1991
1992

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STATE OF

WORLD CONFLICT REPORT

A PUBLICATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATION NETWORK

[The Carter Center of Emory University]

The INN is a network of people and non-governmental and governmental organizations throughout the world that are committed to the nonviolent resolution of armed conflicts.

The International Negotiation Network (INN) was established in 1987 by the Conflict Resolution Program of The Carter Center of Emory University. The INN is a network of people and non-governmental and governmental organizations throughout the world that are committed to the nonviolent resolution of armed conflicts. Its principal focus is on armed intra-national conflicts since these types of conflicts are usually beyond the jurisdiction of traditional international agencies and lie in what the INN calls the mediation gap.

The INN offers a number of services to parties caught in this mediation gap, ranging from convening peace negotiations to monitoring democratic elections. It also offers quiet, back-channel peacemaking services to parties whose circumstances may require confidentiality. The INN is a private, nonprofit organization, funded entirely by donations. It is led by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, who serves as chair of the INN Council. Other members of the Council include:

For more information about the INN write:
The International Negotiation Network
The Carter Center of Emory University
One Copenhill
Atlanta, Georgia 30307 USA

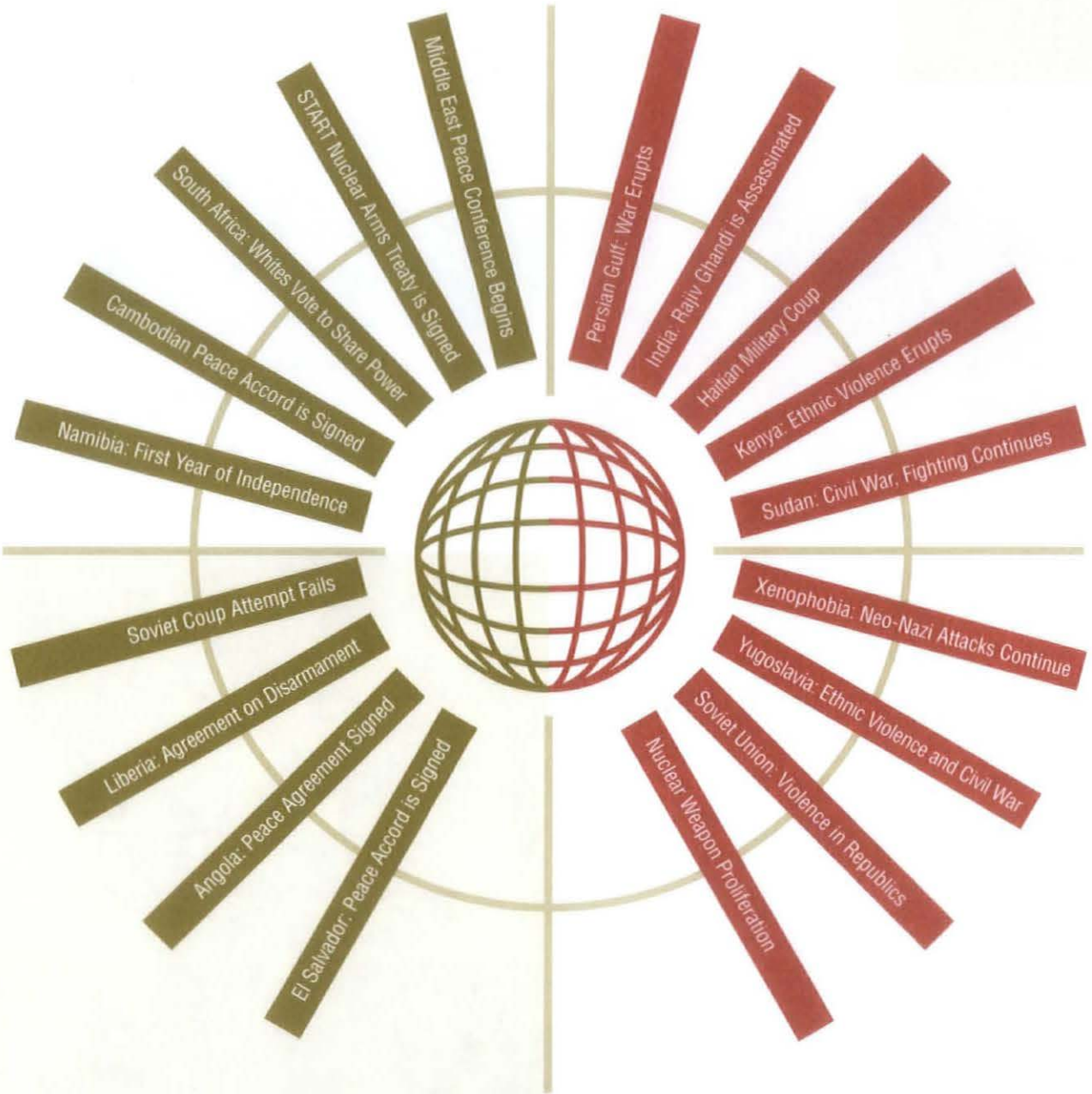
Oscar Arias Sánchez, former President of Costa Rica; Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria; Lisbet Palme, Swedish Committee for UNICEF; Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, former Secretary-General of the United Nations; Shridath Ramphal, former Secretary-General of the Commonwealth of Nations; Marie-Angélique Savané, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; Eduard Shevardnadze, Interim President of the State Council of Georgia; Desmond Tutu, Archbishop of Cape Town, South Africa; Cyrus R. Vance, former United States Secretary of State; Elie Wiesel, Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity; and Andrew Young, former United States Ambassador to the United Nations.

The INN has been involved in working to resolve peacefully a wide number of conflict situations such as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Cambodia, China/Tibet, Cyprus, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Haiti, Kashmir, the Korean Peninsula, Liberia, Northern Ireland, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Western Sahara, and Zambia. Its activities have ranged from monitoring, to fact-finding, analysis, spotlighting, site visits, pre-mediation, mediation, and election observing.

In addition to its field work, the INN convenes annual consultations, publishes occasional papers, and regularly tracks some 20 existing armed intra-national conflicts. The INN works in close collaboration with other organizations and individuals. From its inception with a small number of collaborating members, the INN has grown to include over 1,000 affiliates in more than 75 countries.

STATE OF
WORLD CONFLICT REPORT

TABLE OF CONTENTS



Gains & Losses

FROM 1991 - 1992 THE WORLD MARKED A NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT GAINS AND LOSSES ON THE PATH TOWARD PEACE.

Arms Race: The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), the first treaty to reduce nuclear arms, was signed by the United States and the Soviet Union on 31 July 1991.

Middle East: For the first time in history, Israel and the Arab world began the first in a series of Middle East peace conferences on 20 October 1991 in Madrid, Spain.

Cambodia: A peace accord was signed on 23 October 1991 in Paris, handing over peacekeeping power to the United Nations. Both the Cambodian government and the three Cambodian rebel forces signed the accord.

El Salvador: The 12-year civil war, which left 75,000 dead, came to an end as government and rebel leaders signed a U.N.-mediated peace accord on 16 January 1992 in New York.

Persian Gulf: War erupted on 16 January 1991 between Iraq and U.S.-led international forces in response to the August 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Yugoslavia: Declarations of independence by Slovenia and Croatia on 25 June 1991 and subsequent fighting between Croatia and ethnic Serbs sparked violent civil wars throughout Yugoslavia.

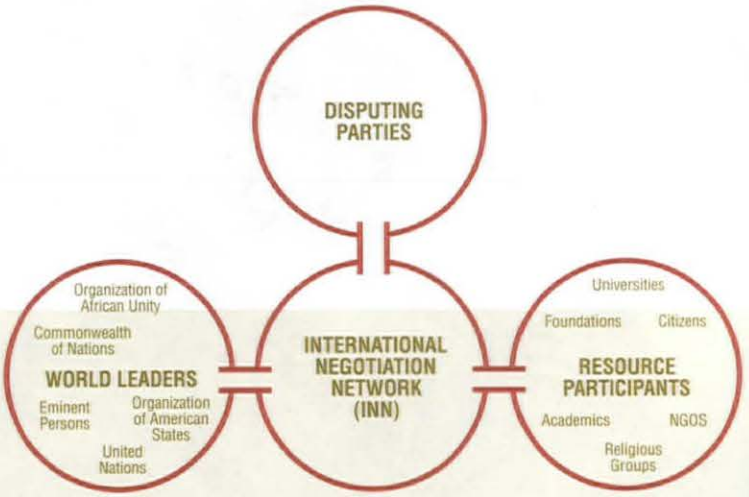
Haiti: A violent military coup drove President Jean-Bertrand Aristide from power on 30 September 1991. President Aristide was Haiti's first democratically elected president.

Soviet Union: Violence marred the beginning of the newly independent republic's transition to democracy.

Sudan: Civil war, begun in 1984, continued in Sudan. Over 500,000 Sudanese have been killed in the fighting and war-related famine since 1984.

As chair of the International Negotiation Network (INN) Council, I am pleased to introduce to the reader this inaugural issue of the *State of World Conflict Report.* We at the INN have been concerned for several years with the disturbingly large number of armed conflicts in the world and have focused our combined international efforts on strategies to help reduce or alleviate them.

Some of our previous initiatives have included convening peace negotiations, monitoring national elections, conducting private unofficial diplomatic initiatives, and spotlighting particular conflicts through press conferences, editorial opinions, and other media. The *State of World Conflict Report* marks the first effort by the INN to produce a publication that informs a wide audience about the impact of armed conflicts and what governments and individuals can and should do to stop them.



A special emphasis of our work during the past five years has been on what we call the mediation gap. It is a gap that exists because the nature of war has changed dramatically since the end of World War II. When the principal international peacemaking organizations were formed after World War II, their mandates were, in large part, to address wars between nations. While yesterday's war was frequently a war between nations, today's war is typically a war within a nation, initiated by rebels who either want to secede from the union, assume leadership, have a greater degree of autonomy, or have a greater role in the management of their country. The mediation gap exists today because organizations like the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of American States, and others have restrictions in their charters that limit or prohibit their involvement in intra-national conflicts. So the parties caught in civil wars, or intra-national conflicts, often find there is nowhere for them to turn for mediation or peacemaking assistance. The INN is working to bridge this mediation gap.

This issue of the *State of World Conflict Report* graphically portrays the mediation gap by showing the reader a picture of all major armed conflicts occurring from 1986 to 1991. Those that are between nations are shown by the entry of two nations' names joined by a hyphen. Even a quick

The *State of World Conflict Report* marks the first effort by the INN to produce a publication that informs a wide audience about the IMPACT of armed conflicts and what governments and individuals can and should do to stop them.

glance at the conflict maps shown on pp. 16-18 will demonstrate the severity of the mediation gap and the need for greater attention to conflict within nations.

While we will continue to offer our services to parties in the mediation gap, the emphasis of the INN will be also on strengthening the roles of international, regional, and non-governmental organizations to encourage their greater involvement in resolving such conflicts. A summary report contained herein of our first annual INN consultation, held at The Carter Center of Emory University in January 1992, gives an account of how we believe the role of non-governmental actors can be strengthened in a number of existing armed conflicts, including those in Afghanistan, Angola, Burma, Cambodia, Cyprus, the Korean Peninsula, Liberia, and Sudan.

I am grateful to the members of the INN Council who have joined with me in lending their combined efforts to reduce armed conflicts. These distinguished world leaders include: Oscar Arias Sánchez, Olusegun Obasanjo, Lisbet Palme, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Shridath Ramphal, Marie-Angélique Savané, Eduard Shevardnadze, Desmond Tutu, Cyrus R. Vance, Elie Wiesel, and Andrew Young. I am especially grateful to Council members Palme and Vance for their contributions to this issue of the *State of World Conflict Report.*

I am also grateful to the members of our Core Group of academic advisors who help steer the INN course. This group of experienced conflict resolution practitioners and scholars includes Robert A. Pastor, Kumar Rupesinghe, Harold Saunders, Brian Urquhart, and Vamik Volkan.

The INN Secretariat, whose members have produced the *State of World Conflict Report,* is the principal management group for our initiatives. I wish to express particular appreciation to INN Secretariat members Dayle E. Spencer, William J. Spencer, and William L. Ury for their sustained commitment to the INN.

Jimmy Carter

Chair, INN Council

Since we began developing the International Negotiation Network (INN) in 1987, we have been trying to make the point with various audiences that the nature of war has changed dramatically since the end of World War II. Through conferences, speeches, and publications, we have informed the public about the nature of today's wars, how they affect or are affected by international and regional organizations, and what might be done to end the suffering they cause. We have also tried to share lessons we have learned about specific strategies that might be employed to help warring parties find nonviolent ways to resolve their disputes.

Our past efforts have led us to the conclusion that there is a need to regularly present easily understood information to a diverse international audience who will be able to see at a glance where the armed conflicts are, who is affected by them, who is trying to resolve them, and what individuals can do to help. We have also seen that people caught up in a particular conflict can learn from the experiences of other conflict regions through the sharing of information concerning common barriers, approaches, and resources.

In this first *State of World Conflict Report,* we have included recent information about ongoing wars. We have also tried to demonstrate the trade-offs between military and social expenditures. The *Report* presents data on the prevalence of nuclear weapons in our world. We also draw on previously published material to show the consequences of war on refugees and on children.

One of our fundamental principles is that we do not try to compete with other institutions that are doing good work—this would be a waste of limited resources and irreplaceable time. For that reason you will note that the *Report* presents, in a summary way, the research and findings of other organizations. We would especially like to acknowledge the following for their substantive contributions to this issue: Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures 1991*; Peter Wallensteen, Uppsala University, Department of Peace and Conflict Research; Roger Winter, U.S. Committee for Refugees, *World Refugee Survey 1992*; and James Grant, UNICEF, for the 1992 report on *The State of the World's Children.*

In a more detailed way we report on the January 1992 consultation convened by the INN wherein we examined a strengthened role for non-governmental actors in resolving intra-national conflicts. Findings of that consultation are summarized for eight different conflicts.

The *State of World Conflict Report* is intended to be a resource tool. Our readers should include families, scholars and practitioners, members of the media, teachers and students, and business and government leaders.

The *State of World Conflict Report* is intended to be a resource tool. Our readers should include families, scholars and practitioners, members of the media, teachers and students, and business and government leaders. We hope that you will find the *Report* informative and helpful. We hope that you will decide from reading it that you have a role to play in resolving conflict, whether it is in the home, the community, the nation, or the world.

We have provided a list of resources available to help educate, train, and inform readers who are interested in knowing more about conflict resolution. The list of resources is by no means exhaustive and your suggestions for future issues are welcomed also. Also in the Resources section is material compiled by Ruth Leger Sivard. This data will give the reader a historical perspective on the impact of war, going back almost 500 years.

We have asked for suggestions on what individuals can do to promote the peaceful resolution of conflict. Our list of the top ten ideas is found on the back cover of the *Report*. We invite your ideas and ask that you improve our list for the next issue by sending us your best recommendations.

The *State of World Conflict Report* would not be possible without the generous financial support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and its chair, David Hamburg, and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. While we give sincere thanks to each of them, all errors and opinions herein are our own.

The INN Secretariat

Dayle E. Spencer William J. Spencer William L. Ury

The traditional map distorts the world to the advantage of European colonial powers. The North, in fact, is half as large as the South, yet traditional maps show the North to be one-third larger than the South.

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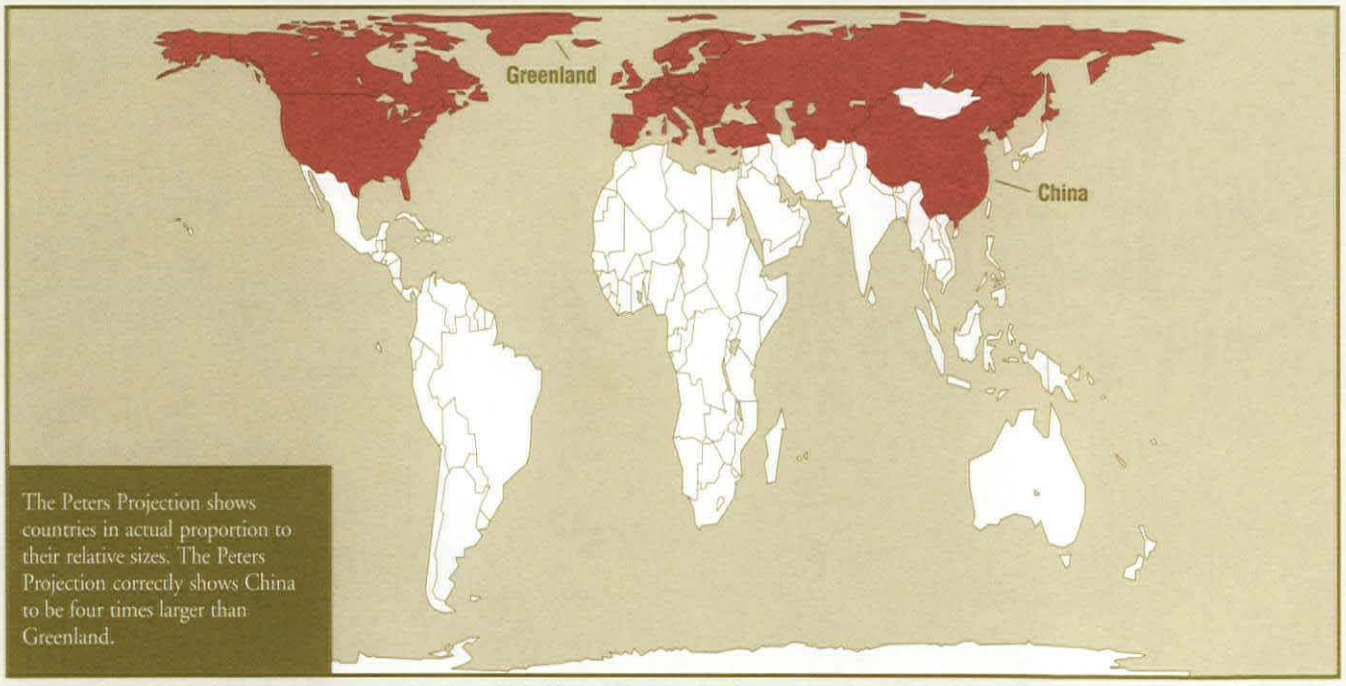
HOW THE MAP AFFECTS OUR WORLD VIEW

The Mercator Projection is the map of the world that is most commonly used (shown above). It was designed in 1569 by Geradus Mercator, a Flemish mathematician, geographer, and astronomer. The Mercator Projection enabled sailors to steer a course over long distances by plotting straight lines without continual compass readings or adjustments. The meridians are equally spaced, parallel vertical lines, and latitudinal designations are parallel horizontal straight lines, spaced farther and farther apart as their distances from the equator increase. Consequently, on a Mercator Projection, any straight line is a line of constant true bearing.

While this may be quite helpful for navigational purposes, it has the disadvantage of greatly distorting the actual size of the land masses of the world, with areas farther away from the equator appearing disproportionately large. Consequently, on the traditional Mercator map, the developed nations of the North are shown disproportionately larger than the nations in the Southern Hemisphere.

We use the Peters Projection (shown below) throughout the *State of World Conflict Report*. The Peters Projection shows countries in actual proportion to their relative sizes. It is based on Arno Peters' decimal grid, which divides the surface of the world into 100 longitudinal fields of equal width and 100 latitudinal fields of equal height. All north-south lines run vertically on the Peters Projection, allowing geographic points to be seen in their precise directional relationship.

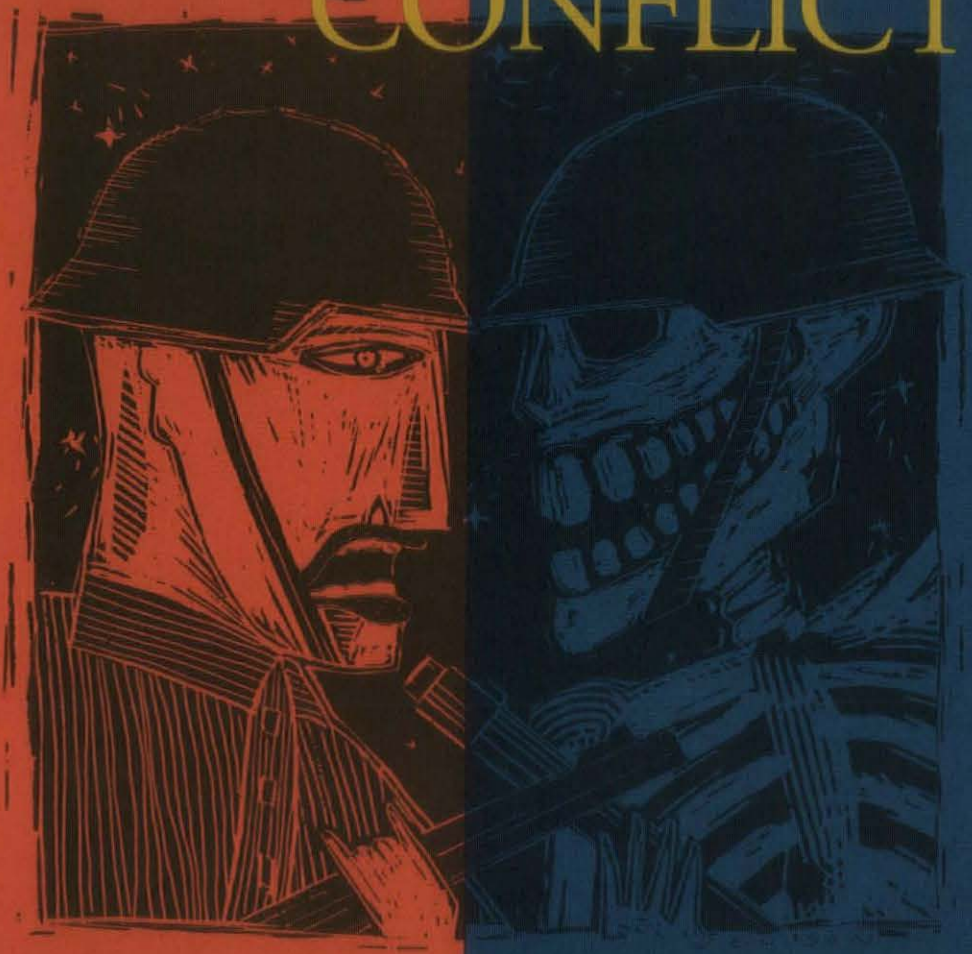
The Peters Projection is helpful to use because of its display of the accurate relative sizes of land masses. Use of the Peters Projection also challenges chauvinism and demonstrates the end of colonialism. Our view of the world is affected by perceptions of which nations are larger, stronger, or more strategically located than others. If we are to have a "New World Order," perhaps a starting point could be in understanding how the map affects our world view. It should be noted that no one projection is universally accepted as precisely depicting the earth's land masses and bodies of water.

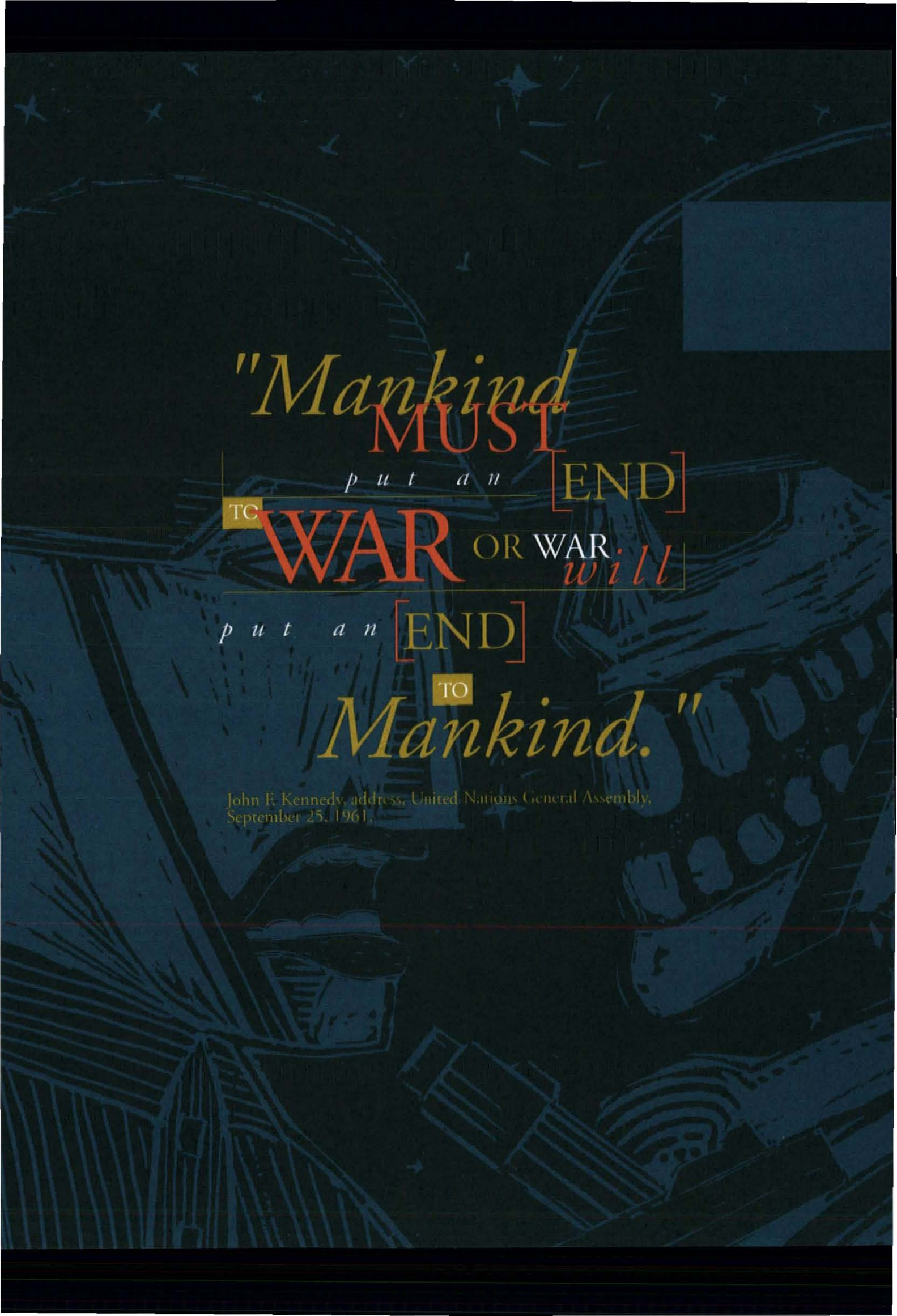


The Peters Projection shows countries in actual proportion to their relative sizes. The Peters Projection correctly shows China to be four times larger than Greenland.

Source: world map in equal area projection, Peters Projection, published by United Nations Development Programme through Freindship Press, N.Y.

ARMED CONFLICTS





John F. Kennedy, address, United Nations General Assembly, September 25, 1961.

In this section, we present a compilation of material on armed conflict throughout the world.

The data presented in this section come from two principal sources: Ruth Leger Sivard, who annually publishes a report entitled *World Military and Social Expenditures*, and Peter Wallensteen, whose department at Uppsala University publishes annually a report entitled *States in Armed Conflict*.

We present a map of the nuclear world, from Ruth Leger Sivard's *World Military and Social Expenditures 1991*, to demonstrate the global presence of nuclear weapons and the threat of widespread destruction posed by those weapons should society not commit to the peaceful resolution of conflict. The material from Peter Wallensteen, Uppsala University's Department of Peace and Conflict Research, shows the prevalence of civil, or intra-national, conflict within the past six years. Wallensteen's Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University in Uppsala, Sweden, defines a major armed conflict as "a prolonged combat between the military forces of two or more governments or of one government and organized armed opposition forces, involving the use of manufactured weapons and incurring battle-related deaths of at least 1,000 persons."[1]

We are grateful to Sivard and Wallensteen for their cooperation with the INN and for their permission to reproduce portions of their reports or research.

[1]K. Lindgren, G.K. Wilson, P. Wallensteen, and K.A.Nordquist, "Major Armed Conflicts in 1989, "*SIPRI Yearbook. 1990, World Armaments and Disarmaments*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 393.

WHAT'S ALL THE FIGHTING ABOUT?

Defining civil or intra-national conflicts is difficult because of the complexity of many conflicts. The characterization of any particular conflict invites dispute. However, certain common features define what is meant by civil conflicts.[1]

- They involve the use of violence to achieve goals that might be otherwise obtainable.
- They all indicate a breakdown of political order.
- All presuppose certain capabilities of violence for those who incite the internal war and certain incapacities for preventing violence among those against whom internal war is waged.

Racial Conflicts: These conflicts arise from distinctions based on race. They include the conflicts in South Africa and Namibia, as well as those found in the United States and Europe.

Environmental Conflicts: These resource-based conflicts are over land, water, the control of rivers, and the protection of forests. They may be between people and nature or between states and population groups caused or exacerbated by environmental problems.

Ideological Conflicts: These conflicts occur where there is a high degree of inequality between social classes. Ideological conflicts are generally between the state and insurgent movements.

Identity Conflicts: These conflicts involve a combination of identity and security issues among ethnic, religious, tribal, or linguistically different groups. Identity conflicts may be based on territorial claims or demands for minority rights protection within a given state.

Governance and Authority Conflicts: These conflicts concern the distribution of power and authority in society. Demands from the opposition are for regime changes and control over resources.

[1]For a more complete discussion, see Harry Eckstein, "On the Causes of Internal War," in E. Nordinger, ed., *Politics and Society* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1970).

In the past, the political skirmishing of superpower nations and regionally powerful countries often contributed to or sustained local conflicts.

WHAT KEEPS CONFLICTS FROM BEING RESOLVED?

There are many factors that keep conflicts from being resolved. Some of the barriers listed below were identified at the INN consultation on "Resolving Intra-National Conflicts: A Strengthened Role for Non-Governmental Actors" in January 1992 by a group of conflict resolution experts. In some conflicts, the barriers are distinctive to the countries in which the conflict is occurring. In the past, the political skirmishing of superpower nations and regionally powerful countries often contributed to or sustained local conflicts. Increasingly, these barriers will need to be overcome by the development of international commitment and political courage in seeking alternatives to the use of force in resolving conflict, limiting arms trade, and creating regional and local mechanisms to provide early warning of potential conflicts and networks to support the early facilitation of problem solving and conflict resolution.

Demobilization Problems—
the disarmament of combatants and their transition to civilian life
- containment of forces
- removal of land mines
- training demobilized soldiers

Electoral Issues—
- voter registration
- electoral laws
- party building
- international monitoring

Insufficient Funding of the United Nations

Interference of Foreign Interests

Geographic Divisions

Economic Disparities

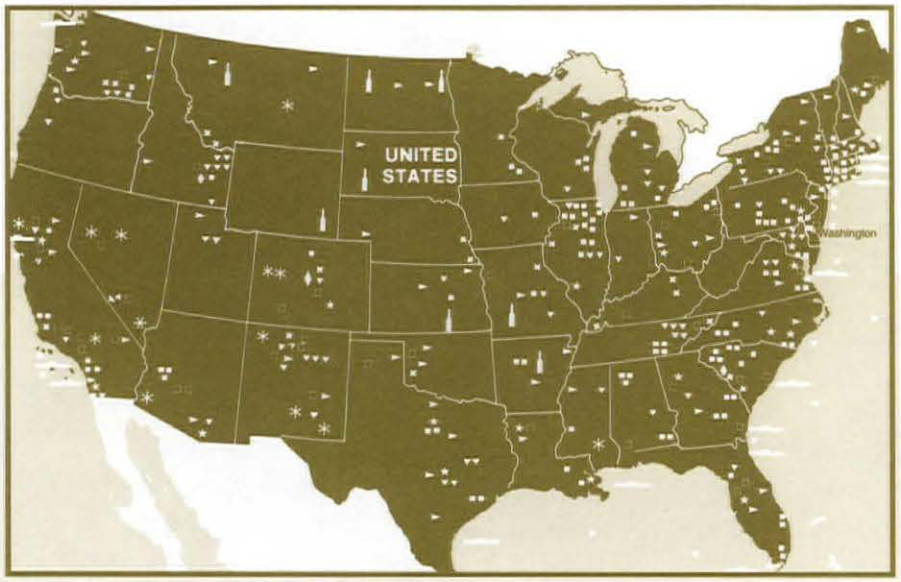
Lack of Political Will

Culture of Suspicion
- psychological barriers and fears
- mistrust

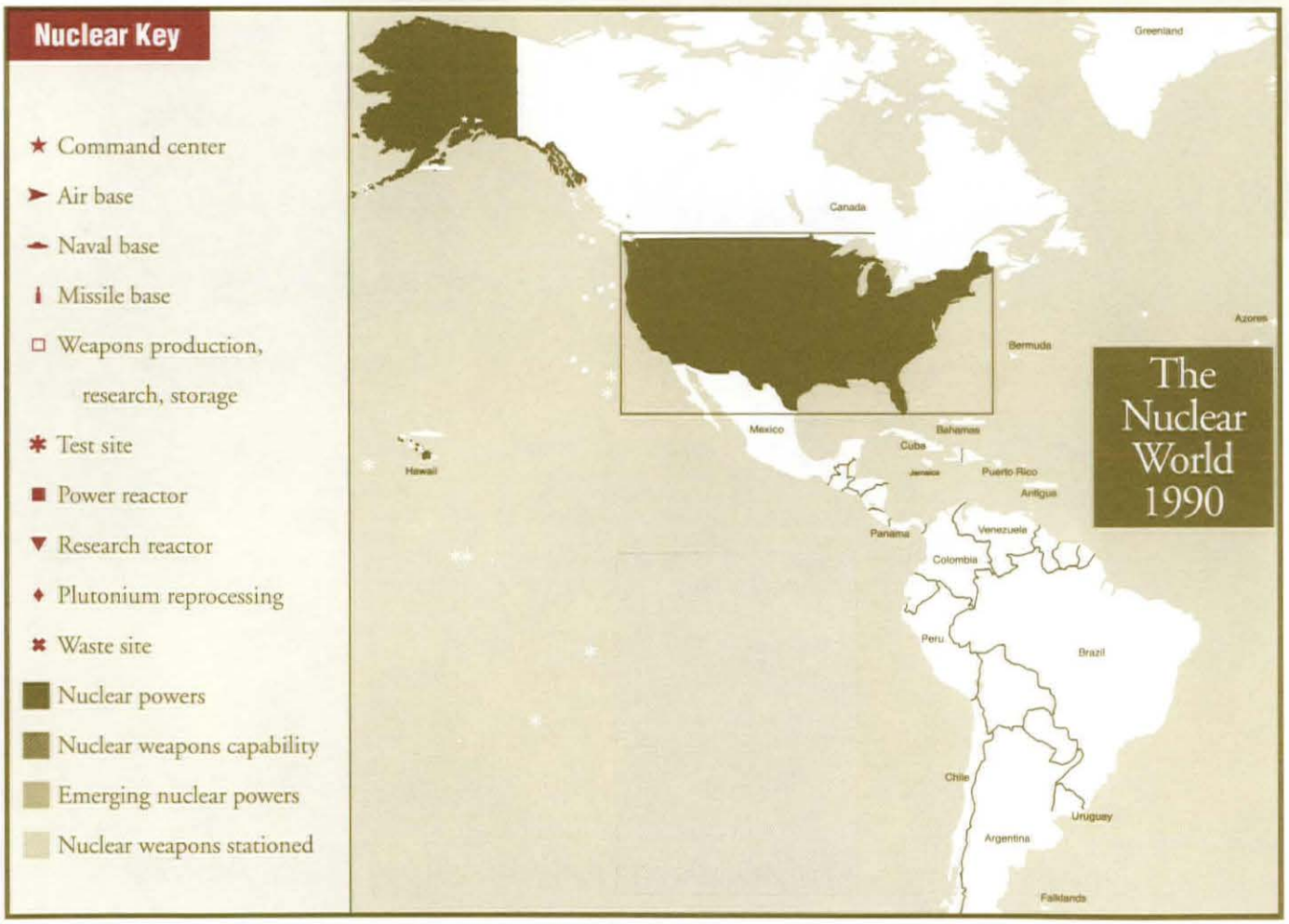
Ambiguities in Political and Military Agreements

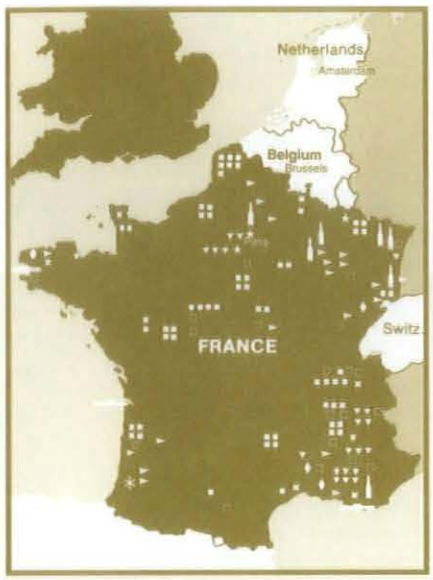
Lack of Reconciliation Process

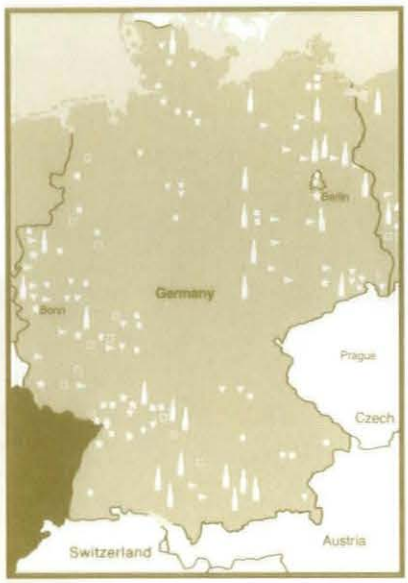
Lack of Legitimate Leadership



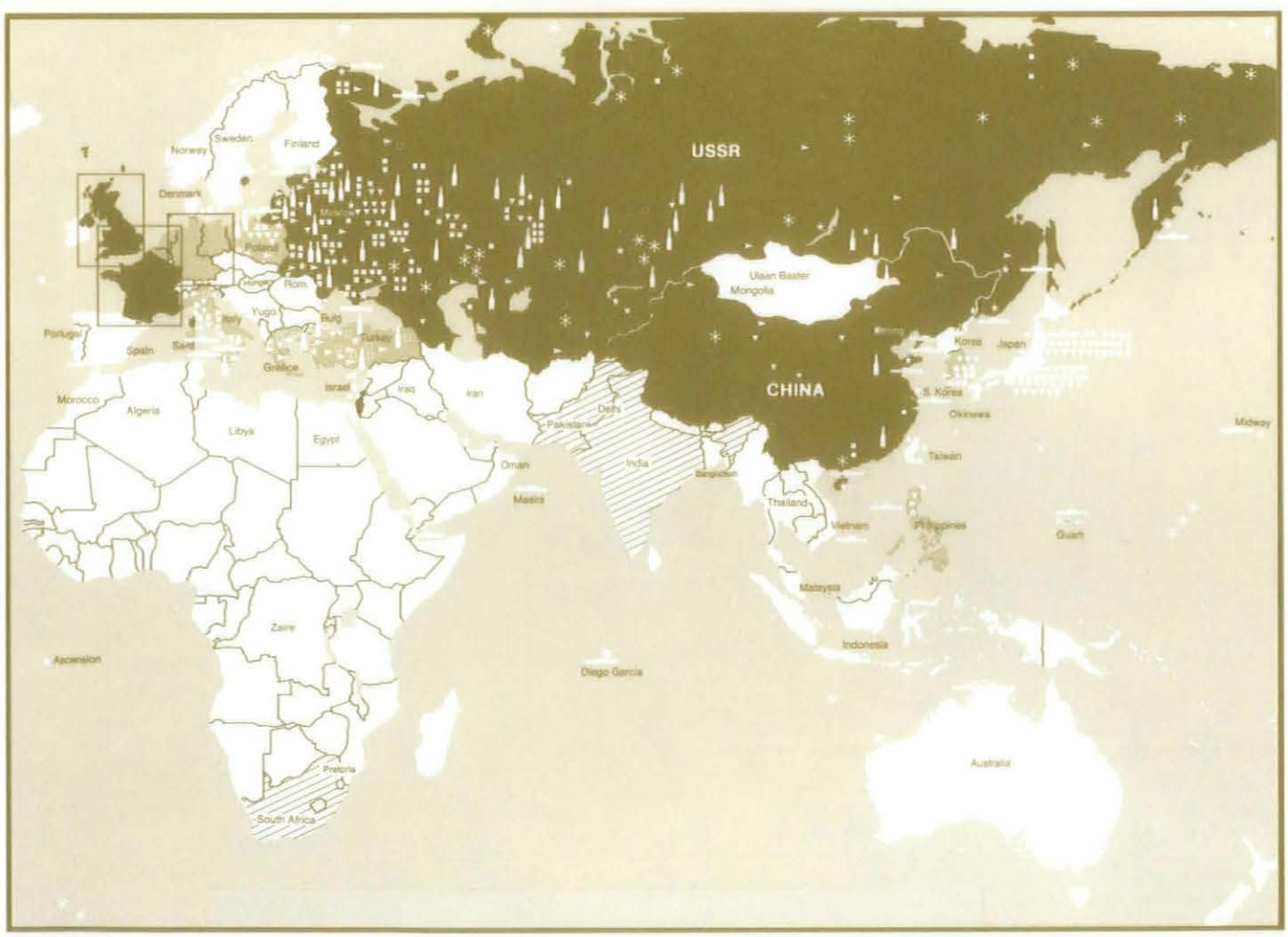
SPREADING NUCLEAR POISON. The nuclear map continues to grow more crowded and more dangerous. It is now populated by 51,000 deadly nuclear weapons and by 857 nuclear reactors. To perfect the weapons, 1,814 nuclear tests have been conducted since 1945. Only six countries (U.S., U.S.S.R., France, U.K., China, and Israel) are considered full-fledged nuclear weapons powers, but clandestine programs are increasing, and South Africa, Pakistan, and India are believed to be on the threshold of acquiring nuclear weapons, if they have not already done so. In addition to the land-based nuclear network, nuclear weapons are carried by 745 ships and submarines, which quietly, secretly, circle the globe with their life-threatening cargo.







Note: Reprinted, with permission, from Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures 1991*, 14th Edition (Washington, DC: World Priorities, 1991), 14-15.



1991 MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS[1]

TOTAL NUMBER OF LOCATIONS: 30
TOTAL NUMBER OF MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS: 35

AFRICA (12)
ANGOLA
CHAD
ETHIOPIA*
LIBERIA
MOROCCO - WESTERN SAHARA
MOZAMBIQUE
RWANDA
SOMALIA
SOUTH AFRICA
SUDAN
UGANDA

ASIA (11)
AFGHANISTAN
BANGLADESH
CAMBODIA
INDIA*
INDONESIA*
MYANMAR*
PHILIPPINES
SRI LANKA

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA (4)
COLOMBIA
EL SALVADOR
GUATEMALA
PERU

EUROPE (2)
UNITED KINGDOM - NORTHERN IRELAND
YUGOSLAVIA

MIDDLE EAST (6)
IRAN
IRAQ*
IRAQ-KUWAIT
ISRAEL/PALESTINE
TURKEY

*TWO MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS WITHIN THIS LOCATION

[1] Updated and revised data from the conflict data project at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, based on data first published by Stephen D. Goose in *SIPRI Yearbook 1987, World Armaments and Disarmament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) and by researchers of the Department in *SIPRI Yearbooks 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, World Armaments and Disarmament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992). Revisions published in K. Lindgren, ed., *States in Armed Conflict 1989* (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1991), and in B. Heldt, ed., *States in Armed Conflict 1990-1991* (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1992).

1990 MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS[1]

TOTAL NUMBER OF LOCATIONS: 31
TOTAL NUMBER OF MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS: 38

AFRICA (12)
ANGOLA
CHAD*
ETHIOPIA*
LIBERIA
MOROCCO - WESTERN SAHARA
MOZAMBIQUE
SOMALIA
SOUTH AFRICA
SUDAN
UGANDA

ASIA (15)
AFGHANISTAN
BANGLADESH
CAMBODIA
INDIA*
INDIA-PAKISTAN
INDONESIA*
LAOS
MYANMAR*
PHILIPPINES*
SRI LANKA*

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA (5)
COLOMBIA
EL SALVADOR
GUATEMALA
NICARAGUA
PERU

EUROPE (1)
UNITED KINGDOM - NORTHERN IRELAND

MIDDLE EAST (5)
IRAN
IRAQ
ISRAEL/PALESTINE
LEBANON
TURKEY

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MOZAMBIQUE
SOMALIA
SOUTH AFRICA
SOUTH AFRICA - NAMIBIA
SUDAN
UGANDA

ASIA (13)
AFGHANISTAN
BANGLADESH
CAMBODIA
INDIA
INDIA-PAKISTAN
INDONESIA
LAOS
MYANMAR**
PHILIPPINES
SRI LANKA*

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA (5)
COLOMBIA
EL SALVADOR
GUATEMALA
NICARAGUA
PERU

EUROPE (2)
ROMANIA
UNITED KINGDOM - NORTHERN IRELAND

MIDDLE EAST (5)
IRAN
IRAQ
ISRAEL/PALESTINE
LEBANON
TURKEY

*TWO MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS WITHIN THIS LOCATION
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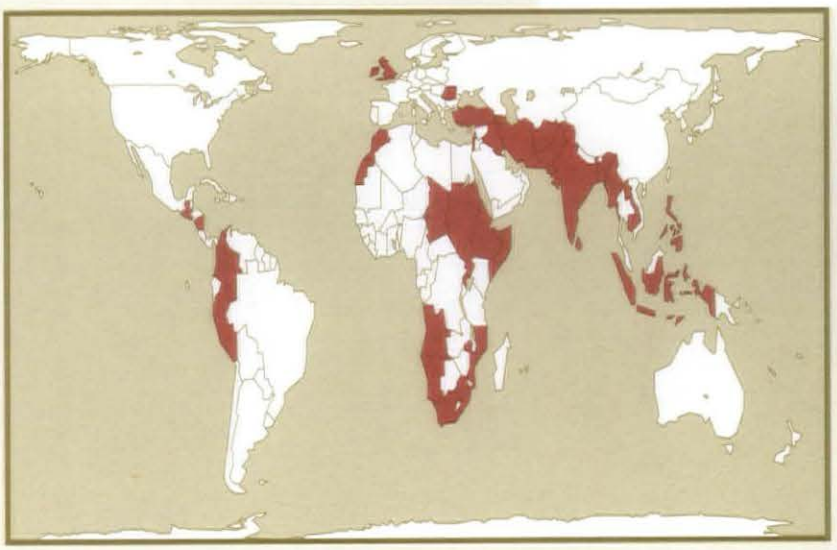

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CHAD
ETHIOPIA
ETHIOPIA-SOMALIA
MOROCCO - WESTERN SAHARA
MOZAMBIQUE
SOMALIA
SOUTH AFRICA
SOUTH AFRICA - NAMIBIA
SUDAN
UGANDA

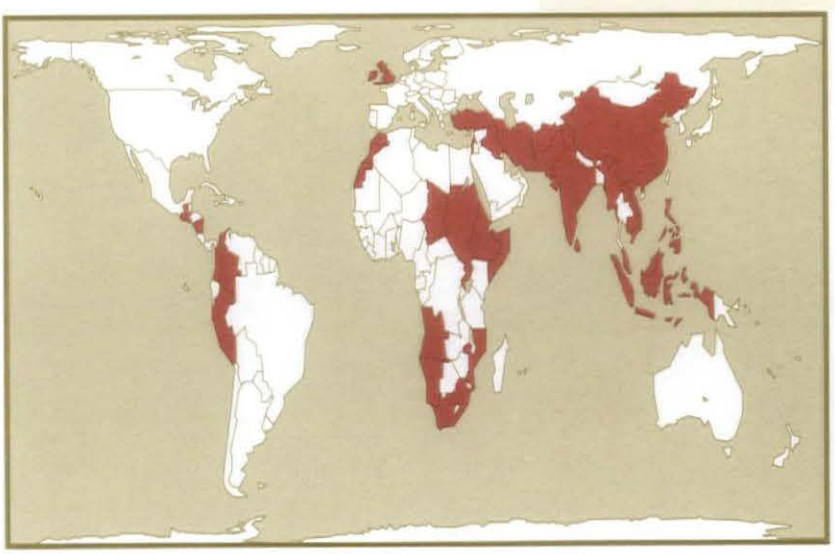
ASIA (15)
AFGHANISTAN
CAMBODIA
CHINA-VIETNAM
INDIA
INDIA-PAKISTAN
INDONESIA
LAOS
MALAYSIA
MYANMAR**
PHILIPPINES*
SRI LANKA*

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA (5)
COLOMBIA
EL SALVADOR
GUATEMALA
NICARAGUA
PERU

EUROPE (1)
UNITED KINGDOM - NORTHERN IRELAND

MIDDLE EAST (7)
IRAN*
IRAQ
IRAN-IRAQ
ISRAEL/PALESTINE
LEBANON
TURKEY

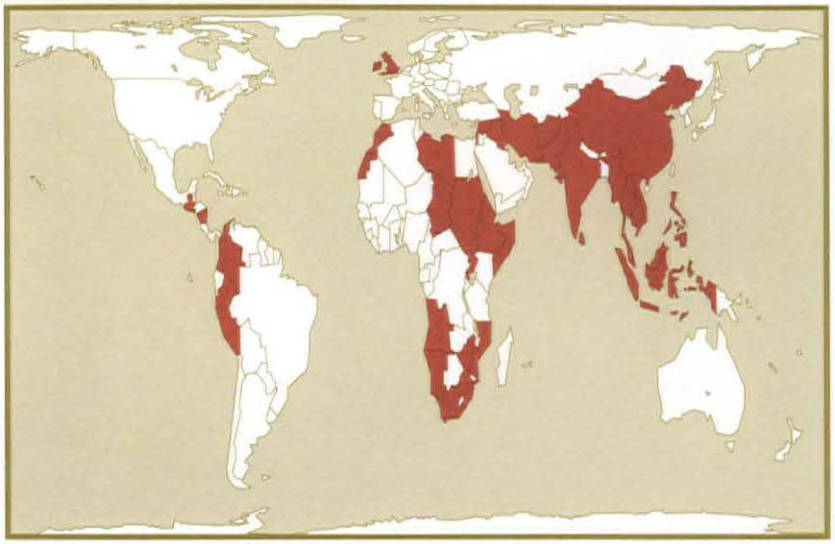
*TWO MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS WITHIN THIS LOCATION
**THREE MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS WITHIN THIS LOCATION



[1]Updated and revised data from the conflict data project at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, based on data first published by Stephen D. Goose in *SIPRI Yearbook 1987, World Armaments and Disarmament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) and by researchers of the Department in *SIPRI Yearbooks 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, World Armaments and Disarmament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992). Revisions published in K. Lindgren, ed., *States in Armed Conflict 1989* (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1991), and in B. Heldt, ed., *States in Armed Conflict 1990-1991* (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1991).

1987 MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS[1]

TOTAL NUMBER OF LOCATIONS: 37
TOTAL NUMBER OF MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS: 39



[1]Updated and revised data from the conflict data project at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, based on data first published by Stephen D. Goose in *SIPRI Yearbook 1987, World Armaments and Disarmament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) and by researchers of the Department in *SIPRI Yearbooks 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, World Armaments and Disarmament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992). Revisions published in K. Lindgren, ed., *States in Armed Conflict 1989* (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1991), and in B. Heldt, ed., *States in Armed Conflict 1990-1991* (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1992).

AFRICA (12)
ANGOLA
CHAD
CHAD-LIBYA
ETHIOPIA
ETHIOPIA-SOMALIA
MOROCCO - WESTERN SAHARA
MOZAMBIQUE
SOUTH AFRICA
SOUTH AFRICA - NAMIBIA
SUDAN
UGANDA
ZIMBABWE

ASIA (15)
AFGHANISTAN
CAMBODIA
CHINA-VIETNAM
INDIA
INDIA-PAKISTAN
INDONESIA
LAOS
MALAYSIA
MYANMAR**
PAKISTAN
PHILIPPINES
SRI LANKA
THAILAND

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA (5)
COLOMBIA
EL SALVADOR
GUATEMALA
NICARAGUA
PERU

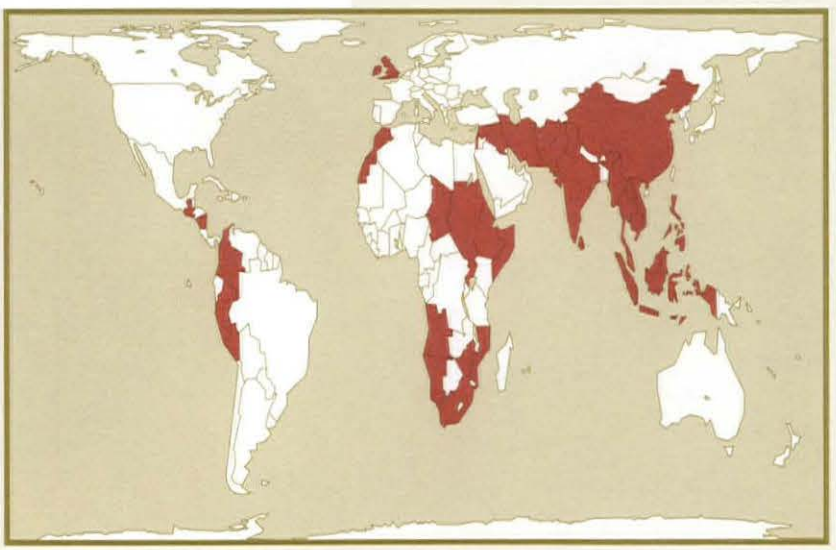
EUROPE (1)
UNITED KINGDOM - NORTHERN IRELAND

MIDDLE EAST (6)
IRAN
IRAQ
IRAN-IRAQ
ISRAEL/PALESTINE
LEBANON
SYRIA

**THREE MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS WITHIN THIS LOCATION

1986 MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS[1]

TOTAL NUMBER OF LOCATIONS: 35
TOTAL NUMBER OF MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS: 37



[1]Updated and revised data from the conflict data project at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, based on data first published by Stephen D. Goose in *SIPRI Yearbook 1987, World Armaments and Disarmament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) and by researchers of the Department in *SIPRI Yearbooks 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, World Armaments and Disarmament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992). Revisions published in K. Lindgren, ed., *States in Armed Conflict 1989* (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1991), and in B. Heldt, ed., *States in Armed Conflict 1990-1991* (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1992).

AFRICA (11)
ANGOLA
CHAD
ETHIOPIA
ETHIOPIA-SOMALIA
MOROCCO - WESTERN SAHARA
MOZAMBIQUE
SOUTH AFRICA
SOUTH AFRICA - NAMIBIA
SUDAN
UGANDA
ZIMBABWE

ASIA (14)
AFGHANISTAN
CAMBODIA
CHINA-VIETNAM
INDIA
INDONESIA
LAOS
MALAYSIA
MYANMAR**
PAKISTAN
PHILIPPINES
SRI LANKA
THAILAND

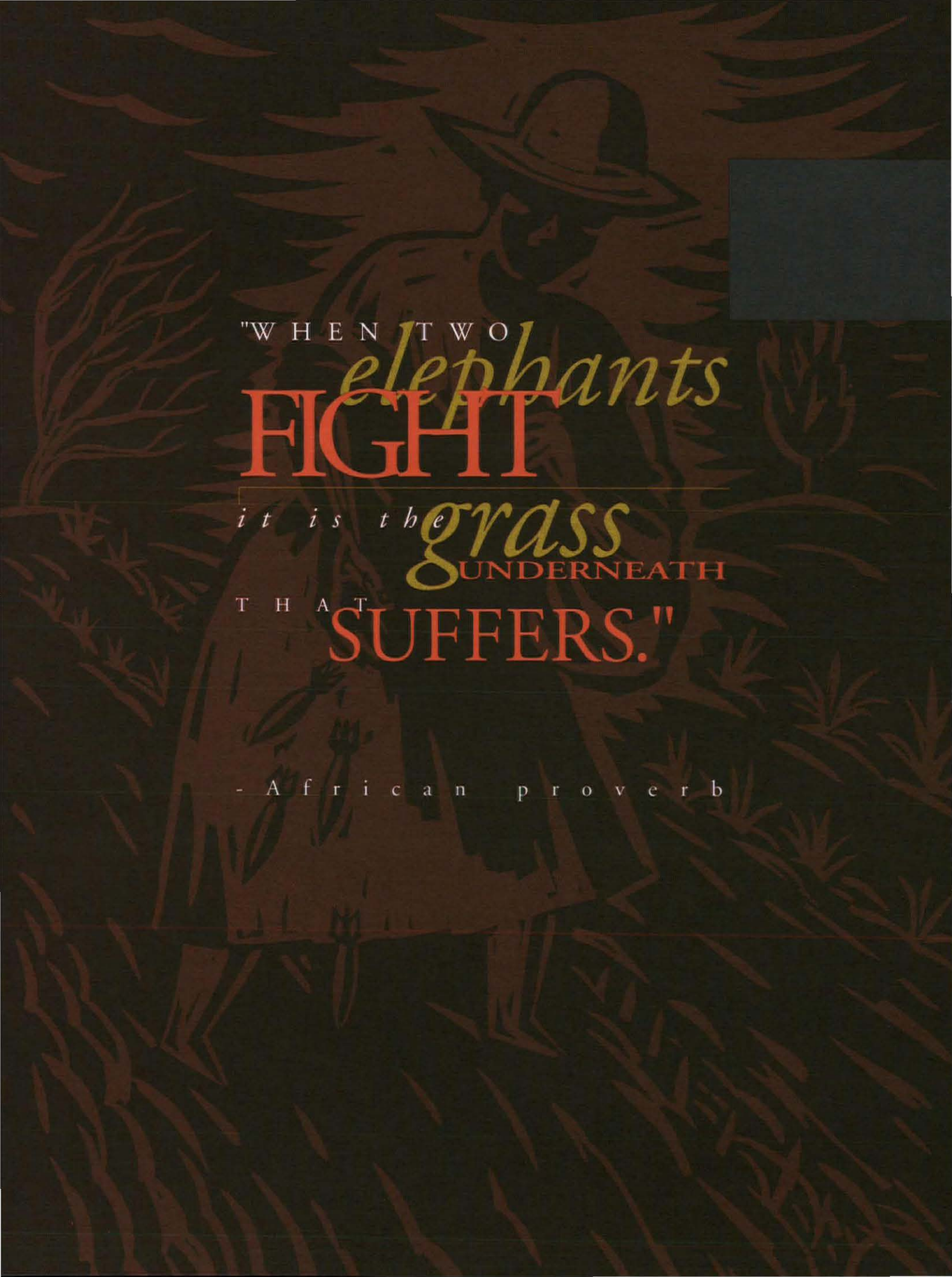
CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA (5)
COLOMBIA
EL SALVADOR
GUATEMALA
NICARAGUA
PERU

EUROPE (1)
UNITED KINGDOM - NORTHERN IRELAND

MIDDLE EAST (6)
IRAN
IRAQ
IRAN-IRAQ
ISRAEL/PALESTINE
LEBANON
SYRIA

**THREE MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS WITHIN THIS LOCATION

ARMS AND *people* DEBT


"WHEN TWO
elephants
FIGHT
it is the grass
UNDERNEATH
THAT
SUFFERS."
- African proverb

The material in this section demonstrates the high cost of war in human terms. Whether intra-national or international, all conflict has tremendous human consequences.

Refugee statistics almost invariably tell vivid stories of persecution and human rights abuse. They also embody more ambiguous patterns of political upheaval, transition, and flux. As such, government tallies cannot always be trusted to give full and unbiased accounts of refugee movements. One country's asylum seeker is another's illegal immigrant. Today's displaced person may be tomorrow's refugee. The call is sometimes a matter of law and policy, but just as frequently it is a matter of judgment.

The statistics on the following page represent the best judgments of the U.S. Committee for Refugees (USCR). The USCR arrives at these figures after careful scrutiny of every reliable source available— official and unofficial— including their own first-hand documentation. In the end, some numbers prove very solid and others are little more than educated guesses.

In collecting data for the statistics and country reports, in addition to their own field research and documentation, USCR relies on a variety of sources, including the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the U.S. Department of State, the media, private voluntary organizations, and human rights groups. Instances where key sources differ significantly are indicated in the statistical tables with an asterisk (*). All numbers have been rounded. For further detail on clarification of numbers in the tables, see the country reports in *World Refugee Survey 1992*.[1]

[1]Reprinted with edits, with permission, from *World Refugee Survey 1992* (Washington, DC: U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1992), 34.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF THE WORLD'S REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS (as of July 31, 1992)

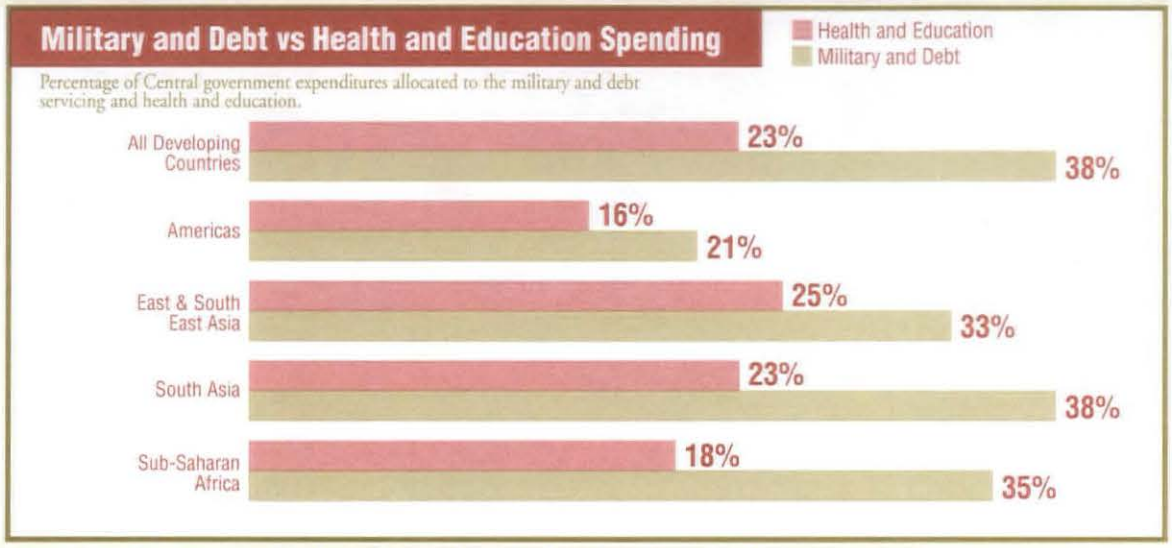
Listed below are countries that have generated the greatest numbers of the world's refugees. Counts may understate the total number of refugees from a given country, as asylum nations do not always specify countries of refugees' origin. This list does not include populations considered to be in refugee-like circumstances. Also, it does not include populations who left their countries as refugees or in refugee-like circumstances, but who have been offered permanent resettlement and status in another country.

Afghanistan	6,049,800*	Laos	62,500
Palestinians	2,654,207	Mali	53,000
Mozambique	1,483,500*	Iran	50,000
Ethiopia/Eritrea	495,600*	Guatemala	96,700
Somalia	986,400*	Chad	34,800
Liberia	660,700*	Senegal	27,600
Angola	400,200	Nicaragua	25,400
Cambodia	392,800	Bhutan	85,000
Iraq	217,500*	El Salvador	214,200
Sri Lanka	187,000	South Africa	23,700
Burundi	208,500	Togo	15,000
Rwanda	203,900*	Uganda	14,700
Sudan	233,000	Suriname	9,600
Sierra Leone	219,000*	Haiti	10,000
Western Sahara	165,000*	Indonesia	6,900
Vietnam	111,350	Colombia	4,000*
Former Yugoslavia	359,200		
China (Tibet)	114,000		
Burma	350,000		
Zaire	81,100		
Mauritania	66,000		
Bangladesh	65,000*		

*Indicates that sources vary significantly in number reported.

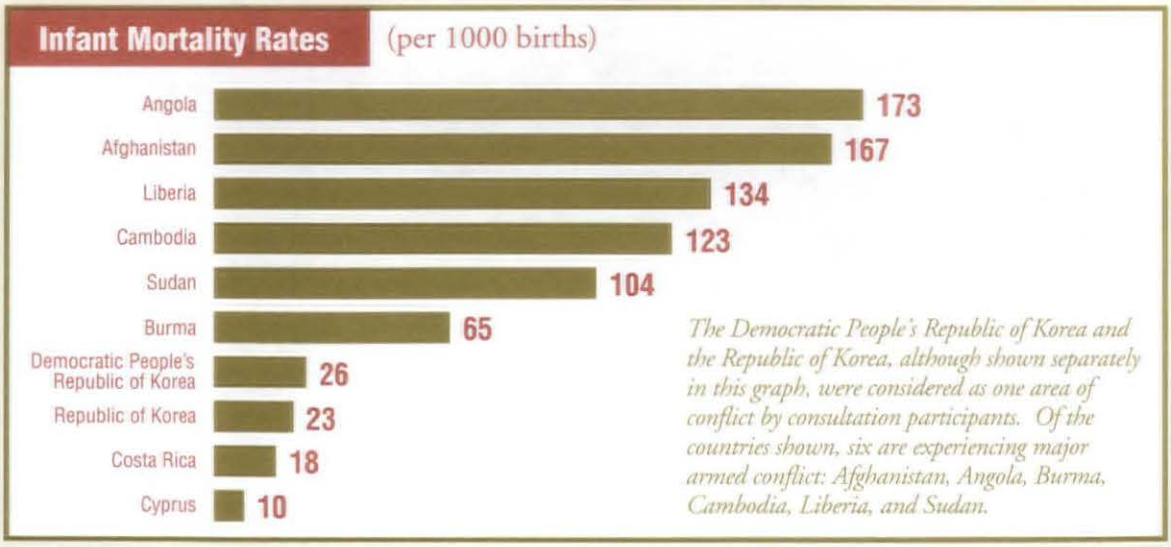
Note: Reprinted with permission from *World Refugee Survey 1992* (Washington, DC: U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1992), 34, with revised data from July 31, 1992 from U.S. Committee for Refugees.

About 40% of government spending in the developing world is devoted to the military and the servicing of debt. In some regions, this is twice as much as governments spend on health and education combined.



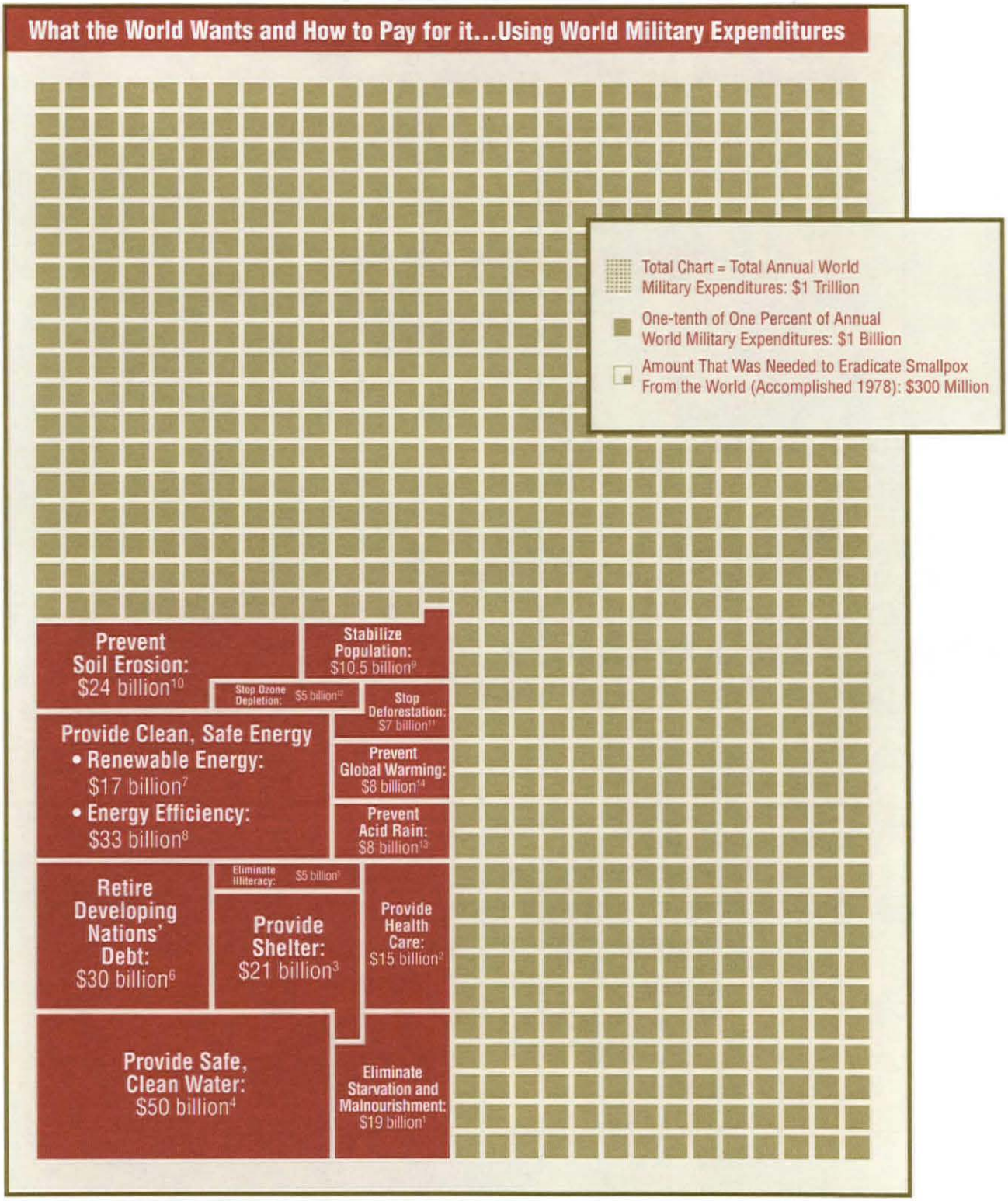
Note: Reprinted with permission, from United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). *The State of World's Children 1992* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

The graph below shows the infant mortality rate for the eight conflict areas studied at the January 1992 INN consultation. The infant mortality rate for Costa Rica, a country at peace, is shown for comparison.



The Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea, although shown separately in this graph, were considered as one area of conflict by consultation participants. Of the countries shown, six are experiencing major armed conflict: Afghanistan, Angola, Burma, Cambodia, Liberia, and Sudan.

This chart shows annual costs of various global programs for solving the major human need and environmental problems facing humanity. Each program is the amount needed to accomplish the goal for all in need in the world. Their combined total cost is approximately 25% of the world's total annual military expenditures.



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WHAT THE WORLD WANTS AND HOW TO PAY FOR IT...USING WORLD MILITARY EXPENDITURES

The chart on page 24 seeks to make the point that what the world needs to solve the major systemic problems confronting humanity is both available and affordable. Clearly, to portray a problem as complex and large as, for example, the global food situation, with just a small part of a single graph is incomplete, at best. The following explanations of the chart's various components are not intended as complete or detailed plans, but rather as very broad brush-strokes intended to give the overall direction, scope, and strategy. The paper, "Doing the Right Things," goes into more detail and is available from the World Game Institute at the address below. (References listed at end of numbered sections contain supporting documentation, further explication, and related information.)

Listed below are annual costs of various global programs for solving the major human need and environmental problems facing humanity. Each program is the amount needed to accomplish the goal for all in need in the world. Their combined total cost is approximately 25% of the world's total annual military expenditures. Footnotes and references are below. Full explanatory text is in "Doing the Right Things," available from the World Game Institute at the address below.

1. Eliminate starvation and malnourishment: $19 billion per year total; $2 billion per year for 10 years for global famine relief spent on international grain reserve and emergency famine relief; $10 billion per year for twenty years spent on farmer education through vastly expanded in-country extension services that teach/demonstrate sustainable agriculture, use of local fertilizer sources, pest and soil management techniques, post harvest preservation, and which provide clear market incentives for increased local production; $7 billion per year for indigenous fertilizer development. Educational resources of #10 coupled with this strategy. Closely linked with #'s 2, 2A, 2B, 4, 5, 9, 10.

2. Provide health care: $15 billion per year spent on providing primary health care through community health workers to all areas in the world that do not have access to health care. Closely linked with #'s 1, 3, 4, 5.

2A. Child health care: $2.5 billion per year spent on: a) providing Vitamin A to children who lack it in their diet, thereby preventing blindness in 250,000 children/year; b) providing oral rehydration therapy for children with severe diarrhea; and c) immunizing 1 billion children in the developing world against measles, tuberculosis, diphtheria, whooping cough, polio and tetanus, thereby preventing the death of 6-7 million children/year.

2B. Special health problems: $40 million per year for iodine addition to table salt to eliminate iodine deficiency, there-by reducing the 190 million who suffer from goiter and not adding to the 3 million who suffer from overt cretinism.

3. Eliminate inadequate housing and homelessness: $21 billion for ten years spent on making available materials, tools and techniques to people without adequate housing. Closely linked with #'s 1, 4, 5, 9.

4. Provide clean and abundant water: $50 billion per year for ten years spent on water and sanitation projects–wells, pipes, water purifying systems. Closely related to #'s 1, 2, 3, 9.

5. Eliminate illiteracy: $5 billion per year for ten years; $2 billion spent on a system of 10 to 12 communication satellites and their launching; $3 billion spent on ten million televisions, satellite dish receivers, and photovoltaic/batteryunits for power–all placed in village schools and

other needed areas throughout high illiteracy areas; the rest (90% of funds), spent on culturally appropriate literacy programming and maintenance of system. Closely related to #'s 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11.

6. Increase efficiency: $33 billion per year for ten years spent on increasing car fleet mileage to over 50 m.p.g., plus increasing appliance and industrial processes, and household energy and materials use efficiency to state of the art. Closely linked with #'s 7, 8, 12, 13, 14.

7. Increase renewable energy: $17 billion per year for ten years spent on tax and other incentives for installation of renewable energy devices, graduated ten-year phase-out of subsidies to fossil and nuclear fuels, research and development into more advanced renewable energy harnessing devices. Closely linked with #'s 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14.

8. Debt management: $30 billion per year for ten years spent on retiring $450 billion or more of current debt discounted to 50% face value. (Much of developing world's current debt is already discounted to 10-25% face value.) Not only helps developing countries get out of debt, but helps banks stay solvent. Closely linked with #'s 1, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14.

9. Stabilize population: $10.5 billion per year for ten years spent on making birth control universally available. Closely linked with #'s 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

10. Reverse soil erosion: $24 billion per year for ten years spent on converting one-tenth of world's most vulnerable cropland that is simultaneously most susceptible to erosion, the location of most severe erosion, and the land that is no longer able to sustain agriculture, to pasture or woodland; and conserving and regenerating topsoil on remaining lands through sustainable farming techniques. Both accomplished through a combination of government regulation and incentive programs that remove the most vulnerable lands from crop production; and by farmer education through vastly expanded in-country extension services that teach/demonstrate sustainable agriculture and soil management techniques. Closely linked to #1.

11. Reverse deforestation: $7 billion per year for ten years spent on reforesting 150 million hectares needed to sustain ecological, fuelwood, and wood products needs. Planted by local villagers, costs would be $400 per hectare, including seedling costs. Additional costs for legislation, financial incentives, enforcement of rainforest protection. Closely linked with #'s 10 and 14.

12. Reverse ozone depletion: $5 billion per year for twenty years spent on phasing in substitutes for CFCs, CFC taxes, incentives for further research and development. Closely linked with #14.

13. Stop acid rain: $8 billion per year for ten years spent on combination of tax incentive, government regulation, and direct assistance programs that place pollution control devices (electrostatic precipitators, etc.) on all industrial users of coal, increase efficiency of industrial processes, transportation, and appliances. Closely linked to #'s 6, 7, 11, 14.

14. Stop global warming: $8 billion per year for thirty years spent on reducing carbon dioxide, methane and CFC release into atmosphere through combination of international accords, carbon taxes, increases in energy efficiency in industry, transportation, and household, decreases in fossil fuel use, increases in renewable energy use and reforestation. Closely linked with #'s 6, 7, 11, 12, 13.

References: *Ho-Ping: Food for Everyone*, World Game Institute, Doubleday, New York; #1, 10. *State of the World's Children*, UNICEF, Oxford University Press, 1990; #2, 2A, 2B. *UNICEF, Giving Children a Future: The World Summit for Children*, New York, UNICEF, 1990, pp. 4-6, 10; and "Moving Towards a Global Ethic," Development Forum, p.1, Sept./Oct. 1990; #2, 2A, 2B. *State of the World 1988*, Worldwatch Institute, Washington, DC; #4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11. *Energy, Earth and Everyone*, World Game Institute, Doubleday, New York; #6, 7. *Soft Energy Paths*, Amory Lovins, Ballinger, Boston; #6, 7. *1990 Report on Progress Towards Population Stabilization*, Population Crisis Committee, Washington, DC; #9. *World Resources 1986, 1987*, World Resources Institute, Washington, DC; #12, 13, 14. *The Sky is the Limit, Strategies for Protecting the Ozone Layer*, World Resources Institute, Washington, DC, 1986; #12.

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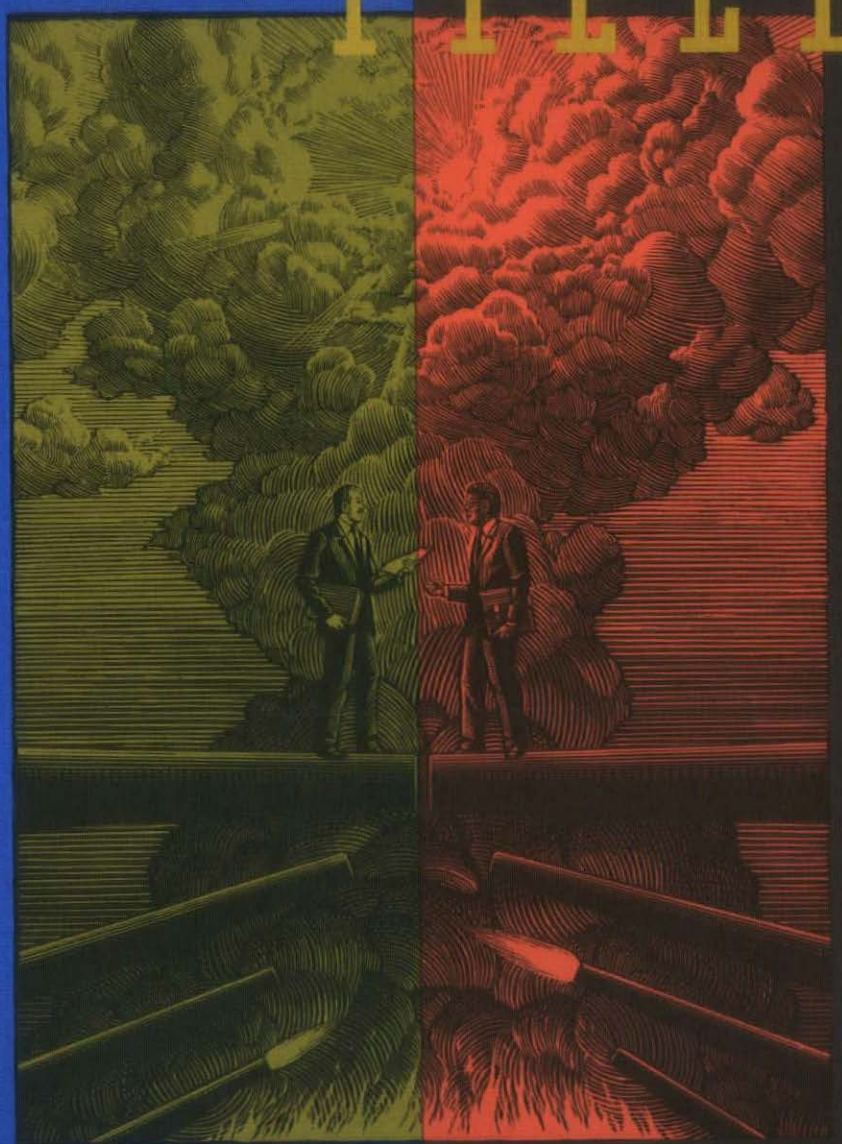
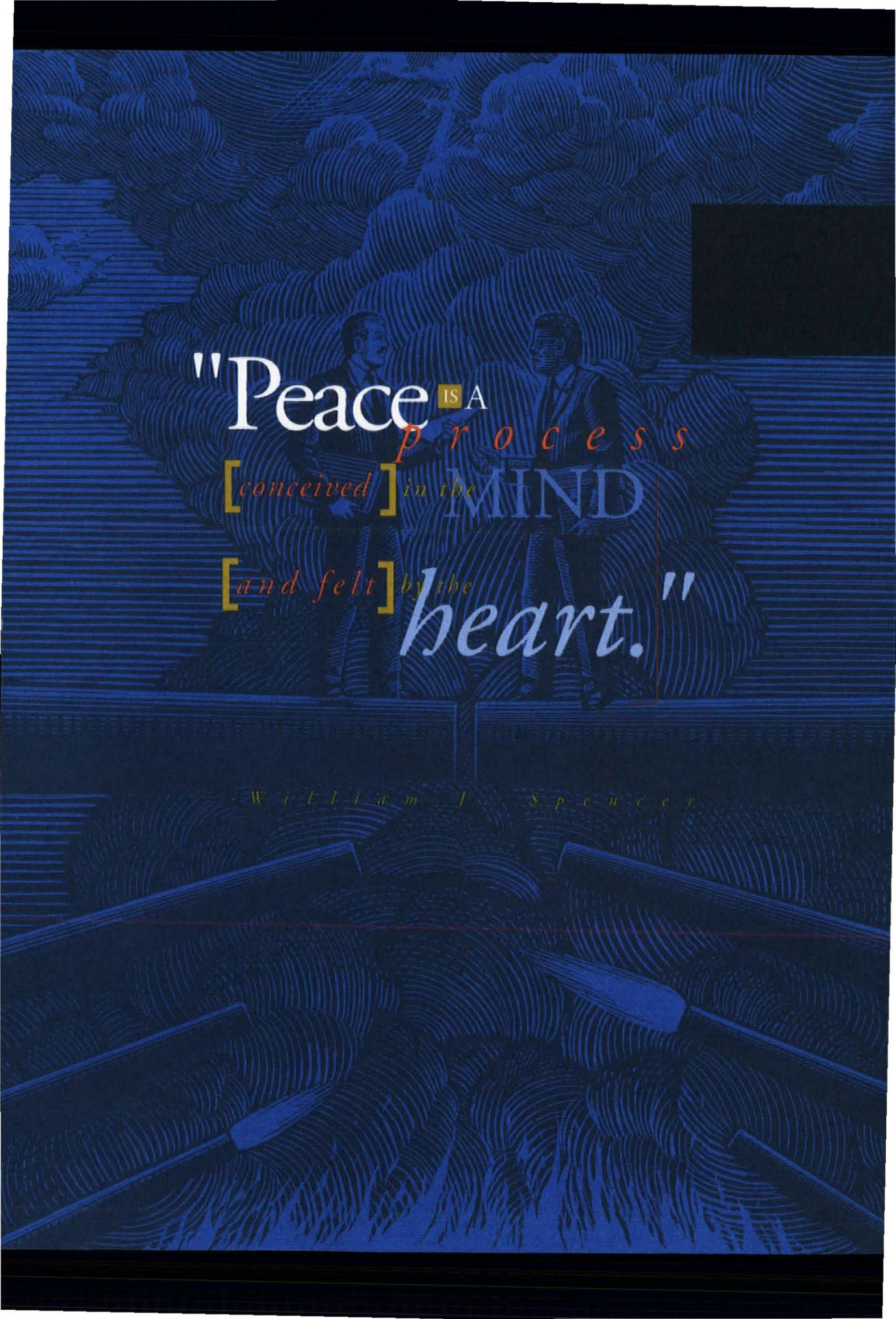
NOTES FROM THE FIELD




"Peace IS A
process
[conceived] in the MIND
[and felt] by the heart."
-William J. Spencer

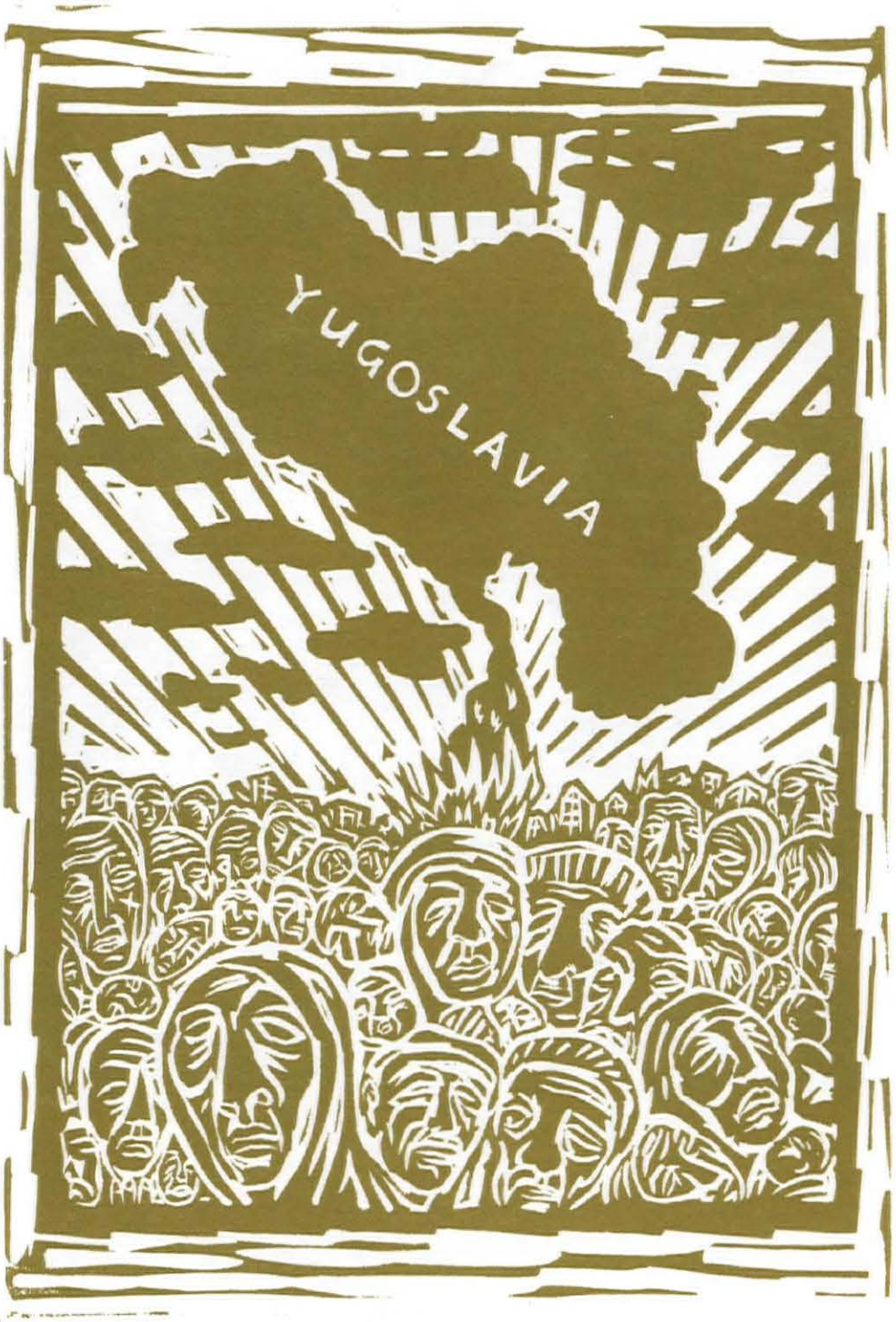
As a regular feature of the *State of World Conflict Report*, we will ask members of the INN to share with the reader insights gained from their work in the field.

Many of the members of the INN Council, Secretariat, and Core Group have been active during the past year in field activities. These have ranged from direct involvement in the mediation of armed conflicts to teaching or training in various countries. As a regular feature of the *State of World Conflict Report*, we will ask members of the INN to share with the reader insights gained from such field work. These may take us from behind rebel lines in a battle area to inside the classroom of a divided country.

In this issue we present five such notes from INN Council and Secretariat members. They include notes on Cyrus R. Vance's efforts to stop the brutal fighting in Yugoslavia; Dayle E. Spencer's perspective on Liberia gained from participating in head-of-state summits; William L. Ury's analysis of the conflict situation in Russia and the former Soviet Republics; Lisbet Palme's examination of the impact of wars on children; and William J. Spencer's assessment of how social systems are changed through the diffusion of new ideas.

Please note that the conflict situations in Yugoslavia, Liberia, and Russia and the former Soviet Republics are ongoing and, therefore, the status of each conflict will have changed by the publication of this *Report*.

Active hostilities began in Yugoslavia during the summer of 1991, when the secessionist republics of Slovenia and Croatia sought to implement their departure from the Yugoslav federation.



YUGOSLAVIA

THE ROLE OF U.N. SPECIAL ENVOY CYRUS R. VANCE

Cyrus R. Vance served as the United States Secretary of State from 1977-1980. A lawyer, he is a partner in the firm of Simpson, Thatcher and Bartlett in New York. He received his B.A. and LL.B. degrees from Yale University and has been the recipient of numerous honorary degrees. In 1991 he was appointed as the special envoy to Yugoslavia by the United Nations secretary-general.

In bringing a halt to the civil war in Yugoslavia, the Security Council of the United Nations became engaged formally on 25 September 1991 when it passed resolution 713. That resolution, inter alia, invited "the secretary-general to offer his assistance without delay, in consultation with the government of Yugoslavia...and to report as soon as possible to the Security Council." On 8 October 1991 U.N. Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar announced that he had asked former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance to be his personal envoy to Yugoslavia.

Active hostilities began in Yugoslavia during the summer of 1991, when the secessionist republics of Slovenia and Croatia sought to implement their departure from the Yugoslav federation. Fighting in Slovenia lasted only a short time, and peace was soon restored with the departure of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) from that republic. Serious fighting, however, soon erupted in the republic of Croatia, particularly in those areas where Serbs constituted a majority or where the balance between Croats and Serbs was a narrow one. The European Community (EC) entered the conflict at this point, seeking to arrange cease-fires between the warring parties and to mediate a political settlement via its conference on Yugoslavia that began on 7 September 1991. The EC also dispatched about 200 unarmed monitors to Yugoslavia to oversee the hoped-for cease-fire. During the summer and fall of 1991, the EC negotiated 14 cease-fires. Unfortunately, none of them was observed. Fighting continued and escalated as the JNA increasingly entered the conflict on the Serbian side.

Mr. Vance conducted his peacemaking and peacekeeping mission to Yugoslavia between 11 October 1991 and 4 January 1992. During that period he consulted intensively with all parties to the conflict. He also consulted steadily with all concerned leaders, as well as with private citizens, within Yugoslavia and outside of the country, particularly with the members of the European Community and its Conference on Yugoslavia chaired by Lord Carrington. The mission entailed frequent travel to all parts of Yugoslavia and, in fact, he spent much of the last quarter of 1991 in that country in the search for peace. The efforts of the United Nations were successful when the Security Council on 21 February

1992 voted unanimously in favor of resolution 743 that established a peacekeeping operation in Yugoslavia. Passage of this resolution can justly be considered historic for several reasons:

- for the first time in the 47-year history of the United Nations, a peacekeeping operation was authorized on the European continent;
- the size, scope, and complexity of the deployment are major in every respect: the peacekeeping operation will involve over 13,000 armed troops, plus hundreds of unarmed observers and U.N. police, and it will cost upwards of $400,000,000 per year;
- as envisaged in Article VIII of the U.N. Charter, the peacekeeping operation is intimately linked to the political settlement being sought by a regional organization, the European Community; and
- this peacekeeping operation offers concrete evidence that the international community is prepared to be of active assistance in seeking creative solutions to the difficult problem emerging in Eastern and Central Europe following the collapse of communist power.

Throughout his mission, Mr. Vance paid particular attention to listening to all parties to the conflict, civilian and military, official and unofficial. He did so in an impartial manner, treating all views with respect and remaining open to all suggestions that might lead to a peaceful resolution.

Following are the key factors which contributed to the success of the mission.

1. Engagement/Presence. Once embarked on his mission, Mr. Vance pursued it steadily and tenaciously. His personal engagement in the peacemaking process was constant, and this was embodied and reinforced by his physical presence in Yugoslavia and in other countries concerned with the problem.

2. Good Offices. Throughout his mission, Mr. Vance paid particular attention to listening to all parties to the conflict, civilian and military, official and unofficial. He did so in an impartial manner, treating all views with respect and remaining open to all suggestions that might lead to a peaceful resolution. Additionally, he facilitated meetings between the parties themselves and, particularly with regard to humanitarian assistance, used his position as personal envoy to alert the international community to the serious nature of the humanitarian problems engendered by the civil war.

3. Steering the Process. An essential aspect of the mission was its timely interventions and Mr. Vance's action at key moments to shape the negotiating process. In the second half of November, with fighting increasing and the cease-fires sponsored by the EC being persistently violated, Mr. Vance decided to convene the parties to seek a cessation of hostilities in a broader context. It had been made clear by this time that the JNA linked the unblocking of its installations and the evacuation of its personnel from Croatia with the JNA's ending hostilities. At that time, however, the negotiating process at the Conference on Yugoslavia was in abeyance, as the Conference had adjourned sine die on

5 November 1991. Action was needed. Mr. Vance decided to convene a meeting of the presidents of Serbia and Croatia, as well as the commander in chief of the JNA, with himself and Lord Carrington in Geneva on 23 November 1991. The three Yugoslav parties agreed to unblock JNA installations and evacuate JNA personnel from Croatia; to control their irregular forces who were responsible for much of the fighting and brutalities; to step up humanitarian assistance; and, most importantly, to institute a cease-fire. The outline of a possible U.N. peacekeeping operation was discussed.

Photo: Bill Schnoyk, Ardsley, New York

INN Council Member Cyrus R. Vance

During December the mission continued its efforts to devise a viable plan for a U.N. peacekeeping operation and to implement the 23 November Geneva Agreement. On 8 December, final agreement was achieved between Croatia and the army on JNA withdrawal from Croatia, to be effected by the end of the month. That same day, the concept and plan for a U.N. peacekeeping operation developed by the mission was presented to the concerned Yugoslav parties. An initial contingent of U.N. military and police officers, the Blue Berets, was sent into Yugoslavia on 18 December to establish a U.N. military presence and to prepare for a possible deployment. Meanwhile, the U.N. team continued to press the parties to fulfill the Geneva Agreement and worked with them on the peacekeeping plan.

By year's end, evacuation of JNA personnel from Croatia was essentially completed. Mr. Vance immediately convened JNA and Croatian military representatives in Sarajevo on 2 January 1992 to sign an "Implementing Accord" to the Geneva Agreement. The U.N. cease-fire began the next day, 3 January, and has held effectively since that time in spite of random and occasional violations. The Conference on Yugoslavia was also enabled to reconvene on 9 January. Mr. Vance remained in steady contact with all of the Yugoslav parties throughout January and February until the Security Council, on 21 February, adopted the resolution formally establishing the peacekeeping operation.

4. Legitimization. An essential aspect of the mission was the United Nations' role in legitimizing the actions taken by the parties. Since the hostilities were bitter and concerned a wide range of national, ethnic, religious, and ideological differences, it was essential that a trusted third party bring the warring sides together and then to allow them to make the compromises necessary to end the fighting and start a healing process. The United Nations provided the essential umbrella under which this process could go forward.

5. Coordination with the EC. Throughout his mission, Mr. Vance took particular care to coordinate his actions closely with those of Lord Carrington, chair of the EC Conference on Yugoslavia. He also consulted bilaterally with other members of the EC, as well as with the presidency, while retaining his own freedom of action. Thus the roles of the United Nations and the European Community throughout the entire process were complementary and not competitive. That is still the case—coordination between the regional organization and the world organization is extremely close.

It appears that once again the losers will not be the soldiers who have taken up arms, but the women and children who happen to live in a country immersed in a civil war, with nowhere to turn for relief.

LIBERIA

BY: DAYLE E. SPENCER

Dayle E. Spencer, fellow and director of the Conflict Resolution Program at The Carter Center of Emory University, has collaborated with former U.S. President Jimmy Carter to develop the International Negotiation Network (INN) to support the peaceful resolution of armed conflict. She has represented the INN at the head-of-state summits on Liberia convened by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and has traveled extensively throughout western Africa. In her work with the INN, Ms. Spencer has also helped to convene peace negotiations between the Government of Ethiopia and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front and between the Sudanese warring parties. Ms. Spencer is a lawyer who travels and lectures internationally.

At the third meeting of the ECOWAS Committee of Five held in Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire, 29-30 October 1991, agreement was reached on a timetable for disarming the Liberian warring parties and holding national elections. The agreement stipulated that under the supervision of ECOMOG (ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group), the ECOWAS peacekeeping forces, the disarmament process would begin on 15 November 1991, and would be completed by 14 January 1992. National elections would follow within six months. More than a year of exhaustive labor on the part of several governments and many individuals went into achieving the Yamoussoukro accords. A civil war that began on 24 December 1989, led by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) under Charles Taylor, resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands and the flight of half the population as refugees or displacees. The signing of the October Yamoussoukro agreement by Taylor and Amos Sawyer, head of the Interim Government of National Unity, was widely heralded as a major breakthrough that would pave the way for the restoration of peace and multi-party democracy. Yet the January deadline for encampment and disarmament has long passed and Liberia finds itself no closer to peace or democracy than it was in 1989.

There were several factors that contributed to the achievement of the Yamoussoukro accords and still others that account for its breakdown. On the positive side of the ledger we see the following:

1. Concerted action by regional powers. The outbreak of civil war in Liberia threatened to de-stabilize the region as refugees poured into neighboring countries, arms flowed across international borders, and guerrilla groups were trained in nearby countries. It was only when the regional actors began to cooperate that they were able to control the shipment of arms and exert concerted pressure on the recalcitrant

parties. This willingness to intervene in what was clearly the internal affair of a sovereign nation is an important departure from international norms. Although the early negotiating roles were dominated by English-speaking countries in the region, the later significant involvement of French-speaking countries brought a necessary balance to the process.

2. The early commitment of Nigeria to peacekeeping. The NPFL has often criticized the ECOMOG troops or the Nigerian-led ECOWAS peace process as being biased against it. However, at a time when the international community paid little attention to the slaughter taking place in Liberia, Nigeria was willing to make a military and diplomatic commitment. When ECOWAS began its mediation efforts and committed troop contingents, it was breaking new ground in African relations. ECOWAS made a commitment to create a buffer zone between the three principal warring parties: the Armed Forces of Liberia (remnants of the army led by former President Samuel Doe), Charles Taylor's NPFL, and the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia headed by Prince Johnson. Nigeria provided the largest troop contingent within ECOMOG and most of the initial financial support for the peacekeeping operations.

3. The roles of Presidents Félix Houphouët-Boigny and Abdou Diouf. The longest-serving head-of-state in Africa, Houphouët-Boigny was wisely selected to chair the ECOWAS Committee of Five and serve as the convenor of the principal parties. Houphouët-Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire has been such an influential force in African political circles that the invitation to conduct peace talks in Yamoussoukro, his hometown, was one that the parties could not refuse. Having assumed the role of ECOWAS chairman at its July 1991 summit, President Diouf of Senegal joined the Committee of Five in Yamoussoukro. His membership was critical. The addition of 1,500 Senegalese troops to the ECOMOG forces removed one of the last obstacles to encampment and disarmament raised by the NPFL, who had complained about the alleged bias of the Nigerian contingent.

Photo: CCEU

Dayle E. Spencer with NPFL soldiers in Liberia

In spite of these positive factors in the Liberian peace process, the target date for completion of the encampment and disarmament process passed without the surrender of arms. Subsequently armed fighting was resumed, at first sporadically, then intensively. While the initial fighting was between various armed Liberian groups, it later included the ECOMOG forces as well. Some of the factors contributing to the breakdown of the process include:

1. Delays in implementing agreements. The delay in beginning the encampment and disarmament process was occasioned in part by the desire of ECOMOG to have it be a harmonious process if possible. Weeks were spent on certain reconnaissance missions that allowed the peacekeeping forces to survey the military situation behind the NPFL lines. The delay was also attributable in part to the NPFL's consistent failure to comply with terms of agreements signed by its leader Charles Taylor. On

Photo: Billy Howard

INN Secretariat Member Dayle E. Spencer

occasion these delays were explained by the need to work out technical details. At other times Taylor claimed that he had been forced to sign agreements under duress exerted by West African leaders.

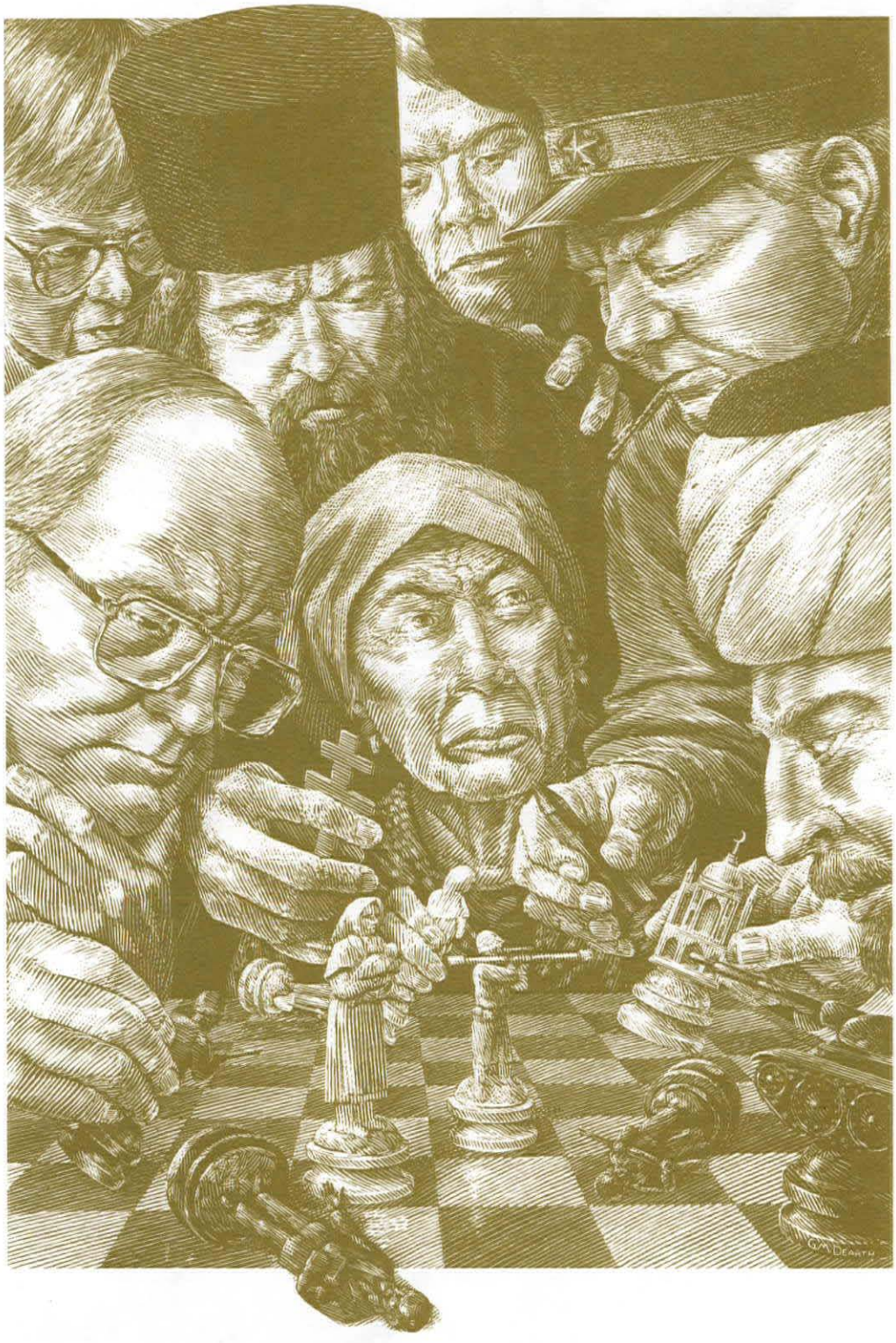
2. Changing circumstances on the ground. With the passage of time the circumstances that contributed to the signing of the Yamoussoukro agreements gradually deteriorated. Tensions mounted between NPFL and ECOMOG troops. Later, ULIMO, the United Liberation Movement of Liberia, consisting mainly of AFL remnants who fled to Sierra Leone, began their own offensive to reclaim parts of greater Liberia held by Taylor. When ECOMOG was unable to stop the advance of ULIMO forces, the NPFL claimed that ECOMOG was no longer a neutral peacekeeping force but had become allied with ULIMO.

3. Increased availability of arms. As conditions deteriorated, both ECOMOG and NPFL began bringing into the country more offensive weaponry. As verbal charges and counter charges began to be fired by ECOMOG, ULIMO, and the NPFL, against each other, so too did the weapons begin again to be fired. The tension and fighting has now reached such a level that it seems that only the presence of a number of United Nations' observers will enable the Liberian parties and the West African peace keepers to find a nonviolent way to end the conflict.

4. The failure of Taylor and Sawyer to talk directly. For two years Amos Sawyer and Charles Taylor have served as the defacto heads of two Liberian governments. In all that time, in spite of a lasting cease fire, the two leaders never met face-to-face on Liberian soil. Their meetings at African summits were convened in circumstances that had each claiming to be the true representative of the people rather than focusing directly on what would be required to restore democracy. Although they did agree to meet on Easter Sunday of 1992, ECOMOG canceled the scheduled meeting saying it could not secure the area. The leaders have known each other for decades, yet could not manage to speak directly to each other about the future of Liberia in Liberia. This failure sent a message to Liberians that in spite of a lot of talk of peace and elections, Liberia was in fact a long way from implementation.

The Liberian conflict, like the vast majority of existing armed conflicts, has now fallen into a mediation gap. The United Nations is very reluctant to become involved in the internal affairs of sovereign nations. ECOWAS leaders seem unlikely to ask the U.N. to do any more than enforce economic sanctions against Taylor and the NPFL. All the combatants seem willing to resort again to arms to resolve their differences, not having learned from the 1989 experience that this is the most costly and least effective method of conflict resolution. It appears that once again the losers will not be the soldiers who have taken up arms, but the women and children who happen to live in a country immersed in a civil war, with nowhere to turn for relief.

The challenge will be to build systems of conflict management to contain the conflicts, avoid their escalation into violence, and transform them into the healthy nonviolent conflicts of multi-ethnic plural societies.



RUSSIA AND THE REPUBLICS

BY: WILLIAM L. URY

William L. Ury co-founded and serves as associate director of Harvard Law School's Program on Negotiation. He is co-author (with Roger Fisher) of "Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In." His latest book is "Getting Past No: Negotiating With Difficult People." Dr. Ury served for five years as associate director of the Avoiding Nuclear War Project at the Kennedy School of Government. He co-edited (with Graham Allison and Bruce Allyn) "Windows of Opportunity: From Cold War to Peaceful Competition in U.S.-Soviet Relations." Dr. Ury was actively involved in the creation of nuclear risk reduction centers in Washington and Moscow. He served as a consultant to the Crisis Management Center at the White House.

Ethnic conflict is booming in the republics that formally made up the Soviet Union. By one account, there are 276 such conflicts. More than 20 have turned violent. More than 4,000 people have been killed and twice that number have been injured. Well over a million people have become refugees. As in almost all internal conflicts, the principal victims are children, women, and the elderly.

Alarmingly, the situation is growing worse by the day. The economy continues to plunge—one reputable team of economists predicts a 60 percent drop in production and 20 million unemployed by the end of the year. The political temptation to use minorities as scapegoats for economic ills is increasing. Moreover, nationalist feelings continue to intensify as each identity group believes it will be better off by itself. This would be one thing if the different groups were all nicely partitioned, but with 65 million people living outside their "original" homelands, the formula of a state for every nation would have disastrous economic and political consequences.

Where will all this lead? The worst-case scenario is war. As of this writing, the fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh threatens to escalate to a full-scale war between Armenia and Azerbaijan with the possibility of drawing in Turkey, Iran, and Russia. Such conflict, if it occurred, could very well provoke Christian-Muslim violence elsewhere and become the undoing of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Conflicts between Russia and Ukraine over such issues as the Crimea are likely to intensify. Now war between the two seems unthinkable, but is it? Even if we do not see

full-scale war, we are likely to see growing ethnic violence, terrorism, and hostage-taking—from Moldova to the Crimea to the Caucasus in Central Asia.

Within Russia itself, disintegrationist pressures are growing. It is not impossible that the Russian Federation will disintegrate just as the Soviet Union did. One of the main challenges now is from the Tatars—some five million strong with 900,000 reputedly living in Moscow. Secession movements are also likely to grow in resource-rich areas such as in Siberia.

Why all the conflict? The intensification of ethnic conflict in the republics is a natural consequence of the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The conflict is part of the overall shift from vertical social relations to horizontal social relations. Naturally ethnic groups that were suppressed or subordinated are seeking relations of equality with dominant groups. What is more, in times of chaos and insecurity, when the old structures are tumbling down, people are looking to their identity groups to satisfy their basic human needs for security, economic welfare, belonging, recognition, and control over their fate. As resources become scarce, the conflicts between groups are intensifying. And populist leaders are seeking to mobilize support by nationalist slogans and scapegoating other groups.

In the long run, ethnic conflicts are likely to subside as the republics become pluralistic, democratic, free-market societies. But the transition is likely to be long and difficult. The challenge will be to build systems of conflict management to contain the conflicts, avoid their escalation into violence, and transform them into the healthy nonviolent conflicts of multi-ethnic plural societies.

A conflict management system resembles a succession of safety nets. The first net is an effective early warning system that allows governmental officials and non-governmental organizations to detect emerging conflicts before they escalate into intractable violence. The second net is a series of negotiation fora for the constructive discussion of conflicts. Trained facilitators and mediators are needed to convene the parties, ease communication, and guide them through problem-solving processes. Such fora should build on indigenous institutions for conflict resolution such as the elders courts of the Caucasus.

A third safety net is a series of judicial-legal mechanisms for ensuring that the basic human rights of individuals and minorities are respected. Mechanisms might include ombudsmen appointed by government authorities to investigate and deal with accusations of ethnic discrimination as well as fact-finding commissions, arbitral commissions, and courts of human rights. A fourth safety net is police and military forces, trained in peacekeeping and negotiation, who can intervene to end ethnic

Photo: Kirby Aveight Photography

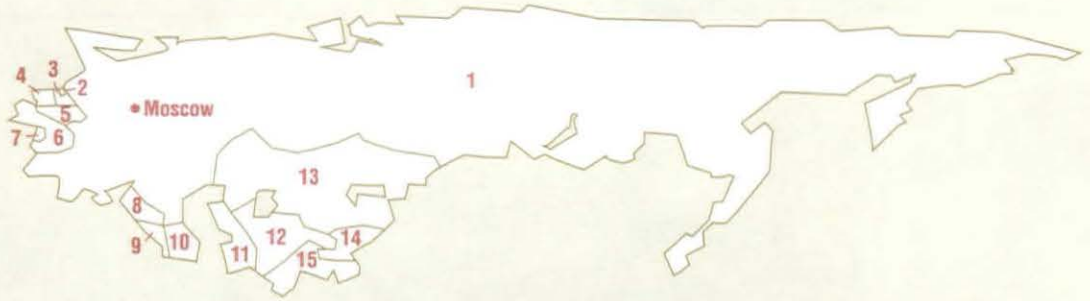
INN Secretariat Member William L. Ury

violence, monitor cease-fires, protect minority populations, ensure compliance with judicial decisions, and generally create an atmosphere favorable for negotiated resolutions.

International organizations—both governmental, such as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and non-governmental, such as the INN—have a critical role to play in building effective conflict management systems. They can provide needed skills training in problem-solving, negotiation, mediation, and peacekeeping. They can assist in establishing early warning mechanisms, mediation services, and judicial institutions. They can provide incentives for conflict resolution by channeling their economic aid appropriately. And they can serve in various third-party roles as mediators, fact-finders, and peacekeepers.

As the old Ethiopian proverb suggests, "A series of spider webs can halt even a lion." The lion threatening Russia and the Republics today is ethnic violence. The challenge is to spin strong webs.

Former Republics of The Soviet Union



1. Russia
Population: 147 million
83%—Russians
4%—Tajiks
3%—Ukrainians

2. Estonia
Population: 1.6 million
61%—Estonians
30%—Russians
3%—Ukrainians
2%—Belarusians

3. Latvia
Population: 2.7 million
52%—Latvians
34%—Russians
5%—Belarusians
2%—Poles
3%—Ukrainians

4. Lithuania
Population: 3.7 million
80%—Lithuanians
9%—Russians
8%—Poles
2%—Belarusians

5. Belarus
Population: 10.2 million
80%—Belarusians
13%—Russians
4%—Poles
3%—Ukrainians

6. Ukraine
Population: 51.7 million
70%—Ukrainians
20%—Russians
1%—Moldovans
1%—Belarusians
1%—Poles

7. Moldova
Population: 4.3 million
64%—Moldovans
14%—Ukrainians
13%—Russians
4%—Georgians
2%—Jews
2%—Bulgarians

8. Georgia
Population: 5.4 million
69%—Georgians
9%—Armenians
7%—Russians
5%—Azeris

9. Armenia
Population: 3.3 million
93%—Armenians
2%—Kurds
1.5%—Russians

10. Azerbaijan
Population: 7 million
78%—Azeris
8%—Russians
8%—Armenians

11. Turkmenistan
Population: 3.5 million
68%—Turkmen
13%—Russians
9%—Uzbeks
3%—Kazakhs

12. Uzbekistan
Population: 19.9 million
69%—Uzbeks
11%—Russians
4%—Tatars
4%—Kazakhs
4%—Tajiks

13. Kazakhstan
Population: 16.6 million
42%—Kazakhs
38%—Russians
5%—Ukrainians
2%—Tatars

14. Kyrgyzstan
Population: 4.3 million
52%—Kyrgyz
38%—Russians
5%-Ukrainians
2%—Tatars

15. Tajikistan
Population: 5.1 million
59%—Tajiks
23%—Uzbeks
10%—Russians
2%—Tatars

Source: Europa World Yearbook 1991, 32nd Ed. (London: Europa Publications, Ltd., 1991).

The vast majority of deaths in armed conflict are suffered by the civilian population—primarily by women and children.

THE IMPACT OF WAR ON CHILDREN

BY: LISBET PALME

Lisbet Palme, widow of Swedish prime minister Olof Palme, has been the chair of the Swedish National Committee for UNICEF since January 1987. In 1989, she became first vice-chair of the UNICEF Executive Board and was elected chair of the Executive Board for 1990/1991. Mrs. Palme chairs the Group of Eminent Women for Namibian and South African Refugee Women and Children. She is a member of the Swedish National Committee for the International Literacy Year and was a member of the Swedish delegation to the World Conference for Education for All. Since 1986, Lisbet Palme has participated as a guest speaker in a number of international conferences concerned with issues of children, development, peace, and anti-apartheid.

In every conflict situation, the disputing parties should be aware of how children—and the entire population—will be affected if a conflict develops into an armed one. Mediators and others intervening in the conflict should also be equipped with information about the wide-ranging effects of war in order to demonstrate to the disputing parties the devastating ramifications and futility of war.

Parties engaged in conflict have to be made aware of how and when an armed conflict becomes a war against children—against both their own children and the children of their adversaries. The vast majority of deaths in armed conflict are suffered by the civilian population—primarily by women and children. Civilians, particularly children, suffer in other ways as well. Children are extremely vulnerable to emotional trauma brought on by loss of family, exposure to violence, relocation, and disruption of daily routine. Education may be interrupted with the destruction of schools and the loss of teachers. As water supplies and sanitation become affected by the suspension of basic services and as people fleeing the fighting gather in refugee camps, the incidence of disease and epidemics increases. Medical centers are often destroyed and health care becomes less available. Again, children are most at risk for health problems during war. For child survivors of war, living through the violence of war is only their first act of survival—they must survive the effects of war for a lifetime.

The immediate impact of war on children is devastating, but it is also devastating to a war-torn country in the long run. The suffering of children in war—through death, injury, trauma, disruption of education, and drop in basic health—bleeds the country's future. This human suffering has an impact on a war-stricken society for many generations to come.

Genocide against different ethnic groups is a historical disgrace. The bestial outrages against children are carried out by human beings who have lost contact with the conditions for living with dignity. Conditions must be created to strengthen democracy and the respect for human rights to alleviate the suffering caused by war on all segments of society:

Photo: UNICEF

INN Council Member Lisbet Palme

- Children should be informed in school about the significance of international law and about the necessary conditions for the democratic development of society. Thus, a common conception can be established around the world concerning cooperation between countries.

- Human rights should be considered by all as fundamental. Universal respect should be paid the Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by the international community on 2 September 1990. The Convention is now ratified by more than 100 countries. With this instrument the human development of societies can be measured.

- Peaceful cooperation between individuals and between societies is connected to equality and respect for each other's language, culture, and religion. Meetings and exchanges of knowledge prevent prejudices and cultural isolation and thereby promote solidarity among people within a country as well as beyond the limitation of language and nation.

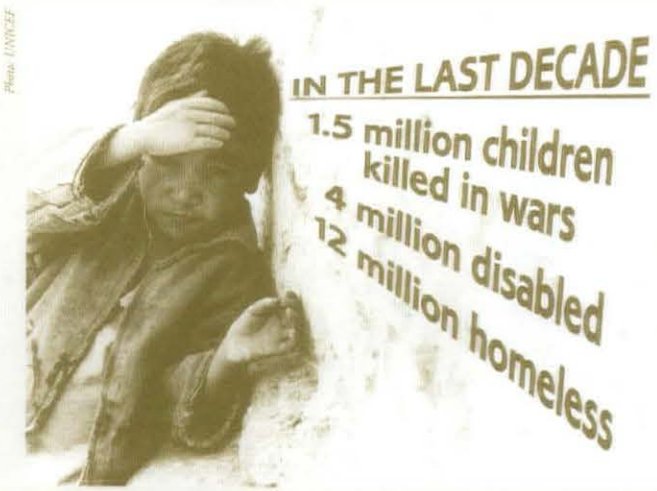
- Cooperation among organizations dealing with the peaceful development of society is also important. Such cooperation strengthens solidarity and offers alternative resources to the collaborative organizations.

- The mass media need to be used constructively—to educate about the horror of war instead of sensationalizing and capitalizing on conflict.

- Both industrial and developing countries have to abandon the paradigm of war in order to direct resources from armament to human development. It is vital that the ethics of democracy and human rights include both industrial and developing countries.

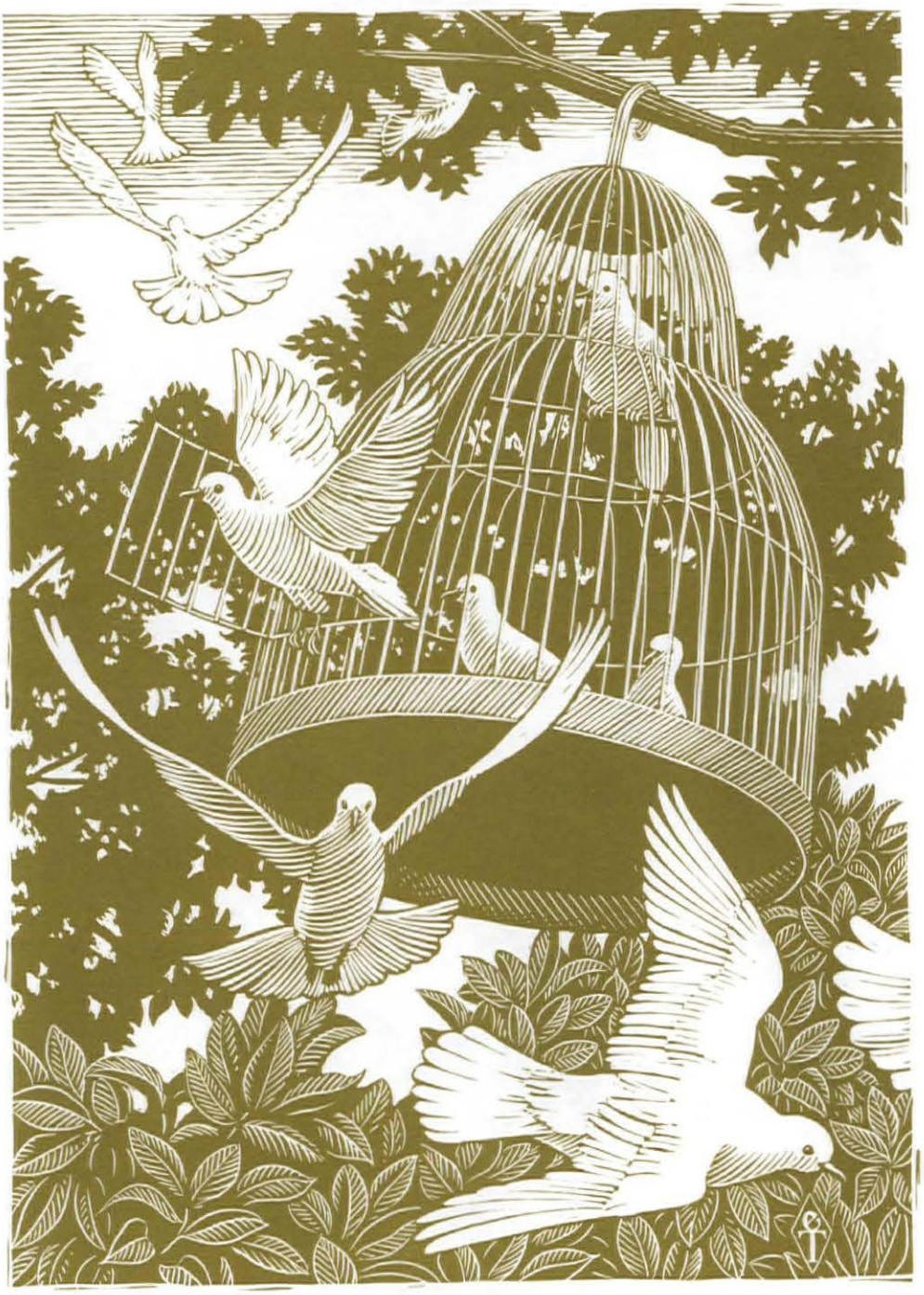
The work of The Carter Center of Emory University (CCEU) and the International Negotiation Network (INN) is to a great extent concentrated on strengthening these fundamental conditions of free and fair elections, freedom of press and speech, respect for human rights, and the right to hold political meetings, to criticize, and to form opinions. It is important to support popular movements as they are an irreplaceable basis for the prototype of democracy. In a democratic system, popular movements enable the individual to take part actively in the work of society and have an influence on its development in accordance with the individual's own necessities and valuations.

It is only with the concerted efforts of organizations like CCEU and the INN, along with other members of the international community, that war will no longer be an option for parties in conflict and that democracy, respect for human rights, and peace will be the universal norm. Through such global cooperation and commitment we can ensure a safe and secure environment for all our children—wherever they live.



Note: Reprinted, with permission, from United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). *The State of the World's Children 1992* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

The diffusion of innovations is the process by which a new idea spreads via certain communication channels over time among the members of a social system.



DIFFUSION OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION SKILLS

BY: WILLIAM J. SPENCER

William J. Spencer is the managing director of Pangaea, an evolving transnational network of leaders and organizations concerned with conflict resolution, economic cooperation, and other aspects of social change. Mr. Spencer provides consulting advice to businesses and international organizations in strategic planning, strategy development, problem solving, and conflict resolution. For ten years, Mr. Spencer was managing partner of Interaction Associates, Inc., a management consulting and training firm. He previously served as staff director of the federal commission that developed legislation resulting in the creation of the United States Institute of Peace.

Many societies have demonstrated the capacity to resolve conflicts peacefully. Most cross-border conflicts are in fact resolved peacefully. Thousands of issues, conflicts, and problems are resolved daily between nation-states and within countries. Yet, in the most destructive of conflicts the use of force, aggression, or violence remains a preferred strategy of disputants. This essay will comment on the status of the diffusion of innovations in the field of conflict resolution with respect to alternatives to the use of force in resolving conflicts.

The diffusion of innovations is the process by which a new idea spreads via certain communication channels over time among the members of a social system. An innovation is defined as an idea perceived as new by an individual or a system. Diffusion is of interest to scholars and many social scientists because it explains how social change occurs at the micro level. The diffusion of innovation can range from the spread of steel axes within one community, to facsimile machines within another, to AIDS education worldwide. Since the early 1970s more than 4,000 publications about the diffusion of innovations have appeared.[1] Although few of these studies have focused on the rapidly changing nature of the dispute resolution field, many of their findings seem relevant to our greater understanding of how alternative dispute-solving techniques can be more accepted and applied in this post-cold war period.

Conflict is a global phenomenon. It is natural and inevitable and at times necessary to overcome the injustices of the past. Many of the grievances and conflicts around the world are justified struggles for greater self-determination, access to economic resources, sharing of political power, racial equality, or simply attempts to resolve historical ethnic differences or psychological needs. What is not justified is the inappropriate escalation of conflicts to levels of violence that end in the killing of civilian populations and soldiers and the mass destruction of the social infrastructure, without ever resolving the root causes of the conflict.

If alternatives to the use of force exist, why have societies not embraced them? Why have the innovations of alternative conflict resolution approaches, dispute resolution systems, or other nonviolent techniques not been more enthusiastically received? What are the barriers to adoption? What are the strategies to gain more widespread acceptance? Finally, what lessons can we draw from the field of diffusion research to better understand what actions might be necessary to transform the nature of conflict from violence to joint problem-solving approaches? What is the role of the International Negotiation Network (INN) in helping to facilitate these strategies? Before identifying some of these new approaches, let us review some past trends in the field of conflict resolution.

The INN seeks to make a difference by creating a critical mass of individuals and institutions that have adopted these alternative approaches, through growing networks, media visibility, international meetings, and the continued success in assisting disputants.

There are different types of conflicts and different adopter categories. In other words, there are a variety of roles and acceptance rates of new approaches to conflict resolution. Some assessment of these is in order to understand trends that may be emerging in the field of conflict resolution. For example, we know that the field of peace research was considered a second cousin to the mainstream sciences of sociology, psychology, and political science for 30 years. In a similar fashion, Mahendra Kumar of New Delhi proposed that the field of international relations can be characterized as moving through distinct phases over the past 100 years.[2]

Professor Kumar distinguished three trends in the study of international relations on the basis of motivation. The general systems approach is inspired by the desire to seek a theoretical order of international relations, the conflict studies approach is guided by the need for a general theory of conflict, and the national security approach is motivated by strategic considerations of security. Indirectly all of these approaches may be viewed as approaches to peace. However, concern for peace is not direct, except in the case of the conflict studies approach. The difference in these approaches to the study of international relations is mainly due to

Photo: Rossiter Photography

INN Secretariat Member William J. Spencer

the partial character of the understanding of the problem of peace. Peace research has come to take a deterministic view of the nature of international society since international society is seen as gradually progressing toward the attainment of peace.

In the practitioner community, it is interesting to note that the Foreign Service Institute of the U.S. Department of State only began formally teaching negotiation skills in the mid-1970s. Such skills were developed some decades earlier in other areas such as labor management, civil rights, and the consumer movement, but they were not adopted as standard curriculum by the U.S. government for many years. What were the reasons for these changes? What social and political forces were at play to account for these changes?

Within the United States, in businesses, the U.S. court system, public policy development, consumer affairs, and environmental relations, alternative dispute resolution (ADR) is coming into its own. It has taken some 30 years, but arbitration, for example, is now used to resolve approximately 60 percent of all business-related conflicts. Court-referred ADR programs have grown to carry approximately 30 percent of the work load of all civil cases in the United States.

The language, literature, and training courses in the conflict resolution field have moved steadily from adversarial "win/lose" negotiation techniques to "win/win" approaches, and from mediation and arbitration to collaborative "dispute-solving," a term coined by INN Core Group member Brian Urquhart. These changes occurred over a period of roughly 20 years.

Recently, international institutions have become more aggressive in their degree of "venturesomeness" by inserting themselves in the affairs of sovereign states and regional conflicts. This activity was considered totally inappropriate just a few years ago.

These examples of "delays" in the social acceptance of innovations in the field of conflict resolution are consistent with the types of time lags commonly found to exist from the introduction of a new idea to its widespread adoption. For instance, despite generally favorable attitudes toward change in nations like the United States and when the economic benefits are obvious, changes take time. More than 14 years were required for hybrid seed corn to reach complete adoption in Iowa in the first half of this century. U.S. public schools required 50 years to adopt the idea of the kindergarten in the 1930s and 1940s and more recently about five to six years to adopt modern math in the 1960s.[3] The lap top computer was conceived more than 20 years ago but only recently achieved marketplace presence in the 1990s.

One of the goals of diffusion research is to shorten these time lags by understanding how social systems change through the diffusion of new ideas. Such a goal is more important in less developed nations because the time lag in such nations may be even longer.

Kenneth Boulding wrote in the late 1970s, "There is a long, painful, slow but persistent historical movement from the stable war into unstable war into unstable peace into stable peace. The main objective of peace policy is to speed up the transition by deliberate decision."[4] Professor Boulding went on to say, "The problem of peace policy is seen not as how to achieve immediate and certain success but as how to introduce a bias into the system that moves it toward stable peace at a more rapid rate."[5] Achieving such a goal has been the mission of the INN.

A common barrier to the acceptance of new ideas is the perceived threat that change presents to entrenched interests who favor doing things the old way for strategic reasons of retaining social power or promoting economic self-interest. Other barriers take the form of general social resistance to different ways of thinking. Most individuals are skeptical of new social mechanisms until time has shown them to be of value or they are accepted by others who are seen as early adopters and influential in the adoption of new ideas.

For the past 40 years ideological barriers have played an important role in limiting the development of alternative dispute-solving mechanisms. In many parts of the world conflict has been too intense to rethink how it is managed. During this period, the major powers provided a significant barrier by creating and perpetuating theaters of conflict in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. For example, since 1960, Africa has experienced no less than 18 wars, 12 of which are still raging to this day. The loss of life from these wars is estimated to be more than six million people, not to mention substantial material damage. There are more than five million African refugees today. The existence of such massive turmoil does not provide a rich bed for adopting innovations in social management. People caught in a world of subsistence and survival have little time to devise new mechanisms to better manage regional conflict.

Now there is a new willingness to look at the errors of the past, and there is a new disposition to compromise. Likewise there is an expanding globalization of the democratic process. As such, the ideological basis of international relations is also changing. If the primary goal of the INN is in closing the "mediation gap," then we must find ways, as Professor Boulding suggests, to do so at a more rapid rate using whatever tools social science can provide. Diffusion research offers several insights.

Everett M. Rogers, a leader in diffusion in innovation theory, has proposed many generalizations regarding both the nature and consequences of innovations. For example, power elites in a social system screen out potentially restructuring innovations while allowing the introduction of innovations that mainly affect the functioning of the system. Conversely, the counter-elites may desire the restructuring innovations so much that they overthrow the elites. In political terms one can point to many examples of cases to illustrate this throughout Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Africa.

Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) is an innovation something like a preventive health idea, in that an individual or some other system must adopt it now, when it requires some commitment and effort, in order to lower the probability of some unwanted future event. Thus the costs are immediate and the rewards distant and uncertain. We know that in times of crisis, individuals tend to favor, and fall back upon, familiar ways of managing conflict. Disputants may perceive that they give up power by utilizing new concepts such as regional conflict resolution commissions or international third party assistance such as the INN. Alternative conflict resolution "systems" and skills are gaining acceptance in a variety of locations and as new innovations. In Eastern Europe, Russia, and the Republics, local organizations and commissions are being formed or considered to provide for the peaceful expression and early intervention of ethnic, religious, and national minority concerns and conflicts. The conflict monitoring and dissemination of information about conflicts by organizations such as International Alert in London is helping to stimulate and focus public awareness on the existence and the risk of conflicts in Asia, South America, and in other regions.

Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) is an innovation something like a preventive health idea in that an individual or some other system must adopt it now, when it requires some commitment and effort, in order to lower the probability of some unwanted future event.

Unofficial third party assistance to disputants is now growing internationally in the same way that ADR has grown in the United States over the past ten years. Networks are growing among academics, practitioners, and other non-governmental actors that serve to spotlight conflicts and organize resources for greater analysis of issues, options, and trust-building among parties. Current and potential third parties are learning as they make mistakes and more funding is flowing to these initiatives than has occurred in the field since the 1970s in the United States when arms control studies was considered a hopeful field. Fortunately, many of the initiatives today hold the promise of being more enduring and more effective, focusing on root causes and systematic solutions.

The INN seeks to make a difference by creating a critical mass of individuals and institutions that have adopted these alternative approaches, through growing networks, media visibility, international meetings, and the continued success in assisting disputants. Empirically, we know from diffusion research that the critical mass needed to cause changes within societies is relatively small—less than 15-20 percent of those individuals within a social system. Social systems are influenced to adopt or reject innovations based upon the increasing rate of knowledge and adoption among people. We know that only when a sufficient critical mass is sustained will innovations begin to become infrastructure. Adoption of a new idea is the result of human interaction.

To further these efforts, world leaders need to continue to model behavior that will encourage others to be venturesome in trying new approaches. Practitioners need to be encouraged to move out of their own networks to influence new cultures and social systems by discussing the merits and shortcomings of alternative approaches. The INN is assisting in the facilitation of this process.

In spite of the fact that the communication of most innovations involves a considerable time lag, there is a certain inevitability in their diffusion. Most attempts to prevent innovation diffusion over an extended time period have failed. For example, the Chinese were unsuccessful in their attempt to maintain sole knowledge of gunpowder. Today, a growing number of nations share the secret of the nuclear bomb first developed by the United States.

One key is to target the most strategic steps to transform not just conflicts, but the social systems we have put in place to resolve them. Through our efforts to understand the barriers to adoption of new methods of managing internal and cross-border conflicts and creative regional strategies to overcome these barriers, we may succeed in hastening the widespread use of what we already know about emerging alternatives to the use of force in resolving conflicts.

By focusing the attention of these emerging networks on the root sustaining causes of conflict within regional and international systems such as arms transfers, the psychological dimensions of conflict, and a lack of venturesomeness by political leaders, we can begin to better understand the cause and effect relationship of both the nature of conflict and our roles as participants in helping to transform it.

[1]Review of *Communication of Innovations: A Cross Cultural Approach*, by Everett M. Rogers, *Current Contents*, Number 28 (15 July 1991): 16.
[2]Mahendra Kumar, *Current Peace Research and India* (Varansi, India: Ghandian Institute of Studies, 1968), 9.
[3]Review of *Communication of Innovations: A Cross-Cultural Approach.*
[4]Kenneth E. Boulding, *Stable Peace* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), xi.
[5]Ibid.

1992 INN *consultation*

A.J. Muste, quoted in an editorial in The New York Times, November 16, 1967.

1992 INN Consultation, Resolving Intra-National Conflicts: A Strengthened Role for Non-Governmental Actors

The INN convenes an annual consultation to explore important issues relevant to existing conflicts. The following are highlights from the 1992 INN consultation, held at The Carter Center of Emory University, entitled: "Resolving Intra-National Conflicts: A Strengthened Role for Non-Governmental Actors." The 1992 consultation brought together more than 200 invited guests from 40 countries and 150 organizations or governments.

The consultation, premised on the notion that, given the nature of ongoing armed conflicts, there is a constructive and increasingly important role for the non-governmental community to play. By examination of eight specific conflicts and by bringing together resource persons and parties involved in the conflict areas under scrutiny, we sought to create a synergy that would elicit strategies that might be successfully developed to facilitate the resolution of these conflicts.

Some of the conflict areas were chosen because they were seemingly intractable (e.g., Burma, Cyprus), and others because they had seen recent breakthroughs and might need additional support in the peace process (e.g., Angola, Liberia). In most cases (Cambodia and the Korean Peninsula being exceptions), it appeared that perhaps because the conflict was seen as an internal matter, principles of national sovereignty precluded significant constructive involvement by international organizations or governments. In far too many cases, outside involvement, often destructive in the sense of supplying arms or increasing tension, had contributed to the escalation of the problems (e.g., Afghanistan). In short, the countries chosen represented a sample of conflicts in different phases of evolution/resolution that posed diverse challenges.

What follows are summaries of the sessions on the conflicts together with a brief background explanation of the conflicts. By creating greater public understanding of and commitment to resolve conflicts like these, we, as a world community, will be better prepared to manage all conflicts—whether they be personal, communal, intra-national, or international—with alternatives to the use of force. Please note that the background material provided on each conflict describes the conflict situation as of January 1992. A complete report on the consultation is available through the Public Information Office, The Carter Center of Emory University, One Copenhill, Atlanta, Georgia 30307, USA.

AFGHANISTAN

BACKGROUND OF THE CONFLICT[1]

A coup in 1978 brought the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), a pro-Soviet, Marxist-Leninist party, to power. The PDPA found itself engaged the next year in a civil war, with resistance largely formed along religious lines. As factions developed within the PDPA, the former Soviet Union intervened and overthrew the leader of the Khalq faction and installed the leader of the opposing faction, Babrak Karmal, as president of Afghanistan. Soviet troops were sent to Afghanistan to aid the government in the civil war. Both the Soviet Union and the United States poured vast amounts of military firepower into the country, resulting in the deaths of well over a million people and the exile of about one-third of the population. Heavy casualties were inflicted on the Soviet troops, with some 15,000 killed.[2] Mikhail Gorbachev attempted to find a way out of the conflict with the replacement of Karmal by Najibullah, the former director of the KGB-style secret police. Under President Najibullah, a set of national reconciliation policies was adopted that superficially appeared to offer political pluralism, a more democratic government, freedom of expression, and a more independent judiciary. However, the consolidation of military and police power in the hands of the president

In 1991 the United Nations achieved a loose consensus on a framework for a political settlement, providing for a transitional government, a cease-fire, and free and fair elections.

outweighed the concessions to democracy made by the new constitution. Najibullah's government ruled only about one-third of the people, with no control over the Pakistani border, part of the Tajikistan border, many district centers, and some provisional towns.

In 1988 the United Nations-brokered peace accords that called for the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops and the end of all external support to the mujaheddin resistance movement. However, this agreement did not link the withdrawal of external support to a domestic political solution. Consequently, the withdrawal was followed by continued fighting between the mujaheddin and the government troops resulting in a military stalemate.

In 1991 the United Nations achieved a loose consensus on a framework for a political settlement, providing for a transitional government, a cease-fire, and free and fair elections.

AFGHANISTAN CONSULTATION REPORT

INN Council Member: Shridath Ramphal; INN Secretariat Member: William L. Ury; Paper Author: Barnett R. Rubin; Rapporteur: Robert Canfield.

Approximately 25 participants attended this session. Among them were the U.N. special representative for Afghanistan, representatives of mujaheddin, international scholars, and representatives of non-governmental organizations with activities in the country. There were also representatives from the U.S. Department of State and the government of Turkey and some Afghan nationals. The permanent representative of Afghanistan to the United Nations could not attend because of U.S. travel restrictions.

B A R R I E R S

What began as a confrontation between the superpowers has distilled into a protracted civil conflict. To use the consultation time most efficiently, the session participants did not discuss the causes of conflict but rather began with identifying the following five major barriers to resolving the conflict:

[1]This summary is drawn from Barnett R. Rubin, "Afghanistan: An Action Memorandum," prepared for a consultation of the International Negotiation Network: "Resolving Intra-National Conflicts: A Strengthened Role for Non-Governmental Actors," The Carter Center of Emory University (15-17 January 1992).

[2]K. Lindgren, G.K. Wilson, P. Wallensteen, and K-A Nordquist, "Major Armed Conflicts in 1989," *SIPRI Yearbook 1990: World Armaments and Disarmament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 400.

Barriers (continued)

- a lack of legitimate leadership;
- a lack of accountability for the money and weapons being funneled into the country;
- serious internal divisiveness on both sides and frequent involvement by foreign interests;
- outside powers supplying deadly modern weapons so that many elements of the society are heavily armed; and,
- a sense of distrust among the Afghan peoples about the emerging sociopolitical situation.

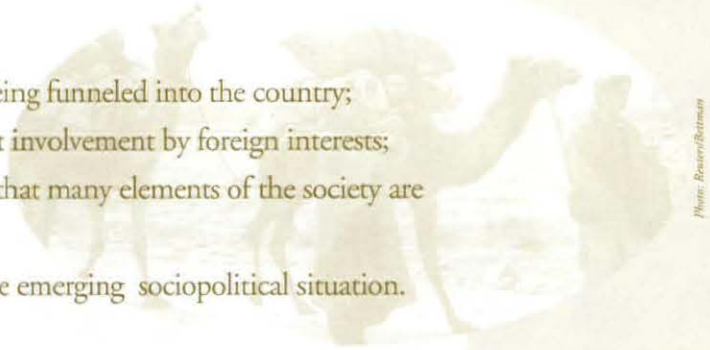


Photo: Reuters/Bettman

Afghan refugees returning from Pakistan with food which is scarce in their war-devastated country.

Other barriers include land mines, the narcotics trade, and the damage done to the social structure. Some one million people have been killed, most educated people have fled the country, social life has been severely disrupted, and crucial differences exist in the conceptions of the nature of government and the grounds for legitimate power. There are inadequate funds for the establishment of a viable government and reconstruction.

S T R A T E G I E S

Participants urged that attempts to resolve the conflict be undertaken as aggressively as possible. A legitimate government must be established. This will entail the following strategies:

- arranging for all the elements in the conflict to be involved in the resolution of the conflict and in the institution of the new government;
- forming an interim institution for organizing and overseeing the establishment of the new government; and,
- demobilizing all combatants.

Participants stressed that international support for this process and for the new government must be united, wholehearted, and unwavering. Essentially this strategy constitutes an endorsement of the U.N. peace process.

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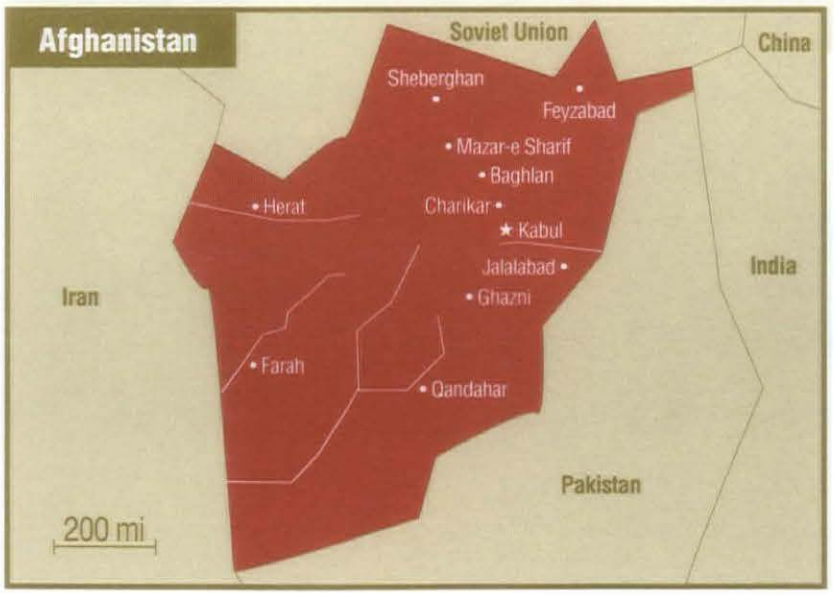
ACTION STEPS

Recommended action steps included those outlined in the United Nations Report of the Secretary-General, 46th Session, Agenda Item 29:

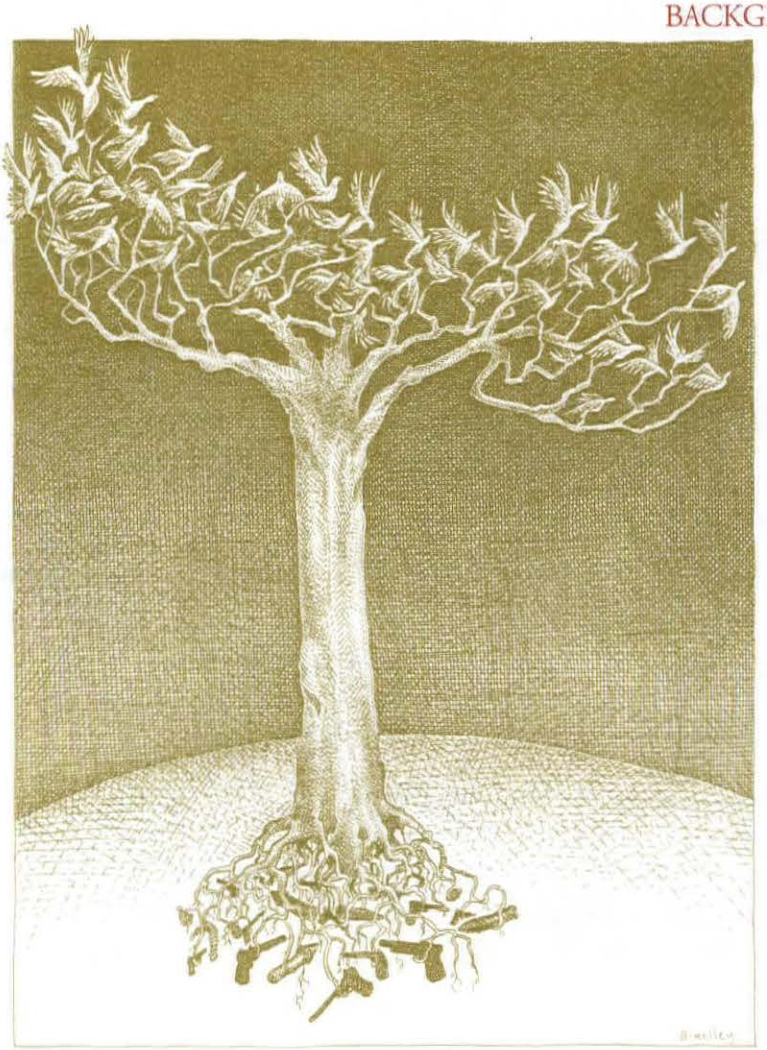
- cease all hostilities;
- cease all arms and ammunitions shipments;
- form a credible and impartial transitional government/authority;
- protect human rights and guarantee the rule of law;
- demilitarize the region; and,
- repatriate refugees and return displacees.

These activities can only be accomplished if member nations of the United Nations provide the resources.



ANGOLA

BACKGROUND OF THE CONFLICT



The 15 May 1991 cease-fire and subsequent peace accord on 31 May between the Luanda government of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) marked the end of a power struggle that had its birth in the country's struggle for independence three decades earlier.

Angola was a Portuguese colony for nearly 500 years before becoming an overseas province in 1951. Nationalist groups began to form in Angola in the 1950s and 1960s. When, in January 1974, Portugal agreed to grant independence to Angola on 11 November 1975, Portugal and the three liberation movements—the MPLA, UNITA and the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola)—reached an agreement known as the Alvor Accord. The Alvor Accord called for the formation of a unified national government to establish a peaceful and democratic transition from colonialism to independence. A transitional government was established in January 1975, but the agreement broke down almost immediately, and by summer the country was divided among the three liberation movements. When Angola became independent, the MPLA declared the People's Republic of Angola. The FNLA and UNITA countered by declaring the region that they controlled the People's Democratic Republic of Angola. The FNLA soon disintegrated while UNITA continued its armed struggle against the MPLA until 1991. The Angolan conflict resulted in the deaths of more than 25,000 people.[1]

The May 1991 peace agreement was hammered out in a year-long negotiation process involving seven rounds of talks among the MPLA and UNITA and Portuguese mediators with the United States and the Soviet Union serving as observers.

The May 1991 peace agreement was hammered out in a year-long negotiation process involving seven rounds of talks among the MPLA and UNITA and Portuguese mediators with the United States and the Soviet Union serving as observers. The agreement calls for disarmament of the warring parties, the creation of a single national army, the legalization of political parties, and the holding of internationally observed multi-party elections in September 1992. A U.N. observer force is monitoring the disarmament and a Joint Political and Military Commission (composed of members of the MPLA and UNITA and observers from Portugal, the United States, and the former Soviet Union) is monitoring the political and military aspects of the peace agreement and the transition to a multi-party system.

ANGOLA CONSULTATION REPORT

INN Council Member: Desmond Tutu; INN Secretariat Member: William J. Spencer;
Paper Author: I. William Zartman; Rapporteur: Shawn McCormick.

The 30 participants in the session on Angola included representatives of the Angolan government and of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), scholars, individuals from the business and financial community, senior representatives from the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and the U.S. State Department, and numerous representatives from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) involved in humanitarian and refugee issues in Angola.

B A R R I E R S

As noted below, the Angolan session participants identified three categories of barriers that needed international attention:

- electoral issues–voter registration, electoral laws/media regulation, party-building/voter education campaigning, international monitoring, role of the United Nations;
- demobilization problems–containment of forces, mine removal, costs; and,
- training–demobilized soldiers, displaced persons, role of the United Nations, costs

[1]K. Lindgren, G.K. Wilson, P. Wallensteen, and K-A Nordquist, "Major Armed Conflicts in 1989," *SIPRI Yearbook 1990, World Armaments and Disarmament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 407.

STRATEGIES

Participants stressed the need to identify an international entity to:

- convene a meeting of relief agencies to coordinate efforts;
- involve prominent groups in monitoring the 1992 elections;
- convene a donor conference; and,
- provide programs for demobilized forces.

The agreement calls for disarmament of the warring parties, the creation of a single national army, the legalization of political parties, and the holding of internationally observed multi-party elections in September 1992.

ACTION STEPS

- Urge Angolan leaders to formally request appointment of a U.N. special representative for Angola.
- Urge the OAU secretary-general to support Angola's request for the appointment of a U.N. special representative.
- Promote INN participation in election monitoring efforts.
- Urge Angolan-based NGOs to work with the troop retraining subcommittee of the Joint Military Commission (CCPM).
- Promote regional conference on demobilization in Southern Africa.
- Urge the United States, Portugal, Russia, the European Community, and Angola to contribute to the demobilization and mine removal efforts.

Photo: International Committee of the Red Cross

Angolan refugees

BURMA

BACKGROUND OF THE CONFLICT[1]

More than 20 anti-government forces have fought against the central government of Burma in a conflict that has continued since independence was gained from the British in 1947. Although the British had administered the hill country of Burma separately from the heartland, as a condition of granting independence they urged the formation of a united state. Negotiations between the Burmans, the predominant ethnic group, and the Shans, Chins, and Kachins at Panglong resulted in an agreement to form a united federal union. Ethnic minorities were promised autonomy in the form of local control of language and culture, as well as administrative authority in their historic lands. The Karens did not enter into the Panglong agreement because they wanted independence.

The federation agreement was troubled from its inception, with some minority parties having greater rights to secession than others. However, the real power was vested in the national government. When the Burmans began imposing their language, culture, and financial controls nationwide a resistance movement began to form. Following a military coup in 1962, the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) came to power. In later years the BSPP instituted changes in national law abrogating the minorities' special claims to their historic lands and their distinct cultural identities. A new constitution enacted in 1974 institutionalized this change.

National elections were held in 1990, but the military government, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), refused to accept its defeat at the polls.

In 1976, eight minority groups formed the National Democratic Front (NDF) to coordinate their separate wars against the government. In 1988, following a brutal crackdown by the government in response to a peaceful demonstration by the minorities in the heartland, the NDF sponsored a broader coalition of minorities called the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB). The DAB was established to overthrow the Rangoon military regime, establish democracy, end the war, restore internal peace, and bring national reconciliation and a genuine federal union. National elections were held in 1990, but the military government, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), refused to accept its defeat at the polls. Winners of the national election established a National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB) at Manerplaw in 1991. NCGUB claims to be the legitimate government of Burma based on its victory in the 1990 elections and its broad-based support from the DAB. The 1991 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, a leader of the opposition, who has been under house arrest in Burma for more than two years.

BURMA CONSULTATION REPORT

INN Council Member: Marie-Angélique Savané; INN Core Group Member: Kumar Rupesinghe; Paper Author: Josef Silverstein; Rapporteur: Robert H. Taylor.

The Burma working session consisted of a broad spectrum of concerned parties, including representatives of organized political opposition groups, minority groups, humanitarian relief and refugee non-governmental organizations (NGOs), distinguished academics from the United States and Europe, and others involved in seeking a peaceful transition to democracy in Burma. The government of Burma, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), was not represented in the discussions.

Photo: U.S. Committee for Refugees/Synapse

Burmese refugee in Thailand

[1]This summary is drawn from Josef Silverstein, "Burma: An Action Memorandum," prepared for a consultation of the International Negotiation Network: "Resolving Intra-National Conflicts: A Strengthened Role for Non-Governmental Actors," The Carter Center of Emory University (15-17 January 1992).

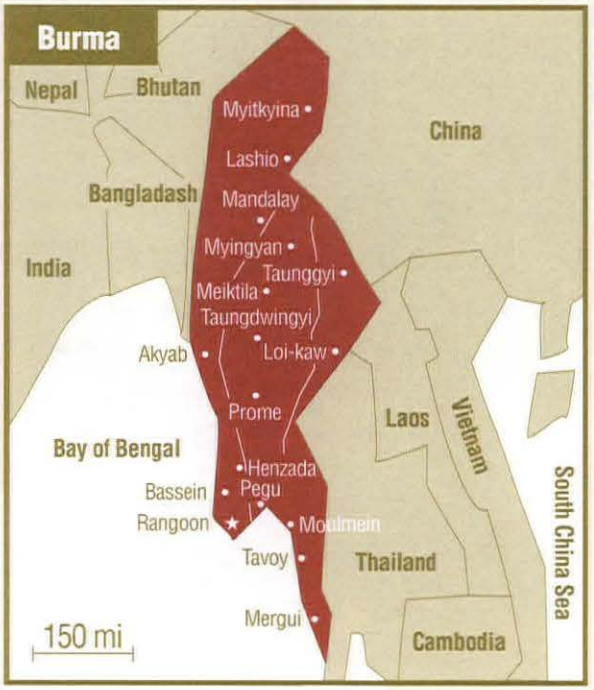
BARRIERS

The inability of the SLORC and its organized opponents to agree on the official English name of the country, Myanmar or Burma, is one indication of the existing intransigence. The absence of SLORC at the January 1992 INN consultation made it difficult to achieve a well-rounded understanding of the issues, but those present were concerned about the following barriers:

- the unwillingness of SLORC to negotiate with the ethnic minorities and the pro-democracy political groups; and
- the indifference of SLORC to internal or external pressures.

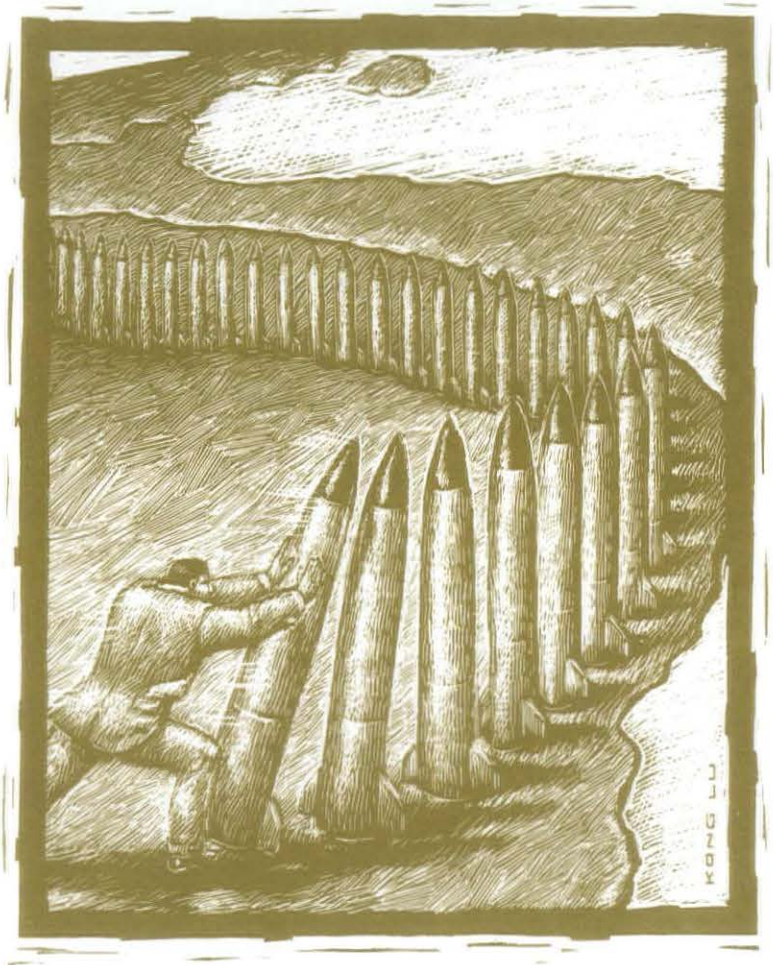
STRATEGIES

- Expand publicity and pressure to have governments not oppose nonhumanitarian aid programs directed to Burma.
- NGO's involvement in the country should be better coordinated.
- Prominent leaders, especially Asians, should encourage SLORC to negotiate.



CAMBODIA

BACKGROUND OF THE CONFLICT[1]



For more than two decades vicious armed conflict ravaged Cambodia as competing ideologies, leaders, parties, and armies fought for power. The civil war was abetted, exacerbated, and, to an extent, instigated by external powers; first, with the spillover of the U.S.-Vietnam war, and later as the site of a proxy war between the Communist powers of Asia--China vs. Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

The external sources of conflict in and over Cambodia substantially abated. The external powers seemed convinced that Vietnam's recurring aspiration to dominate Cambodia is in remission. Vietnamese and Soviet withdrawal from Cambodia ended the mutual encirclement: China and Cambodia against Vietnam, and the U.S.S.R. and Vietnam against China.

The collapse of Communist party rule in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union led China and Vietnam to seek an accommodation over Cambodia in order to thwart perceived threats to ongoing Communist party predominance in both countries. The four warring Cambodian factions—the royalists, the Khmer Rouge, the socialists, and the republican party—had reached a military stalemate. Consequently, a voluntary cease-fire was instituted in August 1991.

[1] This summary is drawn from David Hawk, "Cambodia: An Action Memorandum," prepared for a consultation of the International Negotiation Network: "Resolving Intra-National Conflicts: A Strengthened Role for Non-Governmental Actors," The Carter Center of Emory University (15-17 January 1992).

In October 1991 a comprehensive political settlement was agreed to by all the Cambodian parties. This peace agreement was the result of years of negotiation efforts by Indonesia, France, and finally the Five Permanent Members of the U.N. Security Council using a plan initially proposed by Australia.

The overall objective was to secure the withdrawal of the Vietnamese without a return to the monopolistic rule by the Khmer Rouge. During their previous reign (1975-1979) under Pol Pot, the Khmer Rouge had been responsible for the deaths of more than a million Cambodians.[2]

The U.N. peace plan for Cambodia will be the largest, most complicated, and expensive internationally buffered and assisted transition from war to peace, and from a one-party monopoly to a multi-party democracy that the U.N. has ever undertaken.

CAMBODIA CONSULTATION REPORT

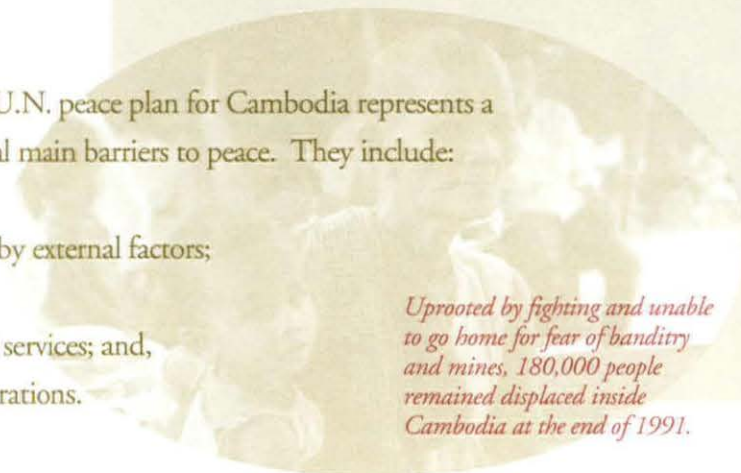
INN Core Group Members: Brian Urquhart and Kumar Rupesinghe; Paper Author: David Hawk; Rapporteur: Minja Yang.

The working session on Cambodia was attended by some 20 participants, including U.N. officials, members of major North American and British non-governmental organizations, and scholars from American and European academic institutions.

B A R R I E R S

The session participants unanimously agreed that the U.N. peace plan for Cambodia represents a major breakthrough. There still exists, however, several main barriers to peace. They include:

- distrust among the warring factions, exacerbated by external factors;
- uncertain funding for the U.N. peace plan;
- absence of financial support for essential national services; and,
- the possible collapse of central and local administrations.



Uprooted by fighting and unable to go home for fear of banditry and mines, 180,000 people remained displaced inside Cambodia at the end of 1991.

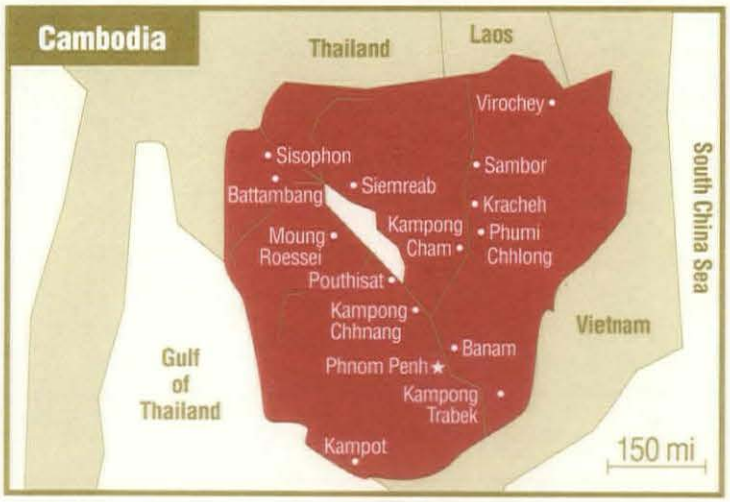
Photo: U.S. Committee for Refugees/Sara Say

[2]K. Lindgren, G.K. Wilson, P. Wallensteen, and K-A Nordquist, "Major Armed Conflicts in 1989," *SIPRI Yearbook 1990, World Armaments and Disarmament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 418.

The U.N. peace plan for Cambodia will be the largest, most complicated, and expensive internationally buffered and assisted transition from war to peace, and from a one-party monopoly to a multi-party democracy that the U.N. has ever undertaken.

STRATEGIES

There was consensus that despite the shortcomings of the U.N. peace plan and the unlikelihood that all of its terms would be implemented, it nonetheless offered the best strategy to prevent war. The following strategies were recommended:



- repatriate refugees and displacees from the Thai-Cambodian border in accordance with the terms of the agreement;
- denounce forced relocation of civilians, especially to zones controlled by the Khmer Rouge;
- mobilize reintegration and rehabilitation assistance according to the terms of the Agreement;
- develop a large-scale, coordinated international aid program; and,
- develop human resources through the transfer of knowledge--both in technical and human rights fields.

ACTION STEPS

To ensure full funding and political support for the U.N. peace plan, it was deemed essential that:

- public concern for Cambodia be mobilized and governments be pressured to contribute to the peace plan;
- NGOs and eminent persons lobby for the release of emergency funds to prevent the collapse of essential public services;
- a coordination mechanism be established to provide for joint planning and cooperation by various international partners working in Cambodia; and,
- a regular international television program be established to feature issues in conflict resolution to maintain public interest.

CYPRUS

BACKGROUND OF THE CONFLICT[1]

Following the Congress of Berlin (1878), the Ottoman Empire transferred governmental control of Cyprus to Great Britain and the island grew in importance as a strategic outpost in the Eastern Mediterranean. Starting in 1955, Greek Cypriots (about 80 percent of the population of approximately 600,000) began a combined political and military campaign to achieve independence.

On 16 August 1960, the Republic of Cyprus was proclaimed under the presidency of Archbishop Makarios and vice-presidency of Fazil Kutchuk, the leader of the Turkish Cypriots. An attempt at shared rule proved unavailing, and in December 1963 intercommunal violence erupted. The following year a United Nations Peace Keeping Force (UNFICYP) was deployed. Civil strife flared again in 1974 when the military regime in Greece attempted to overthrow Makarios. Turkey intervened and occupied the northern one-third of the Republic.

At the behest of the U.N. Security Council, intercommunal talks that were begun as early as 1968 were resumed in Vienna in 1975 and have continued intermittently ever since. Three secretaries-

[1]This summary is drawn from James H. Wolfe, "Cyprus: An Action Memorandum," prepared for a consultation of the International Negotiation Network: Resolving Intra-National Conflicts: A Strengthened Role for Non-Governmental Actors, The Carter Center of Emory University (15-17 January 1992).

As the global priorities shift, the international community is demonstrating increasing impatience with the continued conflict.

general of the United Nations have attempted to overcome the division between the Greek Cypriot south and the Turkish Cypriot north. A permanent solution has eluded them. Separated by a demilitarized zone (DMZ) under UNFICYP, the two communities have little contact and continue to grow further apart. As the global priorities shift, the international community is demonstrating increasing impatience with the continued conflict. Both the United Nations and the European regional organizations are increasing the pressure for a comprehensive settlement.

Questions of internal political imbalance and autonomy are at the heart of the conflict. Major themes for resolution include: bizonality, bicommunalism, and international safeguards. In spite of continued efforts by the United Nations, there appears to be no immediate prospect of a negotiated solution.

CYPRUS CONSULTATION REPORT

INN Council Member: Shridath Ramphal; INN Secretariat Member: William L. Ury;
Paper Author: James H. Wolfe; Rapporteur: Nikolas Stavrou.

The 23 participants in the Cyprus session consisted of representatives from the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, the governments of Greece and Turkey, the United Nations, non-governmental organizations, and academic and diplomatic experts on Greek-Turkish relations and Eastern Mediterranean security.

B A R R I E R S

The Cyprus working session participants agreed that the structure of a future united state of Cyprus is no longer an issue. Both sides agree on a bizonal federation based on bicommunal principles. The principal barrier keeping this agreement from being realized is a psychological one—the physical separation of the two communities keeps them apart psychologically as well. This produces such barriers as:

- each side fears being reduced to minority status;
- both sides fear domination; and,
- the economic gap is widening.

STRATEGIES

Specific strategies recommended to move the Cyprus problem off dead center included:

- giving priority to incentives for intra-national economic development;
- increasing cross-border visits and meetings between community leaders;
- cooperating in environmental matters;
- convening Greek, Turkish, and Cypriot elites in a neutral environment to develop an understanding of each other's goals, fears, objectives, and aspirations;
- analyzing the role of the press in contributing to negative stereotyping, tensions, and cultural chauvinism;
- teaching each other's languages in public schools; and,
- giving priority to the missing persons matter.

ACTION STEPS

As a result of these recommendations, six specific action steps were suggested:

- define all issues to be resolved and priorities to be set with the criterion of whether they represent "win/win" situations;
- utilize NGOs in cooperation with the U.N. processes;
- support UNDP/UNHCR-endorsed joint projects;
- develop projects to encourage mutual respect;
- reduce physical barriers to human interaction and communication;
- develop ongoing cooperative environmental projects, including endangered species projects; and,
- support U.N. efforts to resolve the Cyprus issue.

KOREAN PENINSULA

BACKGROUND OF THE CONFLICT[1]

Korea was formerly an independent monarchy that was occupied by Japanese forces in 1905 and formally annexed by Japan in 1910. After 36 years of Japanese colonization (1910-1945), Korea was liberated by separate armies of the United States and the former Soviet Union. The superpowers divided Korea at latitude 38 degrees north into what was intended to be temporary military occupation zones, with Soviet forces in the north and U.S. forces in the south. As competition grew between the Soviet Union and the United States, the temporary division hardened. In 1948 the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was founded in Pyongyang in the north. That same year the Republic of Korea (ROK) was established in Seoul in the south.

The Korean War began in June 1950 when North Korean forces invaded South Korea. The invasion was repelled when U.N. forces mounted a collective defense of the South. An armistice agreement was signed in 1953 with the cease-fire line, roughly following the 38th parallel, remaining the frontier today. A demilitarized zone, supervised by U.N. forces, separates the two countries.

[1]This summary is drawn from Roy U.T. Kim, "The Korean Peninsula: An Action Memorandum," prepared for a consultation of the International Negotiation Network: "Resolving Intra-National Conflicts: A Strengthened Role for Non-Governmental Actors," The Carter Center of Emory University (15-17 January 1992).

Since their establishment the two Korean governments have competed for economic development, political legitimacy, and recognition. Until recently, Korean reconciliation was prevented by the realities of the Cold War geopolitical confrontation between the two superpowers.

Photo: Jai Ho Shim

Reunion of Korean family

Since September 1990 there have been promising signs pointing the way toward Korean reconciliation. From September 1990 until December 1991 five rounds of prime ministerial level talks have been held alternatively in Pyongyang and Seoul. An accord was reached at these talks that would replace the 1953 armistice and put in place bilateral negotiating teams to achieve reconciliation on all fronts: political, military, social, and economic. The accord also renounces the use of force.

In the post-Cold War era, efforts for reducing tension within the Korean Peninsula have been remarkable and promising. Seoul normalized relations with Moscow in September 1990, and Seoul's economic relations with Beijing have been much improved. Pyongyang has initiated dialogues with Tokyo and Washington. The two Koreas joined the United Nations in 1991. If a durable peace is to be established in Northeast Asia, relations between Pyongyang and Seoul must move from existing mutual distrust and nuclear hostility to a new stage of mutual trust and interdependence in a nuclear-free environment. Given the prevailing regional and international trends, opportunities for creative intra-Korean diplomacy and international cooperation, not only to reduce tensions between North and South Korea, but also to unify Korea, appear much more promising than at any other time since the Korean War began in 1950.

KOREA CONSULTATION REPORT

INN Council Member: Lisbet Palme; Secretariat Member: Dayle E. Spencer; Paper Author: Roy U.T. Kim; Rapporteur: Pharis J. Harvey.

The working session on the Korean Peninsula brought together ambassadorial level participants from both the Republic of Korea (ROK) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) together with senior leaders of the opposition party in the ROK, and diplomats, representatives from non-governmental organizations, and expatriate Korean scholars from several countries. The surprising conclusion of historic agreements between the two Korean governments during the weeks immediately preceding the consultation gave rise to a mood of optimism regarding the possibility of an end to the 46-year armed conflict.

Until recently, Korean reconciliation was prevented by the realities of the Cold War geopolitical confrontation between the two superpowers.

BARRIERS

The Korean Peninsula working session participants accepted as a general principle that the initial causes of the conflict were the artificial division of the peninsula by the United States and the former Soviet Union. The superpower involvement also contributed to ideological differences and economic disparities. Economic disparities were seen both as a cause for the recent breakthrough and a barrier for continued progress. Additional barriers were identified, including:

- the continuing U.S. troop presence in South Korea (this was not an opinion shared by all participants);
- the fear of nuclear weapons development by North Korea;
- the large-scale military exercises conducted in both North and South Korea;
- the potential Asian power imbalance due to the rise in Japanese power/influence; and,
- the lack of inter-Korean contact and lack of contact between the United States and the DPRK.

STRATEGIES

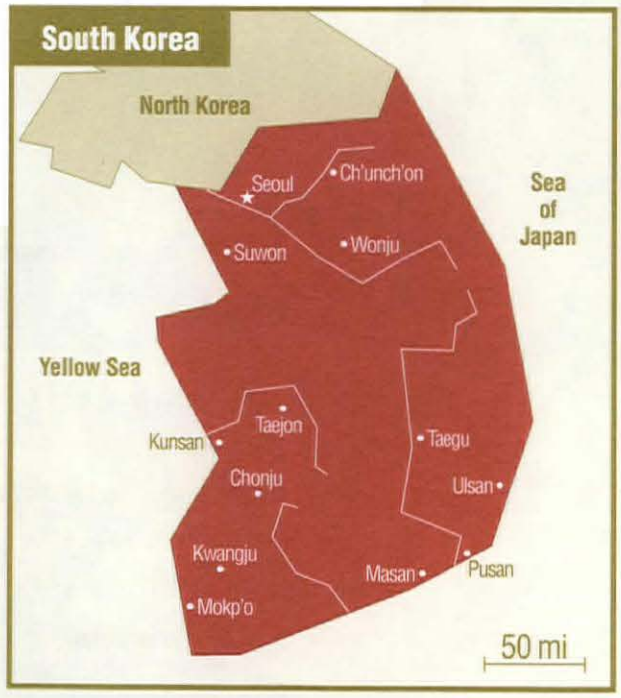
Because both sides felt the source of the conflict had been external, any lasting solution to it must be internal. The formulation agreed to was "two plus four," with the two Korean states taking the initiative and inviting the four other major actors (China, Japan, the United States, and the former Soviet Union) as desired or necessary. Within this context, the participants recommended the following strategies:

- recognize Korean leadership role in resolving the conflict;
- create joint economic development plans;
- allow family visitation by elderly Koreans;
- develop a single Korean Olympic team; and,
- encourage international and scientific dialogue on the nuclear issue, including scientific and international inspections.

ACTION STEPS

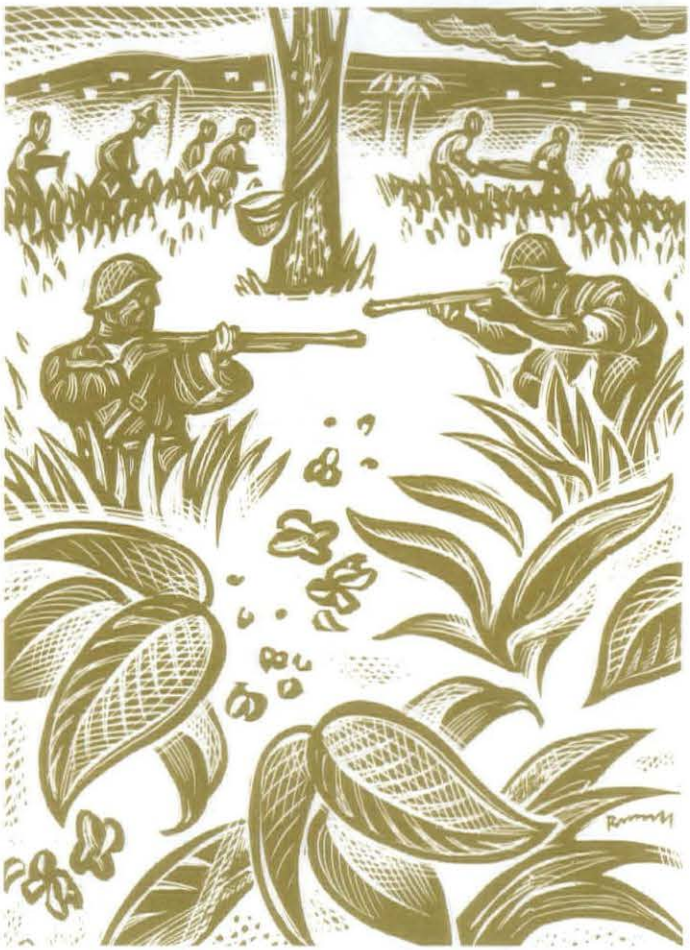
Actions that were recommended to implement the strategies included:

- encourage the U.S. government to support North-South negotiations and to normalize relations with the DPRK;
- encourage North-South cultural exchanges between many groups;
- share international disarmament expertise;
- end travel restrictions on DPRK diplomats in the U.S.;
- devise proposals for future U.S. military policy in Asia to enable multilateral mutual security;
- establish open telecommunications;
- open U.S. Interest Section in Pyongyang; and,
- end U.S. commercial restrictions on the DPRK.



LIBERIA

BACKGROUND OF THE CONFLICT



The current civil war in Liberia began in December 1989 when the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Charles Taylor, invaded Liberia from Côte d'Ivoire in an attempt to overthrow President Samuel Doe. Fierce fighting continued in the months that followed, and the guerrilla force grew and split into two rival factions, Charles Taylor's NPFL, and Prince Yormie Johnson's Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL).

In August 1990, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) sent a peacekeeping force (ECOMOG) into Liberia to restore stability. In spite of this effort, Liberian President Doe was killed by members of Prince Johnson's INPFL rebel group on 9 September. Nearly two months later, ECOWAS installed former Liberian University Professor Amos Sawyer as interim president, and he was subsequently confirmed in that capacity by the March 1991 All-Liberia Conference.

Since October 1990, when a loose alliance of forces of ECOMOG, INPFL, and the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) pushed the NPFL out of Monrovia, the country has been partitioned into two zones. Monrovia, the capital, has been administered by the interim government, while the remaining 95 percent of the country has been under the control of Charles Taylor. To date, the fighting has displaced nearly half of Liberia's population of 2.5 million, and it is estimated that at least 20,000 people have been killed. Although a February 1991 cease-fire agreement was signed by the

three main warring factions, the NPFL, the INPFL, and the AFL, fighting has since spilled over into Sierra Leone and threatened neighboring countries.

The most recent meeting of the ECOWAS Committee of Five, charged with facilitating the resolution of the Liberian war, met in October 1991 in Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire. The resulting Yamoussoukro IV agreement between the ECOWAS nations present, interim president Amos Sawyer, and NPFL leader Charles Taylor called for the disarmament and encampment, under ECOMOG supervision, of all warring parties in Liberia. The deadline for disarmament and encampment of 14 January 1992 has not been met because of disagreement over the modalities of the process and skirmishes between various fighting factions.

LIBERIA CONSULTATION REPORT

INN Council Member: Olusegun Obasanjo; INN Secretariat Member: Dayle E. Spencer; Paper Authors: D. Elwood Dunn and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf; Rapporteur: George K. Kieh.

The Liberian working session had 35 participants. Among these were the secretary-general of the Organization of African Unity, the under-secretary-general of the United Nations for Political Affairs, the executive secretary of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the U.S. ambassador to Liberia, all members of the Liberian Elections Commission, a representative of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), representatives from inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, Liberians currently residing in the U.S., and members of the legal and diplomatic communities in Europe and the United States.

B A R R I E R S

Several problems were identified as obstacles to resolution of the conflict:

- the leadership problem—two de facto governments currently exist;
- the security problem—disarmament and encampment are behind schedule;
- the repatriation and resettlement problem—a large number of Liberians are still living outside the country or are internally displaced;
- the reconciliation problem; and,
- the resource problem.

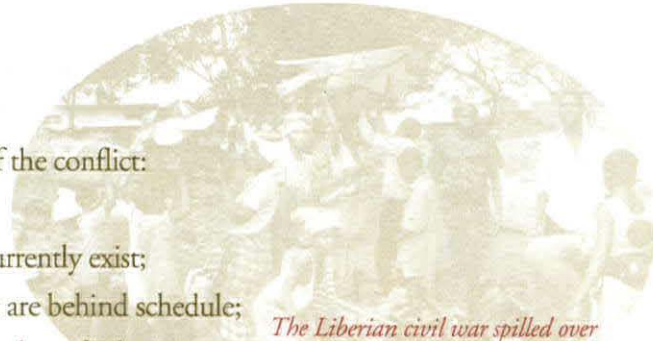


Photo: U.S. Committee for Refugees/H. Ruiz

The Liberian civil war spilled over into Sierra Leone when rebels (said to be mostly Liberians) invaded that country in March 1991. Above, internally displaced Sierra Leoneans return home after the army recaptured their village.

Although a February 1991 cease-fire agreement was signed by the three main warring factions...fighting has since spilled over into Sierra Leone and threatened neighboring countries.

STRATEGIES

- Implement the ECOWAS plan for encampment and disarmament of all warring factions.
- Encourage confidence building measures.
- Find resources to support elections, repatriation, resettlement and reconstruction.

ACTION STEPS

The working session participants suggested both short and long term action steps. The short term steps are:

- all parties should cooperate with ECOWAS to accelerate the disarmament and encampment process;
- immediate appeals should be made to the international community for financial, material, and technical assistance;
- the Elections Commission should develop a budget and other measures that would ensure the holding of free and fair elections;
- joint Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU)/NPFL commissions should be established to address numerous issues;
- Liberians should learn from experiences of other transitions to civil societies; and,
- an appeal should be made to the U.S. government to reinstate financial assistance.

Medium and long term action steps include:

- rebuild the infrastructure destroyed by the fighting;
- reconstruct the economy;
- repatriate and resettle refugees and displacees; and,
- establish a new military after the democratic elections.

SUDAN

BACKGROUND OF THE CONFLICT

The largest country in Africa is also the site of the bloodiest conflict in the world. In 1988, more people perished in the Sudanese civil war than in all other conflicts on earth—260,000 people. Eighty-five percent of the fatalities were noncombatants. Many Sudanese barely survive as displaced refugees who have abandoned their homes due to fighting. Famine is said to threaten millions.

Fighting in Sudan began in 1955 between the northern Arab Muslims and the African Christians and animists living in the South. In 1972, an agreement was reached in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia between the northern Sudanese government and the southern rebel forces that gave the three southern provinces a certain degree of autonomy. However, when in September 1983 then-President Gafaar Nimieri announced the national imposition of strict Islamic law, known as Shari'a, the largely non-Muslim south resumed its rebellion.

The Islamic fundamentalist government of Sudan is now led by General Omar Hassan al-Bashir, who seized power in a coup in June 1989. The Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA),

fighting against the Khartoum government for southern autonomy, is led by John Garang. In the fall of 1991, a split developed within the SPLA. This second group, led by former SPLA commander Lam Akol, proposes secession for southern Sudan.

SUDAN CONSULTATION REPORT

INN Council Member: Desmond Tutu; Secretatiat Member: William J. Spencer; Paper Author: Frances Deng; Rapporteur: Peter Woodward.

Among the 35 participants were senior officials from the Organization of African Unity, representatives from the U.S. State Department, the European Parliament, and humanitarian and health-related non-governmental organizations. The government of Sudan decided not to send any representatives of its own from Khartoum; however, a government representative based in London did attend. Opposition leaders from outside of Sudan attended, but those based in Sudan were denied travel visas.

B A R R I E R S

A fundamental issue underlying the problem in Sudan is the question of national identity—is the country to become an Islamic state or a secular state? This question defined the responses of the government representative and the John Garang faction of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA). Compounding the problem are the internal SPLA tensions, with the Lam Akol wing advocating consideration of secession for the South by means of a referendum. These divisions were apparent at the consultation and resulted in the following barriers being identified:

- issues of religious diversity and tolerance;
- tension within the SPLA;
- tension within the North; and,
- mutual suspicions.

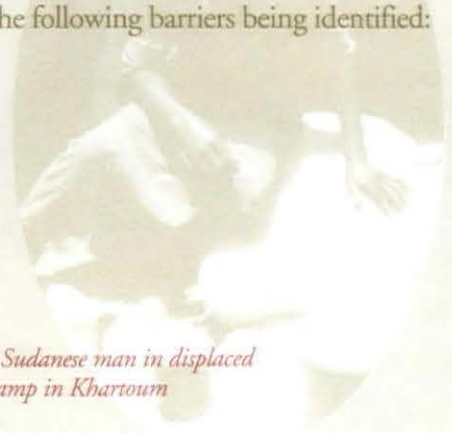


Photo: CCEU

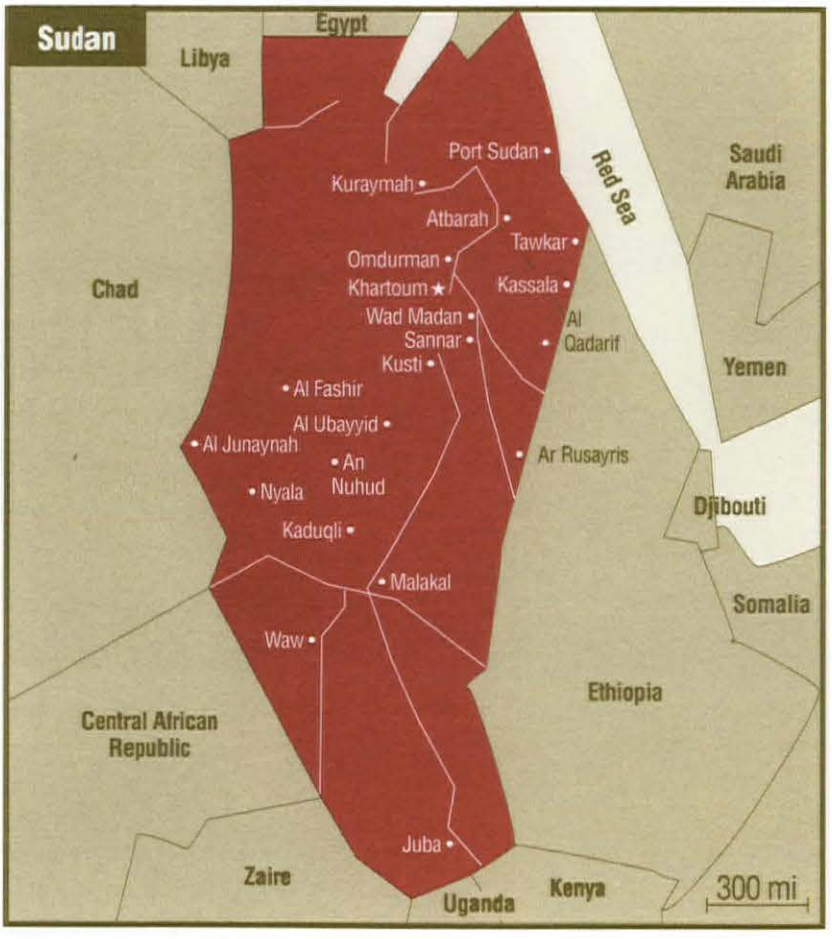
Southern Sudanese man in displaced persons' camp in Khartoum

STRATEGIES

- End the fighting.
- Take religion off the national agenda.
- Accept administrative structures to provide relief.
- Redefine the country to be more accommodating.

ACTION STEPS

- Arrange a government/SPLA meeting to discuss conditions for a cease-fire and thus to pave the way for a round-table conference of all the parties.
- Lift the state of emergency, at least in the North.
- Release all political prisoners and detainees.
- Grant freedom of movement and association to all political parties, civic organizations, and the press under international supervision.
- Encourage enhanced role for grass roots involvement in cease-fire and relief aid to sustain the peace process.
- Issue an invitation from the INN to the parties to convene a round-table discussion.

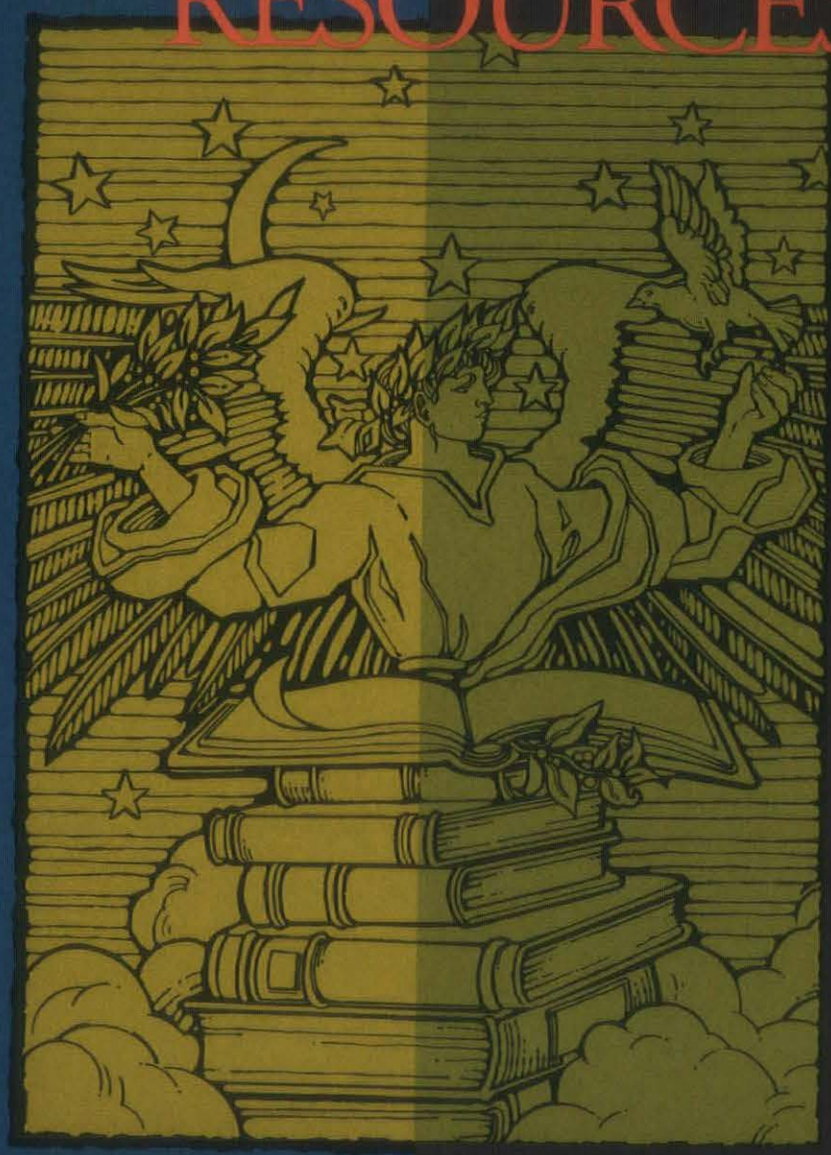


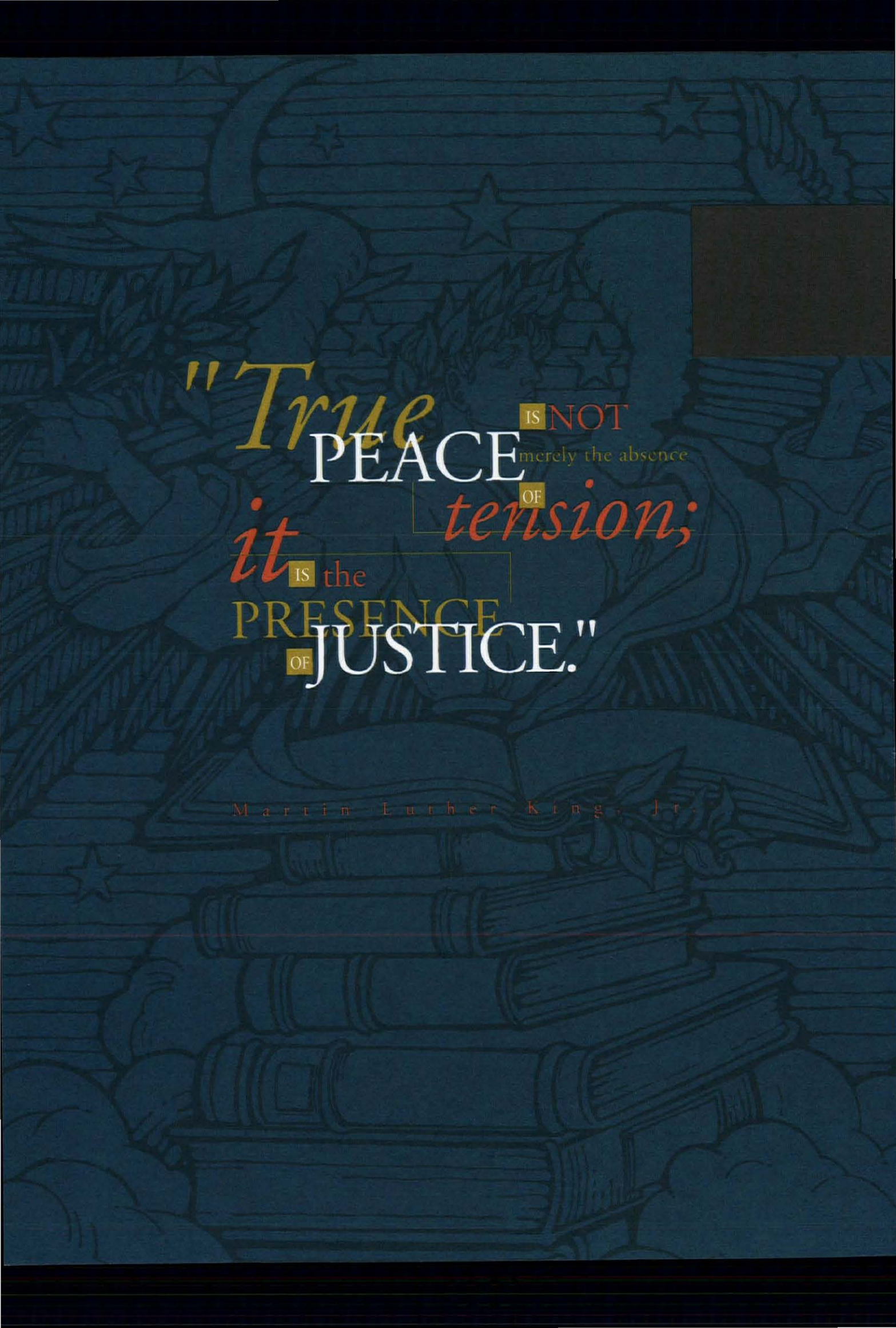
TRAINING

organizations

EDUCATION

RESOURCES




"True PEACE IS NOT merely the absence OF tension; it IS the PRESENCE OF JUSTICE."
Martin Luther King, Jr.

If you would like to recommend additional resources for consideration for future issues of the *State of World Conflict Report*, you can do so by writing your suggestions to us at the address on the inside front cover of this *Report*.

We hope that the *State of World Conflict Report* will stimulate the reader to both want to learn more about the nature of conflict and conflict resolution and individually or collectively to take informed steps to promote the peaceful resolution of conflict.

As the preceding pages of this *Report* have presented current information about conflict, in this section we provide the reader with a historical perspective of war by presenting data compiled by Ruth Leger Sivard on wars and war-related deaths from 1550 to 1990.

Resources are also included for the reader who wants to learn more about conflict resolution techniques (*For Further Reading*), enroll in classes to obtain a degree or certificate or obtain skills training (*Education and Training in Conflict Resolution*), contact organizations engaged in peace activism and research (*Peace Research and Activist Organizations*), or who wants to contact inter-governmental organizations to advocate for intervention in conflicts (*International and Regional Organizations*). The listed resources are obviously not comprehensive and are only intended to be a sampling of what's available.

If you would like to recommend additional resources for consideration for future issues of the *State of World Conflict Report*, you can do so by writing your suggestions to us at the address on the inside front cover of this *Report*.

By listing the following resources the INN does not mean to imply an endorsement of any particular author, perspective, volume, institution, or approach to training.

Location and Identification of Conflict[1]	Civilian	Military	Total
North America	204,000	1,288,000	1,532,000
Canada			94,000
1914-18 World War I	0	55,000	55,000
1939-45 World War II	0	39,000	39,000
United States			1,438,000
1637-37 US vs Pequot Indians	1,000	0	1,000
1763-63 Indians vs UK	...	...	1,000
1778-83 US revolt UK (3 EU interv)	...	34,000	34,000
1812-15 War of 1812, US vs UK	...	5,000	5,000
1813-14 Creek Indians vs Whites	1,000	0	1,000
1835-36 Texas vs Mexico	1,000	1,000	2,000
1861-65 Confederacy vs. Government	200,000	620,000	820,000
1861-80 Conquest of the West; massacres	...	...	33,000
1861-67 US vs Sioux Indians	...	...	6,000
1876-77 Sioux Indians vs US	1,000	0	1,000
1917-18 World War I	0	126,000	126,000
1941-45 World War II	0	408,000	408,000
Latin America	1,932,000	1,088,000	3,239,000
Argentina			39,000
1833-34 Indian uprising	...	...	1,000
1841-51 Libs vs Govt; UK, Fr invad.	10,000	1,000	11,000
1851-52 Libs vs Govt; Brazil interv.	...	1,000	1,000
1863-63 Montoneros vs Government	...	...	1,000
1866-67 Federalists vs Government	...	...	1,000
1870-71 Province vs Government	...	...	2,000
1874-75 Buenos Aires vs Government	...	...	1,000
1880-80 Buenos Aires vs Government	...	...	1,000
1955-55 Armed forces vs Peron	2,000	2,000	4,000
1976-79 "Disappearances"	12,000	3,000	15,000
1982-82 Arg vs UK in Falklands	0	1,000	1,000
Bolivia			203,000
1841-41 Peru vs Bolivia	...	1,000	1,000
1932-35 Paraguay vs Bol. (Chaco War)	70,000	130,000	200,000
1952-52 Revolution vs Govt	1,000	1,000	2,000
Brazil			1,110,000
1657-61 Netherlands vs Portugal	...	4,000	4,000
1864-70 Para vs Brazil & Argentina	800,000	300,000	1,100,000
1893-94 Conservatives vs Govt	...	...	2,000
1896-97 Canudos vs Government	...	...	1,000
1932-32 State vs Federal Govt	...	...	1,000
1944-45 World War II; troops in Italy	0	1,000	1,000
1980-80 Rightist terrorism	...	...	1,000
Chile			36,000
1851-51 Liberals vs Government	...	...	3,000
1891-91 Congress vs Government	...	...	5,000
1973-73 Military coup; US interv.	...	...	5,000
1974-74 Executions by Govt	20,000	0	20,000
1987-87 Mine strikers vs Army	3,000	0	3,000
Colombia			563,000
1840-42 Liberals vs Government	...	...	4,000
1854-54 Democrats vs Dictator	...	...	1,000
1860-62 Liberals vs Government	...	...	3,000
1876-77 Conservatives vs Govt	...	...	1,000
1879-79 Massacre revolutionaries	...	...	80,000
1884-85 Liberals vs Government	...	...	1,000
1899-03 Liberals vs Government	75,000	75,000	150,000
1948-48 Conservatives vs Govt	...	...	1,000
1949-62 Liberals vs Government	200,000	100,000	300,000
1986-90 Civilians killed by Govt	14,000	8,000	22,000
Costa Rica			2,000
1948-48 Natl Un. vs Govt; US interv.	1,000	1,000	2,000
Cuba			485,000
1868-78 Cuba vs Spain	75,000	75,000	150,000
1895-98 Cuba vs Spain; US interv.	80,000	50,000	130,000
1898-98 US vs Spain over Cuba & Phil	190,000	10,000	200,000
1958-59 Castro vs Batista; US interv.	2,000	3,000	5,000
Dominican Republic			15,000
1863-65 Spain vs Santo Domingo	...	7,000	7,000
1937-37 Haitians in DR massacred	5,000	0	5,000
1965-65 US intervene in civil war	1,000	2,000	3,000
Ecuador			1,000
1863-63 Columbia vs Ecuador	0	1,000	1,000
El Salvador			109,000
1885-85 Guatemala vs El Salvador	...	1,000	1,000
1906-06 Guat vs El Sal & Honduras	0	1,000	1,000
1931-32 Peasant uprising & mass	24,000	8,000	32,000
1979-90 Dem. Sal. Front vs Govt	50,000	25,000	75,000
Guatemala			141,000
1954-54 Conserv. vs Govt; US interv.	...	...	1,000
1966-90 Govt mass Indians; US interv.	100,000	40,000	140,000

Location and Identification of Conflict[1]	Civilian	Military	Total
Haiti			20,000
1802-03 Haiti vs France	12,000	8,000	20,000
Honduras			7,000
1907-07 Nic vs El Sal & Honduras	0	1,000	1,000
1924-24 Conservatives vs Govt	...	...	1,000
1969-69 El Sal vs Hond (Soccer War)	3,000	2,000	5,000
Jamaica			1,000
1980-80 Election violence	1,000	0	1,000
Mexico			316,000
1520-21 Spain conquered Mexico	...	...	2,000
1829-29 Mexican revolt vs Spain	1,000	0	1,000
1832-32 Liberals vs Government	...	...	4,000
1846-48 US vs Mexico	4,000	17,000	21,000
1858-61 Lib vs Govt; UK, Fr, Sp, Aus interv.	...	...	8,000
1862-67 Fr vs Juarez; A-H interv.	...	20,000	20,000
1910-20 Lib & Rad vs Govt; US interv.	125,000	125,000	250,000
1926-30 Con Cristeros vs Govt	...	...	10,000
Nicaragua			82,000
1855-57 Liberals vs Government	...	...	2,000
1978-79 Sandinistas vs Somoza	25,000	25,000	50,000
1981-88 Contras vs Sandinistas	15,000	15,000	30,000
Panama			1,000
1989-89 US invaded Panama	1,000	0	1,000
Paraguay			3,000
1911-12 Liberals vs Government	...	...	2,000
1947-47 Liberals vs Government	...	...	1,000
Peru			44,000
1531-31 Spain conquered Peru	1,000	0	1,000
1853-58 Liberals vs Conservatives	...	...	7,000
1865-66 Sp vs Chil & Peru; Bol, Ecua interv.	0	1,000	1,000
1879-83 Chile vs Peru & Bolivia	...	14,000	14,000
1894-95 Liberals vs Government	...	...	4,000
1983-90 Shining Path vs Govt	9,000	8,000	17,000
Uruguay			1,000
1903-04 Conservatives vs Govt	...	...	1,000
Venezuela			23,000
1859-63 Liberals vs Government	...	...	20,000
1868-71 Conservatives vs Govt	...	...	3,000
Latin America (area-wide)			37,000
1810-25 Independence from Spain[2]	...	...	37,000
Europe	48,935,000	44,119,000	93,450,000
Albania			35,000
1830-31 Albanians vs Turkey	4,000	1,000	5,000
1941-44 World War II	10,000	20,000	30,000
Austria			3,640,000
1520-33 Turkey vs Austro-Hungary	15,000	85,000	100,000
1739-48 Prussia invaded Austria	...	359,000	359,000
1778-79 Prussia invaded Austria	...	2,000	2,000
1848-48 Liberals vs Government	...	...	4,000
1848-49 Sardinia vs Austria-Hungary	2,000	9,000	11,000
1866-66 Prus & It vs Aust; Fr interv.	100,000	50,000	150,000
1878-78 Bosnian rebellion vs A-H	2,000	4,000	6,000
1881-81 Dalmatians vs Aust-Hung	1,000	0	1,000
1914-18 World War I (incl. Hungary)	300,000	2,300,000	2,600,000
1934-34 Socialists vs Fascist Govt	1,000	1,000	2,000
1939-45 World War II	125,000	280,000	405,000
Balkans			274,000
1716-18 Austria vs Turkey	...	16,000	16,000
1736-39 Russia & Austria vs Turkey	...	38,000	38,000
1768-74 Russia vs Turkey	...	28,000	28,000
1787-92 Russia vs turkey (Aust interv.)	...	192,000	192,000
Belgium			321,000
1830-33 Belg vs Neth; UK, Fr invad.	...	...	3,000
1914-18 World War I	30,000	88,000	118,000
1940-40 World War II	90,000	110,000	200,000
Bulgaria			370,000
1875-77 Balkan rebellion vs Turkey	20,000	10,000	30,000
1885-85 Serb vs Bulgaria; A-H interv.	1,000	2,000	3,000
1915-18 World War I	275,000	28,000	303,000
1941-45 World War II (Allied 1944-45)	14,000	20,000	34,000
Crete			72,000
1645-69 Turkey vs Venice over Crete	...	72,000	72,000
Czechoslovakia			280,000
1939-45 World War II	250,000	30,000	280,000

Location and Identification of Conflict[1]	Civilian	Military	Total
Denmark			11,000
1848-49 Prussia vs Denmark	...	6,000	6,000
1864-64 Prussia and A-H vs Denmark	...	5,000	5,000
Estonia			22,000
1600-04 Sweden vs Poland	...	22,000	22,000
Finland			173,000
1788-90 Russia vs Swed (Denmk interv.)	...	3,000	3,000
1918-18 Communists vs Govt	...	...	20,000
1939-40 USSR vs Finland	...	90,000	90,000
1941-44 World War II	15,000	45,000	60,000
France			4,741,000
1544-46 England vs France	...	8,000	8,000
1550-56 France vs Spain	...	95,000	95,000
1557-60 France vs Haps (UK interv.)	...	11,000	11,000
1562-64 Huguenot vs France; UK interv.	8,000	6,000	14,000
1567-68 Huguenot vs France	5,000	3,000	8,000
1569-70 Huguenot vs France	11,000	9,000	20,000
1572-72 France vs Huguenot	50,000	2,000	52,000
1575-76 Huguenot vs France	2,000	1,000	3,000
1585-89 Huguenot vs France	...	4,000	4,000
1590-98 France vs Spain	...	17,000	17,000
1650-59 Spain vs France	...	108,000	108,000
1656-59 UK & France vs Spain	...	15,000	15,000
1702-06 "Camisard" Insurrection	...	4,000	4,000
1792-02 French Revolutionary Wars	1,000,000	1,030,000	2,030,000
1830-30 Liberals vs Government	...	...	2,000
1831-35 Political Troubles	...	...	6,000
1848-48 Liberals vs Government	...	...	3,000
1851-51 Royalists vs Government	...	...	1,000
1871-71 Natl Guard vs Govt; Ger interv.	...	...	20,000
1914-18 World War I	40,000	1,630,000	1,670,000
1939-45 World War II (Allied 39-40, 44-45)	450,000	200,000	650,000
Germany			13,815,000
1524-25 Peasants' War	100,000	75,000	175,000
1546-47 Protestants vs. Holy Rom Emp.	...	8,000	8,000
1618-48 France & Sweden vs HRE	2,000,000	2,000,000	4,000,000
1870-71 France vs Germany/Prussia	62,000	188,000	250,000
1914-18 World War I	760,000	2,400,000	3,160,000
1934-34 Socialists vs Nazi Govt	1,000	0	1,000
1939-45 World War II	1,471,000	4,750,000	6,221,000
Greece			482,000
1821-28 Greek rev. Turk; UK interv.	105,000	15,000	120,000
1857-58 Greek mutiny vs UK & France	...	1,000	1,000
1917-18 World War I	132,000	5,000	137,000
1940-41 World War II	54,000	10,000	64,000
1945-49 UK intervenes in civil war	...	...	160,000
Hungary			1,600,000
1537-41 Austria-Hugary vs Turkey	...	51,000	51,000
1566-68 Turkey vs Austria-Hungary	...	24,000	24,000
1590-96 Austria vs Turkey	...	40,000	40,000
1593-06 Turkey vs Austria-Hungary	...	90,000	90,000
1657-57 Hungary vs Turkey	...	...	1,000
1663-64 Turkey vs Austria-Hungary	...	20,000	20,000
1682-99 Turkey vs Austria & Poland	...	384,000	384,000
1703-11 Hungarian Revolt vs Austria	...	43,000	43,000
1711-11 Turkey vs Russia in Hungary	...	2,000	2,000
1848-49 Hungary vs A-H & Russia	...	60,000	60,000
1919-19 Czech & Romania vs Hung	...	11,000	11,000
1919-20 Anti-Communists vs Govt	...	...	4,000
1941-45 World War II	450,000	400,000	850,000
1956-56 USSR intervenes in civil war	10,000	10,000	20,000
Italy			1,592,000
1499-03 Turkey vs Venice	...	4,000	4,000
1501-04 France vs Spain for Naples	...	20,000	20,000
1508-09 Cambrian League vs France	...	10,000	10,000
1512-14 Holy League vs France	...	25,000	25,000
1515-16 France vs Swiss for Milan	...	4,000	4,000
1521-26 France vs Spain	...	31,000	31,000
1526-29 France vs Spain	...	18,000	18,000
1535-37 France vs Spain	...	75,000	75,000
1542-45 France & Turkey vs Spain	...	77,000	77,000
1556-59 France vs Spain & UK	...	24,000	24,000
1570-71 Turkey vs Venice	...	38,000	38,000
1701-03 Austro-Sardinian War	...	7,000	7,000
1717-17 Spain seizes Sardinia	...	1,000	1,000
1718-20 Spain attacks Austria	...	25,000	25,000
1763-65 France seizes Corsica	...	1,000	1,000
1815-15 Neapolitan War (Aust-Hung)	...	5,000	5,000
1820-21 Lib vs Govt; A-H intervene	2,000	1,000	3,000
1848-48 Lib vs Two Sic; Aust interv.	...	...	1,000
1849-49 France vs Rome; A-H invade	1,000	2,000	3,000
1859-59 A-H vs Italy; Fr intervenes	18,000	22,000	40,000
1860-61 Democ vs Autoc; Fr interv.	0	2,000	2,000
1862-70 Italy vs Papal States	...	8,000	8,000
1915-18 World War I	0	950,000	950,000
1940-45 World War II (Allied 1943-45)	70,000	150,000	220,000

Location and Identification of Conflict[1]	Civilian	Military	Total
Lithuania			247,000
1658-60 Russia vs Poland	...	44,000	44,000
1920-20 Poland vs Lithuania	...	1,000	1,000
1941-41 World War II; Ger kills resisters	200,000	...	200,000
1944-44 World War II; USSR kills collaborators	2,000	...	2,000
Malta			24,000
1559-65 Turkey vs Spain	...	24,000	24,000
Netherlands			1,497,000
1585-04 Dutch Indep & Spanish Armada	56,000	121,000	177,000
1652-54 England vs Neth at sea	...	26,000	26,000
1665-67 England vs Netherlands	...	37,000	37,000
1667-68 France vs Spain	...	7,000	7,000
1672-74 UK & France vs Netherlands	...	8,000	8,000
1672-79 France vs Netherlands	...	342,000	342,000
1688-97 France vs Augsberg League	...	680,000	680,000
1780-84 UK vs Netherlands	...	9,000	9,000
1789-90 Dutch Insurrection vs Austria	...	5,000	5,000
1940-45 World War II	200,000	6,000	206,000
Norway			9,000
1940-40 World War II	7,000	2,000	9,000
Poland			7,498,000
1512-21 Russia vs Poland	...	30,000	30,000
1583-90 Turkey vs Poland	...	17,000	17,000
1632-34 Russia invaded Poland	...	16,000	16,000
1654-56 Russia vs Poland	...	...	8,000
1655-61 Sweden vs Poland	...	30,000	30,000
1715-17 Tarnograd vs Russia	...	6,000	6,000
1733-35 Russia invaded Poland	...	88,000	88,000
1792-94 Polish Revolt & Partition	41,000	4,000	45,000
1794-94 Poland vs Russia & Prussia	...	...	30,000
1831-31 Poles vs Russia	6,000	15,000	21,000
1846-46 Austria vs Poles	1,000	1,000	2,000
1863-64 Poland vs Russia	...	5,000	5,000
1914-18 World War I	500,000	...	500,000
1919-20 USSR vs Poland; Fr interv.	...	100,000	100,000
1939-45 World War II	6,000,000	600,000	6,600,000
Portugal			117,000
1579-81 Spain vs Portugal	...	4,000	4,000
1642-48 Port vs Spain for Indep	...	80,000	80,000
1829-34 Conserv vs Gov; UK, Fr, Sp interv.	...	...	20,000
1916-18 World War I	0	13,000	13,000
Romania			1,297,000
1784-85 Romanian peasants vs Hung	...	4,000	4,000
1907-07 Peasants vs Govt	...	...	2,000
1916-17 World War I	275,000	375,000	650,000
1941-45 World War II (Allied 1944-45)	300,000	340,000	640,000
1989-89 Govt. vs Demonstrators	1,000	0	1,000
Spain			1,258,000
1821-23 Royal vs Govt; Fr invade	5,000	5,000	10,000
1833-40 Carlists vs Govt UK, Fr, Port inter.	...	...	33,000
1847-49 Carlists vs Government	...	...	3,000
1868-68 Liberals vs Government	...	...	2,000
1872-76 Carlists vs Government	...	...	7,000
1934-34 Austrian miners vs Govt.	3,000	...	3,000
1936-39 Civ. War, It, USSR, Ger. interv.	600,000	600,000	1,200,000
Sweden			409,000
1598-99 Poland invaded Sweden	...	...	1,000
1611-13 Kalmer (Den & Nor vs Swed)	...	2,000	2,000
1656-58 Russia vs Sweden	...	8,000	8,000
1700-21 Northern War (Swed vs Russia)	...	382,000	382,000
1741-43 Sweden vs Russia	...	10,000	10,000
1808-09 Russia vs Sweden	...	6,000	6,000
Switzerland			1,000
1531-31 Cath. vs Protestant cantons	...	...	1,000
Turkey			3,297,000
1559-59 Civil war between brothers	...	...	1,000
1730-30 Janissaries Revolt	...	7,000	7,000
1806-12 Russia vs Turkey	...	45,000	45,000
1826-26 Janissaries massacred	14,000	6,000	20,000
1828-29 Russia vs Turkey	61,000	130,000	191,000
1877-78 Russia vs Turkey	...	285,000	285,000
1889-89 Cretan revolt vs Turkey	2,000	1,000	3,000
1894-97 Armenians vs Turkey	39,000	1,000	40,000
1897-97 Greece vs Turkey over Crete	...	...	2,000
1909-10 Massacres in Armenia	6,000	0	6,000
1911-12 Italy vs Turkey	...	20,000	20,000
1912-13 1st Balkan War vs Turkey	...	82,000	82,000
1914-18 World War I	1,000,000	450,000	1,450,000
1915-16 Armenians deported	1,000,000	...	1,000,000
1919-20 France vs Turkey	...	...	40,000
1919-22 Greece vs Turkey	50,000	50,000	100,000
1977-80 Terrorism; mil coup 1980	...	...	5,000

Location and Identification of Conflict[1]	Civilian	Military	Total
United Kingdom			1,612,000
1513-15 Scotland vs England	...	10,000	10,000
1522-23 England vs Scotland	...	3,000	3,000
1542-50 England vs Scotland	...	13,000	13,000
1547-50 Arundel's Rebellion	...	6,000	6,000
1554-54 Wyatt's Rebellion	...	1,000	1,000
1560-60 Scots & UK vs France	...	6,000	6,000
1667-68 Scottish Rebellion vs UK	...	...	2,000
1642-46 Parliament vs King	25,000	25,000	50,000
1649-50 Irish Rebellion vs UK	2,000	1,000	3,000
1650-51 UK vs Scotland	...	8,000	8,000
1679-79 Covenanter rebel vs UK	...	2,000	2,000
1689-91 Irish vs English (Fr interv.)	...	7,000	7,000
1715-15 Scotland vs UK	...	...	2,000
1726-29 Spanish-British War	...	15,000	15,000
1745-46 Scots try to seize power	...	3,000	3,000
1914-18 World War I	31,000	1,000,000	1,031,000
1939-45 World War II	100,000	350,000	450,000
USSR			29,928,000
1570-70 Russia sacks Novgorod	60,000	...	60,000
1571-72 Tartars vs Moscow	...	...	1,000
1608-12 Poland invaded Russia	...	37,000	37,000
1614-21 Poland vs Turkey in Ukraine	...	15,000	15,000
1671-76 Turkey vs Poland in Ukraine	...	25,000	25,000
1678-81 Turkey vs Russia in Ukraine	...	12,000	12,000
1695-96 Russia vs Turkey at Azov	...	30,000	30,000
1698-98 Streltsy Revolt vs Czar	...	1,000	1,000
1716-17 Russian expedition to Khiva	...	2,000	2,000
1773-74 Cossack & Peasant Revolt	16,000	2,000	18,000
1829-40 Circassians vs USSR	9,000	1,000	10,000
1839-39 Russian vs Khivans	1,000	4,000	5,000
1853-56 Turk vs Rus; UK, Fr, It invad.	508,000	264,000	772,000
1865-76 Russia expanded to Cen Asia	...	11,000	11,000
1878-81 Russia vs Turkomans	20,000	1,000	21,000
1904-05 Japan vs Russia	...	130,000	130,000
1905-05 Pogrom, Russians vs Jewa	2,000	0	2,000
1905-06 Peasants & Workers vs. Govt.	1,000	0	1,000
1914-17 World War I	3,000,000	2,950,000	5,950,000
1916-16 Kirghiz massacre Russians	...	...	9,000
1917-17 Bourgeois rev vs Czar	1,000	1,000	2,000
1918-20 Civ war; US, UK, Fr, Jap interv.	500,000	300,000	800,000
1939-39 Japan vs USSR	0	13,000	13,000
1941-45 World War II	8,500,000	8,500,000	17,000,000
1969-69 China attack USSR border	...	1,000	1,000
Yugoslavia			2,259,000
1836-37 Bosnia vs Turkey	...	...	2,000
1841-41 Bosnia vs Turkey	1,000	0	1,000
1852-53 Turkey vs Montenegro	3,000	5,000	8,000
1858-59 Turkey vs Montenegro	...	3,000	3,000
1862-62 Christians vs Turkey	2,000	0	2,000
1903-03 Macedonian revolt vs Turk	2,000	2,000	4,000
1913-13 2nd Balkan War vs Bulgar	...	61,000	61,000
1914-18 World War I	650,000	128,000	778,000
1941-45 World War II	1,000,000	400,000	1,400,000
Europe (area -wide)			21,569,000
1701-14 Spain vs Grand Alliance	...	1,251,000	1,251,000
1755-63 7-Year War (Eur, N Am, India)	370,000	988,000	1,358,000
1803-15 Napoleonic Wars	1,000,000	1,869,000	2,869,000
1914-18 World War I area-wide[3]	5,982,000	401,000	6,383,000
1939-45 World War II Eur area-wide[2]	8,723,000	985,000	9,708,000
Middle East	464,000	709,000	1,235,000
Cyprus			60,000
1570-78 Turkey vs Spain & Italy	...	55,000	55,000
1974-74 Natl Guard; Turk invasion	3,000	2,000	5,000
Egypt			84,000
1807-07 UK Expedition to Egypt	...	1,000	1,000
1820-21 Egypt conquered Nubians	1,000	1,000	2,000
1878-79 Egypt vs slave-raiders	...	...	1,000
1882-82 Egypt vs UK	1,000	0	1,000
1956-56 Suez; Is, Fr, UK invasion	1,000	3,000	4,000
1967-70 Six-Day War; border conflicts	50,000	25,000	75,000
Iran			672,000
1510-10 Iran vs Uzbeks	...	...	1,000
1514-17 Turkey vs Iran & Egypt	...	...	39,000
1722-23 Russo-Iran War	...	4,000	4,000
1795-96 Russo-Iran War	...	2,000	2,000
1804-13 Russo-Iran War	...	26,000	26,000
1821-22 Turkey vs Iran	1,000	0	1,000
1826-28 Russia vs Iran	2,000	5,000	7,000
1856-57 UK vs Iran	1,000	2,000	3,000
1908-09 Constitutionalists vs Govt; USSR interv.	...	...	1,000
1978-89 Islam vs Shah; dissidents	70,000	18,000	88,000
1980-88 Iraq vs Iran	50,000	450,000	500,000
Iraq			120,000
1920-21 Arabs vs UK	1,000	1,000	2,000

Location and Identification of Conflict[1]	Civilian	Military	Total
1933-33 Kurd massacred Christians	1,000	0	1,000
1959-59 Shammar Tribe vs Govt	1,000	1,000	2,000
1961-70 Kurds vs Govt; Iran interv.	100,000	5,000	105,000
1988-88 Kurd civs killed by army	9,000	1,000	10,000
Israel			24,000
1948-48 Arab League vs Israel	0	8,000	8,000
1973-73 Yom Kippur War vs Egypt, Syria	0	16,000	16,000
Jordan			10,000
1970-70 Palestinians & Syria vs Govt	5,000	5,000	10,000
Kuwait			1,000
1990-90 Iraq invaded Kuwait	1,000	0	1,000
Lebanon			168,000
1860-60 Muslims massacred Christians	3,000	0	3,000
1958-58 US intervene in civil war	1,000	1,000	2,000
1975-76 Syria intervene in civil war	75,000	25,000	100,000
1982-90 Israel invaded Lebanon & aftermath	41,000	22,000	63,000
Palestine			1,000
1834-34 Palestine vs Egypt	1,000	0	1,000
Syria			66,000
1820-20 Turkey vs Arabs	1,000	0	1,000
1831-32 Eg vs Turk; Rus, Fr, UK interv.	8,000	10,000	18,000
1839-40 Eg vs Turk & UK; Ger, Rus, Fr interv.	2,000	10,000	12,000
1845-45 Maronite vs Druse; Turk interv.	1,000	0	1,000
1896-96 Druses vs Turkey	1,000	0	1,000
1920-20 France vs Syria	...	...	5,000
1925-27 Druses vs France	4,000	4,000	8,000
1982-82 Govt massacre Conserv Muslims	20,000	0	20,000
Yemen			30,000
1948-48 Yahya family vs N. Yemen	2,000	2,000	4,000
1962-69 Civ war in N. Yem.; Egypt interv.	...	...	15,000
1986-87 Civil war in South Yemen	7,000	4,000	11,000
South Asia	2,302,000	1,171,000	3,610,000
Afghanistan			1,337,000
1837-38 Iran vs Afghanistan	...	...	1,000
1838-42 UK vs Afghanistan	10,000	10,000	20,000
1878-80 UK vs Afghanistan	...	4,000	4,000
1885-85 Russia vs Afghanistan	...	1,000	1,000
1919-19 Afghanistan vs UK	0	1,000	1,000
1924-25 Anti-Reform vs Govt; UK interv.	1,000	1,000	2,000
1928-29 Anti-Reform vs Govt	4,000	4,000	8,000
1978-89 USSR intervened in civil war	800,000	500,000	1,300,000
Bangladesh			1,000,000
1971-71 India intervene; fam & mas	500,000	500,000	1,000,000
Bhutan			1,000
1864-65 UK vs Bhutan	...	...	1,000
India			1,223,000
1508-09 Gujerat-Egypt vs Portugal	...	...	2,000
1509-12 Portuguese conquered Goa	...	...	3,000
1525-26 Mogul vs Delhi	...	15,000	15,000
1526-29 Rajput vs Mogul	...	...	45,000
1537-39 Afghans vs Moguls	...	...	2,000
1565-65 Muslims vs Vijayanagar	...	...	1,000
1622-23 Iran vs Mogul Empire	...	...	1,000
1657-59 Civil war of 4 brothers	...	...	2,000
1708-08 Mogul civil war	...	...	1,000
1738-39 Iran invaded Mogul India	20,000	...	20,000
1756-57 Bengal vs UK	...	...	1,000
1758-61 Afghanistan capture Delhi	...	...	75,000
1763-65 Bengal Rulers vs UK	...	3,000	3,000
1778-81 UK vs Marathas	...	3,000	3,000
1782-84 UK East India Co vs Mysore	...	2,000	2,000
1790-92 UK East India Co vs Mysore	...	2,000	2,000
1792-99 Tippu Sahib vs UK	...	7,000	7,000
1802-06 Marathas vs UK	...	4,000	4,000
1802-02 Maratha Civil War	...	...	1,000
1806-06 Sepoy mutiny vs UK	...	1,000	1,000
1814-17 Gurkhas vs UK	...	3,000	3,000
1817-18 UK conquered Marathas	2,000	2,000	4,000
1825-26 UK beseiged Bharatpur	4,000	1,000	5,000
1843-43 UK vs Baluchis, Sind Army	5,000	1,000	6,000
1845-46 UK vs Sikhs	3,000	5,000	8,000
1848-49 Sikhs vs UK	8,000	2,000	10,000
1852-52 Dards vs Dogras	2,000	0	2,000
1855-55 Santals vs UK	1,000	0	1,000
1857-59 Sepoy Revolt vs UK	11,000	4,000	15,000
1863-63 Muslim rebellion vs UK	1,000	0	1,000
1897-98 Muslim rebellion vs UK	...	...	1,000
1914-18 World War I	25,000	25,000	50,000
1918-19 Amritsar massacre by UK	1,000	0	1,000
1921-22 UK interv. in civil war	11,000	0	11,000
1936-38 UK interv. in civil war	11,000	0	11,000
1939-45 World War II	25,000	24,000	49,000

Location and Identification of Conflict[1]	Civilian	Military	Total
1946-48 Muslim vs Hindu; UK interv.	800,000	0	800,000
1947-49 Muslims, Pak vs Kashmir (India)	1,000	2,000	3,000
1948-48 India vs Hyderabad	1,000	1,000	2,000
1962-62 China vs India at border	1,000	1,000	2,000
1965-65 Pak vs Kashmir (India interv.)	13,000	7,000	20,000
1971-71 Pakistan vs India; border war	...	11,000	11,000
1983-90 Ethnic & political violence	12,000	4,000	16,000
Pakistan			9,000
1973-77 Baluchis vs Govt; Afghan interv.	6,000	3,000	9,000
Sri Lanka			40,000
1971-71 Maoists vs Govt	5,000	5,000	10,000
1984-90 Tamils vs Sinhalese vs Govt	18,000	12,000	30,000
Far East	16,513,000	13,398,000	31,185,000
Burma			49,000
1823-26 UK conquered Burma	5,000	15,000	20,000
1852-53 Burma vs UK	...	...	1,000
1885-86 UK annexed Burma	...	...	6,000
1948-51 Karens vs Govt; China interv.	...	...	8,000
1980-80 Communists vs Govt	...	...	5,000
1985-88 Rebels vs Govt	6,000	3,000	9,000
Cambodia			1,221,000
1970-75 NV & US intervene civil war	78,000	78,000	156,000
1975-78 Pol Pot famine & massacre	750,000	250,000	1,000,000
1978-89 Vietnam vs Cambodia	14,000	51,000	65,000
China			18,749,000
1716-18 Dzungars invaded Tibet	...	1,000	1,000
1755-57 China vs Dzungars; massacres	300,000	300,000	600,000
1765-70 Burma invade China border	...	40,000	40,000
1771-76 Revolt in Szechwan	60,000	60,000	120,000
1774-74 Revolt of Shantung	15,000	15,000	30,000
1795-97 Miao-tseu Rebellion	10,000	5,000	15,000
1807-07 Koukou-Nor natives rebel	...	...	5,000
1822-28 Kashgaria Revolt	...	...	25,000
1826-28 Muslim uprising	...	...	20,000
1830-30 Kokanese invasion	...	...	1,000
1839-42 UK vs China (Opium War)	1,000	10,000	11,000
1841-41 Dogras vs Tibet	3,000	1,000	4,000
1847-48 China vs Kashgaria	...	...	1,000
1856-60 UK & Fr vs China (Opium)	10,000	1,000	11,000
1857-57 China vs Kashgaria	...	...	2,000
1860-72 Muslim rebellions vs China	...	...	300,000
1860-64 Taiping rebl; UK, Fr interv.	5,000,000	5,000,000	10,000,000
1884-85 France vs China	...	...	12,000
1894-95 Japan vs China over Korea	...	15,000	15,000
1900-00 Manchuria vs Russian occupation	...	...	4,000
1900-00 Boxer rebel (5 nations invade)	13,000	3,000	16,000
1904-04 UK expedition to Tibet	...	...	1,000
1911-11 Republicans vs Govt	1,000	1,000	2,000
1912-13 Tibet vs China	...	...	2,000
1913-13 Republicans vs Govt	5,000	5,000	10,000
1913-14 Bandits vs Govt	5,000	5,000	10,000
1914-14 Pai-Lings vs Govt	...	...	5,000
1917-18 Yunan revolt	...	...	1,000
1917-18 Szechuanese vs others	1,000	1,000	2,000
1918-18 Tibet vs China; UK interv.	0	1,000	1,000
1920-20 Szechuanese vs others	2,000	2,000	4,000
1926-28 Civil war; USSR, Japan interv.	...	...	10,000
1928-28 Muslim rebellion vs Govt	...	...	200,000
1929-30 Warlords vs Govt	...	...	75,000
1929-29 USSR vs China	0	3,000	3,000
1930-35 Communists vs Govt	...	...	500,000
1931-34 USSR intervene Turkistan	...	...	20,000
1931-33 Japan vs Manchuria	...	60,000	60,000
1937-41 Japan vs China	1,150,000	650,000	1,800,000
1941-45 World War II	850,000	1,350,000	2,200,000
1946-50 Comm vs. Kuomint; US interv.	500,000	500,000	1,000,000
1950-51 Govt executes landlords	1,000,000	...	1,000,000
1950-51 China vs Tibet	2,000	0	2,000
1956-59 Tibetan Revolt	60,000	40,000	100,000
1967-68 Cultural Revolution	450,000	50,000	500,000
1983-84 Govt executions	5,000	0	5,000
1989-89 Government killed students	1,000	0	1,000
1990-90 Government executions	2,000	0	2,000
Indonesia			910,000
1825-25 Bonian rev vs Netherlands	1,000	0	1,000
1825-30 Java revolt vs Netherlands	...	15,000	15,000
1845-45 Uk vs Borneo Pirates	...	...	1,000
1859-60 Bonian rev vs Netherlands	1,000	0	1,000
1873-78 Achinese vs Netherlands	150,000	50,000	200,000
1894-94 Netherlands vs Bali	...	...	1,000
1945-46 Independence from Neth; UK	4,000	1,000	5,000
1950-50 Moluccans vs Govt	...	...	5,000
1953-53 Darul Islam vs Govt	...	...	1,000
1958-60 Dissident Military vs Govt	...	...	30,000
1965-66 Abortive coup; UK interv	500,000	...	500,000
1975-82 Annex E. Timor; fam & mass	100,000	50,000	150,000

Location and Identification of Conflict[1]	Civilian	Military	Total
Japan			2,027,000
1863-63 UK, Fr, US exped to Japan	1,000	...	1,000
1877-77 Satsuma rebellion	...	...	14,000
1923-23 Massacre of Koreans	10,000	0	10,000
1938-38 USSR vs Japan	...	2,000	2,000
1941-45 World War II	500,000	1,500,000	2,000,000
Korea			3,002,000
1948-48 Army vs Govt	0	1,000	1,000
1950-53 Korean War; Ch, US interv.	1,500,000	1,500,000	3,000,000
1980-80 SK Army killed people	1,000	0	1,000
Laos			30,000
1960-73 Pathet Lao vs Govt; US bomb. NV invad.	18,000	12,000	30,000
Malaysia			13,000
1950-60 UK intervened in civil war	...	...	13,000
Mongolia			31,000
1939-39 Japan vs Mongolia & USSR	...	28,000	28,000
1945-45 World War II	0	3,000	31,000
Philippines			408,000
1896-98 Phil vs Spain; US invaded	...	2,000	2,000
1899-02 Philippine revolt vs US	200,000	4,000	204,000
1941-45 World War II	91,000	27,000	118,000
1950-52 Huks vs Govt	5,000	4,000	9,000
1972-89 Muslims vs Govt; US interv.	20,000	15,000	35,000
1972-89 Comm vs Govt; US interv.	20,000	20,000	40,000
Taiwan			26,000
1947-47 Taiwan vs China	0	1,000	1,000
1947-47 Civilian riots vs govt	20,000	0	20,000
1954-55 Civil strife	...	...	5,000
Thailand			5,000
1893-93 France vs Siam	...	1,000	1,000
1940-41 France vs Thailand	2,000	2,000	4,000
Vietnam			3,084,000
1788-89 Chinese exped to Annam	...	30,000	30,000
1795-03 White Lotus Uprising	10,000	10,000	20,000
1858-62 France invade Cochinchina	...	4,000	4,000
1873-85 France conquered Tonkin	15,000	15,000	30,000
1882-85 France vs Annam; China interv.	2,000	4,000	6,000
1945-54 Indep. vs Fr; Ch, US interv.	300,000	300,00	600,000
1960-65 US intervene in civil war	200,000	100,000	300,000
1965-75 US & SV vs NV	1,000,000	1,058,000	2,058,000
1979-79 China vs Vietnam	9,000	26,000	35,000
1987-87 China vs Vietnam- border	0	1,000	1,000
Asia (area-wide)			1,630,000
1941-45 World War II in Asia	1,534,000	96,000	1,630,000
Oceania	50,000	137,000	187,000
Australia			94,000
1914-18 World War I	0	60,000	60,000
1939-45 World War II	0	34,000	34,000
New Zealand			93,000
1860-70 2nd Maori War vs UK	50,000	10,000	60,000
1914-18 World War I	0	16,000	16,000
1939-45 World War II	0	17,000	17,000
Sub-Saharan Africa	4,806,000	1,597,000	6,625,000
Angola			396,000
1961-75 Inde vs Port; USSR, S Af interv.	30,000	25,000	55,000
1975-90 Cuba & S Af intervened civ war	320,000	21,000	341,000
Benin			3,000
1889-92 Dahomey revolt vs France	...	3,000	3,000
Burundi			115,000
1972-72 Hutus vs Govt; massacres	100,000	10,000	110,000
1988-88 Tutsi massacred Hutu civs	5,000	0	5,000
Cameroon			32,000
1955-60 Independence vs France, UK	...	...	32,000
Chad			11,000
1893-93 Rabeh vs Bornu	...	...	4,000
1980-87 Reb vs Govt; Fr, Libya interv.	2,000	5,000	7,000
Ethiopia			674,000
1861-61 King killed rebels; Fr interv.	...	...	2,000
1867-68 UK invaded to free captives	4,000	0	4,000
1867-67 Civil War	...	...	3,000
1875-76 Egypt vs Ethiopia	...	...	7,000
1895-96 Italy vs Ethiopia	10,000	9,000	19,000
1935-36 Italy vs Ethiopia	...	20,000	20,000
1941-41 World War II	5,000	5,000	10,000
1974-90 Eritrean revolt & famine	500,000	70,000	570,000

WARS AND WAR-RELATED DEATHS, 1550-1990

Location and Identification of Conflict[1]	Civilian	Military	Total
1976-83 Cuba & Somalia intervened	15,000	24,000	39,000
Ghana			6,000
1824-25 UK conquered Ashantis	3,000	0	3,000
1873-74 Ashantis vs UK	1,000	0	1,000
1893-94 3rd Ashanti War vs UK	...	1,000	1,000
1981-81 Konkomba vs Nanumba	...	...	1,000
Guinea-Bissau			15,000
1962-74 Independence vs Portugal	5,000	10,000	15,000
Ivory Coast			1,000
1885-86 France defeated Ivory tribe	...	1,000	1,000
Kenya			16,000
1895-96 UK vs Kenya	1,000	0	1,000
1952-63 Independence from UK	3,000	12,000	15,000
Liberia			15,000
1985-85 Reprisal for Coup Attempt	5,000	...	5,000
1990-90 Rebels vs Rebels vs Govt	9,000	1,000	10,000
Madagascar			25,000
1883-85 Madagascar revolt France	...	2,000	2,000
1894-95 France annexed Madagascar	2,000	6,000	8,000
1947-48 Independence from France	10,000	5,000	15,000
Mozambique			1,080,000
1965-75 Independence vs Portugal	...	...	30,000
1981-90 Famine worsened by civil war	1,000,000	50,000	1,050,000
Namibia			80,000
1903-08 SW Af rev vs Germany; massacres	80,000	...	80,000
Nigeria			2,007,000
1897-97 UK vs Nigeria; Fr intervenes	1,000	0	1,000
1967-70 Biafrans vs Govt; famine & massacres	1,000,000	1,000,000	2,000,000
1980-81 Fundamental Islam vs Govt	...	...	5,000
1984-84 Fundamental Islam vs Govt	...	...	1,000
Rwanda			105,000
1956-65 Tutsis vs Govt; massacres	102,000	3,000	105,000
Senegal			2,000
1857-57 France vs Senegal	1,000	0	1,000
1890-91 France vs Senegal	...	...	1,000
Sierra Leone			2,000
1898-98 Sierra Leone Tribes vs UK	2,000	0	2,000
Somalia			55,000
1988-90 Civil War in north	50,000	5,000	55,000
Sudan			1,062,000
1869-69 Blacks vs Arabs	...	...	1,000
1882-85 Mahdist rebel UK; Eg interv.	8,000	20,000	28,000
1884-85 Sudan massacred garrison	...	1,000	1,000
1885-95 Sudan vs Egypt and UK	9,000	1,000	10,000
1896-99 Egypt and UK vs Sudan	15,000	1,000	16,000
1963-72 Blacks vs Govt; UK, Eg interv.	250,000	250,000	500,000
1984-90 Blacks vs Islamic Law	500,000	6,000	506,000
Tanzania			155,000
1888-93 Arab & Black vs Germany	...	5,000	5,000
1905-07 Revolt vs Germ; massacres	150,000	0	150,000
Uganda			615,000
1880-80 Ceremonial massacre	...	...	1,000
1893-93 Army vs King	...	...	1,000
1966-66 Buganda Tribe vs Govt	1,000	1,000	2,000
1971-78 Idi Amin massacres	300,000	0	300,000
1978-79 Tanz vs Amin; Libya intervenes	...	3,000	3,000
1981-87 Army vs people; massacres	300,000	8,000	308,000
West Sahara			16,000
1975-87 Independence from Morocco	3,000	13,000	16,000
Zaire			120,000
1892-94 Belgium vs Arabs	...	...	20,000
1960-65 UK, Bel intervene, Katanga	...	...	100,000
Zambia			1,000
1964-64 Civil strife	...	...	1,000
Zimbabwe			16,000
1972-79 Patriot Front vs Rhodesia	...	...	12,000
1983-83 Political violence	2,000	0	2,000
1983-84 Ethnic violence; Af. interv.	2,000	0	2,000
Other Africa[4]	442,000	202,000	837,000
Algeria			416,000
1541-41 Spain vs Algeria	0	7,000	7,000

Location and Identification of Conflict[1]	Civilian	Military	Total
1775-75 Spain invade Algeria	...	3,000	3,000
1839-47 France vs Algeria	285,000	15,000	300,000
1856-57 Kabylia uprising vs France	...	...	1,000
1871-72 Algeria vs France	...	...	1,000
1945-45 France intervene in civil	2,000	0	2,000
1954-62 France intervene in civil	82,000	18,000	100,000
1962-63 Rebel leaders vs Govt	1,000	1,000	2,000
Libya			96,000
1911-17 UK, Italy intervene in civ	...	...	16,000
1920-32 Italian conquest of Libya	...	...	40,000
1930-32 Italy intervene in civil war	...	...	40,000
Morocco			79,000
1578-78 Portugal vs Morocco	...	8,000	8,000
1775-75 Spanish-Moroccan War	...	1,000	1,000
1859-60 Sp vs Mor; Fr, Uk intervene	...	10,000	10,000
1907-08 France intervene in civil	1,000	...	1,000
1909-10 France intervene in civil	1,000	1,000	2,000
1909-10 Spain vs Morocco	0	10,000	10,000
1911-11 France intervene in civil	1,000	1,000	2,000
1916-17 France intervene in civil	1,000	1,000	2,000
1921-26 France & Spain intervene	11,000	29,000	40,000
1953-56 Indep from Fr; Spain intervene	3,000	0	3,000
South Africa			213,000
1818-28 Shaka-Zulu Expansion	...	...	85,000
1836-37 Boers vs Matabele	...	...	1,000
1837-37 Matabele vs Ma-Kalanga	...	...	1,000
1838-40 Whites & Blacks vs Zulus	15,000	1,000	16,000
1840-40 Matabele vs Mashonas	...	...	1,000
1846-47 South Af. Kaffirs vs UK	...	1,000	1,000
1850-53 8th South Af Kaffir War	...	3,000	3,000
1854-54 Bantu vs Boers	3,000	0	3,000
1856-56 Zulu Civil War (brothers)	...	...	1,000
1877-78 9th Kaffir War vs UK	...	1,000	1,000
1879-79 UK vs Zulus	1,000	3,000	4,000
1880-81 Basuto revolt vs UK	...	1,000	1,000
1880-81 Transvaal revolt vs UK	...	18,000	18,000
1899-02 Boer independence vs UK	20,000	32,000	52,000
1906-06 Zulu revolt vs UK	...	...	5,000
1939-45 World War II	0	9,000	9,000
1976-76 Blacks vs Security Forces	1,000	0	1,000
1983-90 Black vs Black vs Police	10,000	0	10,000
Tunisia			33,000
1532-35 Spain vs Turkey	...	28,000	28,000
1535-35 Spain vs Tunisia	...	...	1,000
1881-81 France vs Tunisia	1,000	0	1,000
1952-54 Independence from France	3,000	0	3,000
TOTAL DEATHS, 1500-1990	75,649,000[5]	63,709,000[5]	141,901,000

War—any armed conflict involving one or more governments and causing the death of 1,000 or more people per year.

Intervention—overt military action by foreign forces, at the invitation of the government in power.

Invasion—armed attack by foreign country, including air attack without land invasion.

Note: Reprinted, with permission, from Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures 1991*, 14th Edition, with war data prepared by William Eckhardt (Washington, DC: World Priorities, 1991), 22-25.

[1]Location refers to country which was principal battleground, except for two World Wars for which location refers to participating country.

[2]Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia (including present Panama and Venezuela), Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay.

[3]World War area-wide deaths are in addition to those which could be located by country, and are shown under the country of origin.

[4]Egypt is shown under Middle East.

[5]Incomplete; breakdown of civilian and military deaths not available in all cases.

GENERAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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COMMUNITY, INTERPERSONAL, AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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DIRECTORIES—INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, MEDIATION CLINICS, AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The ACCESS Resource Guide. A comprehensive international directory of information on war, peace, and security. Available from: ACCESS, 1730 M Street NW, Suite 605, Washington, DC 20036, USA, Telephone: (1)202-785-6630.

Dispute Resolution Directory. Lists mediation clinics in the United States. Available from: American Bar Association, Standing Committee on Dispute Resolution, Second Floor South Lobby, 1800 M Street NW, Washington, DC 20036-5886, USA, Telephone: (1)202-331-2258

Directory of Law School Alternative Dispute Resolution Courses and Programs. Lists law school with courses in ADR in the United States. Contact the American Bar Association listed above.

Directory of School Mediation and Conflict Resolution Programs. Profile on programs in the United States. Available from: National Association for Mediation in Education (NAME), 425 Amity Street, Amherst, MA 01002, USA, Telephone: (1)413-545-2462.

Grassroots Peace Directory. Susan Graseck, ed. A ten volume set organized by geographic region, listing United States peace organizations. Available from: ACCESS (see above for address).

Guide of Peace Studies Programs. Lists undergraduate and graduate peace studies programs in the United States and abroad. For a copy contact: Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, 4400 University Drive, Fairfax, VA 22030, USA, Telephone: (1)413-549-4600.

Housmans Peace Directory. Annual country-by-country listing of peace organizations worldwide. Available from: Housmans Bookshop Ltd., 5 Caledonian Road, Kingcross, London N19DX, UNITED KINGDOM, Telephone: (44)71-837-4473.

International Peace Directory. Thaddeus C. Trzyna (Claremont, CA: California Institute of Public Affairs, 1984). Available from: California Institute of Public Affairs, P.O. Box 10, Claremont, CA 91711, USA, Telephone: (1)714-624-5212.

World Directory of Peace Research and Training Institutions. Published in English, Spanish, and French, this lists peace institutions worldwide. Prepared by the Sector of Social and Human Sciences, UNESCO (St. Martin's Press, Berg Publishers Imprint, 1988). Available from: Publishers Book, P.O. Box 120159, Staten Island, NY 10312, USA, Telephone: (1)800-288-2131.

REPORTS OF COMMISSIONS ON DEVELOPMENT, DISARMAMENT, THE ENVIRONMENT, AND HUMANITARIAN ISSUES

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Independent Commission on International Development Issues, Willy Brandt (Chair). North-South: A Programme for Survival. London: Pan Books, 1980.

Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, Sadruddin Aga Khan and Hassan bin Talal (Co-Chairs). London: Zed Books Ltd., 1988.

South Commission, Julius Nyerere (Chair). The Challenge to the South. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

World Commission on Environment and Development, Gro Harlem Brundtland (Chair). Our Common Future. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

The following institutions offer courses or university degrees, undergraduate or graduate, in peace studies and conflict resolution.

EDUCATION IN PEACE STUDIES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Australian National University, Peace Research Centre
Research School of Pacific Studies, G.P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2601, AUSTRALIA
Telephone: (61)6-249-3098
Master and Diploma Programs in strategic studies with emphasis on Pacific regional affairs, informal focus on peace issues.

Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution
Rochusplatz 1, A-7461 Stadtschlainin, AUSTRIA
Telephone: (43)3355-2498
Research and analysis on psychological aspects of war and peace.

Bhagalpur University, Department of Gandhian Thought
Bhagalpur-7 INDIA
Degree program focusing on nonviolence, formations of Peace Brigades; field work in rural areas.

Carleton University, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA)
School of International Affairs, Paterson Hall, 2A55 OH, Ottawa, ON K1S 5B6, CANADA
Telephone: (1)613-788-6655
Interdisciplinary graduate program including international conflict analysis.

Catholic University of Leuven, Center for Peace Research
Dept. Politieke Wetenschappen, Van Evenstraat 2B, 3000 Leuven, BELGIUM
Telephone: (32)16-28-32-41
Research on peace issues.

MacQuarie University, Centre for Conflict Resolution
Sydney 2109, AUSTRALIA
Graduate Diploma, M.A. and Ph.D. in conflict resolution.

George Mason University, Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (CCAR)
4400 University Drive, Fairfax, VA 22030, USA
Telephone: (1)703-993-1300
M.S. and Ph.D. in conflict resolution.

Syracuse University, Program in Nonviolent Conflict and Change
Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, 712 Ostrom Avenue, Syracuse, NY 13244, USA
Telephone: (1)315-443-2367
A concentration in Nonviolent Conflict and Change as part of the interdisciplinary Ph.D. in Social Science; also has Summer Institute on Creative Conflict Management.

University of Akron, Center for Peace Studies
University of Akron, Akron, OH 44325-6201, USA
Telephone: (1)216-972-6513
Undergraduate program in peace studies and conflict management.

University of California at San Diego, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC)
1229 Robinson Building-0518, UCSD, 9500 Gilman Drive, La Jolla, CA 92093-0518, USA
Telephone: (1)619-534-3352
Undergraduate research on international conflict and cooperation.

University of Lancaster, Richardson Institute for Peace Studies
Department of Politics and International Relations, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YL, UNITED KINGDOM
Telephone: (44)05-246-5201
Sponsorship of postgraduate study of war, peace, and aggression.

University of Lubumbashi, Centre d'Etudes Politiques d'Afrique Centrale (CEPAC)
P.O. Box 1825, Lubumbashi, ZAIRE

University of Maryland, Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM)
Mill Bldg., College Park, MD 20742, USA
Telephone: (1)301-314-7703
Research and training on development and conflict resolution.

University for Peace
P.O. Box 199-1250, Escazu, COSTA RICA
Telephone: (506)49-10-72 and 49-15-11
Chartered by the U.N. but now autonomous; humanistic program on education for peace, economic development, conflict resolution, and scientific cooperation; joint M.A. with the University of Quebec in Montreal. Research and training.

Uppsala University, Department for Peace and Conflict Research
Ostra Agatan 53, S75322 Uppsala, SWEDEN
Telephone: (46)18-18-25-00
Cross-disciplinary research in peace and conflict studies.

The following organizations offer training in conflict resolution and mediation.

TRAINING IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND MEDIATION

For more information, see the American Bar Association "Dispute Resolution Directory," cited under the preceding For Further Reading section of this publication.

The Community Board Program
1540 Market Street, Suite 490, San Francisco, CA 94102, USA
Telephone: (1)415-552-1250
Conflict resolution training in neighborhoods, elementary, and secondary schools and juvenile facilities.

Friends Conflict Resolution Programs
1515 Cherry St. Philadelphia, PA 19102, USA
Mediation training, application of Quaker theory to conflict resolution.

Interaction Associates, Inc.
University Place, 124 Mount Auburn Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA
Telephone: (1)617-354-2000
Training in facilitation and collaborative problem solving.

Harvard University, Program on Negotiation
Harvard Law School, 500 Pound Hall, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA
Telephone: (1)617-495-1684
Training in negotiation and mediation.

World Association for the School as an Instrument for Peace (EIP)
5 rue du Simplon, CH-1207 Geneva, SWITZERLAND
Telephone: (41)22-735-2422
Aims to train teachers about human rights and peace education to be taught in schools.

ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH EAST ASIAN NATIONS

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established in 1967 to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region, to foster regional peace and stability, and to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific, and administrative spheres. Its members include Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand.[1]

Secretary-General: Rusli Noor

ASEAN can be contacted at the member nations' embassies in Washington, DC or at:
Jalan Sisingamore, P.O. Box 2072,
Jakarta, INDONESIA
Telephone: (62)21-712272, Telex: 47214

LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES

The League of Arab States (Arab League) was established in 1945 to strengthen relations among member states by coordinating policies in political, cultural, economic, social, and related affairs; and to mediate disputes between members and third parties. It includes: Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine Liberation Organization, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. In 1989, following a ten-year suspension, Egypt was readmitted to the Arab League and during 1990-1991, the Arab League's headquarters were returned to Cairo.[2]

Secretary-General: Ahmed Essmat Adbel Maguid

The League of Arab States can be contacted at:
Tharir Square, Cairo, EGYPT;
Telephone: (20)2-750-511 -or-
747 Third Avenue, 35th Floor,
New York, New York, 10010, USA
Telephone: (1)212-838-8700, Fax: (1)212-355-3909

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established in 1963 for these purposes: (1) to promote unity and solidarity among African States; (2) to intensify and coordinate efforts to improve living standards in Africa; (3) to defend sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of African States; (4) to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and (5) to promote international cooperation in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations. The members of the OAU include: Algeria, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, The Comoros, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sao Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zaire, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.[3]

Secretary-General: Salim Ahmed Salim

The Organization of African Unity can be contacted at:
P.O. Box 3243 Addis Ababa, ETHIOPIA;
Telephone: (251)1-517700, Telex: 21046 -or-
346 50th Street, New York, New York 10022, USA
Telephone: (1)212-319-5490, Fax: (1)212-319-7135

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

Chartered in 1948, the Organization of American States (OAS) seeks to promote peace, justice, security, mutual understanding, and solidarity among the American states. Its members include: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, St. Christopher and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela.[4]

Secretary-General: Joao Clemente Baena Soares

The OAS can be contacted at:
1889 F Street NW, Washington, DC 20006, USA
Telephone: (1)202-458-3000, Fax: (1)202-458-3967,
Telex: 440118

UNITED NATIONS

According to its 1945 Charter, the United Nations was established (1) to maintain international peace and security; (2) to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace; (3) to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and (4) to be the center for harmonizing the accusations of nations in the attainment of these common ends. Including the seven 1991 additions (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Marshall Islands, and Micronesia), there are 166 members: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain , Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussia, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, People's Republic of China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, The Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Russia, Rwanda, St. Christopher and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tomé and Príncipe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Tanzania, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Vietnam, Western Somoa, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.[5]

Secretary-General: Boutros Boutros-Ghali

The United Nations can be contacted at:
United Nations Secretariat,
New York, New York, 10017, USA
Telephone: (1)212-963-1234, Fax: (1)212-963-4879

[1]Arthur S. Banks, ed., *Political Handbook of the World 1990* (Binghamton, NY: CSA Publications, 1990), 771-72.
[2]Ibid., 767-69.
[3]*Europa World Year Book 1991*, Vol. 1 (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1991), 190-93.
[4]Ibid., 194-96
[5]Ibid., 3-8.

African Peace Research Institute (APRI)
P.O. Box 51757, Falomo, Ikoyi, Lagos, NIGERIA
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African and global research on peace.

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P.O. Box 188, Beijing, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
International peace and disarmament issues.

Conflict Resolution Network
P.O. Box 1016, Chatswood 2067, AUSTRALIA
Telephone: (61)2-419-8500

Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development
c/o Center for Conflict Resolution, George Mason University, 4400 University Drive, Fairfax, VA 22030, USA
Telephone: (1)703-993-1300

European Institute for Peace and Security (EIPS)
rue du Champ de Mars 31, 1050 Brussels, BELGIUM
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International Peace Research Association
c/o Antioch College, Yellow Springs, OH 45387, USA
Telephone: (1)513-767-6444

International Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)
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International conflict resolution research.

Mennonite Central Committee, U.S. Peace Section (MCC)
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Application of Anabaptist belief to conflict resolution.

Peace Research Institute, Dundas (PRI-D)
25 Dundana Avenue, Dundas, ON L9H 4E5, CANADA
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Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)
Pipers vag 28, S-170 73 Solna, Stockholm, SWEDEN
Telephone: (46)8-655-97-00
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Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI)
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International peace research.

U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP)
1550 M Street, NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20005, USA
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Management of international conflict.

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INN Secretariat

The Carter Center in Atlanta, Georgia is a nonprofit public policy institute founded in 1982. The Center is home to a group of organizations that unite research and outreach programs in an effort to improve the quality of life around the world.

The core organization of the Center is The Carter Center of Emory University (CCEU). Here, academic fellows, who also teach at Emory, address carefully selected issues through research, conferences, and special publications. CCEU programs focus on resolving conflict, promoting democracy, preserving human rights, improving health, and fighting hunger in Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, the Soviet Union, and the United States.

Photo: Paul Dingman

The Center's strength lies in a unique combination of resources. Jimmy Carter's stature as a world leader provides the Center with singular access, vision, and direction. Under the direction of James T. Laney, Emory University's strong academic programs provide a solid base for studying contemporary issues and implementing solutions to global problems.

The construction of The Carter Center facilities was funded entirely by $28 million in private donations from individuals, foundations, and corporations. Dedicated on October 1, 1986, the complex of four interconnected buildings on 30 acres houses CCEU and the Jimmy Carter Library and Museum, deeded to and operated by the federal government. The Center is also home to Global 2000, The Task Force for Child Survival, and the Carter-Menil Human Rights Foundation, a group of independently funded and administered nonprofit organizations with goals and ideals that complement and enhance The Carter Center as a whole.


CB

TEN THINGS YOU CAN DO FOR PEACE

1. Advocate for a reduction of arms traffic.

2. Press governments to fund conflict resolution readiness as much as they do military readiness.

3. Be trained as a third-party mediator.

4. Volunteer your time at a local community dispute resolution center.

5. Educate yourself about other cultures and cultural values.

6. Enroll in existing academic courses on conflict resolution.

7. Speak to local civic organizations about the need to eliminate war as a method of resolving conflicts.

8. Foster local peace or conflict resolution essay contests in schools.

9. Write letters to newspaper editors advocating for peace.

10. Write to us at the INN and help us collect more good ideas for the next issue of the *State of World Conflict Report.*

Send your ideas to: *State of World Conflict Report*
IDEAS,
c/o International Negotiation Network, The Carter Center of Emory University, One Copenhill, Atlanta, Georgia 30307, USA