once again escalated above the threshold for inclusion: the conflict over Cabinda in Angola and the one over Ogaden in Ethiopia.

In Georgia, the conflict over the break-away region South Ossetia had been frozen for over a decade when it resumed in 2004. After 11 years of *de facto* South Ossetian independence, newly elected Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili announced his aim to restore the country's territorial integrity. His efforts at winning the hearts and minds of the South Ossetian population backfired, and by July the security situation had deteriorated significantly, with sporadic exchanges of gunfire between ethnic Georgian and ethnic South Ossetian villages. In August, tensions exploded, and for a week there was intense shelling and gun battles between Georgian troops and the forces of the *de facto* South Ossetian government. However, a ceasefire signed on 18 August took hold the next day, and for the rest of the year a precarious peace remained in place.

The conflict between the USA and Al-Qaeda was recorded as active again in 2004 after resulting in fewer than 25 battle-related deaths in 2003.⁴ The US-led coalition operations against Al-Qaeda continued in Afghanistan, but with little activity. Instead, most fighting took place in Pakistan's tribal

areas bordering Afghanistan, where Pakistani forces attacked Al-Qaeda militants. Fighting also occurred in Saudi Arabia.

Seven conflicts listed in 2003 were no longer active in 2004. In Eritrea, the conflict between the government and EIJM (Harakat al Jihad al Islami: Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement) seemed to have been dormant during the year and was coded as inactive.

In 2004, there was no fighting reported between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, which is quite exceptional. Apart from a lull in the fighting between 1993 and 1995, this is the only time in the post-Cold War period that the conflict has been inactive. The Pakistani unilateral ceasefire from late 2003 was welcomed by India and soon led to a cessation of violence between the two countries. The ceasefire held throughout 2004 and was accompanied by a thaw in political and diplomatic relations.

The interstate conflict between Iraq and the USA, UK, and Australia was brought to an end on 1 May 2003 when the US-led coalition declared the end of 'major combat' against the regime of Saddam Hussein. However, the USA and its allies quickly found themselves involved in the subsequent internal conflict in the country, as discussed above.

In Liberia, the peace agreement that had been concluded in 2003 between the government and the rebel groups LURD (Liberians United for Reconciliation and Development) and MODEL (Movement for Democracy in Liberia) held during 2004. Although there were no battle-related deaths during the year and the political process seemed to be on track, the situation in Liberia was far from stable. Large-scale riots took place on several occasions.

In Myanmar, the longstanding conflict over the Karen territory – initiated in 1948 and active all years but three since then – did not reach the level for inclusion in 2004. An unofficial truce from 2003 was transformed

⁴ The USA–Al-Qaeda conflict has been brought back on to the list. For a full discussion of why this occurred and the logic behind placing the location of the conflict in the USA, see <http://www.ucdp.uu.se>.

into a de facto ceasefire that was only sporadically violated.

In Senegal's conflict-ridden Casamance region, 2004 was uncharacteristically quiet. The political wing of the separatist guerrillas in the MFDC (Mouvement des forces démocratiques de Casamance: Movement of the Democratic Forces of Casamance) was committed to a negotiated settlement. On 30 December, a peace agreement was signed, outlining a negotiation process to be initiated in 2005. However, the absence of some hardline factions among the signatories hinted at the risk of a difficult process.

The conflict in Sri Lanka did not reach the level for inclusion in 2004. The Memorandum of Cessation of Hostilities that had been signed on 22 February 2002 remained in place, despite some violations. However, the facilitators did not manage to restart the peace process, which had reached an impasse in 2003. Thus, despite the low conflict activity, no long-term solution had yet been found.

Peace agreements were signed in two countries in 2004. In addition to the one in Senegal, the government of Sudan and the SPLM (Sudan People's Liberation Movement) signed four partial peace agreements in the context of the Machakos process.

In every year since the end of World War II, the number of ongoing internal armed conflicts has exceeded the number of interstate conflicts. The general increase in the number of conflicts between 1946 and 1992, as shown in Figure 1, is largely explained by an increase in internal conflicts. The number of interstate conflicts has remained fairly stable, ranging between zero (1955, 1959, 1993, and 1994) and six (1987). In 2004, again all of the 30 conflicts were fought within states. Three of them were internationalized. Both the Afghan and the Iraqi governments received external support from a range of states allied to the USA. The con-

licts in Afghanistan and Iraq are both closely related to the conflict between the USA and Al-Qaeda. In 2004, this conflict was fought both in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, and as in the former conflicts, a range of actors were active, supporting the USA.⁵

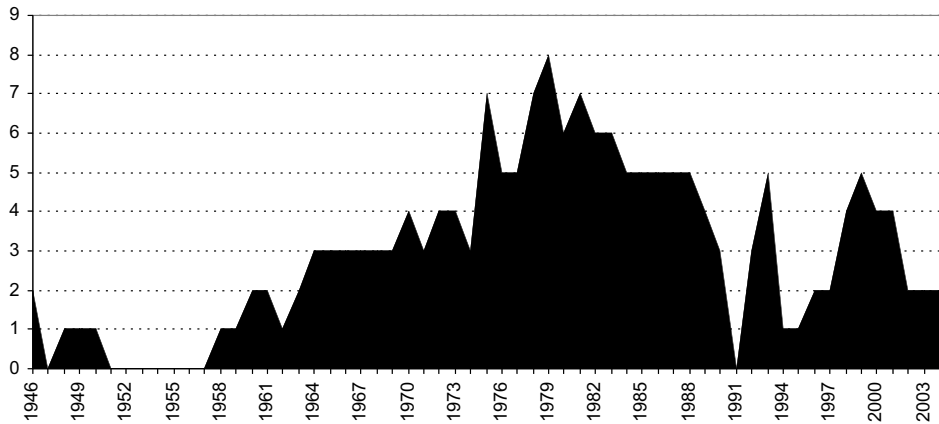
External Actors in Internal Conflicts

The events following 11 September 2001 highlighted the phenomenon of international involvement in internal conflicts. Numerous countries were drawn into the conflicts of other states. Countries as diverse as Norway, El Salvador, and Tonga have sent regular troops to fight in Afghanistan and Iraq. Others have provided logistic support or opened up their territories for land transportation or overflights. Of course, an external dimension in internal conflicts is not a new phenomenon. During the Cold War, external actors sent troops and supported warring parties by various means.

Of the 165 internal armed conflicts active since the end of World War II, 36 (or about one-fifth) have involved troops from an external state. Figure 2 shows that the number of internationalized armed conflicts started climbing a few years into the Cold War. A peak with nine internationalized conflicts was reached in 1979, including the interventions in Afghanistan and Angola. Since 1957, only 1991 has been without internationalized internal conflicts, ironically the very year for which we have recorded the highest number of conflicts. This is most probably a sign of the large-scale structural changes occurring at the time. The global Cold War confrontation had ceased, and a new phase had yet to commence. By 1992, however, two of the defining processes of the early post-Cold War period – the dissolutions of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia –

⁵ For the full list of states contributing troops, see Appendix 1.

Figure 2. Internationalized Armed Conflicts, 1946–2004



had been initiated and soon became associated with external intervention.

Who Are the External Actors?

The external actors can be sorted into three categories: (1) major powers and/or their allies acting to gain or deny strategic advantages vis-à-vis an opposing major power (notably, the Cold War pattern); (2) neighboring countries with concerns of their own (possibly in addition to alliance considerations); and (3) interventions of a more asymmetric nature, involving troop engagement of major powers in a non-major power's internal conflict (e.g. the neocolonial pattern as well as the global war on terror). These categories overlap. The superpower interventions during the Cold War often became intertwined with regional alliances and animosities. For example, in the 1970s and 1980s the conflict in Angola became a mini-cosmos of the Cold War, and the regional conflict formed around the apartheid system in South Africa. Cuba contributed thousands of troops to the Marxist government, while neighboring South Africa for many years aided the rebels in UNITA (União nacional para a independência total de Angola: National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

Seven interventions are clearly part of the Cold War: Afghanistan 1979–88, Angola 1975–89, Cambodia 1970–89, Cuba 1961, Ethiopia (Ogaden) 1975–83, Laos 1963–73, and South Korea 1948–50. However, a vast majority (21) of interventions were carried out by neighboring states. This type of intervention dominated through the whole 1946–2004 period. While some interventions by neighbors were linked to the Cold War, their frequency was even more pronounced after 1989. In fact, between 1989 and 1998, only neighbors were recorded as external actors in internationalized internal conflicts.

Ten interventions were clearly asymmetric. In three conflicts, former colonial powers acted in their former colonies. Both France and the UK have intervened in this way. The years 2000 and 2001 also saw interventions by regional powers aiming to assert or spread their influence: Russian troops participating in Uzbekistan and Libyan forces in the Central African Republic. Efforts officially motivated as humanitarian, like the British engagement in Sierra Leone in 2000 and NATO's involvement in the Kosovo conflict, are also included in this category. Since the events of 11 September 2001, a number of external troop involvements linked to the

global war on terror have also been added to this category. Since 2001, this campaign has come to dominate external troop involvement, and in 2004, this was the only type of external intervention recorded in intrastate conflicts.

*How Do Internationalized Conflicts End?*⁶

While most internal armed conflicts simply peter out, internationalized armed conflicts tend to end through victory or, almost as frequently, through a negotiated settlement. Looking at the victories, the actor with international support won the conflict in the vast majority of cases except when both sides had international support (four cases) and when international support was withdrawn before conflict ended (also four). Among the negotiated settlements, only 13% of the internationalized conflicts started again, whereas the corresponding figure for strictly internal conflicts was 45%.

Other Types of External Engagement?

Attempting to capture a broader scope of external dimensions in internal conflicts, the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) has delimited a category termed 'secondary non-warring support'.⁸ While 22 of the 111 internal armed conflicts after the end of the Cold War were internationalized in the traditional sense, as many as 80 involved external actors providing support short of troops, in the form of supplies of weapons, financial assistance, or sanctioned use of a neighboring state's territory.⁹

⁶ For a full presentation of these findings, see Mack (2005).

⁷ These data can be found at <http://www.pcr.uu.se/database>.

⁸ There are difficulties with such data, due to the often secretive nature of the support. As yet, the data are not suitable to examine spatial trends.

⁹ The two types of external assistance can occur at the same time. All but four of the conflicts that involved external troops also saw secondary non-warring support. Altogether, 84 internal conflicts experienced one type of external involvement or the other.

Support from State Actors Both governments and rebels receive support from state actors. States contributed support to the government side in 56 of the 80 conflicts and to the rebels in 57. The vast majority of states providing secondary support were neighbors. State support to neighboring *governments* may occur when the two governments face similar problems. For instance, Nepal and India both face communist insurgencies. In order to deny the rebel groups the advantages of cross-border cooperation, the governments of the two neighboring countries assist each other, for example by sharing intelligence and exchanging lists of extremists.

State support to *rebel groups* is also most often provided by neighbors. In many cases, the data suggest a reverse logic from that described above. A neighbor may aid rebels in retaliation for the other country's support to rebels in its own country. The aim is not necessarily the overthrow of a government or the successful secession of a region, which would most probably require more robust and costly support for the rebels – maybe even troop deployment. Rather, the aim may be simply to destabilize, weaken, or undermine the neighboring rival, usually leading to a prolongation of the conflict.

In addition to support from neighboring states, the only remaining superpower, the USA, also provides support in a few distant conflicts. Some of the cases are remnants of Cold War support, while in other cases the USA supports states fighting groups that it has termed terrorists. Resource-rich countries such as Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Iran also supply warring parties in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.

Support from Non-state Actors Support for the government side in a conflict is almost always provided by other governments. The only instance of a non-state actor providing support to a government was the DRC rebel group RCD (Rassemblement

Congolaises pour la démocratie: Congolese Rally for Democracy) providing the Burundian government with important intelligence. In stark contrast, rebel groups received support from non-state actors in 35 conflicts. Most of this support came from other rebel groups, such as Alain Mugabarabona's wing of the Burundian rebel group Palipehutu-FNL supplying training to the Rwandan rebel group FDLR and the Naxalite movement in India training Nepalese CPN-M cadres. In some cases, support came from rebel groups active in the same state, with a larger group assisting a weaker one. A case in point is support from MNLF (Moro National Liberation Front) to ASG (Abu Sayyaf Group) in the Philippines. In addition to support from rebel groups, assistance was sometimes supplied by other non-state actors, such as Muslim organizations, anti-communist organizations, political parties, and diasporas.

Sources

UCDP uses a variety of sources for the annual update of armed conflicts. Since 2003, the data collection for the armed conflict list has primarily been based on automatic scanning of the Factiva news database (<http://www.factiva.com>), which contains nearly 9,000 news sources from 118 countries. The automatic scanning procedure is complemented by material from a number of particularly useful sources: *Africa Confidential* (London), *Africa Research Bulletin* (Oxford), *Far Eastern Economic Review* (Hong Kong), *Horn of Africa Bulletin* (Uppsala), *International Crisis Group* (Brussels, various reports), *Jane's Intelligence Review* (Coulsdon, Surrey), *Journal of Palestine Studies* (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, <http://www.pcbs.org>), *Israeli Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories* (<http://www.btselem.org>), *Keesing's Record of World Events* (Cambridge), *The Military Balance* (International Institute of Strategic Studies, London), and *South Asia Terrorism Portal* (New Delhi, <http://www.satp.org>).

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Appendix 1. Armed Conflicts Active in 2004

This list includes all conflicts that exceeded the minimum threshold of 25 battle-related deaths in 2004 and fulfilled the other criteria for inclusion.¹ The column ‘Year’ shows the latest range of years in which a specific group has been active without interruption. Thus, the year(s) given in this column refer to the activity of the opposition organization(s) listed for 2004. The start year is found in parentheses in the ‘Incompatibility’ column. This indicates when the armed conflict reached 25 battle-related deaths for the first time. If a conflict has been inactive for more than ten years or if there has been a complete change in the opposition side, the start year refers to the onset of the latest phase of the conflict. For more complete information on the conflict history, see (a) the list of all armed conflicts 1946–2003, at <http://www.prio.no/cwp/ArmedConflict> and (b) the Uppsala Conflict Data Program’s online database, at <http://www.pcr.uu.se/databaseindex.php>. The column ‘Intensity in 2004’ displays the intensity level in each active dyad.² Note that if there is more than one dyad active in a conflict, the intensity of the conflict (as displayed in e.g. Table I) corresponds to the intensity of the dyad with the highest intensity level. Thus, in the case of Israel, for example, the *conflict* intensity is coded as Intermediate.

<i>Location</i>	<i>Incompatibility</i>	<i>Opposition organization(s) in 2004</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Intensity in 2004</i>
<i>EUROPE</i>				
Georgia	Territory (South Ossetia) (1992)	Republic of South Ossetia	2004	Minor
Russia	Territory (Chechnya) (1994)	Republic of Chechnya (Ichkeria)	1999–2004	War
<i>MIDDLE EAST</i>				
Iraq	Government ³ (2004)	Al-Mahdi Army,	2004	War
		Jaish Ansar Al-Sunna (Army of the Protectors of the Faith),	2004	Minor
		TQJBR (Tanzim Qa’idat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn: Organization of Jihad’s Base in the Country of the Two Rivers) ⁴	2004	Minor
Israel	Territory (Palestine) (1949)	Hamas (Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya: Islamic Resistance Movement),	2002–04	Intermediate
		AMB (Kataeb al-Shaheed al-Aqsa: al-Aqsa Martyr’s Brigade),	2002–04	Minor
		PIJ (Al-Jihad al-Islami fi Filastin: Palestinian Islamic Jihad)	2000–04	Minor
Turkey	Territory (Kurdistan) (1984)	Kongra-Gel (Conference of the People’s Congress of Kurdistan) ⁵	1984–2004	Intermediate

¹ See p. 634 for further information regarding definitions.

² See p. 634 for definitions of the three levels of intensity.

³ The following countries contributed troops: USA, UK, Albania, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Estonia, Georgia, Honduras, Italy, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Thailand, Tonga, and Ukraine.

⁴ Until November 2004, the group was called Jama’at Al-Tawhid wa Al-Jihad.

⁵ Previously known as PKK (1974–2002) and KADEK (2002–03).

Appendix 1 *continued*

<i>Location</i>	<i>Incompatibility</i>	<i>Opposition organization(s) in 2004</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Intensity in 2004</i>
<i>ASIA</i>				
Afghanistan	Government ⁶ (1978)	Taliban	2003–04	Intermediate
India	Government (1967)	PWG (People's War Group), MCC (Maoist Communist Centre)	1996–2004 1998–2004	Minor ⁷ Minor
	Territory (Assam) (1990)	ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam)	1994–2004	Minor
	Territory (Bodoland) (1989)	NDFB (National Democratic Front for Bodoland)	1993–2004	Minor
	Territory (Kashmir) (1989)	Kashmir insurgents ⁸	1989–2004	War
	Territory (Manipur) (1982)	PLA (People's Liberation Army), UNLF (United Liberation Front)	2004 2003–04	Minor Minor
	Territory (Tripura) (1992)	NLFT (National Liberation Front of Tripura)	1997–2004	Minor
	Indonesia	Territory (Aceh) (1990)	GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka: Free Aceh Movement)	1999–2004
Nepal	Government (1996)	CPN-M (Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist)/UPF (United People's Front)	1996–2004	War
Philippines	Government (1972)	CPP (Communist Party of the Philippines) ⁹	1999–2004	Intermediate
	Territory (Mindanao) (1970)	MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front), ASG (Abu Sayyaf Group)	1996–2004 1997–2004	Intermediate Minor ¹⁰
Uzbekistan	Government (2004)	JIG (Jihad Islamic Group) ¹¹	2004	Minor

⁶ The following countries contributed troops: USA, UK, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Portugal, Slovakia, and Spain.

⁷ Possibly Intermediate in 2004.

⁸ A large number of groups have been active. Sixty groups were reported active in 1990, 140 in 1991, and 180 in 1992. Some of the larger groups have been JKLF (Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front), the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen and, in recent years, also the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, Lashkar-e-Toiba, and Jesh-e-Mohammad. Possibly war in 1994–96.

⁹ Previously coded as New People's Army (NPA).

¹⁰ Possibly Intermediate in 2004.

¹¹ Depending on translation from Uzbek, the group has sometimes also been referred to as Islamic Jihad Group, and sometimes with the further information 'in Uzbekistan'.

<i>Location</i>	<i>Incompatibility</i>	<i>Opposition organization(s) in 2004</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Intensity in 2004</i>
<i>AFRICA</i>				
Algeria	Government (1991)	GSPC (al-Jama'ah al-Salafiyah lil-Da'wah wa'l-Qital: Groupe Salafiste pour la prédication et le combat: Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat)	1999–2004	Intermediate
Angola	Territory (Cabinda) (1991)	FLEC-FAC (Frente da libertaçã do enclave de Cabinda-Forças armadas de Cabinda: Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda-Armed Forces of Cabinda)	2004	Minor
Burundi	Government (1991)	Palipehutu-FNL (Parti pour la libération du peuple Hutu-Force nationale de libération: Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People-Forces for National Liberation)	1997–2004	Intermediate
Ethiopia	Territory (Ogaden) (1975)	ONLF (Ogaden National Liberation Front)	2004	Minor ¹²
	Territory (Oromiya) (1989)	OLF (Oromo Liberation Front)	1998–2004	Minor ¹³
Ivory Coast	Government (2002)	Forces Nouvelles ¹⁴ (New Forces)	2004	Minor
Nigeria	Territory (Northern Nigeria) ¹⁵ (2004)	Ahlul Sunnah Jamaa ¹⁶ (Followers of the Prophet)	2004	Minor
Sudan	Government (2003)	JEM (Justice and Equality Movement),	2003–04	War
		SLM (Sudan Liberation Movement)	2003–04	War
	Government/Territory (Southern Sudan) (1983)	SPLM (Sudan People's Liberation Movement) ¹⁷	1983–2004	Intermediate
Uganda	Government (1971)	LRA (Lord's Resistance Army)	1994–2004	War

¹² Possibly Intermediate from 2001.

¹³ Possibly Intermediate in 2001. Possibly War in 2002.

¹⁴ In 2003, the Ivorian rebel groups MPCl (Mouvement patriotique de la Côte d'Ivoire: Patriotic Movement of Ivory Coast), MPIGO (Mouvement populaire ivoirien du Grand Ouest: Ivorian Popular Movement for the West), and MJP (Mouvement pour la justice et la paix: Movement for Justice and Peace) united and formed the coalition Forces Nouvelles.

¹⁵ More specifically, Ahlul Sunnah Jamaa is fighting to carve out areas around Kanamma, Yunusari, and Toshiya in northern Nigeria and create an Islamic state.

¹⁶ The group has also been called Hijrah and Muhajirun in the news media.

¹⁷ SPLM was coded under the alliance NDA (National Democratic Alliance) during the years 1997–2002.

Appendix 1 *continued*

<i>Location</i>	<i>Incompatibility</i>	<i>Opposition organization(s) in 2004</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Intensity in 2004</i>
<i>AMERICAS</i>				
Colombia	Government (1965)	FARC (Fuerzas armadas revolucionarias colombianas: Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia), ELN (Ejército de liberación: People's Liberation Army), EPL (Ejército popular de liberación: People's Liberation Army)	1965–2004 1965–2004 2004	War Intermediate Minor
Haiti	Government (2004)	RARF (Front de Résistance Artibonite: Revolutionary Artibonite Resistance Front), OP Lavalas	2004 2004	Minor Minor
USA	Government ¹⁸ (2001)	Al-Qaeda (The Base)	2004	Intermediate

¹⁸ The following countries contributed troops in support of the government: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Slovakia, Spain, UK, and Yemen.

Definitions:

An armed conflict is defined by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) as a contested incompatibility that concerns government or territory or both, where the use of armed force between two parties results in at least 25 battle-related deaths. Of these two parties, at least one has to be the government of a state. A more detailed definition can be found on UCDP's webpage, at <http://www.ucdp.uu.se>.

The conflicts are divided into three categories:

- *Minor armed conflicts*: at least 25 battle-related deaths per year and fewer than 1,000 battle-related deaths during the course of the conflict.
- *Intermediate armed conflicts*: at least 25 battle-related deaths per year and an accumulated total of at least 1,000 deaths, but fewer than 1,000 in any given year.
- *War*: at least 1,000 battle-related death per year.

Furthermore, the conflicts are divided according to type of conflict:

- *Interstate armed conflict* occurs between two or more states.
- *Internationalized internal armed conflict* occurs between the government of a state and internal opposition groups, with intervention from other states in the form of troops.
- *Internal armed conflict* occurs between the government of a state and internal opposition groups.

Appendix 2. Unclear Cases in 2004

Cases that have been completely rejected on the grounds that they definitely do not meet the criteria of armed conflict are *not* included in the list below. For the conflicts listed here, the available information suggests the *possibility* of the cases meeting the criteria of armed conflicts, but there is insufficient information concerning at least one of the three components of the definition: (1) the number of deaths; (2) the identity or level of organization of a party; or (3) the type of incompatibility. For unclear cases for earlier years, see <http://www.prio.no/cwp/ArmedConflict>. Note that the unclear aspect can concern an entire conflict (e.g. Thailand) or a dyad in a conflict that *is* included in Appendix 1 (e.g. Fatah in the Israeli conflict).

<i>Location/ government</i>	<i>Incompatibility</i>	<i>Opposition organization</i>
Angola	Territory (Cabinda)	FLEC-Renovada
Israel	Territory (Palestine)	Fatah
Myanmar	Territory (Karenni)	KNPP (Karenni National Progressive Party)
Thailand	Territory (Southern Thailand)	Muslim separatists
Rwanda	Government	FDLR (Forces Democratiques de Liberation du Rwanda: Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda)
Sudan	Government	SNMEM (Sudanese National Movement for the Eradication of Marginalization)
Yemen	Government	Shabab al-Mu'mineen (The Believing Youth)

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