Appendix 2A. Patterns of major armed conflicts, 1999–2008

LOTTA HARBOM AND PETER WALLENSTEEN*

I. Introduction

This appendix reports on trends in major armed conflicts in the 10-year period 1999–2008. A total of 34 major armed conflicts were active during the period.¹ The number of major armed conflicts rose in 2008 to 16, after a gradual decline since 2005. Several conflicts were active throughout the period analysed: those between the Turkish Government and the Kurdish rebel group Partiya Kar-kerên Kurdistan (PKK, Kurdistan Workers’ Party), between separatist rebels in Kashmir and the Indian Government, and between the Government of the Philippines and the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

Section II of this appendix describes global patterns in major armed conflicts in 1999–2008. Section III describes regional patterns during the same period. Section IV discusses changes to the list of major armed conflicts between 2007 and 2008. Section VI provides details of the definitions, sources and methods used by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) in compiling the data on major armed conflicts. Table 2A.3 presents data on the major armed conflicts that were active in 2008.

One-sided violence inflicted on civilians by armed actors is a prominent feature of contemporary armed conflict.² Section V presents, for the first time in the SIPRI Yearbook, UCDP data on one-sided violence. This data covers the 10-year period 1997–2006.

¹ The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) defines a major armed conflict as a contested incompatibility concerning government, territory or both over which the use of armed force between the military forces of 2 parties—of which at least 1 is the government of a state—has resulted in at least 1000 battle-related deaths in a calendar year. For more on the definition see section VI. UCDP data and publications on armed conflict and other forms of organized violence, peace agreements and conflict prevention measures by third parties are available at the UCDP website, <http://www.ucdp.uu.se/>.

² The UCDP defines one-sided violence as the use of armed force by the government of a state or by a formally organized group against civilians that has resulted in at least 25 deaths in a single calendar year. Extrajudicial killings in custody are excluded. See Eck, K. and Hultman, L., ‘One-sided violence against civilians in war: insights from new fatality data’, Journal of Peace Research, vol. 44, no. 2 (2007); and Human Security Report Project, Human Security Brief 2007 (Simon Frasier University, School for International Studies: Vancouver, 2007), pp. 41–44. On one-sided violence in the context of several armed conflicts that were active in 2008 see chapter 2.

* Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

For table 2A.3, Johan Brosché was responsible for the conflict location Sudan; Kristine Eck for India; Helena Grusell for Colombia and Peru; Anna Hesselgren for Sri Lanka; Stina Högladh for Burundi; Emma Johansson for Turkey; Joakim Kreutz for Iraq, Myanmar and Pakistan; Sara Lindberg for Somalia; Therése Pettersson for the Philippines; and Ralph Sundberg for Afghanistan, Israel and the USA.
II. Global patterns in major armed conflicts

In 2008, 16 major armed conflicts were active in 15 locations around the world. Starting at 21 in 1999, the period analysed thus saw an overall decline in the number of major armed conflicts. However, as can be seen in table 2A.1, the decrease was uneven; for example, the number of major armed conflicts increased by two between 2007 and 2008. The lowest number of conflicts, 13, is recorded for 2004.

For the fifth year running, no interstate conflicts was active in 2008. Only three of the 34 conflicts active in the period 1999–2008 were fought between states: Eritrea–Ethiopia (1998–2000); India–Pakistan (1997–2003); and Iraq–the USA and its allies (2003). The first two of these concerned territory and the third was fought over governmental power. The other 31 conflicts were all fought within states—9 over territory and 22 over government. Conflicts over government outnumbered conflicts over territory in every year of the period.

Four intrastate major armed conflicts active in 2008 were internationalized—that is, they included troops from states that were not primary parties to the conflict but were aiding one of the conflict parties: those between the US Government and al-Qaeda; between the Afghan Government and the Taliban.
and Hezb-e-Islami; between the Iraqi Government and the numerous insurgency groups operating in Iraq; and between the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in Somalia and the al-Shabab militia.\(^3\) As in 2006 and 2007, all the internationalized major armed conflicts active in 2008 were in some way linked to the US-led ‘global war on terrorism’.\(^4\) In all cases the foreign troops supported the government side in the conflict.\(^5\)

III. Regional patterns in major armed conflicts

In 2008 seven major armed conflicts were active in Asia, making it the region with the highest total for the fourth consecutive year. Three major armed conflicts each were active in Africa, the Americas and the Middle East. For the first time in the 10-year period, no major armed conflict took place in Europe in 2008. The regional distribution of conflicts and locations in the period 1999–2008 are shown in tables 2A.1 and 2A.2, respectively. Figure 2A.1 presents the regional distribution and total number of conflicts for each year in the period.

In 1999–2008, 13 major armed conflicts are recorded for Africa, the highest regional total.\(^6\) However, from 1999 there was a marked decrease in the number of such conflicts in Africa, falling steadily from 10 in the peak year, 1999, to one in 2007. In 2008 the number rose to three. Of the 13 conflicts, only Eritrea–Ethiopia was interstate. However, seven of the intrastate conflicts in Africa were internationalized at some point during the period, a distinguishing feature for the region. All 12 intrastate conflicts recorded for Africa concerned governmental power.

Three major armed conflicts are recorded for the Americas during the period.\(^7\) The annual number of active conflicts ranged from none (in 2000) to three (2007 and 2008). All three conflicts concerned governmental power.

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\(^3\) The brief outbreak of conflict in 2009 between Georgian and South Ossetian forces, in which Russia intervened in support of the South Ossetians, did not meet the criterion of 1000 battle-related deaths in a calendar year and thus is recorded by UCDP as a minor, not major, armed conflict. On the conflict see chapter 2, section V.


\(^6\) The 13 major armed conflicts recorded for Africa are Algeria, Angola, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Republic of the Congo, Eritrea–Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. When only the name of a country is given, this indicates a conflict over government. The name of the contested territory appears in parenthesis after the country name in the case of conflicts over territory.

\(^7\) The 3 major armed conflicts recorded for the Americas are Colombia, Peru and the USA (the conflict between the US Government and al-Qaeda).
Asia accounted for 11 major armed conflicts recorded during the period. The annual number fluctuated between six and seven, except in 2004, when only four major armed conflicts were active. Asia was the region with the highest annual numbers of conflicts from 2003 until 2008. Two of the region’s conflicts were active throughout 1999–2008: India (Kashmir) and the Philippines. As in Africa, only one of the conflicts in Asia, India–Pakistan, was fought between states. The 10 intrastate conflicts were divided equally between those fought over government and those fought over territory.

Only two of the major armed conflicts recorded for the period were located in Europe, making it the region with the lowest total. Both were active in 1999. The intrastate conflict in Yugoslavia over the territory of Kosovo terminated in 2000. Russia (Chechnya) continued until 2007, when the political aims of the rebels changed (see below). In 2008 no major armed conflict was active in Europe.

Five major armed conflicts are recorded for the Middle East in the period 1999–2008. The same three conflicts were active from 2004 until 2008: the conflicts in Iraq, Israel (Palestinian territories) and Turkey (Kurdistan). Turkey (Kurdistan) was active throughout the period. One interstate conflict was recorded in the Middle East: the conflict over government between Iraq and the USA and its allies. The remaining four major armed conflicts were fought within states—two over government and two over territory.

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8 The 11 major armed conflicts recorded for Asia are Afghanistan, Cambodia, India (Kashmir), India–Pakistan, Indonesia (East Timor), Myanmar (Karen State), Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Philippines (Mindanao) and Sri Lanka (‘Tamil Eelam’).

9 In 2001–2002 an equally high number was recorded for Africa and Asia.

10 The 5 major armed conflicts recorded for the Middle East are Iran, Iraq, Israel (Palestinian territories), Turkey (Kurdistan), and Iraq—the USA and its allies.
IV. Changes in the table of conflicts for 2008

Conflicts added to the table in 2008

Three conflicts appear in the table of major armed conflicts for 2008 that are not recorded for 2007: Burundi, Pakistan and Sudan.

In Burundi, the peace process between the Burundian Government and the last active rebel group, Parti pour la libération du peuple Hutu–Forces nationales de libération (Palipehutu–FNL, Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People–National Liberation Forces)—which began in 2004—started to break down in December 2007. Fighting erupted in January 2008 and continued until August. A ceasefire agreed by the parties in September held until the end of the year. A peace agreement was signed on 4 December.\(^\text{11}\)

A conflict in Pakistan is included in the table of major armed conflicts for the first time. In December 2007 the rebel coalition Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP, Movement of the Taliban in Pakistan) was formed by pro-Taliban warlords in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan. The new group pushes for the implementation of sharia law throughout Pakistan and advocates a ‘defensive jihad’ against the Islamabad regime—seizing control of an area, establishing a TTP regime and defending it against government forces. The TTP’s long-term aim is a change of national government.

The conflict between the Government of Sudan and the Darfur-based rebel group the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) escalated in 2008.\(^\text{12}\) It is also recorded in the table of major armed conflicts for 2003–2006. No peace negotiations took place in 2008.

Conflicts removed from the table in 2008

One major armed conflict that appeared in the table for 2007 is not recorded for 2008: Russia (Chechnya). On 7 October 2007, Chechen rebel leader Doku Umarov proclaimed the ‘Caucasus Emirate’, comprising most of Russia’s North Caucasus region. This technically ended the Chechen conflict, which was over control of the territory of Chechnya (although most of the fighting in 2007 had been in neighbouring republics) and created a more far-reaching territorial incompatibility. This move reportedly split the rebel movement, with Akhmed Zakayev and a number of other leaders still stressing independence for Chechnya rather than agreeing with Umarov’s more Islamist stance. However, most of the leadership and the rank and file of the Chechen armed resistance seem to


\(^{12}\) The event in Sudan that attracted the most attention in 2008 was arguably the rebel attack on Khartoum in May. However, the attack was carried out by the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) rebel group, which is not included in the list of major armed conflicts as fighting between the group and the Government of Sudan has not crossed the threshold of 1000 battle-related deaths in a calendar year.
have sided with Umarov by the end of 2007.\textsuperscript{13} The conflict over the ‘Caucasus Emirate’ resulted in just under 400 battle-related deaths in 2008 and is thus not included in the table of major armed conflicts.

**Changes in intensity of conflict**

Seven of the 16 armed conflicts recorded for 2008 increased in intensity compared to 2007: the Philippines, Turkey (Kurdistan), the USA (the al-Qaeda conflict), Israel (Palestinian territories), Peru, the Philippines (Mindanao) and Sri Lanka (‘Tamil Eelam’). In the last four cases, battle-related deaths increased by more than 50 per cent.

In Israel, the large increase in battle-related deaths was chiefly due to developments in the last five days of 2008. The patterns of armed activity seen in 2006 and 2007 continued during the first five months of 2008, with Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad firing rockets into southern Israel and Israeli forces responding with air strikes along with minor ground incursions into the Gaza Strip. A ceasefire agreement on 19 June yielded a significant reduction in armed activity during the next five months. There were frequent accusations of ceasefire violations by both sides. The ceasefire was not extended after it expired on 19 December and Hamas soon resumed rockets attacks on Israeli targets. Israel responded on 27 December by launching over a hundred air strikes on Gaza targeting Hamas and Hamas-affiliated targets. The offensive continued into 2009.\textsuperscript{14}

The conflict between the Peruvian Government and the Maoist rebel group Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) escalated for a second year. While conflict activity was confined to Ayacucho in the VRAE region (from Valle de los ríos Apurímac y Ene, Valley of the Apurímac and Ene rivers) in both 2007 and 2008, Sendero Luminoso threatened to expand its ‘revolutionary war’ to other parts of Peru in 2009.\textsuperscript{15}

In 2008 the conflict between the separatist Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the Government of the Philippines in southern Mindanao reached a level of intensity not seen since 2003. Despite a bout of fighting in June, the ceasefire agreed in 2003 was still largely observed until August, when the government’s cancellation of the signing of a major peace agreement with the rebels led to an escalation of violence that continued for the rest of the year.


\textsuperscript{14} For a comprehensive overview of military action in Israel’s Gaza campaign, see Cordesman, A., *The ‘Gaza War’: A Strategic Analysis* (Center for Strategic and International Studies: Washington, DC, 2 Feb. 2009).

\textsuperscript{15} ‘Shining Path terrorists threaten to expand attacks in Peru’, *Latin American Herald Tribune*, 4 Jan. 2009.
The Government of Sri Lanka withdrew in January 2008 from its ceasefire with the Tamil separatist group the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), which had been increasingly violated since 2006. The toll of battle-related deaths in 2008 was the highest, at more than 8000, since the conflict began.16

Five major armed conflicts decreased in intensity between 2007 and 2008: Afghanistan, Colombia, India (Kashmir), Iraq, Somalia and Myanmar (Karen State)—the last by more than 50 per cent. The decline in conflict activity between the Government of Myanmar and the rebel Karen National Union (KNU) is largely explained by two factors. First, Cyclone Nargis, which struck the country in early May 2008, preoccupied both conflict parties for a considerable time. Second, when the government launched its annual offensive in late 2008, its forces encountered very little resistance from the rebels who, suffering from internal divisions and attempting to reorganize, chose to withdraw and keep a low profile.17

In five of the major armed conflicts active in 2008 there were more than 1000 recorded battle-related deaths: Afghanistan (almost 4500), Iraq (almost 4000), Pakistan (c. 3000), Sri Lanka (almost 8400) and Somalia (c. 1250).

V. One-sided violence

While a slight decline can be discerned in major armed conflict over the 10 years to 2008, the reverse is true for one-sided violence. In the period 1997–2006, the number of actors perpetrating one-sided violence (referred to here as one-sided actors) increased from 27 to 29, according to the UCDP data on one-sided violence. The increase was not gradual, however: during the 10-year period a peak of 40 one-sided actors is recorded for both 2002 and 2004. By far the largest share of one-sided actors in the period—42 per cent—was in Africa. Asia was the region with the second largest share (29 per cent), followed by the Middle East (17 per cent), the Americas (7 per cent) and Europe (4 per cent). The highest annual numbers of one-sided actors in the period are recorded for Africa (1997–1999 and 2002–2005) and Asia (2000–2001 and 2006).

The UCDP’s relatively long time series of data on one-sided violence allows for tentative answers to several questions. For example, are governments or non-state actors the worst perpetrator of one-sided violence? The answer to this question depends on how the phenomenon is measured. Focusing on the number of actors deliberately targeting civilians, the data shows non-state groups outnumbering government actors in every year of the period. Annually, the number of non-state actors perpetrating one-sided violence was around twice that of government actors, rising to 3 : 1 in 2004. The number of fatalities caused by the two categories of actor yields a less straightforward answer. Looking at the annual fatality figures, government actors targeted and killed

16 On developments in Sri Lanka in 2008 see chapter 2, section IV.
more civilians in one-sided violence than non-state actors in the first four years of the period. However, this changed in 2001; between 2001 and 2006 the non-state category dominated.

Yet another way of answering the question is to look at the single worst perpetrator during the period. Between 1997 and 2006 the one-sided actor that targeted and killed the most civilians in a single calendar year was the de facto Government of Afghanistan, in 1998. The second and third worst perpetrators were also governments (of Rwanda and of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, DRC). The non-state actor al-Qaeda caused the fourth largest annual number of fatalities of the period, in 2001.

The UCDP one-sided violence data set also offers some insight into how far one-sided violence against civilians is linked to armed conflict. It is clear from the data that the vast majority of one-sided actors perpetrated one-sided violence in countries and years when major armed conflicts were also active. In most other cases, the one-sided actors were active in a country some years before or after a major armed conflict occurred. For example, numerous one-sided actors were recorded for 1997–2000 in Burundi, whereas the major armed conflict between the Burundian Government and Palipehutu–FNL was not registered until 2001. Other examples are the many actors perpetrating one-sided violence in the DRC, even after the signing of a peace agreement in 2003.

Most of the countries that experienced one-sided violence during the period without ever having been recorded as a location for a major armed conflict were the locations of minor armed conflicts. For example, in the Ivory Coast the government carried out one-sided violence in 2000, two years before the outbreak of a minor armed conflict. Furthermore, during the 2002–2004 conflict, both the government and the two rebel groups, Mouvement Patriotique de Côte d’Ivoire (MPCI, Patriotic Movement of Côte d’Ivoire) and Mouvement Populaire Ivoirien du Grand Ouest (MPIGO, Popular Movement of the Far West), targeted civilians.

18 The UCDP codes 3 different fatality estimates—low, best and high—based on the reliability of reports and the conflicting number of deaths that can be reported for any violent event. The comparisons in the text are based on best estimates.
19 During 1998 heavy fighting occurred between the Taliban government and the United Islamic Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan (UIFSA) rebel movement, especially in northern and central Afghanistan. In the aftermath of the fighting the government carried out large-scale massacres, primarily of Hazaras and Uzbeks but also of Tajiks, as it consolidated its control of the northern areas of the country. Had the UCDP’s high estimates been used (see note 18), the Congolese rebel group Alliance des forces démocratiques pour la libération du Congo-Zaïre (Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire, AFDL) would have been the worst perpetrator, followed by the Government of Sudan.

20 In other publications the UCDP codes most of these cases as active armed conflicts, albeit not major armed conflicts. The UCDP elsewhere uses the categories war and minor armed conflict rather than major armed conflict. War is defined by the same criteria as major armed conflict except that the conflict must cause 1000 battle-related deaths every year. If battle-related deaths fall below this threshold but are still above 25 in a year, the conflict is classified as a minor armed conflict. Thus, major armed conflicts listed in the SIPRI Yearbook may in some years be classified as minor armed conflicts in other UCDP lists, publications and databases.
Only in a handful of cases did a government or a non-state actor deliberately target civilians in a country not experiencing armed conflict. In the period 1997–2006, the non-conflict cases of one-sided violence were Brazil, Honduras, Saudi Arabia and Tanzania.\(^\text{21}\)

In the cases of Brazil and Tanzania, one-sided violence was carried out by the government, albeit in very different contexts. The one-sided violence recorded in Tanzania, carried out in January 2001, was related to protests over alleged irregularities in the country’s national elections. In Brazil, the one-sided violence, which took place in 2005, was linked to the country’s high rates of gang violence and organized crime. The violence was committed by police, for instance against impoverished street children suspected of being involved in robbery or in attempts to evict people from slum areas.

In Honduras and Saudi Arabia, the one-sided violence was carried out by non-state actors. In Honduras, the criminal network Mara Salvatrucha targeted civilians in 2004 in reprisal for a ‘zero tolerance’ initiative introduced by President Ricardo Maduro to crack down on street gangs. In Saudi Arabia, al-Qaeda targeted and killed civilians in both 2003 and 2004.

The category of one-sided violence adds to the understanding of organized political violence and connects to the study of terrorism, genocide, criminal violence and violations of human rights.

VI. Definitions, sources and methods

Definitions

The UCDP defines a major armed conflict as a contested incompatibility concerning government or territory over which the use of armed force between the military forces of two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, has resulted in at least 1000 battle-related deaths in at least one calendar year.\(^\text{22}\) The separate elements are defined as follows:

1. *Incompatibility concerning government or territory*. The stated generally incompatible positions of the parties to the conflict. *Incompatibility concerning government* denotes incompatible positions regarding the state’s type of political system or the composition of the government. It may also involve an aim to replace the current government. *Incompatibility concerning territory* denotes incompatible positions regarding the status of a territory and may involve demands for secession or autonomy (intrastate conflict) or the aim of changing the state that controls a territory (interstate conflict).

2. *Use of armed force*. The use of armed force by the military forces of the parties to the conflict in order to promote the parties’ general position in the conflict. Arms are any material means of combat, including anything from manufactured weapons to sticks, stones, fire or water.

\(^{21}\) Note that Saudi Arabia was the location of a minor armed conflict in 1979.

\(^{22}\) Elsewhere, the UCDP uses the categories war and minor armed conflict rather than major armed conflict. See note 20.
3. **Party.** The government of a state, any of its allies, an opposition organization or an alliance of opposition organizations. The government of a state is the party generally regarded as being in central control, even by those organizations seeking to seize power. If this criterion is not applicable, the party controlling the capital of the state is regarded as the government. An opposition organization is any non-governmental group that has announced a name for itself and has used armed force to achieve stated political goals. A state or a multinational organization that supports one of the primary parties with regular troops may also be included in the table. In order to be included, such secondary parties must share the position of one of the primary parties. A traditional peacekeeping operation is not considered to be a party to the conflict but is rather seen as an impartial part of a consensual peace process.

4. **State.** An internationally recognized sovereign government controlling a specific territory or an internationally non-recognized government controlling a specific territory whose sovereignty is not disputed by an internationally recognized sovereign state that previously controlled the territory in question.

5. **Battle-related deaths.** Deaths caused by the warring parties that can be directly related to combat over the contested incompatibility. Once a conflict has reached the threshold of 1000 battle-related deaths in a calendar year, it reappears in the annual list of major armed conflicts in any year in which there are 25 or more recorded battle-related deaths in fighting between the same parties and concerning the same incompatibility. The focus is not on political violence per se but on incompatibilities that are contested by the use of armed force. Thus, only one major type of political violence is registered—battle-related deaths—which serves as a measure of the magnitude of a conflict. Other types of political violence are excluded, such as one-sided violence against civilians; unorganized or spontaneous public violence; and violence that is not directed at the state (e.g. rebel groups fighting each other).

The period analysed in this appendix is 1999–2008, but the conflicts in table 2A.3 can have reached the required threshold of 1000 battle-related deaths in any calendar year since 1946 and need not have done so during the period analysed.

**Sources**

The data presented is based on information taken from a wide selection of publicly available sources, both printed and electronic. The sources include news agencies, newspapers, academic journals, research reports, and documents from international and multinational organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In order to collect information on the aims and goals of the parties to the conflict, documents of the warring parties and, for example, the Internet sites of rebel groups are often consulted.

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23 Since SIPRI Yearbook 2008, the threshold has been 25 battle-related deaths, bringing it into line with other UCDP data sets and ensuring that only major armed conflicts in which fighting took place during the year are included. In earlier editions of the SIPRI Yearbook the threshold was 1.

24 The UCDP collects information on 2 of these types of violence: non-state conflicts and one-sided violence. Data on these additional categories can be found at the UCDP website.
Independent news sources, carefully selected over a number of years, constitute the basis of the data collection. The Factiva news database is indispensable for the collection of general news reports. It contains more than 25,000 sources in 22 languages from 159 countries and provides sources from all three crucial levels of the news media: international (e.g., Agence France-Presse and Reuters), regional and local. However, the availability of the regional and national news sources varies, which means that for some countries several sources are consulted, whereas for other countries and regions only a few high-quality region- or country-specific sources are used.

The UCDP regularly scrutinizes and revises the selection and combination of sources in order to maintain a high level of reliability and comparability between regions and countries. One important priority is to arrive at a balanced combination of sources of different origin with a view to avoiding bias. The reliability of the sources is judged using the expertise of the UCDP together with advice from a global network of experts (academics and policymakers). Both the independence of the source and the transparency of its origins are crucial. The latter is important because most sources are secondary, which means that the primary source also needs to be analysed in order to establish the reliability of a report. Each source is judged in relation to the context in which it is published. The potential interest of either the primary or secondary source in misrepresenting an event is taken into account, as are the general climate and extent of media censorship. Reports from NGOs and international organizations are particularly useful in this context, complementing media reporting and facilitating cross-checking. The criterion that a source should be independent does not, of course, apply to sources that are consulted precisely because they are biased, such as government documents or rebel groups’ Internet sites. The UCDP is aware of the high level of scrutiny required and makes great effort to ensure the authenticity of the material used.

Methods

The data on major armed conflicts are compiled by calendar year. They include data on conflict locations, type of incompatibility, onset of the armed conflict, warring parties, total number of battle-related deaths, number of battle-related deaths in a given year and change in battle-related deaths from the previous year.25

The data on battle-related deaths are given the most attention in coding for the conflict database. Information on, for example, the date, news source, primary source, location and death toll is recorded for every event. Ideally, these individual events and figures are corroborated by two or more independent sources. The figures are then aggregated for the entire year of each conflict. The aggregated figures are compared to total figures given in official documents, in special reports and in the news media. Regional experts such as researchers, diplomats and journalists are often consulted during the data collection for cross-checking.

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25 See also the notes to table 2A.3.
collection. Their role is mainly to clarify the contexts in which the events occur, thus facilitating proper interpretation of the published sources.

Because very little precise information is publicly available on fatality figures in armed conflicts, the numbers presented by the UCDP are best viewed as estimates. Rather than always providing exact numbers, ranges are sometimes given. The UCDP is generally conservative when estimating the number of battle-related deaths. As more in-depth information on an armed conflict becomes available, the conservative, event-based estimates often prove more correct than others widely cited in the news media. If no figures are available or if the numbers given are unreliable, the UCDP does not provide a figure. Figures are revised retroactively each year as new information becomes available.
## Table 2A.3. Major armed conflicts in 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Incompatibility</th>
<th>Year formed/year stated/year joined/year entered</th>
<th>Warring parties</th>
<th>Total deaths (including 2008)</th>
<th>Deaths in 2008</th>
<th>Change from 2007</th>
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<td>vs Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia (ARS)/Union of Islamic Courts (UIC)</td>
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<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Government</td>
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<td>Government of Sudan vs Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FARC = Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)</td>
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* Fighting took place in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Yemen.
** In 2008 the US-led multinational coalition included troops from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Romania. Reliable information on states contributing troops is sensitive and hard to find, so this list should be seen as preliminary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Incompatibility</th>
<th>Year formed/year stated/year joined/year entered</th>
<th>Warring parties</th>
<th>Total deaths (including 2008)</th>
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<td>* Fighting took place in Afghanistan and Pakistan. **The following countries contributed troops to the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in 2008: Albania, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, the UK and the USA.</td>
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### Middle East

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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Government(s)</th>
<th>Armed conflicts</th>
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<td>** The US-led multinational coalition in Iraq included combat troops from Albania, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, El Salvador, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, South Korea, Tonga, Ukraine, the UK and the USA. ** In 2008 these included e.g. Dawlat al-’Iraq al-Islamiyya (the Islamic State of Iraq, ISI) and Jaish al-Mahdi (Mahdi Army).</td>
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<td>Israel</td>
<td>(Palestinian</td>
<td>1964/1964/1964/1964/..</td>
<td>Government of Israel vs Palestinian organizations*</td>
<td>&gt;16 000 &gt;700 + +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>territories</td>
<td></td>
<td>** In 2008 these included Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement) and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey*</td>
<td>Territory (Kurdistan)</td>
<td>1974/1974/1984/1992</td>
<td>Government of Turkey vs Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan (PKK, Kurdistan Workers' Party)</td>
<td>&gt;31 600 &gt;500 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* Fighting took place in Turkey and Iraq.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:** Although some countries are also the location of minor armed conflicts, the table lists only the major armed conflicts in those countries. For the definitions, methods and sources used see section VI.

The conflicts in table 2A.3 are listed by location, in alphabetical order, within 5 geographical regions: Africa—excluding Egypt; the Americas—including North, Central and South America and the Caribbean; Asia—including Oceania, Australia and New Zealand; Europe—including the Caucasus; and the Middle East—Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey and the states of the Arabian peninsula.

'd 'Location' has traditionally been recorded as the location of the government of the state that is being challenged by an opposition organization. This year the geographical location of the fighting is also given in a note if it is different from the location of the government being challenged.

'b 'The stated general incompatible positions—'government' and 'territory'—refer to contested incompatibilities concerning governmental power (type of political system or a change of central government or its composition) and territory (control of territory, secession or autonomy), respectively. A location may have incompatibilities over several different territories, but only 1 incompatibility over government.

'c 'Year formed' is the year in which a conflict party first stated the incompatibility. In conflicts where several parties have fought over the same incompatibility, the year that the incompatibility was first stated is given, even if the original stating party is no longer active in the conflict. 'Year stated' is the first year in which 1 of the currently active opposition parties (see note d) stated its incompatibility. 'Year joined' is the first year in which armed force was used in the conflict by at least 1 of the active opposition parties. 'Year entered' is the first year in which fighting between the government and 1 or more of the
active opposition parties led to 1000 or more battle-related deaths in 1 calendar year and was therefore classified as a major armed conflict. Thus, ‘year formed’ refers to the start of the armed conflict itself, while ‘year stated’, ‘year joined’ and ‘year entered’ refer to the involvement of at least 1 active opposition party.

The government party and its allies are listed first, followed by the opposition parties, which may be organizations or other states. Opposition parties are only listed in the table if fighting between them and the government over the declared incompatibility has passed the threshold of 1000 battle-related deaths in a calendar year. An opposition organization is any non-governmental group that has publicly announced a name for itself as well as its political goals and has used armed force to achieve its goals. Only those parties and alliances that were active during 2008 are listed in this column. A comma between 2 warring parties indicates an alliance. In cases where 2 governments have both stated incompatible positions, e.g. over a shared border, they are listed in alphabetical order.

The figures for total battle-related deaths refer to those deaths caused by the warring parties since the start of the conflict that can be directly connected to the incompatibility. This figure thus relates to the ‘Year formed’ variable. In the case of intrastate conflicts, it should be noted that the figures include only battle-related deaths that can be attributed to fighting between the government and opposition parties that have at some point been listed in the table. Information that covers a calendar year is necessarily more tentative for the last months of the year. Experience has also shown that the reliability of figures improves over time; they are therefore revised each year.

Numbers over 100 are, as far as possible, rounded to the nearest 100. Thus, figures ranging between 101 and 150 are presented as >100, while figures ranging between 151 and 199 are presented as <200. Figures between 25 and 100 are presented as 25–100.

The ‘Change from 2007’ is measured as the increase or decrease in the number of battle-related deaths in 2008 compared with the number of battle-related deaths in 2007. Although the symbols are based on data that cannot be considered totally reliable, they represent the following changes:

+ + increase in battle-related deaths of >50%
+ increase in battle-related deaths of 10–50%
0 stable rate of battle-related deaths (± 10%)
– decrease in battle-related deaths of 10–50%
– – decrease in battle-related deaths of >50%
n.a. not applicable, since the major armed conflict is not recorded for 2007.