

# Appendix 2A. Patterns of major armed conflicts, 2000–2009

LOTTA HARBOM AND PETER WALLENSTEEN\*

## I. Global patterns in major armed conflicts

In 2009, 17 major armed conflicts were active in 16 locations around the world (see tables 2A.1 and 2A.2). During the past decade, 30 major armed conflicts have been active in 29 locations worldwide.<sup>1</sup> There has been a slight overall reduction in the number of major armed conflicts over the past decade, but the trend has been uneven (see figure 2A.1). Starting at 19 in 2000, the number declined steadily until 2004, when the period's lowest figure was registered at 13; the following years saw an uneven increase.

For the sixth year running, no interstate conflict was recorded in 2009. During the decade 2000–2009 only three conflicts were fought between states: Eritrea–Ethiopia; India–Pakistan; and Iraq versus the United States and its allies. The first two of these conflicts concerned territory whereas the third was fought over governmental power. The remaining 27 conflicts recorded for this period were all fought within states, with seven concerning territorial issues and 20 governmental power. The dominance of governmental conflicts is also evident on an annual basis; in 9 of the 10 years of the period conflicts over government outnumbered those over territory. In 2009 there were 11 conflicts over government and only 6 over territory.

Six of the major armed conflicts active in 2009 were categorized as internationalized—that is, they included troops from a state that was not a primary party to the conflict but was aiding one of the conflict parties.<sup>2</sup> In all six cases

<sup>1</sup> The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (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 2 parties—of which at least 1 is the government of a state—has resulted in at least 1000 battle-related deaths in a single calendar year. After a conflict reaches this threshold, it reappears in the data set on major armed conflicts if it results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in a single year. Elsewhere, the UCDP uses the category ‘war’ rather than major armed conflict. War is defined by the same criteria except that the conflict must cause 1000 battle-related deaths every year. 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.

<sup>2</sup> These 6 conflicts were those between the US Government and al-Qaeda; between the Afghan Government and the Taliban and Hezb-e-Islami; between the Iraqi Government and numerous

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

For table 2A.3 Marie Allansson was responsible for the conflict location Sri Lanka; Johan Broschó was responsible for Sudan; Helena Grusell for Colombia and Peru; Lotta Harbom for Uganda; Stina Högladh for Rwanda; Emma Johansson for India; Joakim Kreutz for Iraq, Myanmar, Pakistan and the USA; Sara Lindberg for Somalia and the USA; Frida Möller for Israel; Therése Pettersson for the Philippines; Ralph Sundberg for Afghanistan and the USA; and Nina von Uexküll for Turkey

**Table 2A.1.** Number of major armed conflicts, by region and type, 2000–2009

The two types of incompatibility are over government (G) and territory (T).

Region	2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007		2008		2009	
	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T
Africa	7	1	7	0	7	0	5	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	1	0	3	0	4	0
Americas	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	3	0	3	0	3	0
Asia	2	5	2	5	2	4	2	5	2	2	3	4	3	3	2	4	3	4	3	4
Europe	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Middle East	1	2	1	2	0	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>										

**Table 2A.2.** Number of locations of major armed conflict, by region, 2000–2009

Figures are numbers of locations with at least one major armed conflict.

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Africa	8	7	7	5	3	3	3	1	3	4
Americas	0	1	2	1	2	2	2	3	3	3
Asia	6	6	5	6	3	6	6	5	6	6
Europe	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
Middle East	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>16</b>

the external states contributed troops to the government side of the conflict.<sup>3</sup> Four of these six were more or less closely connected to the US-led ‘global war on terrorism’. This pattern was even more evident in 2006–2008, when this was true of all internationalized conflicts.<sup>4</sup>

## II. Regional patterns

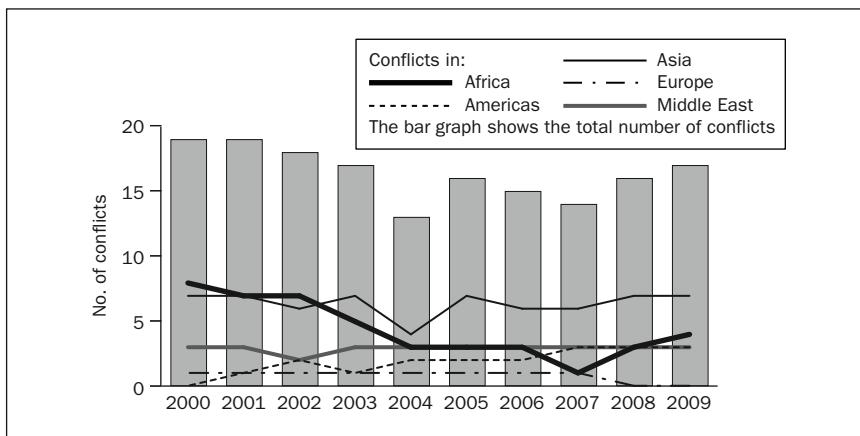
In 2009 seven major armed conflicts were recorded for Asia, making it the region with the highest number for the seventh consecutive year. There were four major armed conflicts in Africa, three each in the Americas and the Middle East, and, for the second year running, none in Europe.

Africa was the region with the most conflicts in the 10-year period 2000–2009, with 12 major armed conflicts recorded (see figure 2A.2). During

insurgency groups; between the Somali Government and the al-Shabab militia and Hizbul-Islam; between the Rwandan Government and the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR, Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda); and between the Ugandan Government and Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA).

<sup>3</sup> For the states contributing troops in these conflicts see table 2A.3.

<sup>4</sup> On the conflict between the US Government and al-Qaeda and the complex issues affecting its coding in the UCDP database see Eriksson, M., Sollenberg, M. and Wallensteen, P., ‘Patterns of major armed conflicts, 1990–2001’, *SIPRI Yearbook 2002*, pp. 67–68.



**Figure 2A.1.** Regional distribution and total number of major armed conflicts, 2000–2009

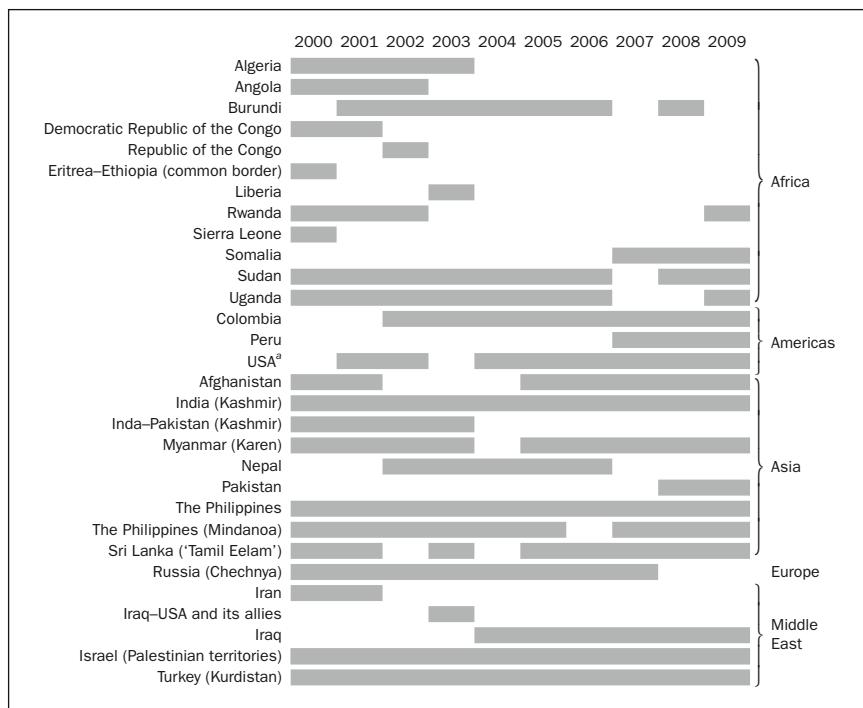
the first seven years of the 2000s there was a sharp decline in the number of major armed conflicts in the region, falling from eight to one. However, the figure increased in both 2008 and 2009 to reach four in the latter year. Only one of the 12 conflicts was fought between states: Eritrea–Ethiopia. Half of the intrastate conflicts were internationalized at some point, which distinguishes Africa from other regions: elsewhere, external involvement ranged from none (Europe) to 40 per cent (Middle East). All but 1 of the 12 major armed conflicts recorded in Africa were fought over governmental power.

The Americas has been the scene of three major armed conflicts during the decade 2000–2009. The number has slowly climbed from zero in 2000 and in 2009 it stood at three. All three conflicts were intrastate and concerned governmental power.

Nine major armed conflicts were recorded for Asia in 2000–2009. Apart from a dip in 2004, when four conflicts were active, the annual number of major armed conflicts has varied between six and seven throughout the period, with seven recorded in 2009. Two of the Asian conflicts—those between the Government of the Philippines and the rebel Communist Party of the Philippines and between the Government of India and Kashmir insurgents—were active in all years of the period. The region saw one interstate conflict fought over governmental power: India–Pakistan. The remaining eight intrastate conflicts were equally divided between the two types of incompatibility.

Only one of the 30 major armed conflicts active in the 2000–2009 period was fought in Europe: that between the Russian Government and the self-proclaimed Chechen Republic of Ichkeria. Since 2008 no major armed conflict has been recorded for Europe.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> While fighting is continuing in and around Chechnya, this is viewed as taking place in the context of a new conflict, fought over a larger territory, termed the Caucasus Emirate by the rebels. Fighting in this conflict has not reached the threshold of 1000 battle-related deaths in a year, and so



**Figure 2A.2.** Timeline of major armed conflicts, 2000–2009

When only the name of a country is given, this indicates a conflict over government. In the case of conflict over territory, the name of the contested territory appears in parentheses after the country name. The years given are those in the period 2000–2009 in which the major armed conflict was active (i.e. resulted in 25 or more battle-related deaths). Many of these conflicts were also active in years prior to 2000, and may be active again in future years.

\* This is the conflict between the US Government and al-Qaeda.

The Middle East accounted for five major armed conflicts in 2000–2009. There have been three active conflicts in the region in each year apart from 2002, when two were active. The same three conflicts have been active since 2004: Iraq, Israel (Palestinian territories) and Turkey (Kurdistan). Turkey (Kurdistan) was active in all years of the period. The one interstate conflict recorded in the Middle East was that between Iraq and the USA and its allies. The remaining four were fought within states; two over government and two over territory.

### III. Changes in the table of conflicts for 2009

#### **Conflicts added to the table in 2009**

Two conflicts appear in this year's table that were not active in 2008: Rwanda and Uganda.<sup>6</sup> In both cases the active rebel groups have over the years taken refuge outside their country of origin and the upsurge in fighting in 2009 was in both cases due to government offensives against rebel positions in neighbouring Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).<sup>7</sup>

On 20 January 2009 Rwandan Government troops crossed into the DRC and launched Operation Umoja Wetu ('our unity') alongside the Congolese Army. Aspiring to destroy the bases of the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR, Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda) in Nord- and Sud-Kivu as well as to generally weaken the hard core of the group, the operation was deemed a success when the Rwandan troops withdrew in late February. However, the FDLR recovered sooner than anticipated and in March the Congolese Army, assisted by the United Nations Organization Mission in the DRC (MONUC), launched Operation Kimia II against the rebels. Starting in Nord-Kivu, the operation moved south during the remains of the year. By the end of 2009 the rebels appeared to have been significantly weakened, but this came with a considerable cost for the civilian population in the area, who had become the target of attacks from both sides in the conflict.<sup>8</sup>

In the Ugandan case, government troops together with troops of the Government of South Sudan and from the DRC had launched a joint offensive, Operation Lightning Thunder, against the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in mid-December 2008. Information on what actually happened in eastern DRC during the last two weeks of 2008 is scarce. Based on publicly available documents and news reports, it was not possible to confirm that the number of battle-related deaths crossed the threshold of 25 during this period, and so the conflict was coded as inactive in 2008.<sup>9</sup> The joint offensive continued in 2009, amid mounting LRA atrocities against the civilian population. Operation lightning Thunder ended on 15 March 2009, and the Ugandan troops officially left the DRC. The armed campaign continued through the rest of the year, however, albeit more covertly. Aside from the Congolese Army continuing to hunt for the scattered rebels, large contingents of the Ugandan Army remained in the neighbouring countries. During the year many of the rebels withdrew to the north and the north-east, entering southern Sudan and the Central African

<sup>6</sup> Fighting between the Government of Yemen and Shabab al-Mu'mineen caused over 1200 battle-related deaths in 2009. However, this fighting is not included as a major armed conflict because the group has never stated an incompatibility with the government concerning either government or territory, which is an integral part of the UCDP definition. While Shabab al-Mu'mineen has been critical of the government's foreign policy, it has never openly pronounced an aim of overthrowing the regime.

<sup>7</sup> The FDLR has been located in eastern DRC since the late 1990s and the LRA in southern Sudan throughout most of the 1990s and early 2000s and in north-eastern DRC since 2005.

<sup>8</sup> Human Rights Watch (HRW), *'You Will Be Punished': Attacks on Civilians in Eastern Congo* (HRW: New York, Dec. 2009).

<sup>9</sup> A major armed conflict is considered to continue to be active only if it results in 25 or more battle-related deaths in a calendar year. See section V below.

Republic. By the end of the year it was difficult to determine whether the LRA was in fact, as the Ugandan Government claimed, a spent force, or if it was just in the midst of a tactical withdrawal.

### **Conflicts removed from the table in 2009**

One of the major armed conflicts that appeared in the 2008 table was no longer active in 2009: Burundi. After having signed a peace agreement in December 2008, the Burundian rebel group Parti pour la libération du peuple Hutu–Force nationale de libération (Palipehutu–FNL, Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People–National Liberation Forces) did not take up arms again in 2009. Instead, as a first step to implement the new peace accord, the group was renamed FNL on 8 January—thus removing the controversial reference to ethnicity in its name—and started the process of registering as a political party. On 21 April the Ministry of the Interior approved the FNL’s registration.<sup>10</sup>

### **Changes in intensity of conflict**

Five of the 17 armed conflicts that were active in 2009 increased in intensity compared to 2008: Afghanistan, Colombia, Somalia, Pakistan and the conflict between the USA and its allies and al-Qaeda. The intensity of the latter two increased by more than 50 per cent.

The conflict between the Pakistani Government and the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP, Movement of the Taliban in Pakistan) escalated in 2009. Despite some short-lived local truces with individual TTP commanders (most notably in the Swat Valley during March–May) and the death of the TTP leader, Baitullah Mehsud in a US missile strike in August, there was intense fighting throughout the year with five major government offensives as well as some attempts by the rebels to launch counteroffensives. Furthermore, during the year the hitherto rural rebels spread the conflict to urban areas, conducting a number of spectacular attacks in major cities. Nevertheless, by the end of 2009 the repeated government offensives had succeeded in forcing the TTP onto the defensive and in re-establishing government authority in areas previously under rebel control.

In 2009 the fighting in the conflict between the USA and its allies and al-Qaeda escalated dramatically. Since the conflict’s start, the bulk of the fighting has taken place in Afghanistan. This changed in 2009, when the vast majority of fatalities were incurred in Pakistan as US forces, based in Afghanistan, carried out large numbers of aerial bombardments of al-Qaeda hideouts across the border. Al-Qaeda operatives responded by targeting civilians—often Afghans—accusing them of being US spies. Apart from events in Pakistan, fight-

<sup>10</sup> Human Rights Watch (HRW), *Pursuit of Power: Political Violence and Repression in Burundi* (HRW: New York, May 2009).

ing between the USA and its allies and al-Qaeda took place in Afghanistan and Somalia.<sup>11</sup>

Five major armed conflicts decreased in intensity between 2008 and 2009: India (Kashmir), Peru, Iraq, Sudan and Turkey (Kurdistan). The latter three decreased by more than 50 per cent.

In the Iraqi case, numerous developments contributed to the marked de-escalation of hostilities. In many of the previous years of conflict, a majority of fatalities were incurred in fighting between government or coalition troops and Jaish al-Mahdi (the Mahdi Army). However, in 2009 there was no fighting involving the latter group. Another factor influencing the situation was the withdrawal of international troops from the country; by August, all non-US coalition members had left Iraq. Since coalition troops have generally been a major target for the Iraqi insurgents, this also influenced the decline in the number of fatalities.

In the Darfur region of Sudan, the conflict between the Sudanese Government and the rebel Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) de-escalated markedly in 2009 compared to 2008. The SLM/A—already weakened by numerous splits—suffered from defections to the larger rebel group Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) during the year.<sup>12</sup> Also serving to dampen the conflict was the continued deployment of the African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID).

Fighting in the conflict between the Turkish Government and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerê Kurdistan, PKK)—ongoing since the 1980s—continued in 2009, albeit on a lower scale. Despite the fact that the government continued to refuse to negotiate with the rebels, some political moves were made that raised the hope for a solution. For the first time, talks were held with the pro-Kurdish Democratic Society Party (Demokratik Toplum Partisi, DTP) and in November a reform package aiming to grant Turkish Kurds more cultural and political rights was presented in the Turkish Parliament. The end of the year also saw some negative developments, as the Constitutional Court banned the DTP for cooperating with the PKK and the government started to launch cross-border attacks on rebel camps in Iraq.

## The most violent conflicts in 2009

In six of the major armed conflicts active in 2009 there were more than 1000 battle-related deaths: Sri Lanka (c. 7500), Pakistan (more than 7000), Afghanistan (c. 5100), Iraq (c. 2000), Rwanda (c. 1800) and Somalia (c. 1500).

In Afghanistan both the Taliban and the Hezb-e-Islami continued fighting the government and the international forces present in the country. The clearest indications of the heightened intensity were the increase in the number of

<sup>11</sup> There was only 1 confirmed event in Somalia during 2009. On 14 Sep. US special forces in helicopters attacked a car in southern Somalia and killed Saleh Ali Saleh Nabhan, one of East Africa's most wanted al-Qaeda militants, together with 5 other people. 'Raid said to kill top al Qaeda militant in Somalia', Reuters, 14 Sep. 2009, <<http://uk.reuters.com/article/idUKTRE58D3PW20090914>>.

<sup>12</sup> Since fighting between government forces and JEM has never resulted in 1000 or more battle-related deaths in a year, JEM is not included in the list of major armed conflicts in table 2A.3.

international soldiers killed and the relatively intense fighting that spread to previously almost untouched areas of Afghanistan. As in earlier years the Taliban mainly relied on roadside bombings, suicide bombings and ambushes as their main tactics. In 2009 the use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) was higher than before. The Taliban also made frequent use of more brazen tactics; on several occasions they attacked and temporarily took over government buildings in provincial capitals throughout the country.

In January 2009, Somalia saw both the withdrawal of Ethiopian troops from the country and the swearing in of moderate Islamist leader, Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed, as its new president. Despite these developments, Sheikh Sharif did not succeed in winning the support of the more hard-line Islamists. The two main groupings opposing the new president were the al-Shabab militia and Hizbul-Islam, a new alliance.<sup>13</sup> In May al-Shabab and Hizbul-Islam began cooperating and subsequently launched a major offensive on Mogadishu that continued throughout June and came close to toppling the government. It was during this offensive that the vast majority of all battle-related deaths were incurred.<sup>14</sup>

In Sri Lanka, long-time rebels the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) were completely defeated in 2009. Following major reverses in 2008, 2009 started off with yet another setback for the rebels, when the government succeeded in capturing the strategically important Elephant Pass, controlling access to the Jaffna Peninsula. A string of government advances followed in rapid succession as the rebels lost ground to the army. By early May the last remnants of the LTTE were trapped together with thousands of civilians in a small area, targeted by government forces with artillery fire. On 16 May Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa declared victory over the rebels and the LTTE admitted defeat on the following day. Two days later, on 19 May, LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran was killed by government forces.

## IV. 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. The separate elements are defined as follows:

1. *Incompatibility that concerns government or territory.* This refers to the stated generally incompatible positions of the parties to the conflict. An *incompatibility that concerns government* refers to 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. An *incompatibility that*

<sup>13</sup> Fighting between Hizbul-Islam and the Somali Government did not exceed 1000 battle-related deaths in 2009, so this group is not included in the list of major armed conflicts in table 2A.3.

<sup>14</sup> On other developments in Somalia in 2009 see chapter 2, section III.

*concerns territory* refers to 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 in control of a certain territory (interstate conflict).

2. *Use of armed force.* This refers to 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 defined as any material means of combat, including anything from manufactured weapons to sticks, stones, fire or water.

3. *Party.* This refers to 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 that is 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, that has stated its political goals and that has used armed force to achieve them. A state or a multinational organization that supports one of the primary parties with regular troops and shares its position may also be listed as a party. 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.* This refers to 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.* This refers to 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 battle-related deaths in fighting between the same parties and concerning the same incompatibility.<sup>15</sup> 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).<sup>16</sup>

The period analysed in this appendix is 2000–2009, but the conflicts in table 2A.3 can have reached the required threshold of 1000 battle-related

<sup>15</sup> Since *SIPRI Yearbook 2008*, the threshold has been 25 battle-related deaths, bringing it in 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 battle-related death.

<sup>16</sup> 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, <<http://www.ucdp.uu.se/>>.

deaths in any calendar year since 1946 and need not have done so during the analysed period.

### Sources

The data presented in this appendix 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 (governments, allies and opposition organizations) and, for example, the Internet sites of rebel groups are often consulted.

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 is compiled by calendar year. It includes 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.<sup>17</sup>

The data on battle-related deaths is 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. Their role is mainly to clarify the contexts in which the events occur, thus facilitating proper interpretation of the published sources.

Because little precise information is publicly available on death 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.

<sup>17</sup> See also the notes for table 2A.3.

**Table 2A.3.** Major armed conflicts in 2009

For the definitions, methods and sources used see section IV above and the notes below.

Location <sup>a</sup>	Incompatibility <sup>b</sup>	Year formed/year stated/ year joined/year entered <sup>c</sup>	Warring parties <sup>d</sup>	Total deaths (including 2009) <sup>e</sup>	Deaths in 2009 <sup>f</sup>	Change from 2008 <sup>g</sup>
Africa						
Rwanda*	Government	1990/1997/1997/1998	Government of Rwanda, Democratic Republic of the Congo vs FDLR	<5000	>1800	n.a.
			FDLR = Forces democratiques de liberation du Rwanda (Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda)			
			* Fighting took place in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.			
Somalia	Government	1981/2006/2006/2008	Government of Somalia, Ethiopia vs al-Shabab (The Youth)	..	..	..
Sudan	Government	1983/2003/2003/2003	Government of Sudan vs Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A)	>4400	>1400	+
Uganda*	Government	1971/1987/1988/1988	Government of Uganda, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan vs Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)	< 9550	> 200	n.a.
			* Fighting took place in the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sudan.			
Americas						
Colombia	Government	1964/1964/1964/2002	Government of Colombia vs FARC	<45 800	<400	+
			FARC = Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)			

Peru	Government	1980/1980/1980/1981	Government of Peru vs Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path)	<28 100	25-100	-
USA*	Government	2001/2001/2001/2001	Government of USA, Multinational coalition** vs al-Qaeda	>3750	<550	+ +
* Fighting took place in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Somalia.						
** In 2009 the US-led multinational coalition included troops from Canada, France, the Netherlands and Romania. Reliable information on states contributing troops is sensitive and hard to find, so this list should be seen as preliminary.						
Asia	Afghanistan	Government	1978/1978/1980/1980 1978/1995/1995/2005	Government of Afghanistan, ISAF* vs Hezb-e Islami vs Taliban	.. ..	25-100 + >5000 +
* The following countries contributed troops to the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in 2009: Albania, Australia, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macedonia (Former Yugoslav Republic of), Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Ukraine, the UK and the USA.						
India	Territory (Kashmir)	1977/1977/1984/1990	Government of India vs Kashmir insurgents	>30 150	>350	-
Myanmar	Territory (Karen State)	1948/1948/1948/1949	Government of Myanmar vs Karen National Union (KNU)	>15 400	25-100	0
Pakistan	Government	2007/2007/2008/2008	Government of Pakistan vs Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP, Movement of the Taliban in Pakistan)*	>10 000	>7000	+ +

Location <sup>a</sup>	Incompatibility <sup>b</sup>	Year formed/year stated/ year joined/year entered <sup>c</sup>	Warring parties <sup>d</sup>	Total deaths (including 2009) <sup>e</sup>	Deaths in 2009 <sup>f</sup>	Change from 2008 <sup>g</sup>
Philippines	Government	1946/1968/1969/1982	Government of the Philippines vs Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)	20 200–27 200	<200	0
Philippines	Territory (Mindanao)	1968/1981/1986/2000	Government of the Philippines vs Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)	>38 200	>300	0
Sri Lanka	Territory (‘Tamil Eelam’)	1976/1976/1975/1987	Government of Sri Lanka vs Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)	>84 400	<7550	0
<b>Middle East</b>						
Iraq	Government	1963/2003/2003/2004	Government of Iraq, Multinational coalition* vs Iraqi insurgents**	<30 300	<2000	– –
			* The US-led Multinational Force in Iraq included combat troops from Australia, El Salvador, Estonia, the UK and the USA. By the end of 2009, only US forces remained and on 1 Jan. 2010 the coalition was renamed the United States Forces-Iraq.			
			** These included primarily Dawlat al-Taq al-Islamiyya (Islamic State of Iraq, ISI) and a multitude of smaller groups with unclear links to the ISI or the Baath Party.			
Israel	Territory (Palestinian territories)	1964/1964/1965/1982	Government of Israel vs Palestinian organizations*	>16 700	>700	0
			* These included Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement) and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ).			
Turkey*	Territory (Kurdistan)	1974/1974/1983/1992	Government of Turkey vs Partiya Karkerêñ Kurdistan (PKK, Kurdistan Workers' Party)	<31 750	<150	– –
			* Fighting took place in Iraq and Turkey.			

Notes: Although some countries are also the location of minor armed conflicts, the table lists only the major armed conflicts in those countries.

The conflicts in the table 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; Europe, including the Caucasus; and the Middle East—Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey and the states of the Arabian peninsula.

<sup>a</sup> ‘Location’ is the location of the government of the state that is being challenged by an opposition organization. If the geographical location of the fighting is different from the location of the government being challenged, these locations are given in a note.

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

<sup>c</sup> ‘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 year in which 1 of the currently active opposition parties (see note d) first 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 armed conflict in the conflict location, while ‘Year stated’, ‘Year joined’ and ‘Year entered’ refer to the involvement of at least 1 of the currently active opposition parties.

<sup>d</sup> 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 which were active during 2009 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.

<sup>e</sup> 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.

<sup>f</sup> 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.

<sup>g</sup> The ‘Change from 2008’ is measured as the increase or decrease in the number of battle-related deaths in 2009 compared with the number of battle-related deaths in 2008. 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 to 50%
- 0 stable rate of battle-related deaths (-10% to +10%)
- decrease in battle-related deaths of >10 to 50%
- decrease in battle-related deaths of <50%
- n.a. not applicable, since the major armed conflict is not recorded for 2008.