

Annex 1a. Major Episodes of Armed Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1946-2004

The following table lists 88 episodes of armed conflict that comprise a comprehensive accounting of all forms of major armed conflicts in the world over the contemporary period: 1946-2004. "Major armed conflicts" are defined as episodes of organized and sustained, collective violence during the course of which there occur at least 500 direct, battle-related deaths at a rate in excess of 100 deaths per annum. Episodes listed include, **wars of independence, interstate warfare, civil warfare, and political mass murder**, (all of which involve direct action by state authorities) and **inter-communal violence** (in which the state is not directly involved). Cases **highlighted in red** were ongoing and serious in mid-2005; cases **highlighted in yellow** were ongoing but fighting had diminished and/or was occurring at a low intensity in early 2005 and may be ending. All episodes that are denoted as having ended within the past three years (i.e., since January 2002; cases **highlighted in gray**) are considered at high risk of return to warfare. The variables listed in the table are as follows:

Inclusive years (Begin and End): The beginnings and endings of most political violence episodes are difficult to determine exactly; various researchers denote various dates. The "begin" and "end" years listed for each episode (below) are those considered by the author to be those most likely to capture the transformative moments (beginning and ending) of the episodes, according to a comparison of the varying claims of the sources noted. No "end" year is listed for episodes that began and ended in the same year.

Episode type (Type): Episode type is listed according to two character codes. The first character denotes either a **(C)**ivil-intrastate involving rival political groups; **(E)**thnic-intrastate involving the state agent and a distinct ethnic group; or **(I)**nternational event-interstate, usually two or more states, but may denote a distinct polity resisting foreign domination (colonialism). The second character connotes either an episode of **(V)**iolence-the use of instrumental violence without necessarily exclusive goals; **(W)**ar-violence between distinct, exclusive groups with the intent to impose a unilateral result to the contention; or **i(N)**dependence-an attempt to forcibly remove an existing foreign domination.

Magnitude of societal-systemic impact (Mag): The rationale and methodology for assessing the societal and systemic impact of warfare episodes is discussed and described in detail in the accompanying text. The number listed represents a scaled indicator of the destructive impact, or magnitude, of the violent episode on the directly-affected society or societies on a scale of 1 (smallest) to 10 (greatest). Magnitude scores reflect multiple factors including state capabilities, interactive intensity (means and goals), area and scope of death and destruction, population displacement, and episode duration. Scores are considered to be consistently assigned (i.e., comparable) across episode types and for all states directly involved. For a more detailed explanation of the coding scheme used, see Monty G. Marshall, "Measuring the Societal Impact of War," chapter 4 in Fen Osler Hampson and David M. Malone, eds., *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002).

Episode location (States Directly Involved): Countries listed are only those upon whose territory the political violence episode actually takes place, that is, those state-societies directly affected by the warfare. Countries intervening in the episodes are not listed as the violence does not take place on their territory and, so, these intervening actors are considered to be indirectly, or remotely, affected by the violence.

Estimates of "directly-related" deaths (Deaths, Battle Deaths, and High Estimate): Accountings of the number of deaths resulting directly from an episode of political violence are difficult to determine and estimates often vary widely. This difficulty is especially problematic as the distinction between combatants and non-combatants is especially obscure in the less formal civil conflict interactions in poorer and/or less institutionalized societal systems that predominate in the Africa region. Such estimates of "direct battle-related deaths" should be regarded simply as estimates of the general magnitude of the violence. The numbers listed here reflect the most common estimates and are based on often widely disparate estimates listed in the various sources and are provided solely as referent points. Casualties among non-combatants directly related to the violent conflict are inconsistently estimated (if at all) in the various source estimates. Far more problematic than "battle-related deaths" for societal systems are the much larger numbers of survivors directly and indirectly, physically and psychologically, scarred and disturbed by violence and the massive disruptions and

dislocations that occur during episodes of armed conflict. Up to three estimates are provided for each episode. The first estimate, **Deaths**, is a general estimate of the number of persons whose deaths are directly-caused by armed conflict, including both combatants and non-combatants. The second, **Battle-Deaths**, is an estimate of combatant deaths recently compiled by the Centre for the Study of Civil War at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO); see, Lucinda and Gleditsch 2005 (cited below, item p). The third column provides a **High Estimate** of deaths attributable to the war, including both direct deaths and deaths brought about through war-related deterioration of living conditions and intentional or unintentional disruptions in essential social services or food supply.

Information sources (References): There is no general agreement among scholars as to what constitutes a major episode of armed conflict. The following sources were consulted in the compilation of the list of episodes:

- a. Ruth Leger Sivard. 1996. *World Military and Social Expenditures 1991*. 16th ed. Washington, DC: World Priorities. Criteria: "...armed conflict involving one or more governments and causing the death of 1,000 or more people per year."
- b. Patrick Brogan. 1989. *World Conflicts: Why and Where They are Happening*. London: Bloomsbury. Criteria: "...includes all the major wars and insurrections since 1945, but leaves out many lesser insurrections and riots, many of which resulted in the deaths of thousands of people."
- c. Melvin Small and J. David Singer. 1982. *Resort to Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816-1980*. Beverly Hills: Sage. Criteria: *Interstate wars* during which the total "battle-connected fatalities among military personnel" for all participants was at least 1000 per year; *extra-systemic wars* during which battle deaths exceeded the 1000 per year threshold for the system-member; *civil wars* which resulted in at least 1000 deaths per year including both civilian and military personnel.
- d. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). 1968-1993. *World Armaments and Disarmament: SIPRI Yearbook*. Annual series. Stockholm: SIPRI. Criteria: Major armed conflicts, defined as "prolonged combat between the military forces of two or more governments or of one government and at least one organized armed group, involving the use of weapons and incurring battle-related deaths of at least 1000 persons."
- e. Barbara Harff and Ted Robert Gurr. 1988. "Toward Empirical Theory of Genocides and Politicides: Identification and Measurement of Cases since 1945." *International Studies Quarterly* 32: 359-371. Criteria: Cases of "massive state repression" which are "sustained episodes in which the state or its agents impose on a communal or political group 'conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.'" Updated in chapter 8 of *Peace and Conflict 2005*.
- f. G. D. Kaye, D. A. Grant, and E. J. Emond. 1985. *Major Armed Conflict: A Compendium of Interstate and Intrastate Conflict, 1720 to 1985*. Ottawa, Canada: Department of National Defense. Criteria: "In a general sense, the conflict modes involve two or more groups (nations and/or actors) in which the use of force was a significant factor in the event. This includes both internal and international events. At least one nation is involved in every conflict listed."
- g. Herbert K. Tillema. 1991. *International Armed Conflict Since 1945: A Bibliographic Handbook of Wars and Military Interventions*. Boulder: Westview Press. Criteria: "An international armed conflict is operationally defined to include all directly related foreign overt military interventions undertaken by one or more states within one or more foreign political territories....Onset of the first directly related foreign overt military intervention and cessation of the last intervention are taken as the beginning and the end of an international armed conflict."
- h. J. David Singer and Melvin Small. 1993. *The Correlates of War Project: International and Civil War Data, 1816-1997*. Computer file. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. Criteria: See source reference number 3 above, except that the criteria for "Extra-systemic" wars has been changed from "1000 annual average battle deaths per year" to "1000 battle deaths total for all participating interstate system members and the troop commitment criterion." Updated through 1997 by the Correlates of War Project.

- i. List of International and Civil Wars Excluded (1980-1988). Personal correspondence with Ricardo R. Rodriguez, Data Management Assistant, Correlates of War Project, dated May 25, 1993. Criteria: Recognized in the literature as an episode of "armed conflict" but fail to meet minimum criteria for definition as one of the three COW categories.
- j. Ted Robert Gurr. 2002. "Peoples Against States: Ethnopolitical Conflict and the Changing World System." *International Studies Quarterly* 38: 347-377. Criteria: Serious ethnopolitical conflicts involving armed violence and resulting in large numbers of casualties and dislocated populations. Updated in Ted Robert Gurr, 2000, *Peoples versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- k. Jack A. Goldstone, Ted Robert Gurr, Barbara Harff, Marc A. Levy, Monty G. Marshall, Robert H. Bates, David L. Epstein, Colin H. Kahl, Thomas M. Parris, John C. Ulfelder, Mark Woodward, and Michael Lustik. Forthcoming 2005. *Political Instability Task Force Report: Phase IV Findings*. McLean, VA: Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC). The Political Instability Task Force "Problem Set" is available from the State Failure Web site: www.globalpolicy.gmu.edu/stfail. Criteria: The State Failure Problem Set includes four types of events: Ethnic Wars, Revolutionary Wars, Geno/Politicides, and Abrupt or Disruptive Regime Transitions. Only the first three types of events meet the general criteria to be considered a major armed conflict for cross-referencing here. Ethnic Wars are "episodes of violent conflict between governments and national, ethnic, religious, or other communal minorities (ethnic challengers) in which the challengers seek major changes in their status." Revolutionary Wars are "episodes of violent conflict between governments and politically organized groups (political challengers) that seek to overthrow the central government, to replace its leaders, or to seize power in one region." Geno/politicide is "the promotion, execution, and/or implied consent of sustained policies by governing elites or their agents-or, in the case of civil war, either of the contending authorities-that result in the deaths of a substantial portion of a communal and/or politicized communal group." Episodes of Geno/Politicide must have lasted six months or more to be included. Revolutionary and Ethnic Wars are included if they pass a minimum threshold wherein each party must mobilize 1000 or more people (armed agents, demonstrators, troops) and average 100 or more fatalities per year during the episode. The PITF Problem Set is updated bi-monthly by the author of this report.
- l. Correlates of War. 1994. *Militarized Interstate Disputes*. Computer File. ICPSR version. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. Criteria: Fatality category 5 and 6 cases were chosen for cross-referencing; category 5 includes disputes where fatalities range from 501 to 999 (1 case) and category 6 includes disputes with over 999 fatalities (24 cases).
- m. Patrick M. Regan. 1996. "Conditions of Successful Third-Party Intervention in Intrastate Conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40: 336-359. Criteria: Regan defines episodes of intrastate conflict as "armed, sustained combat between groups within state boundaries in which there are at least 200 fatalities." Appendix lists only the 85 conflicts that had at least one intervention (of 138 total), only three of the conflicts listed fall below the standard 1000 fatalities threshold.
- n. The PRIO/Uppsala Armed Conflict Dataset, 1946-2003. Version 3.0, released 7 December 2004. Center for the Study of Civil War at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO) and Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University. <http://www.prio.no> Criteria: includes three types of events: minor armed conflict, intermediate armed conflict, and war. Only the latter two types meet the general criteria for inclusion here. Intermediate armed conflicts have "more than 1,000 battle-related deaths recorded during the course of the conflict, but fewer than 1,000 in any given year." Wars have "more than 1,000 battle-related deaths during any given year."
- o. Heidelberg Institute on International Conflict Research (HIIC). COSIMO 1.3 database, 1945-1999. University of Heidelberg, Germany. <http://www.hiik.de>
- p. Bethany Lucinda and Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Monitoring Trends in Global Combat: A New Dataset of Battle Deaths," *European Journal of Population* (forthcoming 2005).

- q. Monty G. Marshall and Ted Robert Gurr. 2005. *Peace and Conflict 2005: A Global Survey of Armed Conflicts, Self-Determination Movements and Democracy*. College Park, MD: Center for International Development and Conflict Management.

Begin	End	Type	Mag	States Directly Involved	Brief Description	Deaths	Battle Deaths	High Estimate
1947	1948	IN	4	Madagascar	Rebellion; colonial repression	40000	7000	80000
1952	1963	IN	3	Kenya	Independence (Mau Mau rebellion)	20000	13000	
1955	1960	IN	3	Cameroon	Independence	30000	4300	
1956	1972	EW	5	Sudan	Ethnic warfare (Islamic v African)	500000	20000	600000
1957	1958	IV	1	Mauritania Morocco	International violence (border dispute)	1000		
1959	1964	EW	3	Rwanda	PARMEHUTU overthrow of Tutsi Monarchy; repression of Tutsis	75000	14000	
1960	1965	CW	4	Zaire	Katanga/civil war	100000	31000	
1961	1975	IN	4	Angola	Independence	50000	79000	90000
1962	1964	IV	1	Burundi Rwanda	International violence	1500		
1962	1973	EV	1	Ethiopia	Eritreans	2000		
1962	1974	IN	3	Guinea-Bissau	Independence	15000	7200	
1963	1964	IV	1	Somalia Egypt	International violence	1000		
1964	*	CV	1	Zambia	Civil violence	1000		
1964	*	CV	1	Tanzania	Zanzibar/civil violence	4000		
1964	*	IV	1	Ethiopia Somalia	Ogaden clashes	2000	700	
1964	1966	EV	1	Kenya	Somali separatism	1000		
1965	*	EV	2	Burundi	Ethnic violence (failed coup; Hutu/Tutsi)	5000		
1965	1975	IN	3	Mozambique	Independence (FRELIMO)	30000	36750	60000
1965	1990	IN	2	Namibia	Independence	25000	25000	40000
1965	1994	CW	4	Chad	Civil war	75000	43000	
1966	*	CW	3	Nigeria	Repression of Ibo	20000		30000
1966	*	EV	1	Uganda	Ethnic violence (Buganda)	2000		
1966	1970	EW	6	Nigeria	Ethnic warfare (Biafra separatism)	500000	75000	2000000
1967	*	CV	1	Zaire	Civil violence	800	800	
1969	1979	CV	4	Equatorial Guinea	Repression of dissidents; coup	50000		
1971	1978	EW	5	Uganda	Ethnic warfare (Idi Amin regime)	250000		500000
1972	*	EV	2	Burundi	Ethnic violence (Hutus target Tutsis)	2000		
1972	1973	EW	4	Burundi	Repression of Hutus	100000		200000
1972	1979	EV	3	Zimbabwe	Ethnic violence (ZANU/ZAPU v Whites)	20000	27000	
1974	1991	EW	6	Ethiopia	Ethnic warfare (Eritrea, Tigray, and others)	750000	218000	2000000
1975	1979	IV	1	Mozambique Zimbabwe	International violence	1500		
1975	1989	CW	3	Mauritania (1979) Morocco	Colonial war (Western Sahara) ³	15000		
1975	2002	CW	6	Angola	Civil war (UNITA)	1000000	160500	1500000
1975	2004+	CV	1	Angola	Civil violence (Cabinda separatists; FLEC)	3500	815	
1976	*	CV	1	Sudan	Coup attempt	1000		

Begin	End	Type	Mag	States Directly Involved	Brief Description	Deaths	Battle Deaths	High Estimate
1976	*	EV	1	South Africa	Ethnic violence	1000		
1977	*	IV	1	Angola Zaire	International violence (dispute over Shaba)	1000		
1977	1979	EW	2	Ethiopia	"Ogaden War" ethnic violence (Somalis)	10000	38000	
1977	1983	CW	2	Zaire	Shaba separatism, rebellions; repression of dissidents	10000		
1978	*	CV	1	Somalia	Military faction	500		
1978	*	IV	1	Angola Zaire	International violence (dispute over Shaba)	1000		
1978	1979	IW	2	Tanzania Uganda	International war (ouster of Idi Amin)	3000	4000	
1980	1985	EV	2	Nigeria	Ethnic violence (Islamic groups)	9000		
1981	*	CV	1	Gambia	Coup attempt	650	650	800
1981	*	CV	1	Ghana	Civil violence (Konkomba v Nanumba)	1000		
1981	1986	CW	4	Uganda	Repression of dissidents	100000	108000	500000
1981	1987	EV	1	Zimbabwe	Ethnic violence (Ndebele)	3000		
1981	1992	CW	6	Mozambique	Civil war (RENAMO)	500000	145000	1000000
1983	1996	EW	3	South Africa	Ethnic/civil warfare	20000	4000	27000
1983	2002	EW	6	Sudan	Ethnic war (Islamic v African)	1000000	55500	2300000
1984	*	CV	1	Cameroon	Coup attempt	750	500	
1984	*	EV	1	Zaire	Ethnic/civil warfare	1000		
1985	*	CW	2	Liberia	Repression of dissidents (failed coup)	5000		
1986	1993	EV	2	Nigeria	Communal violence (Muslim-Christian)	10000		
1986	2004+	EV	2	Uganda	Ethnic violence (Langi and Acholi); LRA	12000	4600	
1988	*	EV	3	Burundi	Ethnic violence (Tutsis against Hutus)	10000		50000
1988	2004+	CW	5	Somalia	Civil war	100000	66000	350000
1989	1990	IV	1	Mauritania Senegal	International violence	500		
1990	1994	EW	3	Rwanda	Ethnic warfare (Tutsis v Hutu regime) ⁶	15000	5500	
1990	1995	EV	1	Mali	Ethnic violence (Tuareg)	1000	200	2000
1990	1997	CW	4	Liberia	Civil war	40000	23500	200000
1990	1997	EV	1	Niger	Ethnic violence (Azawad and Toubou)	1000	500	1500
1991	*	CV	1	Burundi	Civil violence	1000	750	3000
1991	1993	EV	1	Kenya	Ethnic violence (Kalenjin, Masai, Kikuyu, Luo)	2000		
1991	1994	CW	1	Djibouti	FRUD rebellion	1000	400	5000
1991	2001	CW	3	Sierra Leone	Civil-Ethnic warfare (RUF, Mende)	25000	13000	50000
1992	1996	EV	2	Zaire	Ethnic violence	10000		
1992	1999	EV	1	Senegal	Casamance separatism	3000	1600	
1993	*	EV	1	Congo-Brazzaville	Ethnic violence	2000	175	
1993	2004+	EW	4	Burundi	Ethnic warfare (Tutsis against Hutus)	100000	6000	200000
1994	*	EW	7	Rwanda	Ethnic violence (Hutus target Tutsis) ⁶	500000		1000000

Begin	End	Type	Mag	States Directly Involved	Brief Description	Deaths	Battle Deaths	High Estimate
1994	*	EV	1	Ghana	Ethnic violence	1000		5000
1994	1998	EW	3	Rwanda	Ethnic warfare (Hutus vs Tutsi regime) ⁶	15000	4000	200000
1996	2004+	CW	5	Dem. Rep. of Congo (Zaire)	Civil War (ouster of Mobutu & aftermath)	1500000	149000	2500000
1997	1999	CW	3	Congo-Brazzaville	Civil warfare	10000	8500	
1997	2004+	EV	1	Nigeria	Communal violence (Delta province; Ijaw, Itsekeri, and others)	1500		
1998	*	CV	1	Lesotho	Civil violence (May elections)	1000	114	
1998	1999	CW	2	Guinea-Bissau	Coup attempt; civil war	6000	1850	
1998	2000	IW	5	Eritrea Ethiopia	Interstate war	100000	50000	
1999	2000	EW	1	Ethiopia	Oromo separatists	2000	1500	
2000	2001	CV	1	Guinea	Fighting in Parrot's Beak	1000	1100	
2000	2003	CV	1	Liberia	Civil violence (attacks by LURD guerrillas)	1000	750	
2000	2004+	CW	2	Ivory Coast	Civil war (north, south, and west divisions)	3000	600	
2001	*	EW	1	Rwanda	Attacks by Hutu rebels	2500		
2001	2003	CV	1	Central African Rep.	Civil violence (attacks by Bozize loyalists; coup)	1000	219	
2001	2004+	EV	3	Nigeria	Ethnic violence (Christian-Muslim; Plateau, Kano regions)	55000		
2002	2003	CV	1	Congo-Brazzaville	Civil violence (Ninja militants in Pool region)	500	116	
2003	2004+	EV	4	Sudan	Communal-separatist violence in Darfur	35000		400000