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## Great Powers, Small Wars

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## APPENDIX

# List of Armed Conflicts from the COSIMO Database Used in the Study

Following is the list of armed conflicts with at least 25 casualties, selected from COSIMO database of conflicts, for the years 1945–1999, the period covered in the study. Asymmetric conflicts are highlighted in light gray. Asymmetric conflicts with great power involvement are highlighted in dark gray. A key to country abbreviations is provided at the end of the table, as is a description of the variables used in the COSIMO publications.

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
1. India II (partition)	1942	1948	6	2, 3	4	AND (MUSLIM)// AND (HINDU)	//UKI (3)//
2. Greece (civil war I)	1944	1945	1	4	3	AND (ELAS), AND (EAM)//GRC, UKI, AND (EDES)	—
3. Morocco (independence)	1944	1956	12	2	4	AND (MOR), AND (BERBER)//FRA, AND (SETTLERS)	USA (1)//
4. Iran (Kurds I)	1945	1946	1	2, 3	3	AND (KURDS)// IRN, IRQ	USR (2)//
5. Iran–USSR (Azerbaijan)	1945	1946	1	1, 5, 7	3	IRN//USR, AND (TUDEH), AND (DEMOCRATIC PARTY)	USA (1), UKI (1)//
6. Philippines (Luzon, HUK)	1945	1954	9	4	3	AND (PKP), AND (HUK)//PHI	USA (2)//
7. Algeria (independence I)	1945	1946	1	2, 6	3	AND (ALG), AND (ULEMAS), AND (MESSALIS)//FRA	—
8. Indonesia (independence)	1945	1949	4	2	4	AND (INS)//UKI, NTH, AND (KNIL)	IND (1), USR (1), USA (1)//
9. Indochina Ia	1945	1954	9	2, 6	4	FRA, RVN, LAO// DRV, AND (PATHET LAO), AND (KHMER ISSARAK)	USA (2), UKI (2)//CHN (2)
10. China (civil war)	1945	1949	4	4	4	AND (KUOMINTANG)// AND (KPCH)	USA (2)//USR (2)
11. Eritrea I (annexing)	1946	1952	6	3	3	AND (ERITREANS)// ETH//SUD, EGY	ITA (1)//
12. Israel I (independence)	1946	1948	2	2	3	AND (ZIONIST.)/ AND (PALEST), UKI	USR (1)//EGY (3), SYR (3), LIB(3), SAU (1), AL ( 1)
13. Bolivia (teachers' strike)	1946	1952	6	4	3	AND (MNR)//BOL	—

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND (MUSLIMS): 10M-	AND (HINDU): 10M-	AND (MUSLIM)	500,000	800,000	M2, T2, P3
AND: 10M-, 5L-	GRC:10M-, 5L-	AND (ELAS), AND(EAM)	16,000	16,000	P2, M1
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10N-	FRN:10G-, 10I-, 10M-,10F+	FRN	100	1,000	P3, M2, P16
AND: 10M-, 8A+	IRN:10M-	AND (KURDEN)	25	100	P11, P2, M3
AND: 10O-, 10N-; USR: 5B+, 5F-	IRN: 2B+, 1D+, 5G	IRN: 2B+, 1D+, 5G-	25	100	M3, T4, P11, P1
PHI: 10M-, 10G-, 10F+, 10R-	AND: 10M-, 10N-, 10O-	PHI	9,000	9,000	M2, P3, P11, P15
AND: 10A-, 10F-, 10N-	FRN: 10G-, 10M-, 10F+	AND (ALG)	1,500	45,000	P2, M3, P11
INS: 10D-, 10M-, 10N-, 10Q-	NTH: 10M-, 10G-, 5F-	AND(INS)	5,000	100,000	M2, P3, T3, P9, P16
FRA: 5G-, 10M-	"DRV: 5G-; LAO:10B-, 10M-"	FRN	95,000	600,000	P1, T1, M3
CHN: 10M-, 10A+	AND (KPCH):10M-	CHN (KUOMINTANG)	1,000,000	2,000,000	P6, M3, T1
AND: 10M-	ETH: 2B+, 9A-	AND (ERITREANS)	100	1,000	P4
AND (ZION.): 10B-	"AND (PAL.): 10B-; UKI: 10M-"	AND (ZIONIST), AND (PAL)	1,000	2,000	P2, P3
AND: 10A-, 10D-, 10F-, 10M-	BOL: 10M-, 10I-, 10H-, 10F+	AND (MNR)	2 000	3,500	M2, P5, P3

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
14. Greece (civil war II)	1946	1949	3	4, 6	4	AND (DSE)//GRC, UKI (BIS 47)	USR (1), ALB (2), BUL (2), YUG (2)//USA (2)
15. Afghanistan–Pakistan (Paschtunistan I)	1947	1963	16	1, 6, 3,	3	AFG, AND (PASHTUN PEOPLE)//PAK	USR (2)//USA (2)
16. China–Nationalist China	1947	1947	0	5	3	AND//CHN (KMT)	—
17. Indonesia (Darul Islam separation attempt)	1947	1991	44	3	3	AND (DAR–UL–ISLAM)//INS	MAL (1)//USR (1), USA (2), CHN (1)
18. India IV (Kashmir I)	1947	1949	2	2, 3, 1	4	AND (MUSLIMS)//AND (HARI SINGH)	PAK (3)//IND (3)
19. Paraguay (coup d'état)	1947	1947	0	5	4	AND (PFR)//PAR	//USA (1), ARG (1)
20. Malagasy Republic (independence)	1947	1960	13	2	4	AND (MAG)//FRA	—
21. Costa Rica (exiled people)	1948	1949	1	5	3	AND//COS	NIC (3)//
22. Yemen–United Kingdom (Aden I)	1948	1963	15	2, 1	3	YAR//UKI (ADEN)	—
23. India V (Hyderabad)	1948	1948	0	3, 5	3	IND//AND (HYDERABAD)	—
24. Malaya (independence)	1948	1960	12	2, 4	4	AND (MRLA)//UKI, AND (MAL), AUL, NEW	CHN (2)//THI (2)
25. Israel II (Palestine war)	1948	1949	1	1, 3	4	JOR, EGY, SYR, LEB, IRQ//ISR, AND (HAGANA), AND (LEUMI), AND (STARS)	CZE(3)//UKI(3)

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 10D-, 10M-	GRC: 10H-, 10M-	AND (DSE)	44,000	160,000	M3, P1, P9, P11
AFG: 3A-, 5C-, 5B-, 5F-, 4K-	PAK: 1D+, 1E+, 1C-, 1A+, 4K-	AFG	100	1,000	M1, T5, P1, P2
AND: 10G-	CHN: 10H-, 10N-, 10E+	AND	4,000	4,000	M3, P7, P11
AND: 10K-, 10N-, 10O-	INS: 10H-, 10M-	AND (DARUL ISLAM)	4,000	4,000	M3, P1, P8
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10F-	AND: 10E-, 10G-, 10M-	AND (MUSLIMS)	1,500	10,000	M1, T1, P1
AND(PFR): 10M-	PAR: 10H-, 10M-	AND (PFR)	28,000	28,000	P9, P11, M3, P15
AND: 10M-	FRN:10M-, 10F-	AND (MAG)	5,000	80,000	P3, M3, P16
AND: 5F-, 5D+	COS: 5C-, 5H-, 5F-, 2B+	AND	1	25	M3, P9, P1
YAR: 2B+, 1D-	UKI: 5F-, 1D-	YAR	100	1,000	M2, T5, P9, P11
IND: 10H-, 10M-	AND: 10N-, 10O-	IND	2,000	10,000	M2, P3, P9
AND(MCP): 10A-, 10D-, 10O-	MAL, UKI: 10M-, 10A+, 10R-	AND (MRLA)	12,500	13,000	M3, P11, P17, P15
"JOR: 5G-;CZE: 5B+"	ISR: 5F-	JOR, EGY, SYR	8,000	20,000	M3, T5, P2

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
26. Burma/ Myanmar (minorities)	1948	1999	51	3, 4	4	AND (KAREN), AND (MOJAHIDS), AND (WHITES), AND (REDS), AND (BAN)//BUR	CHN(2)// USA(1)
27. Colombia (Violencia I)	1948	1953	5	5, 4	4	AND//AND, COL	—
28. Burma (Chinese troops)	1949	1961	12	4	3	AND (KMT)//BUR, CHN	USA(2), TAW(2)//
29. Israel–Arab States (cease-fire)	1949	1956	7	1	3	EGY, JOR, IRQ, SYR, LEB//ISR	
30. India VIII (Kashmir II)	1949	1964	15	1	3	PAK//IND	—
31. India X (Nagas)	1950	1964	14	3	3	AND (NAGAS)// IND	—
32. Tunisia (independence)	1950	1956	6	2	3	AND (TUN)//FRA	—
33. China (Tibet I)	1950	1951	1	5	3	CHN//TIB	—
34. Somalia–Ethiopia (border)	1950	1961	11	1	3	AND (SOM)//ETH	ITA (1)//
35. Indonesia (South–Moluccas)	1950	1965	15	3	4	AND (KNIL)//INS	—
36. Korea II (Korean War)	1950	1953	3	4, 5, 6	4	PRK//ROK	USR (2), CHN (3)//USA (3)
37. Egypt (1st Suez crisis)	1951	1954	3	2	3	EGY//UKI	—
38. Kenya (independence, Mau-Mau)	1952	1956	4	2	4	AND (KEN)//UKI	—
39. Sudan (independence II)	1953	1955	2	5	3	AND (ARMY), EGY//AND (SUD), UKI	—
40. British Guyana (independence)	1953	1966	13	2	3	AND (PPP, GUY)// UKI	—
41. China–Taiwan (Quemoy I)	1954	1954	0	1, 4	3	CHN//TAW	//USA (2)

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 10D-, 10M-	BUR: 10H-, 10M-	AND (KAREN), AND (KOMM)	40,000	60 000	M4, P2
AND: 10M-, 10B-, 10F-	COL: 10H-, 10K-, 10M-	AND	80,000	300, 000	P17, P11, M1
"AND (KMT): 5G-; USA: 2D+, 6A-"	BUR: 2B+, 5H-	AND(KMT)	100	1,000	M3, P11
EGY: 4B-, 5H-, 2B+	ISR: 2B+, 5F-	EGY, JOR, IRQ, SYR, LEB	1,000	2,000	M1, T5, P2
PAK: 5A-, 5B-, 2B+	IND: 1D-, 5A-, 5B-	PAK	2,000	10,000	P2
AND: 10B-, 10N-, 10O-	IND: 10G-, 10M-, 10F+	AND (NAGAS)	300	1,000	P17
AND: 10A-, 10F-	FRN: 10G-, 10A+, 10F+	AND (TUN)	100	1,000	P3
CHN: 5L-	TIB:2B+,5L-	CHN	1,000	2,000	P4, M2, T3
SOM: 2B+	ETH: 1D+	SOM	1,000	2,000	P2
AND: 10N-, 10O-	INS: 10M-	AND (KNIL)	5 000	10,000	P1, P8, M3, T3
PRK: 5L-	ROK: 5L-	PRK	1,500,000	2,000,000	M1, T5, P1
EGY: 5K-, 4I-, 2B+, 1D+	UKI: 5A-, 5D-, 5F-, 1D+, 5D+	EGY	100	1,000	P16, P17
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10O-	UKI: 10H-, 10J-, 10M-, 10G-	AND (KEN)	10,000	10,745	M3, P1
AND (ARMEE): 10M-, 10O-	AND (SUD):10F-	AND (ARMEE)	300	350	P3, M3
AND: 10F-, 10A-, 10A+, 2B+	UKI:10G-, 10H-, 10A+, 10E+	AND (PPP,GUY)	100	1,000	P3, P5
CHN: 5F-	TAW:5A-, 5F-	CHN	1	25	P1, P2, P15, M1



## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
42. Guatemala I (intervention)	1954	1954	0	4, 6	3	AND//GUA	HON (2), NIC (2), USA (3)//
43. Cyprus I (independence)	1954	1960	6	2	3	AND (EOKA)// UKI, AND (ISLAND TURKS)	GRC (2)//TUR (1)
44. China–India (Aksai Chin)	1954	1962	8	1	3	CHN//IND	—
45. Oman (Imam–Sultan conflict)	1954	1971	17	5, 7	3	AND (OMA), UKI// AND (IMAM)	//SAU(2), EGY(1)
46. China (Tibet II)	1954	1959	5	4, 3	4	AND (TIBETIANS)//CHN	—
47. Algeria (independence II)	1954	1962	8	2	4	AND (ALG)//FRA// AND (SIEDLER)	MOR(2), TUN(2)//
48. Nicaragua–Costa Rica (exiled people I)	1955	1956	1	4, 8	3	AND (RIGHT-WING EXILES), NIC//COS	//USA(2)
49. Turkey–Syria (border)	1955	1957	2	2	3	TUR//SYR	USA (2)//USR (2), EGY (3)
50. Cameroon (independence)	1955	1967	12	2	3	AND (CAO)//FRA, CAO	—
51. Cambodia (border)	1956	1970	14	6	3	USA, RVN, THI, AND (LON NOL)// KHM	—
52. Poland (October uprisings)	1956	1956	0	4,5	3	AND (KPLB), POL//AND (COMMUNIST PARTY–STALINIST), USR	—
53. Jordan (Arab Legion)	1956	1957	1	5	3	AND (NUWAR, ARMY)//JOR	SYR(3), USR(1)// SAU(2), USA(2)

## LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 5F-, 5G-	GUA: 2B+, 5L-	AND	1	25	M2, P5, P3, P15
AND: 10B-, 10D-, 10N-, 10O-	UKI: 10G-, 10I-, 10M-, 10F+	AND (EOKA)	359	621	P17
CHN: 1D-, 1C+, 1D+, 5B-, 5F-	IND: 1D-, 1C+, 1D+, 5B-, 5F-	CHN	9	1,000	P2, T5
OMA: 10M-, 5H-, 2B+	AND:10K-,10O-	AND	100	1,000	M2, T3, P11
AND: 10F-, 10M-, 10O-	CHN:10G-, 10H-, 10M-, 10R-	AND (TIBETIANS)	65,000	65,000	M3, P2, P11
AND: 5K-, 5L-, 10A-, 1D+	FRN:5L-, 10G-, 4L-, 1D+, 5D+	AND (ALG)	100,000	190,000	M3, P3, T2
AND: 5G-, 2C-	COS: 2B+, 5L-	AND (RECHTE EXIL.)	1	25	M3, P1, P9
TUR: 5B-, 5F-	SYR: 2B+	TUR	1	25	M1, T4, P1
AND: 10B-, 10P-, 10M-	FRN: 10M-, 10F+	AND (CAO)	100	1,000	M3, P3
USA: 5F-, 4B-, 4I-, 5G-, 10K-	KHM: 2B+, 2F+, 10E+	USA, RVN	25	30	P7, P15
AND: 10E+	USR:4C+, 5E-	AND	53	53	P15, P17
AND: 10A-, 10F-, 10K-	JOR: 10E-, 10G-	AND (NUWAR, ARMEE)	25	100	M3, P11

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
54. Sri Lanka (Ceylon) (Tamils I)	1956	1958	2	3, 4	3	SRI//AND (UNP), AND (BUDDIST MONKS), AND (SINHALESE PEOPLE)//AND (TAMILS)	—
55. Morocco (French troops)	1956	1958	2	2, 6	3	MOR//FRA	—
56. Hungary (revolt)	1956	1957	1	5	3	AND (KPLB), AND (BEV)//AND (COMMUNIST PARTY–STALINIST), HUN, USSR	
57. Cuba (revolution)	1956	1959	3	4	4	AND (CASTRO)//CUB	DOM (2)//USA (2)
58. Egypt (Suez war)	1956	1957	1	1, 2, 6	4	ISR, UKI, FRA//EGY	//USR (2)
59. Honduras–Nicaragua (border I)	1957	1957	0	1, 7	3	HON//NIC	USA (1)//
60. Israel III (border)	1957	1967	10	1, 6	3	EGY, SYR, JOR//ISR	USR( 2)//
61. Morocco–Spain (attempt at expansion)	1957	1958	1	1, 2	3	AND (AOL), MOR//SPN	//FRA(3)
62. China–Taiwan (Quemoy II)	1958	1958	0	1, 4	3	CHN//TAW	USR (1)//USA (2)
63. Tunisia (Sakiet)	1958	1958	0	6	3	FRA//TUN	—
64. Tunisia (Remada)	1958	1958	0	6	3	FRA//TUN	—
65. Iraq (Mossul revolt)	1958	1959	1	5, 4	3	AND (NATIONALISTS, SHAWWAL)//IRQ	SYR (2), EGY (1)//USR (2)
66. Lebanon (first civil war)	1958	1958	0	5	3	LEB, AND (MARONITES)//AND (UNF)	IRQ, USA, UKI(3)//SYR(2)

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
SRI: 10H-, 10M-	AND: 10F-, 10B-, 10Q-, 10O-	SRI	500	500	M2, P2, P9, P11
MOR: 1D-, 1D+	FRN: 1D-, 1D+, 5D+	MOR	100	1,000	P16, P17
AND: 10A-, 10G-, 10M-, 8A-	AND: 5G-, 5L-	AND (BEV)	10 000	32,000	M2, P1, P11, P15
AND: 10B-, 10D-, 10N-, 10M-	CUB: 10E-, 10G-, 10M-	CUB	2 000	5,000	P5, M2, P3
EGY: 4B-, 4K-, 5B-	UKI: 10M-	ISR, UKI, FRN	3,230	10,000	M1, P17, P8
HON: 5D-, 2B+, 5F-, 1D+	NIC: 5B-, 5G-, 5C-, 1D+	HON	25	100	T5, P17
EGY: 2B+, 2B-, 5B-, 5C-, 5F-	ISR: 2B+, 2B-, 5B-, 5C-, 5F-	EGY, SYR	1,000	2,000	M1, T5, P2
MOR: 5F-, 1D+	SPN: 5A-, 5F-, 1D+, 5D+	AND (AOL), MOR	25	100	T3, P17, M1
CHN: 2E+, 5A-, 5F-	TAW: 5A-, 5F-	CHN	100	1,000	P2, M1, P1, T5
FRA: 5F-, 4L-, 1D+	TUN: 1D-, 1A-, 5H-, 1D+, 1E+	FRN	69	69	P1, P2, M1, P16
FRA: 5F-, 5A-, 1D+, 5D+	TUN: 5H-, 5C-, 1E+, 1D+, 4A-	FRN	305	305	P16, P17, M1
AND (NATIONALISTEN): 10K-	IRQ: 10M-	AND (NATIONALISTEN)	2,000	2,000	M3, P11
LEB: 10L-, 2B+, 10M-	AND (MILIZEN): 10M-, 10O-	LEB, AND (MARONITEN)	1,000	2,000	M3, P5, P1

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
67. Rwanda–Burundi (independence)	1958	1964	6	3, 5	3	AND (RWA)//BEL	—
68. Nepal II	1959	1961	2	1	3	CHN//NEP	—
69. Malawi (independence)	1959	1964	5	2	3	AND (NAC)//UKI, RHO	—
70. Dominican Republic I	1959	1962	3	4, 5	3	AND, CUB, VEN//DOM	USA (1), ECU (1), COL (1), PER (1), BOL (1)//
71. South Africa (Sharpeville)	1960	1960	0	4,5	3	AND//SAF	AFRICAN. STATES (1)//
72. Mali–Mauritania (border)	1960	1963	3	1	3	MLI//MAA	MOR (2)//
73. Nepal III	1960	1960	0	5	3	AND (CONGRESS)//NEP	IND( 1)//CHN (1)
74. Spain (Basque autonomy)	1960	1999	39	3, 4	3	AND (ETA)//SPN	AND (2)//FRA (2)
75. Venezuela (guerrilla)	1960	1969	9	4	3	AND (MIR, PCV)//VEN	CUB (2)//USA (1)
76. Indonesia (West Irian II)	1960	1969	9	1, 6, 7	3	INS//NTH//AND (PAPUANS)	USR (2)//
77. India XII (Goa II)	1961	1961	0	2	3	IND//POR	—
78. Cuba (Bay of Pigs)	1961	1961	0	4	3	AND//CUB	USA (3)//
79. Tunisia (Biserta)	1961	1963	2	2, 6	3	TUN//FRA	—
80. Iraq (Kurds I)	1961	1970	9	3	4	AND (KURDS)//IRQ	TUR (1), IRN (2)//SYR (3), USR (2)

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 10B-	BEL: 10F+, 2B+	AND (RWA)	100	20,000	P2, M1
CHN: 5F-, 1D+, 5B-, 4A+	NEP: 1D+, 5B-, 1D-	CHN	1	25	T1, P17
MAW: 10A-, 1D+, 10N-	UKI: 10H-, 10A+, 1D+, 10F+	AND (NYASA)	52	52	P3
AND: 2C-, 1C-, 1D-	DOM: 2B+, 2C-, 5K-, 1H-	AND	25	100	P3, P5, P10, M3
AND: 10A-	SAF: 10G-, 2D-	AND	74	74	P2, P11
MLI: 5F-, 1C+	MAA: 1D+, 1C+	MLI	25	100	M1, T3, P3
AND: 10B-, 10O-	NEP: 10H-, 10M-	AND (CONGRESS)	25	100	P1
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10O-	SPN: 10M-, 10E-, 10G-, 10H-	AND (ETA)	500	500	T5, P2
AND: 10B-, 10M-	VEN: 1C-, 10M-, 10G-, 10C+	AND (MIR, PCV)	600	600	P9, M3, P1
INS: 5A-, 1D+	NTH: 5A-, 1D+	INS	100	1,000	P3, T5, M1, P16
IND: 5A-, 5G-	POR: 5F-, 2B+, 5D+	IND	40	40	M2, T3, P3
AND: 5F-, 2C-, 6A-	CUB: 5B-, 2B+, 5F-	USA, AND	100	1,000	M3, P9, P1
TUN: 1F+, 5F-, 5H-, 2B-, 1C-	FRN: 5F-, 5A-, 2A-, 5D+, 4C+	TUN	1,100	1,100	M1, P3
AND: 10N-, 10O-	IRQ: 10A+, 10F+, 10M-	AND (KURDEN)	25,500	50,000	M1, P17, P10

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
81. Angola (independence)	1961	1974	13	2	4	AND (MPLA), AND (UNITA), AND (FNLA)//POR	USA (1), CHN (2), ZAI (2), USR (2), CUB (2)/SAF (2), RHO (1)
82. Cuba (Cuban Missile Crisis)	1962	1962	0	6	3	USR, CUB//USA	—
83. Gabon–Congo (Soccer Revolt)	1962	1962	0	1	3	GAB//CON	—
84. Brunei (uproar)	1962	1962	0	2, 5	3	UKI, AND (SULTAN, BRU)// AND (NKNA), AND (SUPP)	//INS(2)
85. Somalia–Ethiopia (Ogaden I)	1962	1964	2	1	3	SOM//ETH, KEN	ARABS (1), CHN (1), USR (2)//
86. China–India (war)	1962	1963	1	1	4	CHN//IND	—
87. Yemen AR (civil war II)	1962	1968	6	5	4	AND (REP), EGY// AND (ROY)	USR (2)//JOR (2), SAU (2), IRN (2), UKI (3)
88. Morocco–Algeria (Tindouf I)	1963	1963	0	1, 7	3	MOR//ALG	
89. Cyprus II (civil war)	1963	1964	1	3, 5	3	CYP, AND (EOKA–B)//AND (TMT)	GRC (2)//TUR (3)
90. Yemen PR–Oman (Dhofar–uproar)	1963	1979	16	2, 6, 5	3	AND (PFLOAG), YPR//OMA	CHN (2), SAU (2)//JOR (3), EGY (2), UKI (3), IRN (3)
91. Zanzibar (massacre)	1963	1964	1	5	3	AND (ASU)//TAZ	—
92. Rwanda (Bugesera–invasion)	1963	1964	1	3, 5	3	AND (TUTSI)//RWA	BUI (2)//

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10F-, 10M-	POR: 10M-, 10R-	AND (MPLA), AND (UNITA)	60,000	90,000	P3, M2
USR: 5B-, 3A-, 1F+	USA: 1D-, 5H-, 1F+	USR	1	25	P16, P1
GAB: 10B-, 10I-, 2B+	CON: 10B-, 10I-, 2B+	GAB	1	25	P1
UKI: 10M-, 10G-, 10E-, 10H-	AND: 10D-, 10M-, 10N-, 10O-	UKI	25	100	M3, P3, P11, T4
SOM: 10B-, 10D-, 5L-, 2B+, 1D+	ETH: 5L-, 10H-, 2B+, 1D+	SOM	2,000	2,000	P2, M6
CHN: 5A-, 5F-, 5D+, 1D+	IND: 5A-, 5F-	CHN	1,000	4,500	M2, T3, P2
AND(REP): 10K-, 10M-, 1E+	AND (ROY):10M-, 1E+	AND(REP),EGY	100,000	100,000	P5, M1, P17
MOR: 5A-, 5G-, 5F-, 1D+, 1C-	ALG: 5A-, 5F-, 2B+, 1D+, 1C-	MOR	100	100	M1, P1, P2, T5
CYP: 10G-, 10R-, 10M-	AND: 10B-, 10N-, 10O-	CYP, AND (EOKA-B)	100	1,000	M1, P2, P8
YPR: 5F-, 5K-	OMA: 5F-, 10C+	AND (PFLOAG)	1,000	2,000	M3, T5, P11
AND: 10K-	ZAN: 10E+	AND (ASU)	4,000	4,000	M2, P5
AND: 5F-, 5K-	RWA: 5L-	AND	14,000	14,000	M3, P2



## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
93. Guinea-Bissau-Portugal (independence)	1963	1974	11	2	3	AND (GNB, PAIGC)//POR	USR (1), CUB (2), GUI (2), CHN (1), SEN (2)//
94. Malaya-Indonesia (Sarawak/Sabah)	1963	1966	3	1, 2	4	UKI, MAL//AND (SUPP), AND (SAYA), INS	AUL (3), NEW (3), CAN (2)//USR (2)
95. Laos II (civil war)	1963	1975	12	4, 6	4	AND (PATHET LAO)//LAO, AND (MEO)	DRV (3)//THI (3), USA (3), RVN (3)
96. Sudan (civil war I)	1963	1972	9	3, 5	4	AND (ANYA NYA)//SUD	ISR (2)//USR (3), EGY (3)
97. Panama (Canal I)	1964	1967	3	1	3	PAN//USA	—
98. Zaire (Stanleyville—hostages)	1964	1964	0	5, 3	3	AND (CNL)//ZAI	//USA (2), UKI(2), BEL (3)
99. Zaire (civil war)	1964	1965	1	3, 5	3	AND (CNL)//ZAI	CON (2), BUI (2), USR (2)//USA (2)
100. Mozambique (independence)	1964	1975	11	2	4	AND (FRELIM), AND (FRLM)//POR	//SAF (3), RHO (3), USA (2)
101. Indochina II (Vietnam War)	1964	1973	9	4, 5, 6	4	AND (FNL), AND (VIETMINH), DRV//USA, THI, RVN	USR (2), CHN (2)//ROK (3), AUL (3), PHI (3), NEW (3)
102. Yemen PR (independence)	1965	1967	2	2	3	AND (NLF), AND (FLOS), EGY//UKI (ADEN)	//USR (3)
103. Peru (guerrilla)	1965	1966	1	4	3	AND (ELN, MIR)//PER	—
104. India XV (Ran of Ketch II)	1965	1969	4	1, 6, 7	3	PAK//IND	—
105. Zambia-Rhodesia (border)	1965	1987	22	1, 2, 4	3	RHO, SAF//ZAM, AND	—
106. Thailand (communism)	1965	1980	15	4,5	3	AND (CPT)//THI	DRV (2), CHN (2)//USA (3)

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND (GNB): 10A-, 10M-	POR: 10M-	AND (GNB, PAIGC)	2,000	15,000	M2, P5, P3
"UKI; MAL: 5A-, 5B-, 5C-»	"AND; INS: 10M-, 10N-, 5F-»	AND	740	1,000	P3, P9, M4, T3
AND: 10N-	LAO: 10N-, 10A+	AND (PATHET LAO), DRV	100,000	100,000	M1, P12, P15
AND: 10N-, 10M-	SUD: 10M-, 10H-, 10K-	AND	100,000	500,000	M1, P4
PAN: 10A-, 1C-, 2B+, 1D+, 1A+	USA: 5D-, 1D+, 1A+	PAN	1	26	P1, P16, T5
AND: 10B-, 10M-	ZAI:5F-,10M-	AND (CNL)	1,000	1,000	P1, M3
AND: 10N-, 10O-	ZAI:2B+	AND (CNL)	20,000	100,000	M1, T5, P2
AND: 10N-, 10M-, 1D+	POR: 10M-, 1D+	AND (FRELI), AND (FRLM)	25 000	30,000	M2, P3, P16
USA: 5L-, 5M-, 2E+, 5A+, 5B+	DRV: 10M-, 10N-, 10O-, 5M-	USA	1,215 992	2,000,000	T3, P3, M2
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10N-, 10O-	UKI: 10H-, 10M-	AND (NLF), AND (FLOSY)	425	425	M2, P3
AND: 10B-, 10D-, 10M-	PER: 10G-, 10M-	AND (ELN, MIR)	500	500	P11, M3, P1
PAK: 5A-, 1D+, 1D-, 1E-, 5F-	IND: 1D-, 1D+, 1E-, 1D-, 5F-	PAK	100	1,000	T1, M1, P17
ZAM: 10H-, 5A-	RHO: 5F-, 4A-	SAF, RHO	100	1,000	P3, T5
AND: 10B-, 10N-, 10O-	THI: 10G-, 10M-	AND (CPT)	5,000	5,000	M3, P11, P1

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
107. Dominican Republic II (intervention)	1965	1965	0	6, 4	3	AND//DOM	//USA(3)
108. India XIV (Kashmir III)	1965	1965	0	1, 2	3	AND (AZAD–REBELS)//IND	CHN (1), PAK (3)//
109. India XVI (Kashmir IV)	1965	1970	5	1, 2	4	PAK, AND (MUSLIMS)//IND	CHN (1)//
110. Zaire (Katanga—mercenaries)	1966	1967	1	5	3	AND (MERCENARIES)//ZAI	POR (2)//
111. Mozambique (border)	1966	1974	8	1, 2	3	POR//ZAM, TAZ, MAW	—
112. Namibia II (SWAPO)	1966	1990	24	2, 4	3	AND (SWAPO)//SAF	USR (2)//USA (2)
113. Bolivia (Che Guevara, Mar. 23, 1967–Oct. 10, 1967)	1967	1967	0	4	3	AND//BOL	CUB (2)//ARG (2), USA (2)
114. Egypt–Israel (confrontations)	1967	1973	6	1, 6	3	EGY, SYR//ISR	USR (2)//
115. Egypt–Israel (Six-Day War)	1967	1967	0	1, 6, 7	4	EGY, SYR, JOR, AND (PLO)//ISR	ALG (3), KUW (3), USR (2)//USA (1)
116. Eritrea III (civil war)	1967	1993	26	3	4	AND (EPLF)//ETH	EGY (2)//CUB (2), USR (2)
117. Nigeria (Biafra secession)	1967	1970	3	5, 3, 7	4	AND (BIAFRA)//NIG	POR (2), FRA (2), SPN (2)//USR (2), UKI (2), CZE (2)
118. Thailand–Cambodia III (border)	1968	1969	1	1	3	THI//KHM	—
119. CSSR (Prague Spring)	1968	1968	0	4, 6	3	USR, DDR, POL, HUN, BUL//CZE	—
120. Northern Ireland	1968	1999	31	2, 3	3	AND (IRA)//UKI, AND (ORANGE ORDER, RUC, B–POLICE)	—

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 10N-, 10M-, 1D+	"DOM; USA: 10M-, 1D+, 10D+, 5F-"	AND	3,000	10,000	P10, P15, P17, M1
AND: 5K-	IND: 5A-	AND (AZAD), PAK	20,000	20,000	M1, P2
PAK: 1B-, 5G-, 5L-	IND: 5L-	PAK	6,800	6,800	M1, P1
AND: 10B-, 10N-	ZAI: 2B+	AND (SOELDNER)	1	25	P2
POR: 5F-, 4K-	ZAM: 2B-, 10R-	POR	1,000	30,000	M3
AND: 10N-, 10M-, 1D+	SAF: 10M-, 1D+	AND (SWAPO)	40,000	40 000	T2, P3, M2
AND: 10N-, 10M-	BOL: 10H-, 10M-, 10L-	AND	25	200	P11, M3, P1, P9
ISR: 2B+, 2B-, 5F-	EGY: 2B+, 2B-, 5F-	EGY, USR	5,968	5,968	M1, T5, P2
ISR: 2B+, 2B-, 5H-	EGY: 2B+, 2B-, 5H-	ISR	19,600	25,000	M2, T3, P2
AND: 10N-, 10A-, 10B-, 1D+	ETH: 10M-, 10H-	AND (EPLF)	36,000	2,000,000	T1, M5, P3, P6
AND: 10O-, 10M-	NIG: 5C-, 4B-, 10M-	AND (BIAFRA)	1,000,000	2 000,000	M3, P9, T4, P1
THI: 5A-, 5F-, 2B+	KHM: 5A-, 5F-	THI	500	500	M1, T5, P2
USR: 5G-	CZE: 1D+	USR	50	1,000	P7, P3, P15
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10N-	UKI: 10E-, 10G-, 10M-	AND (IRA)	2,700	3,000	P2

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
121. Philippines (uproar by National Front)	1968	1999	31	5	3	AND (NPA)// PHI, AND (CIVIL MILITIA)	//USA(2)
122. China-USSR (Ussuri conflict)	1969	1969	0	1	3	CHN//USR	—
123. Iran-Iraq (Shatt-al-Arab)	1969	1975		1	3	IRQ//IRN	//UKI (2), KURD (2)
124. Indonesia (West Irian III)	1969	1982	13	2, 3, 7	3	INS//AND (OPM)	//PNG (1), VAN (2)
125. Honduras-El Salvador (Soccer War I)	1969	1970	1	8,1	4	HON//SAL	—
126. Argentina (Montoneros)	1969	1977	8	4	4	AND (MONTON.)// ARG, AND (DEATH SQUADS)	//USA (2)
127. Portugal-Guinea (invasion of Conakry)	1970	1970	0	5	3	AND (G.s IN EXILE)//GUI	POR (3)//TAZ (2), ZAM (2), USA (2), EGY (2)
128. Jordan (Black September)	1970	1971	1	5	3	JOR//AND (PLO), SYR	USA (1)//USR (1), IRQ (3)
129. Philippines (Moros in Mindanao and Sulu)	1970	1999	29	2, 3	3	AND (MIM), AND (MNLF)//PHI	MAL (2)//USA (1)
130. Cambodia II	1970	1975	5	4, 5	4	AND (KHMER R.)// KHM	DRV (3)//USA (3), RVN (3)
131. Sri Lanka (Ceylon) (uproar)	1971	1971	0	5	3	AND (JVP)//SRI	//USA (2), UKI (2), AUL (2), USR (2), PAK (2), IND (3)
132. India XVII (Bangladesh III)	1971	1971	0	6, 2	4	AND (BNG), IND// PAK	USR (2)// CHN (1), USA (1), SAU (2), LIB (2), IRN(2)

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 10B-, 10F-, 10M-, 10O-	PHI: 10H-, 10E-, 10M-, 10R-, 10A+, 10C+, 10F+	AND (NPA)	10,000	12,000	M1, P2, P7
CHN: 5F-, 5G-, 1D+	USR:5F-,1D+	CHN	160	1,000	M1, T5, P1
IRQ: 1I-, 1C-, 5F-	IRN: 1H-, 5F-, 2B+, 1C-	IRQ	100	1,000	P17
INS: 5G-, 10M-, 10L-, 10S-	AND: 10F-, 10O-,10N-10B-	INS	50,000	100,000	T3, P2, M2, P11
HON: 1C-, 5F-, 1D+, 4I-	SAL: 5C-, 1C-, 5G-, 1D+	SAL	2,000	2,400	P17, M1
AND: 10B-, 10O-, 10N-	ARG: 10D-, 10H-, 10M-	AND (MONTON.)	10,000	10,000	P1, P11, M3
AND: 5F-, 5D-	GUI: 2B+	AND (EXILANTEN)	1	25	M3, P1
JOR: 10M-	SYR: 5F-, 5D-	JOR	2,000	2,440	M2, T3, P11
AND: 10N-, 10H+	PHI: 10M-, 10A+	AND (MIM)	100,000	150,000	P2, P17
AND: 10B-, 10N-	KHM: 10H-, 10M-	AND (R.KHMER)	150,000	1,000,000	M2, P5, P3
AND: 10D-, 10F-, 10M-	SRI: 10M-, 10G-, 10H-	AND (JVP)	1,200	2,000	M3, P1, P11
IND: 1E+, 5A-, 5F-, 5G-, 5L-	PAK: 5A-, 5F-, 5L-	IND	300,000	300,000	M2, T1, P3, P6

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
133. Uganda–Tanzania (invasion)	1972	1972	0	5	3	AND (OBOTE)//UGA (AMIN)	TAZ (2)//
134. Rhodesia (civil war)	1972	1979	7	2	4	AND (ZANU), AND (ZAPU)//RHO	MZM (3), ZAM (2)//SAF (2)
135. Burundi I (genocide)	1972	1973	1	5	4	BUI//AND (HUTU), TAZ	ZAI (3)//
136. Iraq–Kuwait II (border)	1973	1973	0	3, 6, 7	3	IRQ//KUW	USR (1)//IRN (1)
137. Pakistan (Belochistan)	1973	1976	3	3	3	AND (BLF)//PAK	IRQ (2), AFG (1)//IRN (2)
138. Israel IV (Yom Kippur War)	1973	1973	0	1, 6	4	EGY, SYR, AND (PLO)//ISR	USR (2), IRQ (2), JOR (2), ALG (2), MOR (2)//USA (2)
139. Indochina II (cease-fire)	1973	1976	3	4, 5, 8	4	DRV, AND (FNL)//RVN	USR (2), CHN (2)//USA (2)
140. Iraq (Kurds II)	1974	1975	1	3	3	IRQ//AND (DPK–KURDS)	USR (2)//IRN (2)
141. Ethiopia (Red Terror)	1974	1978	4	4	3	AND (DERG), AND (MEISON), AND (EPRP)//ETH	—
142. Indonesia (East Timor [civil war I])	1974	1975	1	1, 2	4	AND (UDT)//AND (FRETILIN)//INS//POR	—
143. Cyprus IV (Turkey invasion)	1974	1974	0	4	4	CYP, GRC, AND (NAT.GUARD), AND (EOKA–B)//CYP, AND (TMT)	GRC (2)//TUR (3)
144. Ethiopia (Tigray)	1974	1991	17	3, 5	4	AND (TPLF)//ETH	//CUB (3), USR (2)
145. Lebanon I	1975	1975	0	5	3	AND (FALANGE)//AND (PLO)	—
146. Rhodesia–Mozambique (attempt at destabilization)	1975	1979	4	2, 6	3	RHO, AND (RENAMO)//MZM	SAF (3)//

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 5F-, 1D+	UGA:5B-, 5F-, 1D+	AND (OBOTE)	300	300	P1, M3
AND: 10B-, 10F-, 10M-, 10N-	RHO:10G-, 10H-, 10I-, 10M-	AND (ZANU, ZAPU), MZM	12,000	20,000	M1, P3
BUI: 1D-, 10M-, 2B+	AND: 10B-	BUI	100,000	200,000	M2, P2
IRQ: 5F-, 5D+	KUW: 5A-, 5F-, 2B+	IRQ	25	100	M1, P2
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10N-, 10O-	PAK: 10G-, 10M-, 10C+, 10F+	AND (BLF)	500	500	P17
EGY: 2A+, 2B+, 4B-, 5B+, 5G-	ISR: 2A+, 2B+, 4B-, 5G+	EGY, SYR	16 401	25,000	M1, T5, P2
"AND;DRV: 1D+, 5G-, 5F-"	RVN: 1D+, 5F-, 5G-	AND(FNL),DRV	100,000	100,000	M2, T3, P3, P5
IRQ: 10A+, 10M-	AND: 10A+, 10M-	IRQ	2,000	20,000	M2, P2, P11
AND: 10K-	ETH: 10E+	AND (DERG)	0	200,000	M2, P3
AND(UDT): 10K-, 10M-	AND (FRETILIN): 10M-, 10O-	AND (UDT)	2,000	2,000	M3, P16, P8
TUR: 5F-, 1D+, 5G-	CYP: 5A-, 1D+	GRC	1,500	5,000	M2, T1, P7
AND: 10M-	ETH: 10M-	AND (TPLF)	25,000	25,000	M2, P5, P7
AND (FALANGE): 10B-, 10K-	AND (PLO): 10K-	AND (FALANGE)	80	80	M1P2
RHO: 10M-	MZM:10M-	RHO, SAF (POR), AND	1,338	1,338	P5, M1



## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
147. Bangladesh (Chakma, Marma)	1975	1987	12	3	3	AND (SHANTI BAHINI)//BNG	—
148. Indonesia–FRETILIN (East Timor II)	1975	1976	1	1, 2, 5	3	AND (FRETILIN), POR//INS, AND (MRAC)	AUL (1)//
149. Lebanon II	1975	1976	1	5	4	LEB, AND (FALANGE)// AND (PLO), AND (MUSLIM.MILITIA NATIONAL MOVEMENT)	ISR (3)// SYR(3)
150. Rhodesia (Nagomia attack)	1976	1976	0	5, 6	3	RHO//MZM	USA (2)//USR (1)
151. Lebanon III	1976	1976	0	5	3	AND (ARMY), AND (NATIONALE BEW.)/SYR, AND (PLO)//LEB, AND (FALANGE)	—
152. Lebanon IV	1976	1979	3	57	3	AND (MOSLEM. MILIZEN), AND (PLO)//SYR// AND (CHRISTIAN MILITIA)	//ISR (3), SLA (3)
153. Morocco (Western Sahara II)	1976	1979	3	2, 6	3	AND (POLISARIO)// MOR, MAA	ALG (2), LIB (1)//FRA (3), USA (2)
154. South Africa (ANC, PAC)	1976	1994	18	4, 5	3	AND (ANC, PAC)// AND (INKATHA)// SAF	MZM (2), ANG (2)
155. Somalia–Ethiopia (Ogaden II)	1976	1978	2	6	4	AND (WSLF), SOM//ETH	//USR (2), CUB (3)
156. Angola (civil war II)	1976	1991	15	5, 7	4	AND (UNITA), AND (FNLA), SAF//ANG, AND (SWAPO)	USA (1)//USR (2), CUB (3)
157. Indonesia (East Timor III)	1976	1999	23	2, 5	4	INS//AND (FRETILIN)	//POR(1)

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 10B-, 10N-, 10O-	BNG: 10R-, 10G-, 10M-, 10A+	AND (SHANTI BAHINI)	200,000	200,000	P2, P11
INS: 5G-, 5K-, 5L-, 10R-, 1A-	AND: 5K-, 10N-, 1C-	AND (FRETILIN)	100,000	200,000	M4, P9, P11, T3
LEB: 10K-10M-10A+10F+	AND: 10K-, 10N-	AND (FALANGE)	1,000	1,000	M1, P2
RHO: 5F-	MZM: 5F-, 2B-	RHO	500	500	P1, M4
AND (ARMEE): 10K-, 10M-, 10o-	LEB: 10M-	AND	2,000	2,000	M1P2
AND: 10M-, 10o-	SYR: 10M-	AND (MOSLEM. MILIZEN)	1,500	1,500	M1, P2
AND: 10D-, 10O-, 10M-, 10N-	MOR:10R-,10M-,10G-	AND (POLISARIO), ALG	7,000	10,000	M4, P17, T5, P2
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10N-, 10O-	SAF:10G-,10C+,10D+,10F+	AND (ANC, PAC)	15,000	15,000	P3, P5, P12
SOM: 5L-, 5D-, 1C-	ETH:1B-, 5L-, 1C-, 1E+	AND (WSLF), SOM	9,000	21,000	M3, P1, T5
AND: 10M-, 10N-;SAF: 5F-	ANG: 10M-	AND(UNITA), SAF	150,000	150,000	M1, M5, P12
INS: 10M-, 10E-, 10G-	AND: 10N-, 10O-, 10C+	INS	100,000	250,000	P2, M2, T5

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
158. Pakistan (civil war in Karachi)	1977	1999	22	4	3	AND (MOHAJIR QAUMI MOVEMENT (MQM))//PAK	
159. Indochina IIIa	1977	1978	1	1,6	4	DRV, AND (EXILE KAMBODIANS)//KHM	USR(2)//CHN(2)
160. Nicaragua I (revolution)	1977	1979	2	4	4	AND (FSLN)//NIC	CUB(2), VEN(2)//USA(2), HON(3)
161. Tunisia (uprisings)	1978	1978	0	4, 5	3	AND (OPP)//TUN	—
162. Zaire (Shaba III)	1978	1978	0	5	3	AND (FLNC)//ZAI	ANG (2)//FRA (3), BEL (3), USA (2)
163. Ethiopia (Ogaden, WSLF)	1978	1988	10	3	3	AND (WSLF)//ETH	SOM (3)//USR (2)
164. Iran (Islamic Revolution I)	1978	1979	1	4, 5, 6	3	AND (AIRFORCE), AND (PASD.), AND (MUJAHED.), AND (FEDA.), AND (TUDEH)//IRN	//USA (2)
165. Afghanistan I (civil war I)	1978	1979	1	5, 4	3	AND (ISLAM. REBELS), AND (PARCHAHAM)//AFG (CHALQ)	//USR (3)
166. Uganda–Tanzania (border war)	1978	1979	1	1, 5, 6	4	UGA//TAZ, AND (UNLF)	LIB (3), USR (1)//USA (1)
167. Indochina IIIb	1978	1991	13	4, 5, 6	4	DRV, LAO, KHM//AND (KPNLF), AND (SIHANOUK), AND (POLPOT)	USR (2)//CHN (2), USA (2), THI (2)
168. Mozambique (civil war; RENAMO)	1978	1994	16	5, 6	4	SAF, AND (RENAMO)//MZM	//ZIM (3)

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10M-, 10K-, 10O-	PAK: 10E-, 10G-, 10H-, 10M-	AND (MQM)	2,000	5,000	P2
DRV: 5F-	KHM: 5F-, 5D-	DRV	8,000	8,000	M3, P1
AND: 10O-, 10D-, 10N-, 10A-	NIC: 10E-, 10G-, 10H-, 10M-	AND (FSLN)	10,000	40,000	P5, M2, P3, P16
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10F-, 10O-	TUN: 10G-, 10H-, 10M-, 10B+	AND (OPP)	51	51	P1, P11
AND: 10B-, 10N-, 1D+	ZAI: 10M-, 1D+	AND (FLNC)	700	700	P1, M3
SOM: 10N-, 10M-, 1E+, 5F-	ETH: 10M-, 5F-	AND (WSLF)	1,400	1,400	P1, M4
AND: 10A-, 10D-, 10F-, 10K-	IRN: 10H-, 10G-, 10L-	AND	0	4,000	P5
AND: 10M-, 10N-, 10O-, 10M-	AFG: 10K-, 10M-	AND	5,000	5,000	M4, P10, P15
UGA: 5F-, 5L-, 2B+, 10E+	TAZ: 5L-	UGA	4,000	4,000	M3, P1, T4
"DRV; LAO: 5A-, 5F-, 10H-, 5G-"	AND: 10D-, 10M-, 1D+, 10N-	DRV, LAO	25,000	150,000	M4, P5
"SAF: 5B+, 6A-; AND: 10B-, 10M-, 10N-"	MZM: 10M-, 10F+	SAF, AND (RENAMO)	100,000	400,000	M1, P17, P5

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
169. Saudi Arabia (occupation of mosque)	1979	1979	0	5, 3	3	AND (HEDSHAS U.A.)//SAU	IRN (1)//FRA (3)
170. Iran (Kurds II)	1979	1988	9	3	3	AND (DPK-I KURDS)//AND (KOMULA-KURDS)//AND (PUK-KURDS)//IRN	—
171. Lebanon V	1979	1982	3	57	3	SYR, AND (MARADA)//LEB, AND (FALANGE), AND (FL)	//ISR (3)
172. Morocco (Western Sahara III)	1979	1991	12	2, 6	3	AND (POLISARIO)//MOR	ALG (2), LIB (1)//FRA (2), USA (2)
173. Iran (Islamic Revolution II)	1979	1981	2	4, 5	3	AND (MUJAH.), AND (FEDA.), AND (FORGHAN)//IRN (IRP UND PASD.)	—
174. Iraq (Kurds III)	1979	1986	7	3,5	3	IRQ//AND (KURD ORGANIZATION, SINCE 1989: KURDISTAN FRONT)	TUR (3)//SYR (2), IRN (2)
175. China-Vietnam (war)	1979	1979	0	6,1	4	CHN//DRV	//USR (2)
176. Afghanistan II (Soviet intervention)	1979	1988	9	5, 4, 6	4	AND (ISLAM. ALLIANCE), AND (SHIITE RESISTANCE GROUP)//AFG, USR	USA (2), PAK (2), IRN (2), EGY (2), SAU (2)//
177. Tunisia (Gafsa)	1980	1987	7	5	3	AND (OPP), LIB//TUN	//FRA (2), USA (2)
178. Peru (Shining Path II)	1980	1996	16	4	4	AND (S.LUM)//AND (MRTA)//PER	

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 10B-	SAU: 10M-	AND	400	400	M3, T5, P1, P11
AND: 10O-, 10M-	IRN: 10A+, 10P-, 10M-	AND (KURDEN)	1,000	1,000	P2, P11
AND: 10M-10o-	LEB: 10M-	AND (MUSLIM MILIZEN)	1,500	1,500	M1, P2
AND: 10M-, 10N-, 10O-, 10D-	MOR: 10M-, 10G+, 10G-	AND (POLISARIO)	10,000	10,000	P2, M4, T5
AND: 10K-, 10B-, 10F-	IRN: 10M-, 10B-, 10E-	AND	4,000	20,000	P11
IRQ: 10A+, 10M-	AND: 10O-, 10M-	IRQ	182,000	200,000	M4, P2, P11
CHN: 5G-, 5D+, 1D+	DVR: 5A-, 5C-, 1D+	CHN	20,000	70,000	M1, M5, P2
USR: 1F+, 2B+, 5G-, 5A-, 3A-	AND:10O-, 10K-, 10M-	USR	14,454	1,200,000	M3, M5, P1, P11
LIB: 10N-, 10O-, 1C-, 1A+	TUN:10M-, 10G-, 1A-, 1C-, 1A+	AND (OPP)	42	42	P1, M1
AND: 10B-, 10D-, 10N-, 10O-, 10h+	PER: 10H-, 10M-, 10e-, 10g-, 10c+	AND (S. LUM)	20,000	30,000	P2, P11, P8

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
179. Iran–Iraq I (Gulf War)	1980	1988	8	1, 4, 6	4	IRQ//IRN	FRA (2), EGY (2)//
180. Uganda (Obote)	1981	1986	5	5	3	AND (NRA–MUSEVENI)//UGA (OBOTE)	—
181. India XVIII (Khalistan/ Punjab)	1981	1999	18	3, 2	3	AND (SIKHS)//IND	—
182. Nicaragua II (Contras)	1981	1990	9	4, 3, 6	4	AND (KONTRAS), AND (ARDE), AND (MISKITO)//NIC	HON (2), USA (2)//CUB (2), USR (2)
183. El Salvador (civil war)	1981	1992	11	4	4	AND (FMLN)//SAL, AND (DEATH SQUADS)	NIC (2)//HON (3), USA (2)
184. Senegal (Casamance)	1982	1999	17	3	3	AND (MFDC)//SEN	GNB (2), GAM (1)
185. Syria (February—uproar in Hama)	1982	1982	0	5	3	AND (MUSLIM BROTHERS), AND (PARTS OF ARMY)//SYR	—
186. Israel–Lebanon III	1982	1985	3	8	3	ISR//AND (PLO), AND (AMAL)	USA (1)//SYR (3)
187. Argentina–United Kingdom (Falkland II)	1982	1982	0	1,7	4	ARG//UKI	//USA (2)
188. Lebanon VI	1982	1984	2	7, 5, 3	4	AND (AM AL), AND (PRO–SYR. PAL.), AND (DRUS. MILITIA)//SYR//PLO//ISR, LEB AND	//FRA (3), USA (3), ITA (3), UKI (3)
189. USA–Grenada	1983	1983	0	6	3	USA//GRN	BAR (3), JAM (3), DMA (3), ABA (3), STV (3)//CUB (3)
190. Zimbabwe (Matabele massacre)	1983	1983	0	5	3	ZIM//AND (NKOMO–GUERILLAS)	—

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
IRQ: 5F-, 5G-, 5H-	IRN:3A-,5A-	IRQ	400,000	450,000	P2, M1, T5
AND: 10N-, 10M-	UGA:10M-	AND (NRA-MUSEVENI)	90	90	M2, P3, P5
AND: 10B-, 10F-, 10N-, 10O-	IND: 10G-, 10M-, 10A+, 10F+	AND (SIKHS)	10,000	18,000	M1, P2, T5
AND: 10B-, 10M-, 10N-, 10O-	NIC:10H-, 10M-, 10C+, 10B+	AND (KONTRAS)	20,000	40,000	M1, P8, P10
AND: 10B-, 10D-, 10M-, 1D+	SAL: 10M-, 10A+, 1D+	AND (FMLN)	30,000	65,000	M1, P10, P17
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10M-, 10N-	SEN: 10D+, 10H-, 10M-	AND (MFDC)	1,000	1,500	M4, T5, P2
AND (MUSLIM): 10K-, 10N-, 1L-	SYR: 10M-	AND (MUSLIMBRUEDER)	20,000	20,000	M3, T2, P9, P11
ISR: 5G-	AND (PLO):5F-	ISR	7,200	50,000	M2, P11
ARG: 5G-, 1G-, 5L-	UKI: 1C-, 1D-, 4B-, 5G-, 5L-	ARG	1,000	1,055	M3, P7, P1, T5
AND(MOSL): 10K-, 10M-, 10B-	ISR: 5F-, 5G-	AND	2,500	2,500	M5, P2, M1
USA: 1B+, 5F-, 4D+, 4C+	GRN: 5C-, 5L-	USA	78	78	M2, P5
ZIM: 10N-, 10R-	AND: 10N-	ZIM	500	500	P2



## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
191. India XIX (Assam I)	1983	1984	1	3, 5	3	AND (ASU), AND (AGSP), AND (OPP)//AND (BENGALIS), AND (LDA), IND	—
192. Sri Lanka (Tamils II)	1983	1987	4	3	4	AND (TIGER), AND (TULF)//SRI, AND (SINH. TERROR GROUP//AND (SLFP)	TAMILEN (2)//
193. Sudan (civil war II)	1983	1988	5	5, 3	4	AND (SPLA–SPLM), AND (SAP, 14 SUDANES)//SUD, AND (DUP), AND (UMMA)/NIF	AND (ANYA)//EGY, LIB, AND (ANYA)
194. Philippines (Aquino–Marcos)	1984	1986	2	4, 5, 6	3	AND (NAMFREL), AND (RAM), AND (CATH. CHURCH), AND (NDF), AND (BAJAN)//PHI	LIB (2), PLO (2)//USA (2)
195. Turkey (Kurds I)	1984	1989	5	3, 4, 2	3	AND (PKK)//TUR	LEB (1),SYR (1)//IRQ (1)
196. India XX (Ayodhya)	1984	1999	15	3	3	AND (RSS, BJP, VHP)//IND	
197. Burkina Faso–Mali (border II)	1985	1985	0	1, 7	3	MLI//UPP	—
198. Yemen PR (Aden—civil war)	1986	1986	0	5	4	AND (ISMAIL AND AL ATAS)//AND (MOHAMMAD)	—
199. Israel V (Intifada)	1987	1993	6	1, 3, 2	3	AND (PALES), AND (HAMAS), AND (ISLAM. JIHAD)/AND (PLO)//ISR	/SYR (2), IRQ (2), AND (PFLP) (3), AND (HEZBOLLAH) (3)//
200. Iran–Saudi Arabia (pilgrims I)	1987	1987	0	3, 4	3	AND (PILGRIMS)//SAU	IRN (1)//
201. Sri Lanka (Tamils III)	1987	1995	8	3, 5	4	AND (TIGER)//SRI//AND (JVP)//AND (MUSLIMS)	//IND (3), PAK (2), ISR (2)

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 10B-, 10F-, 10M-, 10O-	IND: 10G-, 10A+, 10D+	AND (ASU), AND (AGSP)	2,000	2,000	P10 (P12, P17)
AND (TIGER): 10M-, 10B-, 10N-	SRI: 10M-, 10G-, 10E-, 10B-	AND (TIGER)	1,000	25,000	M4, P2, P11, P15
AND: 10A+, 10N-	SUD: 10M-, 10F+, 10D+, 10K-	SUD	1,000 000	1,300,000	M1, P17, P10
AND: 10R-, 10D-, 10O-, 10Q-	PHI: 10S-, 10M-	AND (NAMFREL)	500	500	M3, P7, P10
AND: 10B-	TUR: 10H-, 10F-, 10G-	AND (PKK)	0	1,000	M4, T5, P2
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10F-	IND: 10E-, 10G-, 10H-	AND	1,200	2,500	T5, P2
UPP: 5F-, 5L-, 2D+	MLI: 5L-, 2D+	MLI	100	100	M1, M5, T5, P1
AND (ISM): 10O-	AND (MOH): 10K-	YPR	10,000	13,000	P5, M2
AND (PLO): 1D+, 10D+, 10F-	ISR: 1D+, 10G+, 10G-, 10R-	AND (PALAESTINENSER)	1,700	0	P17, P6
AND: 3A-, 10A-, 10O-	SAU: 10M-	AND	447	447	P2
AND: 10O-, 10B-, 10M-	SRI: 10M-, 10P-, 10B-, 5L-	AND	30,000	100,000	M4, P15, P8, P11

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
202. Algeria (October uprisings)	1988	1989	1	5	3	AND (OPPOSITION)//ALG	—
203. Papua–New Guinea (Bougainville II)	1988	1999	11	3, 7	3	AND (BRA)//PNG, AND (COPPER LTD.)	SLM
204. India XXII (Kashmir V)	1988	1999	11	1, 2	3	PAK, AND (MUSLIMS)//IND	
205. Egypt (Islamists vs. government)	1988	1999	11	5, 4	3	AND (GAMA'AT), AND (ICHWAN), AND (ISLAM. JIHAD)//EGY	IRN (1), SUD (2)// LYB (1)
206. Lebanon (Shiite militia)	1988	1990	2	5, 4	4	AND (AMAL)//AND (HEZBOLLAH)	SYR (3)//IRN (2)
207. Burundi II (Hutu)	1988	1988	0	5	4	AND (HUTU)//BUI	—
208. Somalia (civil war I)	1988	1991	3	3, 5	4	AND (SNM)//SOM//AND (SPM)	LIB (2)//
209. Mauritania–Senegal (tensions)	1989	1990	1	1, 7	3	MAA//SEN	—
210. China (student uprisings)	1989	1989	0	4	3	AND (STUDENTS)//CHN	—
211. Colombia (drug cartel)	1989	1999	10	8	3	AND (MEDELLIN CARTEL), AND (CALI CARTEL)//KOL	USA (2)
212. Lebanon VIII	1989	1990	1	5	4	AND (CHRISTIAN MILITIA–AOUN)//AND (MUSLIM MILITIA)	FRA (2), IRQ (2)//IRN (2), SYR (3)
213. Turkey (Kurds II)	1989	1999	10	3, 5	4	AND (PKK), AND (TKSP), AND (HEP), AND (DEP [HADEP])//TUR	//IRQ(1), AND(PUK)(3), AND (DVP)(3)

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 10A-, 10F-	ALG: 10E-, 10G-, 10F+	AND (OPPOSITION)	159	600	P17, P10
AND: 10B-, 10F-, 10N-	PNG: 10M-, 10H-	AND (BRA)	1,000	5,000	T5, M1, P2
PAK, AND (Muslims): 1D+, 2B-, 5B+, 5L-, 5C-, 5K-	IND: 1D+, 10H-, 10M-, 1C+, 5F-	AND (MUSLIMS)	15,000	20,000	T5, M4, P2
AND (GAMA'AT): 10B-, 10F-, 10M-, 10N-, 10O-	EGY: 10E-, 10H-, 10M-, 10D-, 10G-	AND (GAMA'AT)	500	2,000	P1, P9, P11
AND: 10B-, 10K-	AND: 10B-, 10K-	AND	1,200	1,200	P17
AND: 10B-, 10O-	BUI: 10M-	BUI	5,000	50 000	P2, P11
AND: 10N-	SOM: 10M-	AND (SNM)	15,000	50,000	M2, P7, P3
MAA: 10G-, 4F-, 1D-, 5F-	SEN: 3A-, 1C-, 5F-	MAA	400	400	T5, P2
AND: 10A-	CHN: 10M-	AND( STUD.)	700	700	M3, P1
AND: 10B-,	COL: 10G-, 10H-, 10L-	AND (MEDELLIN)	3,000	3,000	P15, P2
AND: 10M-, 10K-	SYR: 5F-	AND (CHRISTL. MILIZEN)	1,500	1,500	M1, P7
AND: 10B-, 10N-	TUR: 10E-, 10G-, 10H-, 10M-	AND	5,250	9,440	P11, P2, M4, T5, P8

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
214. Liberia (civil war)	1989	1995	6	5, 7	4	AND (NPFL)//LBR, AND (ULIMO), AND (LPC)	//IVO (2), UPP (2), NIG (ECOMOG) (3), SIE (2), GUI (2), FRA (1)
215. Nicaragua III (Recontras)	1990	1994	4	4, 5	3	AND (RECONTRAS)// AND (RECOMPAS)//NIC	USA (1)
216. Niger (Tuareg II)	1990	1995	5	1, 3	3	AND (FLAA, CRA)//NIR	ALG
217. Mali (Tuareg III)	1990	1999	9	1, 3	3	AND (MFUA)//MLI, AND (GANDA KOI)	ALG, LIB
218. Iraq–Kuwait V (annexing)	1990	1991	1	1, 7, 6	3	IRQ//KUW	SUD (2)//USA (3), UKI (3), FRA (3), MOR (3), USR (2)
219. South Africa (ANC–Inkatha)	1990	1994	4	3	3	AND (INKATHA)// [AND (ANC BIS 1994)] SAF (ANC–GOVERNMENT)	
220. Indonesia (GAM movement in Aceh II)	1990	1999	9	2	3	AND (GAM, GERAKAN ACEH MERDEKA)//INS	MAL
221. Iraq–Kuwait VI (USA intervention)	1990	1991	1	1, 7, 6	4	IRQ//KUW, USA	JOR, YEM, PLO//UNO, EGY, SAU, MOR, IRN, USR, FRA, UKI, ITA
222. Rwanda (civil war)	1990	1994	4	5, 7	4	AND (REBELS OF THE “FRONTE PATRIOTIQUE RWANDAIS”)// RWA	UGA (2), FRA (3)
223. Yemen (unification) II	1991	1999	8	5, 4	3	AND (JSP)// AND (AVK), AND (ISLAH)	SAU (??)//

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 10K-, 10M-, 10N-	LBR:10M-	AND (NPFL)	200,000	200,000	M1, P2
AND: 10B-, 10N-	NIC: 10A+, 10F+	AND (RECONTRAS), AND (RECOMPAS)	1	100	P17
AND: 10B-, 10N-, 1D+	NIR: 10A+, 10G-, 10H-, 10M-	AND (FLAA, CRA)	1,000	1,500	M1, P10, P17
AND: 10B-, 10N-, 1D+	MLI:10A+, 10F+, 10G-, 10H-, 10M-	AND (MFUA)	200	2,000	M1, P10, P17
IRQ: 1D+, 5G-	KUW:1D+	IRQ	4,200	4,200	M2, T3, P2
AND: 10B-, 10D-, 10F-, 10N-	SAF:10G-, 10H-, 10M-, 10A+, 10D+	AND (INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY, IFP)	12,000	12,000	P2
AND: 5K-, 10N-, 10O-	INS:10M-	AND (GAM)	2,000	20,000	P2
IRQ: 5B-, 4K-, 5G-	USA:5A-, 2B-, 4B-, 5B+, 5H-	IRQ	100	100 000	T5, P2
AND (FRP): 10B-, 10M-	RWA:10G-, 10H-, 10M-	AND (FRP)	500,000	1,000,000	M2, P7, P5
AND (JSP): 10A-	AND (AVK):10A+, 10F+	AND	200	200	P17

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
224. Somalia (Somaliland/ secession)	1991	1999	8	3	3	AND (SSDF, SNA, SSA)//SOM	
225. Kenya (Rift Valley)	1991	1995	4	5, 7	3	KEN//AND (KIKUYU)	
226. Togo (regime crisis)	1991	1994	3	4, 5	3	TOG//AND (COD)	GHA (1)
227. Haiti V (military government vs. President Aristide)	1991	1994	3	4, 5	3	AND (ARMY, PARAMILITARY)// HAI (LAVALLAS MOVEMENT)	USA (3)
228. Djibouti (Afar–Issas II)	1991	1994	3	3, 5	3	AND (FRUD)//DJI	FRA (3), ETH (1), ERI (1)
229. Sudan (SPLA split)	1991	1994	3	5	3	AND (SPLA–NASIR– RESP. –UNITED SINCE 93)//AND (SPLA–TORIT, GARANG)	—
230. Zaire (regime crisis)	1991	1999	8	4, 5	3	AND (UNION SACRÉE)//ZAI	BEL (3), FRA (3)
231. Iraq–Kuwait VII	1991	1994	3	1, 6, 7	3	IRQ//KUW, UNO	//USA (3)
232. Armenia–Azerbaijan (Nagorno–Karabakh II)	1991	1994	3	3, 2	4	ARM, AND (ARZACH)/GUS// AZI//RUS	ARM (2) // TUR (2)//
233. Sierra Leone (civil war)	1991	1999	8	5, 7	4	AND (RUF)//SIE	AND (NPFL) (3); AND (ULIMO) (3), GUI(3), NIG(3), GHA(2), GAM(2), UPP(1)
234. Russia (Chechnya)	1991	1999	8	1, 2	4	AND (CHECHEN LEADERSHIP) <sup>2</sup> // RUS	

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND: 1D+, 1F+, 1G-, 10H-, 10M-	SOM:1G-,5B+	AND (SSDF)	100	1,000	T1, P 6, P17
KEN: 10M-, 10H-	AND:10A-	KEN	1,500	1,500	P3,
TOG: 10G-, 10H-, 10M-	AND:10A-,10D-,10F-,10A+	TOG	1,000	2,000	P12, P17
AND: 10K-, 10I-, 10H-, 10E-	HAI:10D-,10F-,10O-	AND (ARMEE)	2,000	3,000	P5, P7
AND: 10B-, 10F-, 10N-	DJI:10H-,10M-,5L-	AND (FRUD)	1,000	5,000	M3, P12, P9
AND (SPLA, RIEK): 1D+, 5L-	AND (SPLA, GARANG): 1D+,5L-	AND	5,000	5,000	M4
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10F-	ZAI: 10M-, 10H-, 10G-	AND (US)	500	10 000	P1
1F+, 3-, 5F-	1D+, 4B-, 4G-, 5A-	IRQ	0	200,000	T4, P14
AND (ARZACH): 3-, 10A+, 10M-	AZI: 2B+,3-, 10K-, 10M-, 10R-	AND (ARZACH)	15,000	15,000	M1, T5, P2
AND: 10M-, 10N-, 10D-, 10K-	SIE:10D+,10H-,10M-	AND (RUF)	50,000	50,000	M4, P7, P9, P2, P5
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10M-, 10N-	USR:10E-,10H-,10M-	AND	72,000	72,000	T5, M4, P2



## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
235. Somalia (civil war II)	1991	1999	8	5	4	AND (SNA, AIDEED GROUP (SSA [ALI MAHDI]) // AND (SSDF)	UNOSOM (3), UNITAF (3)
236. Russian Federation (attempt at coup d'état)	1992	1993	1	5	3	AND (DUMA [RUSSIAN PARLIAMENT])// RUS (GOVERNMENT)	
237. Chad (autonomy of southern provinces)	1992	1999	7	3, 7	3	AND (CSNPD, FARF)//CHA	
238. Algeria (Islamists vs. secularists II)	1992	1999	7	5, 4	3	AND (FIS), AND (GIA), AND (MIA)/ AND (MCB), AND (RCD), AND (FFS), AND (FLN)// ALG	LIB (1), IRN (2), SUD// FRA(1)
239. Tajikistan (civil war III)	1992	1999	7	3	3	AND (BADACHSCHAN)// TAJ (CHODSHENT)	RUS(3), IRN(1), USB(1), AFG(1)
240. Angola (civil war III)	1992	1994	2	5, 7	3	AND (UNITA)// ANG	2ZAI, 2UKI, 2FRA, 2URS, 2SAF, 1USA
241. Afghanistan IV (civil war III)	1992	1993	1	5, 3, 4	4	AND (HEKMATYAR)/ AND (SAYYAF)// AND (MASUD), AND (RABBANI)	IRN (2)/SAU (2)
242. Tajikistan (civil war II)	1992	1992	0	5, 3	4	AND (OPPOSITION)// TAJ (COMMUNISTS)	AND (AFG MUJ) (3)// RUS (3), USB (3), KYR (3), TKM (3), KZH
243. Bosnia–Herzegovina (Serbs–Croats)	1992	1994	2	1, 3, 5	4	AND (SERBS)// BOS	SER (2)//TUR (1), IRN (2)
244. Kurds–Kurds	1993	1999	6	4, 5	3	PUK//DPK	IRN (2), IRK (2)

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND (SNA): 10F-, 10N-, 10M-	AND (SSA): 10F-, 10M-, 10N-	AND (SNA)	300-000	300,000	M4, P2, M1
AND: 10A-, 10K-	USR: 10G-, 10M-	RUS	150	150	M3, P11
AND: 10A-, 10B-, 10M-, 1D+	CHA: 10H-, 10M-	AND (CSNPD, FARF)	500	500	T5, P2, P10
AND (FLN): 10O-, 10N-, 10L-, 10B-, 10M-	ALG: 10A+, E-, 10H-, 10I-, 10M-, 10C+	AND (FIS)	30,000	100,000	P3, P9
AND (BADACHSCH.): 10N-, 10O-, 10B-, 10D-, 10N+	TAJ: 10M-, 10E-, 10A+	AND (BADACHSCHAN)	0	100,000	P1, P2, P11
AND: 10M-, 10N-	ANG: 10D+, 10H-, 10M-	AND (UNITA)	500,000	500,000	M1, P12, P17
AND (HEKMATYAR): 10M-, 10O	AND (RABBANI): 10A+, 10M-	AND (HEKMATYAR)	4,000	4,000	P3, P5, M4
AND: 10M-, 10O-	TAJ: 10H-, 10M-	AND (OPPOSITION)	20,000	20,000	P11, M3, P15
BOS: 10M-, 10H-	AND: 10M-, 10N-, 10O-	BOS (BOSN. ARMY)	200,000	200,000	M1, T4, P17
PUK: 1D+, 1D-, 2D+, 2E+, 5L	DPK: 1D+, 1D-, 2D+, 2E+, 5L	PUK	200	1,000	M1, P2

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
245. Israel–Lebanon IV (Hezbollah vs. government)	1993	1999	6	1, 4	3	AND (ARAFAT–OPONENTS), AND (HEZBOLLAH)/ AND (AMAL)// AND (SLA), ISR	//LEB (3)
246. Congo (regime crisis)	1993	1995	2	5	3	AND (URD–PCT)// CON	
247. Nigeria (Ogoni)	1993	1999	6	3, 7	3	AND (MOSOP)/ NIG	
248. Afghanistan V (civil war IV)	1993	1999	6	5, 3, 4	4	AND (HEKMATYAR), AND (DOSTUM)/ AND (WAHDAT)// AFG (RABBANI)/ AND (MASUD)	IRN (2)// SAU (2), AND (ISMAIL KHAN)//AND (TALEBAN 94)
249. Burundi III (civil war)	1993	1999	6	5	4	BUI (ARMY), AND (TUTSI–MILITIA)// AND (HUTU–MILITIA)	ZAI (1), TAN (1,2)
250. Surinam II (Toekayana)	1994	1999	5	3	3	AND (SURINAMESE LIBERATION ARMY), AND (TOEKAYANA)// SUR	
251. Mexico (Chiapas)	1994	1999	5	3	3	AND (EZPL)//MEX	
252. Ghana (Konkomba)	1994	1999	5	3,7	3	AND (CONCOMBA)// AND (NANUMBA)// GHA	
253. Rwanda (Hutu refugees)	1994	1999	5	4,5,7	3	AND (HUTU REFUGEES)//RWA	.BURI, ZAI

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND (HEZB.): 10B, 10M-, 10O-	ISR: 5L-, 1F+	AND (HEZBOLLAH)	200	1,000	P1, P2, M1, M4
AND: 10F-, 10N-, 10M-	CON: 10D+, 10F+, 10H-, 10M-	AND	2,000	2,000	P17
AND: 10A-, 10D-, 10F-, 10O-, 4G-, 2B-	NIG: 10H-, 10L-, 10M-	AND (MOSOP)	1,800	2,000	P2, T5
AND (HEKMATYAR): 10M-, 10o-	AND (RABBANI): 10M-	AND	6,000	6,000	M4, P2
BUI: 10K-, 10M-, 10H-, 10B-, 3A-	AND:10F-, 10N-,	BUI (ARMEE)	100,000	100,000	M4, P2, P12
AND: 10B-	SUR:10G-, 10H-	AND	200	500	P2
AND: 10N-, 10D-, 10A+	MEX:10A+,10M-, 10H-, 10D+, 10F+,10m-, 10A+,1G-	AND (EZPL)	150	550	M3, P17, P10;P2
AND: 10M-	GHA:10H-,10M-	AND (KONKOMBA)	2,000	5,000	P2
AND: 10K-, 10M-, 10O-	RWA:10M-, BUR: 10M-, ZAI: 10M-	AND (HUTU REFUGEES)	2,000	200,000	P2, P9, P11

## APPENDIX

Name	Start	End	Duration (years)	Items and issues	Intensity	Direct participants	External/ Indirect participants <sup>1</sup>
254. Yemen (70 Days War)	1994	1994	0	5,4	4	AND (ARMY-YPR), AND (JSP)//AND (ARMY-YAR), AND (AVK), AND (ISLAH)	SAU (2), GCC (O. QAT) (1), RUS (1)
255. Sri Lanka (Tamils IV)	1995	1999	4	1, 5, 7	4	AND (LTTE)//SRI// AND (MUSLIMS)	
256. Indonesia (Democratic Movement)	1997	1999	2	4, 5	3	AND//INS	
257. Yugoslavia (Serbia: Kosovo and Metohija)	1997	1999	2	5, 3, 2	3	YUG (SERBS)// AND (UCK, LDK (RUGOVA))	ALB (2)
258. Congo (Brazzaville, regime crisis)	1997	1997	0	5	4	CON (BRAZZAVILLE)// AND (DENIS SASSOU-NGESSO)	ANG (3), AND (UNITA) (3)
259. Eritrea-Ethiopia	1998	1999	1	1, 7	4	ERI//ETH	—

Note: Of the total of 259 armed conflicts with 25 minimum casualties selected from the COSIMO database of conflicts occurring in the years 1945–1999, 210 were asymmetric conflicts. Of these 210, 116 were asymmetric conflicts in which the great powers were involved.

LIST OF ARMED CONFLICTS FROM THE COSIMO DATABASE USED IN THE STUDY

Instruments of initiator	Instruments of affected party	Initiator	Minimum no. of victims/casualties	Maximum no. of casualties	Outcome
AND (YPR): 10M-	AND (YAR):10M-	AND	10,000	15,000	P1, P11
AND: 10B-, 10M-, 10N-, 10H, 10E, 10G	SRI: 10H-, 10M-	AND (LTTE)	1,000	5,000	M1P2, P11
AND: 10A-, 10F-, 10N-	INS: 10D-, 10E-, 10G-, 10M-, 10C+, 10D+, 10E+	AND	1,000	2,000	P17, P7
YUG: 10G-, 10H-, 10A-, 10E-, 10M-	AND: 10A-, 10F-, 10N-, 10O-	YUG (SERBS)	2,200	2,200	P2, P10, P11
AND: 10H-, 10M-	CON (BRAZZAVILLE): 10I-	AND (DENIS SASSOU_NGESSO)	10,000	10,000	M2, P5
ERI: 5G-, 5L-, 1I-, 10I-	ETH: 1I-, 5G-, 5L-, 10I-	ERI	4,100	4,100	T3, M4, P2

## COUNTRY CODE LIST

<b>Country code</b>	<b>Country or area name</b>
ABA	Antigua and Barbuda
AFG	Afghanistan
ALB	Albania
ALG	Algeria
AND	Opposition, autonomy/liberation movements, etc.
ANG	Angola
ARG	Argentina
ARM	Armenia
AUL	Australia
AZI	Azerbaijan
BAR	Barbados
BEL	Belgium
BNG	Bangladesh
BOL	Bolivia
BOS	Bosnia and Herzegovina
BRA	Brazil
BUI	Burundi
BUL	Bulgaria
BUR	Burma
CAF	Central African Republic
CAN	Canada
CAO	Cameroon
CHA	Chad
CHI	Chile
CHN	China
COL	Colombia
CON	Congo, Republic of the (Congo-Brazzaville)
COS	Costa Rica
CUB	Cuba
CYP	Cyprus
CZE	Czechoslovakia
DDR (GDR)	German Democratic Republic
DJI	Djibouti

<b>Country code</b>	<b>Country or area name</b>
DMA	Dominica
DOM	Dominican Republic
DRV	Vietnam, Democratic Republic of (North Vietnam)
ECU	Ecuador
EGY	Egypt
ERI	Eritrea
ETH	Ethiopia
FRA	France
GAB	Gabon
GHA	Ghana
GNB	Guinea-Bissau
GRC	Greece
GRN	Grenada
GUA	Guatemala
GUI	Guinea
GUY	Guyana
HAI	Haiti
HON	Honduras
HUN	Hungary
IND	India
INS	Indonesia
IRN	Iran, Islamic Republic of
IRQ	Iraq
ISR	Israel
ITA	Italy
IVO	Côte d'Ivoire
JAM	Jamaica
JOR	Jordan
KEN	Kenya
KHM	Cambodia
KUW	Kuwait
KYR	Kyrgyzstan
KZH	Kazakhstan



<b>Country code</b>	<b>Country or area name</b>
LAO	Laos
LBR	Liberia
LEB	Lebanon
LIB	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya
MAA	Mauritania
MAG	Madagascar
MAL	Malaysia
MAW	Malawi
MEX	Mexico
MLI	Mali
MOR	Morocco
MZM	Mozambique
NEP	Nepal
NEW	New Zealand
NIC	Nicaragua
NIG	Nigeria
NIR	Niger
NTH	Netherlands
OMA	Oman
PAK	Pakistan
PAN	Panama
PAR	Paraguay
PER	Peru
PHI	Philippines
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PNG	Papua New Guinea
POL	Poland
POR	Portugal
PRK	Korea, Democratic People's Republic of (North Korea)
QAT	Qatar
RHO	Rhodesia
ROK	Korea, Republic of (South Korea)
RUS	Russian Federation
RVN	Vietnam, Republic of (South Vietnam)
RWA	Rwanda

<b>Country code</b>	<b>Country or area name</b>
SAF	South Africa
SAL	El Salvador
SAU	Saudi Arabia
SEN	Senegal
SER	Serbia
SIE	Sierra Leone
SOM	Somalia
SPN	Spain
SRI	Sri Lanka
STV	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
SUD	Sudan
SUR	Suriname
SYR	Syrian Arab Republic
TAJ	Tajikistan
TAW	Taiwan (Republic of China)
TAZ	Tanzania, Republic of
THI	Thailand
TIB	Tibet
TKM	Turkmenistan
TOG	Togo
TUN	Tunisia
TUR	Turkey
UGA	Uganda
UKI	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UNO	United Nations
UPP	Burkina Faso
USA	United States of America
USB	Uzbekistan
USR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VAN	Vanuatu
VEN	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
YAR	Yemen Arab Republic
YPR	People's Democratic Republic of Yemen
YUG	Yugoslavia
ZAI	Zaire

<b>Country code</b>	<b>Country or area name</b>
ZAM	Zambia
ZIM	Zimbabwe

KEY TO SOME VARIABLES AS USED AND EXPLAINED IN  
THE COSIMO MANUAL, 1999<sup>3</sup>

**Variable “Disputed issues in a conflict”**

1. Territory, borders, sea borders
2. Decolonization, national independence
3. Ethnic, religious, or regional autonomy
4. Ideology, system
5. Internal power
6. International power
7. Resources
8. Others

**Variable “Intensity of conflicts”**

1. Latent conflict; completely nonviolent
2. Crisis; mostly nonviolent
3. Severe crisis; sporadic, irregular use of force, “war-in-sight” crisis
4. War; systematic, collective use of force by regular troops

**Variable “Instruments of initiator / Instruments of affected party”**

Ten types of instruments are specified that can be used positively or negatively in a conflict: (1) bilateral diplomacy; (2) multilateral diplomacy; (3) information, propaganda; (4) economic instruments; (5) military instruments; (6) secret agencies and services; (7) informal, subversive instruments; (8) alliances; (9) regional or universal integration or isolation; (10) internal instruments.

Several types of instruments were used for the purpose of this research: “military” and “internal” could have the following meaning:

**5. Military instruments:**

- 5A+    dispatching military observers
- 5B+    delivery of arms
- 5C+    peacekeeping forces
- 5D+    withdrawal of troops
- 5A-    dispatching troops or vessels
- 5B-    concentration of troops at borders
- 5C-    mobilization
- 5D-    alerts
- 5E-    maneuvers
- 5F-    sporadic military incidents
- 5G-    intervention or invasion
- 5H-    blockade
- 5I-    ending military support
- 5K-    terrorist attacks
- 5L-    full-fledged war

**10. Internal instruments:**

- 10A+   government talks with opposition
- 10B+   ending of state of emergency
- 10C+   amnesty
- 10D+   recognition of opposition
- 10E+   change of government
- 10F+   fulfilling demands
- 10G+   agreement on settlement policy
- 10A-   demonstration pro/contra the government
- 10B-   street blockades, terrorist assaults

- 10C– bribery, corruption
- 10D– ideological mobilization, populism, charismatic leadership
- 10E– censorship
- 10F– unorganized resistance, street battles
- 10G– arrests, police action
- 10H– state of emergency, martial law
- 10I– expulsion of citizens, exile
- 10K– coup d'état
- 10L– liquidations
- 10M– military force
- 10N– organized resistance, rebellion
- 10O– antiregime demands
- 10P– boycott actions
- 10Q– nonviolent resistance
- 10R– ethnic cleansing, resettlement
- 10S– manipulation of elections

### **Variable “Outcomes, results and settlements”**

#### *Territorial outcome:*

- T1 separation of territory
- T2 territorial loss
- T3 annexation, unification, incorporation of territory
- T4 denouncement of territorial claims
- T5 status quo; initiator upholds territorial claims

#### *Military outcome:*

- M1 stalemate, ceasefire, indecisive outcome
- M2 victory of initiator
- M3 defeat of initiator
- M4 continuation of fighting
- M5 withdrawal of troops

#### *Political outcome:*

- P1 no agreement reached, status quo ante
- P2 some issues still in dispute
- P3, P4 conclusion of a consensual agreement

- P5 change of regime
- P6 formation of two different independent regimes
- P7 fall of regime
- P8 government position weakened
- P9 government position strengthened
- P10 strengthening of opposition
- P11 suppression of opposition
- P12 admission or inclusion of opposition into the government
- [P13 this indicator is missing in the data set and its manual]
- P14 denouncement of claims
- P15 increased influence of an external power
- P16 decreased influence of an external power
- P17 compromise

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