

Wars 1992 - 2017

On December 25, 1991, the hammer and sickle was lowered for the last time over the Kremlin, signalling the end of the Cold War. After four decades of proxy wars, wars of liberation, and the ever-present threat of nuclear Armageddon, many believed that the demise of one of the world's superpowers signalled the "end of history" and would usher in an era of peace, prosperity, and political consensus. The reality, however, was quite the opposite. As the great clash of twentieth century ideologies receded, conflicts which had lain dormant for a generation erupted again, new struggles emerged, and many states left their populations mired in violence and instability as they collapsed. This study will provide a comprehensive overview of how every war has started, taken place, or ended in the 25 years that followed.

First, information regarding the time and location of each conflict, brief descriptions of how each conflict began and ended, and supporting evidence for the categorisations is presented in an alphabetical list. A series of tables containing the condensed data and relevant quantitative analysis are then presented, followed by a summary of the findings.

Methodology

Wars

A "war" shall be defined as a political conflict which has cost the lives of more than 1,000 people. This study has identified 43 wars which have started, taken place, or ended between 1992 – 2017. These have been categorised into five types of conflict, largely inspired by [Uppsala Conflict Data Program](#). They are:

1. Interstate – A conflict between two or more governments.
2. Intrastate – A conflict between a government and a non-governmental party; with no interference from other countries.
3. Intrastate with foreign involvement - An armed conflict between a government and a non-government party where the government side, the opposing side, or both sides, receive troop support from other governments that actively participate in the conflict.
4. Extrastate – A conflict between a government and a non-government party which can take place outside the boundaries of the state.
5. Non-state – A conflict between two non-government parties.

Further consideration has been given to whether any of the belligerent parties benefitted from the conflict. This has been divided into two categories: Political benefits are considered to be when one

or more of the belligerents has achieved its objectives or made political gains (often in the form of seizing power or ending an insurgency); Socio-Economic benefits are considered to be when the population as a whole has benefitted from the war (usually through material gains or emancipation).

Wars Started

When a war has “started” will be understood as when politically motivated violence escalates into sustained conflict. In some cases, this is provided by a declaration of war, but in many intrastate conflicts the identification of a moment in which instability and occasional violence escalates into conflict is problematic. Where possible, reliable sources have been consulted to indicate when a war is deemed to have begun, but in some cases an approximate date has been given. Conflicts in which the violence subsides for short durations of time, due to ceasefires or other factors, are considered to be a single conflict, as are wars in which peace is negotiated, but fails to take root. Examples of such as conflicts include that in the Ivory Coast between 2002 and 2011, or in Yemen from 2004 until the present day. Every war that has started in the given timeframe has been placed into one of the six following categories, based on the circumstances in which the conflict began. They are:

1. Invasion/External subversion
2. Dispute over land/resources
3. Revolution/Coup D'état/Constitutional Change
4. State Collapse
5. Separatism
6. Political exclusion/Oppression

Each of the 30 wars that has started between 1992 and 2017 has been given a value of one. When the reason for the outbreak of the war is the result of one of the above categories, that category receives a value of one. In the case that two of the above factors are considered to have been equally responsible for the outbreak of an armed conflict, each category has received a value of 0.5. When aggregated together, the data provides an overview of how wars started between 1992 and 2017.

Wars Ended

When a war has “ended” will be understood as when politically motivated violence has ended for over a year (Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo each have two entries as the nature of each conflict was markedly different), and the cessation in hostilities has been formalised through a peace agreement, political developments, or the victory of one side of the conflict. These criteria have led to the omission of some wars which many may argue have ended in the given timeframe. Since 1992, for example, it could be argued that three wars have ended in Israel-Palestine (the

Second Intifada, the 2008 – 2009 conflict in Gaza, and the 2014 conflict in Gaza), however as violence has continued between these events and the conflict remains unresolved, these wars are not considered to have ended. Other examples include: The War in Afghanistan, the War in Iraq, the Second Chechen War, and the War in Libya. Every war that has ended in the given timeframe has been placed into one or more of the following categories:

1. A peace agreement has been negotiated through the efforts of external governmental bodies.
2. A peace agreement has been negotiated through the efforts of external non-governmental bodies.
3. A peace agreement has been negotiated by the belligerents.
4. Domestic reforms of some kind have led to the cessation of hostilities.
5. International intervention has ended the conflict.
6. The victory of one side.

Each of the 33 wars that has ended within the timeframe of the study has been given a value of one. When the reason for the ending of the war is the result of one of the above categories, that category receives a value of one. When two of the categories are considered to have significantly contributed to the ending of the war, each receives a value of 0.5. When aggregated together, the data provides an overview of how wars ended between 1992 and 2017.

The Wars

Afghanistan, 04/28/1992. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Revolution/coup d'état/constitutional change.(1)

In April 1992, Mohammed Najibullah, the Soviet-backed leader of Afghanistan was ousted from office and was replaced by a fragile interim government. Disputes over the presidency escalated, and the country soon fell into civil war.

Ended by: The [victory of one side 27/09/1996](#).(1)

One side (the Taliban) benefitted from the conflict: The Taliban, supported by Pakistan, emerged as the strongest of the disparate mujahidin groups and took over the country.

Notes: Following the resignation of Najibullah Ahmedzai, the soviet backed leader of Afghanistan in 1992, the country descended into war. The Taliban promised order, received the backing of Pakistan, and developed into a cohesive force which then succeeded in conquering the country. More [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#).

Afghanistan, 10/07/2001. Interstate conflict/intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Invasion/external subversion.(1)

An Islamic group, the Taliban, had emerged victorious from the Afghan civil war, and had taken over the governance of the country. Sanctuary and support was offered to numerous extremist groups from the Islamic World, one of which, Al-Qaida, orchestrated the 9/11 attacks on targets in the USA. The was followed by an invasion of Afghanistan by a coalition of numerous states led by the US.

Continuing: Despite the Taliban being ousted from power with relative ease, coalition forces and their Afghan allies have failed to suppress an ongoing insurgency and install a stable government.
Notes: The War in Afghanistan has become the longest conflict in American history, and many observers argue that little progress has been made since the Taliban were initially removed from power. More [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#).

Albania, 01/16/1997. Intrastate conflict.

Started by: State collapse.(1)

Economic and financial unrest led to the government losing control of swathes of the country to rebels and criminal gangs. The collapse of government authority also led to clashes between the northern population (Ghegs) and the southern population (Tosks).

Ended by: International intervention and the [removal of the incumbent president in an election](#). (Domestic reforms).(0.5:0.5)

One side benefitted from the conflict: The government was replaced by the opposition.

Notes: Intervention by the international community provided some stability, and elections were held in which the government was replaced. More [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#).

Algeria 1991 – 2002. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Elections held in 1991 indicate a victory for the Islamic Salvation Front (ISF), a newly formed political party. In January 1992, the Algerian military takes power and bans the ISF, but is confronted by several armed rebel groups.

Ended by: The [victory of one side 08/02/2002](#).(1)

One side benefitted from the conflict: The Algerian government consolidated its control over the country after reconciling with many opposition groups and defeating the Armed Islamic Group of Algeria.

Notes: The government of Algeria and the ISF came to terms in 1998 and an amnesty was progressively introduced for its members to “repent.” In the following years the Armed Islamic Group of Algeria was defeated by government forces, who killed its leader Antar Zouabri in 2002, effectively ending the conflict. More [here](#).

Bangladesh – Chittagong Hill Tracts 1977 – 1997. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

The 20-year struggle began when 100,000 people were displaced from their homes without compensation by the construction of the Kaptai Dam.

Ended by: A ceasefire in 1992 and a [peace agreement made by the belligerents 02/12/1997](#).(1)

One side benefitted from the conflict: The Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti achieved their aim of establishing autonomy within Bangladesh and returning displaced people to their homes.

Notes: Following the restoration of democracy in Bangladesh in 1991 and the election of Sheikh Hasina Wajed in 1996 peace talks began, culminating in the recognition of the special status of the residents of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. More [here](#).

Bosnia & Herzegovina, 04/06/1992. Interstate conflict/ intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Invasion/external subversion and separatism.(0.5:0.5)

The multi-ethnic population of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia & Herzegovina grew increasingly divided over the question of independence from Yugoslavia following the secession of Slovenia and Croatia in 1991. In April 1992, Bosnian Serbs, with considerable support from Serbia and what remained of the Yugoslav army, began an operation to seize control of the country, occupying 70% of the territory.

Ended by: A [US brokered Peace Agreement 14/12/1995](#). (Organised external by external governmental bodies).(1)

Inconclusive: Bosnia and Herzegovina successfully seceded from Yugoslavia, however President Izetbegovic's aim of establishing a multi-ethnic state was mired by the ethnic divisions which emerged during the war. The Bosnian Serb leadership's goal of establishing a Serb state failed, although an autonomous, predominantly Serb, entity was established. Bosnian Croats attained some autonomy.

Notes: Following numerous attempts to implement a peace treaty by the international community, US diplomat Richard Holbrooke and Swedish prime minister Carl Bildt brought the warring parties to negotiations in Dayton, Ohio, in 1995. It should be noted that at this point, the war had dramatically turned against the Bosnian Serbs, who were arguably weeks away from defeat. More [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#).

Bosnia-Herzegovina (Muslim-Croat) 18/10/1992. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Dispute over land/resources and state collapse.(0.5:0.5)

The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina led to the establishment of three competing centres of power, largely defined by ethnic identity. After initially fighting against Bosnian Serb forces together, Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims fought a vicious war against each other in parts of the country.

Ended by: A [US brokered peace agreement 18/03/1994](#). (Organised by external governmental bodies).(1)

No side benefited from the conflict: The conflict cost both sides significant resources whilst they were both fighting the Army of Republika Srpska. Following the agreement, they became allies.

Notes: The Muslim-Croat conflict of the larger 1992-1995 War in Bosnia and Herzegovina was ended when both sides agreed to the Washington Agreement, and joined forces to fight Bosnian Serb forces. More [here](#).

Burundi, 10/21/1993. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Revolution/coup d'état/constitutional change.(1)

In June 1993, Burundians elected President Melchior Ndadaye and a pro-Hutu government following the adoption of a new constitution and the end of military rule. However, just a few months later Tutsi soldiers assassinated Ndadaye, beginning a long civil war.

Ended by: Military and constitutional reforms based on the Arusha Accords (made in 2000), implemented through [elections in 2005 and the restoration of security 16/08/2006](#). (Domestic Reforms).(1)

One side benefitted from the conflict: The Forces for the Defence of Democracy, who had been opposing the government in the civil war, won the elections in 2005 and its secretary-general, Pierre Nkurunziza, became President.

Notes: Beginning in 2000, a series of attempts to end hostilities, including efforts by Nelson Mandela, failed to establish peace. They did, however, provide the foundation upon which a more lasting peace was established following significant defence and constitutional reforms made in 2005. The last rebel group, the Forces of National Liberation, would continue a low-level insurgency until 2009, when they laid down their arms. More [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#).

Central African Republic (CAR), 12/10/2012. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: State collapse and political exclusion/oppression.(0.5:0.5)

The recent history of CAR is marked by conflict, rebellion, and disputed elections. However, in 2012 a coalition of rebel groups known as Seleka began an insurgency against the government, which it accused of failing to abide by the terms of a 2007 peace agreement, in December 2012. Seleka

succeeded in gaining control of significant swathes of the country, and the following year, Seleka forces took the capital, Bangui, ousting the incumbent President, Francois Bozize, but fighting continued.

Continuing: At the end of 2017 the violence was continuing and showed little sign of abating. The UN has since extended the mandate of its peacekeeping mission, and the Red Cross has warned that half of the population is in need of humanitarian aid.

Notes: Despite Seleka being formally dissolved in 2013, violence between rival militias, Seleka rebels, and government forces. In addition, a conflict between Ugandan forces and the Lords Resistance Army was fought on CAR territory. More [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#).

Chad, 12/18/2005. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Invasion/external subversion.(1)

After years of Sudanese attempts to destabilise the government of Chad through the sponsorship of rebels within Chad, a civil war began in December 1995. The following year, eight rebel factions formed a coalition, the United Front for Democratic Change, against President Idriss Deby.

Ended by: The victory of one side and a [peace agreement made by the belligerents 15/01/2010](#).(0.5:0.5)

One side benefitted from the conflict: The Chadian government defeated numerous rebel groups, and by coming to an agreement with Sudan, ended their external sponsorship. Control over the whole country was then established.

Notes: After defeating numerous rebel groups, many of whom had received support from Sudan, with French assistance, President Idriss Déby of Chad and President Omar al-Bashir came to a bilateral agreement to end support for rebel groups and work together to establish security along the border. More [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#).

Croatia 1991 – 1995. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

The Republic of Croatia seceded from Yugoslavia in 1991, however many Serbs who lived in the republic supported the establishment of the Serb Republic of Krajina, a separatist entity supported by the Yugoslav leadership in Belgrade. Armed conflict begins with the siege of Vukovar in August 1991.

Ended by: The victory of one side and a [peace agreement made by belligerents 12/11/1995](#).(0.5:0.5)

One side benefitted from the conflict: Croatia succeeded in attaining independence from Yugoslavia and Zagreb gained full control of Croatian territory.

Notes: Following a series of decisive military victories by the Croatian Army, Croatian Serb forces were pushed into Bosnia and Herzegovina along with 200,000 civilians. Those that remained in Croatia signed the Erdut Agreement, ending hostilities. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Democratic Republic of Congo (Zaire) 10/24/1996. Interstate Conflict.

Started by: Invasion/external subversion and state collapse.(0.5:0.5)

In October 1996 a coalition of Rwandan, Ugandan, Burundian, and Angolan forces invaded Zaire and replaced the long-serving incumbent President, Mobutu Sese Seko, with a rebel leader, Laurent-Desire Kabila. The country soon descended into war as Kabila attempted to consolidate control from an array of rebel groups and militias.

Ended by: The [victory of one side 16/05/1997](#).(1)

One side benefitted from the conflict: The Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo, supported by Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Angola, seized power.

Notes: Following a multi-national campaign against the authoritarian rule of Mobutu Sese Seko, whose regime had been sponsored by France and the US during the Cold War, Laurent-Désiré Kabila

was installed. Much of the efforts made were by the Rwandan Tutsi army led by then Vice-President Paul Kagame, who was motivated to invade by the presence of members of the former Hutu regime encamped on the Rwandan border. More [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#).

Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) 02/08/1998. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Dispute over land/resources and state collapse.(0.5:0.5)

Often referred to as the Second Congo War or the African World War, the war in the DRC was in many ways a continuation of the First Congo War, and was largely fought over the control of trade and resources. The war involved nine African countries and 25 rebel groups.

Ended by: A series of [peace agreements largely brokered by South Africa](#), and the [formation of a transitional government 18/07/2003](#). (Organised by external governmental bodies: Domestic Reforms).(0.5:0.5)

Inconclusive: The peace agreements established a unified and inclusive government in Congo, and theoretically ended external support for militias. However, the government remains fragile and is yet to consolidate its power over the whole country.

Notes: The Sun City Agreement, signed in South Africa, provided the framework for a unified government and elections to be held. The following Pretoria Accord led to the withdrawal of Rwandan troops, whilst the Luanda Agreement led to the withdrawal of Ugandan troops. The Global and All-Inclusive Agreement marked the formal end of the conflict. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Djibouti 1991 - 1994. Intrastate conflict.

In October 1991 the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy, composed predominantly of ethnic Afars, began an insurgency against the Issa-dominated government.

Ended by: a [peace agreement made by belligerents 26/12/1994](#).(1)

One side benefitted: Afar rebels ended the exclusionary policies of President Gouled, some were incorporated into the government, and a new constitution was introduced.

Notes: Political and economic pressure pushed President Gouled (who had ruled Djibouti since its independence from France in 1977) to negotiate with the rebels, who opposed his treatment of the Afars. More [here](#).

Eritrea – Ethiopia, 05/06/1998. Interstate conflict.

Started by: Invasion/External subversion.(1)

Eritrea had fought a three-decade long war for independence from Ethiopia, eventually achieving this aim in 1991. In 1998 Eritrean President Isaias Afewerki order his forces to capture Badme, a town and region on the contested border between the two states, resulting in a large conflict.

Ended by: The victory of one side and a [UN, Organisation for African Unity, EU, and Algerian brokered peace agreement 12/12/2000](#). (Organised – predominantly - by external non-governmental bodies).(0.5:0.5)

One side benefitted from the conflict: Ethiopia eventually occupied approximately 25% of Eritrea, and following the Algiers Agreement, retained control of the disputed territories.

Notes: The war was the result of disputed territory along the border between the two countries. Following Ethiopia's victory on the battlefield, peace terms were agreed in Algiers, Algeria, and Ethiopia retained control of disputed territory such as Badme. More [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#).

Georgia – Abkhazia, 08/14/1992. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Separatism.(1)

Abkhazia was a fully-fledged republic of the USSR, but was incorporated into the Soviet Republic of Georgia by Josef Stalin in 1931. The break-up of the USSR led to calls for Abkhaz independence from

Georgia and the emergence of ethnically Abkhaz separatist forces, who received considerable support from Russia.

Ended by: The [victory of one side November 1993](#).(1)

One side (the Abkhazians) benefitted from the conflict: Abkhazia gained *de facto* independence from Georgia and formed closer ties with Russia.

Notes: The Georgia – Abkhazia War was not resolved in 1993, and it would remain a “frozen conflict” until 2008, when it re-ignited. The fighting stopped in 1993 when Abkhazian forces, who were supported by Russia, captured the port of Poti, cutting Tbilisi off. The Georgian government, fearing the complete dismemberment of Georgia, then offered concessions to Russia to halt the conflict.

More [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#).

Guatemala 1960 – 1996. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

The decades-long civil war was fought between the government of Guatemala, which had risen to power in a US-backed coup d'état in 1954, and a range of leftist rebel groups.

Ended by: A ceasefire in 1995 and a [peace agreement made by belligerents 29/12/1996](#).(1)

No side benefitted from the conflict: Those who remained of the military leadership (believed to be responsible for 93% of atrocities) were removed from their positions in 1996. The leftist URNG was re-integrated into society and transformed into a political party, although its share of the vote has been minimal.

Notes: The Guatemalan Civil War began in 1960, and was fought between left-wing guerrillas and government forces. Peace talks began between the warring parties in 1994 with President Ramiro De Leon Carpio, and were finalised in 1996 by his successor Alvaro Arzu. Arzu and the leader of the URNG, Rolando Moran, were awarded the UNESCO Peace Prize for their efforts, whilst human rights activist Rigoberta Menchu, who was present at the signing of the accord and is deemed pivotal to peace process, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1992. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Iraq – Kurdish civil war, May 1994. Non-state conflict.

Started by: Dispute over land/Resources.(1)

Disputes over tax revenues and control of territory between two rival Iraqi Kurdish political parties, the Kurdish Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, escalated into a fully-fledged civil war.

Ended by: A [US brokered Peace Agreement 17/09/1998](#). (Organised by external governmental bodies).(1)

No side benefitted from the conflict: At the end of the conflict, the two sides agreed to a power-sharing agreement, as the case had been prior to the conflict.

Notes: Beginning with a land dispute, two rival factions of Iraqi Kurds fought for four years. Iraq, Turkey, Iran, and to an extent the US became involved in the conflict. The promise of revenue sharing between the two sides and US protection from Iraqi forces brought the warring parties to the negotiating table in Washington, where they came to terms. The agreement they signed established two Kurdish regional governments. More [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#).

Iraq, 03/20/2003. Interstate Conflict/Intrastate Conflict with Foreign Involvement.

Started by: Invasion/External subversion.(1)

In March 2003, US and allied troops launched an invasion of Iraq, after Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein refused to leave Iraq as demanded by US President George Bush, who believed Hussein was developing weapons of mass destruction.

Continuing: Since the initial invasion, Iraq has been subjected to a range of insurgencies and sectarian conflicts, culminating in the rise (and fall) of the so-called Islamic state.

Notes: The Iraqi army was defeated in just over a month, but US forces and their allies have failed to stabilise the country. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Israel – Jordan 1967 – 1994. Interstate conflict.

In June 1967 Israel fought a brief war with Egypt, Jordan and Syria. Although the armed aspect of the conflict lasted only six days, a formal state of war continued between Israel and Jordan.

Ended by: A ceasefire in 1967 and a [peace agreement made by belligerents 26/10/1994](#).(1)

No side benefitted from the conflict: Neither state gained from the conflict.

Notes: A formal peace treaty was signed on the border between the two countries after 37 years of war. President Bill Clinton was a witness to the signing, and supposedly encouraged King Hussein of Jordan to sign by offering to forgive the country's debts. More [here](#).

Ivory Coast, 09/19/2002. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Revolution/coup d'état/constitutional change.(1)

Army officers, mostly from the country's north, attempt a coup, but succeed only in gaining control of the north of the country. This led to the eruption of a civil war between forces loyal to the incumbent president, Laurent Gbagbo, and those who followed the rebels in the north.

Ended by: International intervention and the [victory of one side 11/04/2011](#).(0.5:0.5)

One side benefitted from the conflict: The New Forces, with French and UN support, ousted Laurent Gbagbo (who was sent to the Hague) and Alassane Ouattara became President.

Notes: Civil erupted in 2002, and despite numerous declarations and peace agreements, fighting continued until 2011. It should be noted that the scale of the fighting reduced between 2007 and 2010, leading some to argue the war had ended, but the violence continued in this period. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Lebanon – Israel, 07/12/2006. Extrastate conflict between a state and a non-state actor.

Started by: Invasion/external subversion.(1)

In July 2006 the paramilitary wing of Hezbollah, a Shi'a Lebanese political party, launched a rocket attack on Israel, and then ambushed an IDF patrol, killing eight Israeli soldiers and capturing two others. The attack initiated a 34-day conflict in which Israel conducted a bombing campaign of Lebanon and invaded the south of the country.

Ended by: A [UN brokered ceasefire 14/08/2006](#). (Organised by external non-governmental bodies).(1)

Inconclusive: Both sides claimed victory in the conflict, with Israel noting its destruction of weapons and the "state within a state" in southern Lebanon, whilst Sheik Hassan Nasrallah declared a strategic victory.

Notes: The brief, 34-day conflict was ended when the United Nations Security Council unanimously approved UN Security Council Resolution 1701, which was accepted by both sides of the conflict. More [here](#), [here](#) and [here](#).

Liberia 1989 – 2003. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Charles Taylor, a former member of the Liberian government, fled Liberia in 1985 and began organising a rebel group in neighbouring Ivory Coast. In 1989 his forces entered Liberia, initiating a long civil-war.

Ended by: International intervention and a [Nigerian brokered peace agreement 18/08/2003](#). (Organised by external governmental bodies).(0.5:0.5)

One side benefitted from the conflict: President Charles Taylor was forced to resign, and fled to Nigeria.

Notes: A complicated three-way conflict between Liberia, Sierra Leone, and the Guinea Republic resulted in the latter states supporting the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy rebel group, who managed to place the capital, Monrovia, under siege. Nigerian and American peacekeepers then entered the country, Taylor resigned, and the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement was negotiated, ending the war. More [here](#), [here](#) and [here](#).

Libya, 02/15/2011. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Revolution/coup d'état/constitutional change.(1)

Popular uprisings in numerous Arab countries, particularly Egypt and Tunisia, inspired similar protests in Libya. Opposition to Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's rule was not tolerated, and government security forces fired on protesters, sparking a civil war.

Continuing: Despite the relatively quick removal of Gaddafi from power, the various rebel groups who fought against him with external assistance have failed to form a stable government with authority over the country.

Notes: After the initial conflict between rebels and forces loyal to Gaddafi, a second conflict has arisen between two rival governments, the House of Representatives based in the east of the country, and the General National Congress, based in the west. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Moldova – Transnistria 02/03/1992. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Separatism.(1)

Much of the Russian-speaking population of Moldova, who largely resided in the east of the country, feared Moldova would join Romania following the collapse of the Soviet Union. As a result, the provinces of Gagauzia and Transnistria declared independence and announced their desire to be reattached to the Soviet Union, leading to the outbreak of armed conflict between the separatists and Moldovan forces.

Ended by: A ceasefire in 1992 and a [Russian brokered Memorandum in 08/05/1997](#). (Organised by external governmental bodies).(1)

One side (Transnistria) benefitted from the conflict: It became a *de facto* independent republic, although most states do not recognise it.

Notes: After a few months of tacit Russian support for the Transnistrians, in July Russian forces engaged Moldovan forces, essentially ending the conflict. In 1997 the Moldovan and Transnistrian Presidents were brought to Moscow to sign the Moscow Memorandum, in an agreement mediated by Russia, Ukraine, and the OSCE. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Mozambique 1976 - 1992. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Following Mozambique's attainment of independence from Portugal in 1975, the leading opposition group, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, took power. Their rule, however, was soon opposed by the anti-communist Mozambican National Resistance, which received significant support from Rhodesia and South Africa.

Ended by: A [UN brokered peace agreement on 04/10/1992](#). (Organised by external non-governmental bodies).(1)

No side benefitted from the conflict: After the war, the previous government remained power.

Notes: The Mozambican Civil War was ended by the General Peace Accords, which were signed in Rome after 27 months of negotiations on October 4, 1992. The warring parties were brought to the negotiating table after losing external backing and reaching a stalemate on the battlefield. They were encouraged to come to terms by efforts made by the Italian government and private individuals. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Nepal, 02/12/1996. Intrastate conflict.

Started by: Revolution/coup d'état/constitutional change.(1)

On February 13th, 1996, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) declared “the people’s war” and began a decade-long insurgency against the Nepalese monarchy.

Ended by: Constitutional reform (Domestic Reforms) and a [peace agreement made by the belligerents 21/11/2006](#).(0.5:0.5)

Inconclusive: The King lost his political rights and property, whilst the Maoists lost their parallel administration. An alliance of political parties, including the Maoists (84 of 329), governs the country until elections are held, in which the Maoists fare reasonably well but do not win – failing to install a communist republic.

Notes: After a decade of conflict, large pro-democracy protests and international pressure forced King Gyanendra to reinstate parliament. The new parliament curbed the king’s powers, and began peace talks with the Maoist rebels. The government and rebels forge a peace agreement based on power sharing and a return to democracy. More [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#).

Nigeria – Boko Haram, 07/26/2009. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Separatism.(1)

The conflict in Northern Nigeria, commonly known as the Boko Haram Insurgency, began in July 2009 when the Islamist group Boko Haram began an armed campaign, including terror attacks, against the government of Nigeria.

Continuing: Despite concerted efforts by the Nigerian military and the forces of neighbouring states, Boko Haram remain active almost a decade after their insurgency began.

Notes: Originating in the Northern Nigerian provinces of Borno and Yobe, Boko Haram’s jihadist insurgency spread to Cameroon, Chad, and Niger in 2014. A coalition offensive pushed them back, but “the deadliest terrorist group in history” remains active across the Lake Chad region. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Pakistan – Waziristan, 03/16/2004. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Invasion/external subversion and dispute over land/resources.(0.5:0.5)

The War in the North-West region of Pakistan, Waziristan, began in 2004 after years of Pakistani Army incursions into the area in search of Al-Qaida militants led to resentment from parts of the local population. The region lies on the frontier of Afghanistan, and is home to elements of the Taliban.

Continuing: A number of groups aligned with the Taliban and, for a time, the so-called Islamic State, continue to operate against Pakistani and allied forces.

Notes: Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has stated that the campaign against insurgents will not cease until government authority is established on every square kilometre of Pakistan. However, despite extensive support for Pakistani forces from the US and UK, the conflict is yet to be resolved. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Papua New Guinea – Bougainville 1988 - 1998. Intrastate conflict.

After years of tensions between the residents of the island of Bougainville and the central Papua New Guinean government, armed conflict erupted in 1988 over a dispute regarding the Panguna gold and copper mine.

Ended by: A ceasefire and a [peace agreement made by the belligerents 20/08/2001](#).(1)

One side benefitted from the conflict: The Bougainvilleans achieved their aim of establishing an autonomous Bougainville Government.

Notes: After a decade of conflict the forces of Papua New Guinea were unable to defeat the

Bougainville Revolutionary Army, and the election of Bill Skate as Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea, who had opposed a military solution, led to peace talks, which were held in New Zealand. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Republic of Congo, 06/05/1997. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Revolution/coup d'état/constitutional change and state collapse.(0.5:0.5)

A ceasefire which had brought an end to skirmishes between government and opposition forces a few years earlier collapsed, beginning a violent civil war.

Ended by: The victory of one side and a [Southern African Development Community, Organization of African Unity, and UN brokered ceasefire 10/01/2000](#). (Organised by external non-governmental bodies).(0.5:0.5)

One side benefitted from the conflict: The ceasefire led to the disarmament of militias opposed to the rule of President Denis Sassou-Nguesso.

Notes: A war between militias loyal to a number of leaders was tipped in favour of former President Sassou-Nguesso with the intervention of Angolan forces. After a series of victories, opposition militias negotiated peace and began re-integration. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Russia - Chechnya, 12/11/1994. Intrastate conflict.

Started by: Separatism.(1)

The Chechen Republic of Ichkeria declared independence from the newly formed Russian Federation in 1993. The following year, separatist forces (with Russian backing) began operating against Chechen forces, and at the end of 1994, Russian President Boris Yeltsin ordered the Russian army into Chechnya to "restore constitutional order."

Ended by: The victory of one side and a [peace agreement made by the belligerents 12/05/1997](#).(0.5:0.5)

One side (Chechnya) benefitted the conflict: The Chechen Republic of Ichkeria became a *de facto* independent state.

Notes: Fighting in Chechnya began in 1994 and culminated in the Battle of Grozny, in which large numbers of Russian soldiers were killed. Following the disaster, President Yeltsin declared a ceasefire, the 1996 Khasav-Yurt Accord, and the warring parties negotiated a formal peace treaty in 1997. More [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#).

Rwanda 1990 - 1993. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

In October 1990 forces of the Rwandan Patriotic Front, a predominantly Tutsi rebel group, entered Rwanda from Uganda, beginning an armed conflict against the Rwandan military.

Ended by: A [US, France, and Organisation of African Unity brokered Peace Agreement 04/08/1993](#) (Organised by external governmental and non-governmental bodies).(0.5:0.5)

One side (the Rwandan Patriotic Front) benefitted from the conflict: They rose from exile in Uganda to holding a prominent role in the government and military of Rwanda.

Notes: The Arusha Accords were organized by the United States, France, and the Organisation of African Unity and held in Tanzania. The accords ended the conflict, established a power sharing arrangement between the warring parties and promised multi-party elections. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Rwanda 07/04/1994. Intrastate conflict

Started by: State collapse and political exclusion/oppression.(0.5:0.5)

During the Rwandan Civil War, Hutu extremists within the government of Rwanda orchestrated the genocide of Rwanda's Tutsi population, killing up to one million Rwandans in one hundred days.

Ended by: The [victory of one side in July 1994](#).(1)

No side benefitted from the conflict: Up to one million people are thought to have been killed, whilst many of the perpetrators fled afterwards.

Notes: The genocide in Rwanda was ended when the forces of the Rwandan Patriotic Front took the capital, Kigali, in July 1994. Many of the perpetrators fled to the Democratic Republic of Congo, although 33 were indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Sierra Leone 1991 – 2002. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

In March 1991 the Revolutionary United Front, supported by Charles Taylor's forces in Liberia, launched a sweeping invasion of the country, controlling two-thirds of it by the end of the year. This led to the rise of numerous militia groups and the outbreak of civil war.

Ended by: International intervention and [victory for one side 18/01/2002](#).(0.5:0.5)

One side benefitted from the conflict: The rebels of the Revolutionary United Front were defeated and President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah won the following election.

Notes: Following years of conflict, British and Guinian forces intervened in support of the government of Sierra Leone. 45,000 rebels are disarmed, and President Kabbah declared an end to the war. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Sri Lanka 1983 – 2009. Intrastate conflict.

Members of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka began to form militant groups and seek the formation of an independent Tamil state in the north of the country during the 1970s. After a series of assassinations and massacres, an armed conflict erupted in 1983.

Ended by: The [victory of one side 18/05/2009](#).(1)

One side benefitted from the conflict: The Sri Lankan government defeated the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and established control over the entire country.

Notes: After numerous attempts to negotiate peace terms, including an almost successful attempt mediated by Norway in 2002, fighting continued until a large government offensive beginning in 2008 defeats the LTTE, the leadership of which are killed. In 2016 the government declares its aim to demilitarise Sri Lanka. More [here](#), [here](#) and [here](#).

Sudan 1983 – 2005. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

The Second Sudanese Civil War was, in many ways, a continuation of the first, which had ended in 1972, and can be attributed to the resistance of much of the southern Sudanese population to being ruled by the central government in Khartoum. Differences in heritage, language, and religion, as well as competition over resources, contributed to the conflict.

Ended by: The victory of one side and a [peace agreement brokered by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development 09/01/2005](#). (Organised by external non-governmental bodies).(0.5:0.5)

One side benefitted from the conflict: The south of Sudan gained autonomy for six years as part of the peace agreement, after which a referendum on independence was held.

Notes: After more than a decade of conflict government forces and the predominantly southern rebels remained at a stalemate. Beginning in 2002, a series of agreements were signed in Kenya, culminating in the Naivasha Agreement in 2005. The agreement promised autonomy for the south for six years, followed by a referendum on independence. 98.83% voted for independence. More [here](#), [here](#) and [here](#).

Sudan – Darfur, 02/26/2003. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Political exclusion/oppression.(1)

The conflict in Sudan began when two rebel groups, the Sudan Liberation Movement and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), began a series of attacks on government positions. They were motivated by the belief that the Sudanese government was oppressing Darfur's non-Arabs.

Continuing: The government of Sudan is yet to defeat JEM, which controls significant portions of the country, or the Sudanese Awakening Revolutionary Council, which formed in 2014 and controls a number of towns in Darfur.

Notes: Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir remains in power, despite having been indicted by the International Criminal Court. His regime is said to have utilised human rights abuses as a weapon of war, including the use of chemical weapons and mass rape. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Syria, 03/15/2011. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Revolution/coup d'état/constitutional change.(1)

Protests in Syria, also inspired by popular uprisings in other Arab countries, were met with a violent crackdown by government security forces. In July 2011, defectors from the Syrian military announced the formation of the Free Syrian Army, and began a campaign to overthrow the government.

Continuing: After over six years of fighting, Syrian government forces hold less than two-thirds of the country. Two Kurdish armed groups hold significant territory, as do the Free Syrian Army. Despite many attempts at negotiating peace terms, the conflict shows little sign of abating.

Notes: The Syrian Civil war has displaced record numbers of people, and led to the rise of the so-called Islamic State. An increasing number of foreign states have become embroiled in the conflict, ranging from neighbouring states, to the USA and Russia. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Tajikistan, 05/05/1992. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Revolution/coup d'état/constitutional change.(1)

Following the collapse of the USSR, pro-Russian government forces, with the support of Russian troops, clashed with the United Tajik Opposition, which was composed of democratic, Islamic, and local ethnic groups.

Ended by: A [UN brokered peace agreement 02/07/1997](#). (Organised by external non-governmental bodies).(1)

Inconclusive: The opposition forces of the United Tajik Opposition were allocated 30% of ministerial positions as part of the peace treaty, however President Emomali Rahmon has continued to strengthen his grip on the country since the war ended.

Notes: The Tajikistan Civil War was fought between the “neo-soviet” government and a range of rebel groups, most of whom were Islamic militants, although democratic and nationalist elements were present. Significant numbers of Russian troops fought alongside the Tajik government. UN observers entered the country in 1994, and in 1997 the leaders of the belligerent groups met in Moscow to negotiate peace. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Ukraine – Donbass, 04/06/2014. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Invasion/external subversion and separatism.(0.5:0.5)

In February 2014 Russia annexed the Crimea, a region formerly part of Ukraine. Two months later, anti-government protests by pro-Russian groups began in the Donbass region (composed of the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts of Ukraine), and quickly escalated into an armed rebellion.

Continuing: Despite a relative decline in the scale of the fighting in 2016, 2017 witnessed a fresh eruption of violence centred on the city of Avdiivka. The Ukrainian government has since re-asserted its goal of taking back all territory held by the Russian-backed separatists.

Notes: The conflict in Ukraine has been punctuated by numerous ceasefires, many of which were broken almost immediately. It has been claimed that up to 50,000 Russian citizens have fought in

Ukraine, while the USA has offered an extensive array of arms to Ukrainian forces. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Yemen – Sa’dah, 06/18/2004. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Revolution/coup d’état/constitutional change.(1)

The War in Northern Yemen, in the region of Sa’dah, began in June 2004, when a leader of the Zaidi Shia Houthi Sect, Hussein Badreddin al-Houthi, launched an uprising against the Yemeni military. The Houthi Insurgency, as the conflict became known, escalated into a full civil war.

Continuing: Despite the involvement of numerous foreign powers, notably Saudi Arabia, the war in Yemen continues. The instability has led to the displacement of millions of people, the rise of a secessionist movement in the south of the country, and Islamic extremists affiliated to the so-called Islamic State.

Notes: The initial Houthi Insurgency achieved a degree of success, and established an administration in Sa’dah in 2015. However, almost immediately the country descended into a civil war fought between the Houthis and the followers of President Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi. More [here](#) and [here](#).

Yugoslavia – Kosovo, 03/05/1998. Intrastate conflict with foreign involvement.

Started by: Separatism and political exclusion/oppression.(0.5:0.5)

The Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo was declared independent by ethnically Albanian leaders in 1991, however Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic ignored such declarations and reasserted the sovereignty of the rump Yugoslav state. This was met with mass protests and attacks on Serb targets by the Kosovo Liberation Army, and in 1998 the conflict escalated into war.

Ended by: International intervention and [victory for one side 11/06/1999](#).(0.5:0.5)

One side benefitted from the conflict: Kosovo achieved *de facto* independence from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, however it remains unrecognised by many states.

Notes: Following an insurgency mounted by the Kosovo Liberation Army and counter-operations by Yugoslav forces, NATO began a bombing campaign against Yugoslavia until Yugoslav authorities agreed to withdraw their forces from Kosovo. More [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#).

How Wars Started

Conflict.	Type.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Continuing?
Afghanistan 1992 - 1996	3			1				N
Afghanistan 2001 - P/D	1 + 3	1						Y
Albania 1997	2				1			N
Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992 - 1995	1 + 3	0.5				0.5		N
Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992 - 1994	3		0.5		0.5			N
Burundi 1993 - 2006	3			1				N
Central African Republic 2012 - P/D	3				0.5		0.5	Y
Chad 2005 - 2010	3	1						N
Democratic Republic of Congo (Zaire) 1996 - 1997	1	0.5			0.5			N
Democratic Republic of Congo 1998 - 2003	3		0.5		0.5			N
Eritrea - Ethiopia 1998 - 2000	1	1						N
Georgia - Abkhazia 1992 - 1993	3					1		N
Iraq - Kurdish Civil War 1994	5		1					N
Iraq 2003 - P/D	1 + 3	1						Y
Ivory Coast 2002 - 2011	3			1				N

Lebanon - Israel 2006	4	1							N
Libya 2011 - P/D	3			1					Y
Moldova - Transnistria 1992 - 1997	3					1			N
Nepal 1996 - 2006	2			1					N
Nigeria 2009 - P/D	3					1			Y
Pakistan 2004 - P/D	3	0.5	0.5						Y
Republic of Congo 1997 - 2000	3			0.5	0.5				N
Russia - Chechnya 1994 - 1997	2					1			N
Rwanda 1994	2				0.5		0.5		N
Sudan 2003 - P/D	3						1		Y
Syria 2011 - P/D	3			1					Y
Tajikistan 1992 - 1997	3			1					N
Ukraine 2014 - P/D	3	0.5				0.5			Y
Yemen 2004 - P/D	3			1					Y
Yugoslavia - Kosovo 1998 - 1999	3					0.5	0.5		N
Total: 30		7	2.5	8.5	4	5.5	2.5		9 Y

30 wars began in the period 1992 – 2017. Of these, 9 continue at the time of writing. One interesting observation from the data is that all of wars that are continuing are intrastate wars with foreign involvement.

The most prevalent category of conflict that has begun in the timeframe of this study is revolution/coup d'état/constitutional change, with 8.5, or approximately 28%, of the 30 conflicts beginning in this way. It should be noted that many of these are insurgencies or coups which aimed to overthrow a government, but failed to do so, leading to a civil war. The second most significant cause for wars beginning is invasion/external subversion, of which there were 7, or 23%. These wars largely represent interstate conflict, but in many cases, are due to the efforts of neighbouring states to destabilise the government, or a combination of both. Around 18% of the conflicts began as the result of separatism on the part of a section of the population within a state, with most of these conflicts being the result of the disruption caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. 4 of the 30 conflicts began as a result of state collapse, either due to previous conflicts, decolonisation and secession, or irreconcilable differences between social groups leading to the collapse of central government. Approximately 8% of the conflicts were the result of a dispute over land/resources, and another 8% began due to political exclusion/oppression.

Thus, it can be concluded that while there were evidently numerous causes for wars in the years 1992 – 2017, over half were the result of revolution/coup d'état/constitutional change or invasion/external subversion.

How Wars Ended

Conflict.	Type.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Pol.Ben?	SE.Ben?
Afghanistan 1992 - 1996	3			1				N	N
Albania 1997	3			1				Y	Y
Algeria 1991 - 2002	3						1	Y	N
Bangladesh 1977 - 1997	1	1						N	N
Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992 - 1995	3		1					N	N
Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992 - 1994	2						1	N	N
Burundi 1993 - 2006	3				1			Y	N

Chad 2005 - 2010	3			0.5			0.5	Y	N
Croatia 1991 - 1995	3						1	Y	N
Democratic Republic of Congo (Zaire) 1996 - 1997	3		1					N	N
Democratic Republic of Congo 1998 - 2003	3	0.5			0.5			N	N
Djibouti 1991 - 1994	3			0.5			0.5	Y	N
Eritrea - Ethiopia 1998 - 2000	1		0.5				0.5	Y	N
Georgia - Abkhazia 1992 - 1993	3	1						Y	N
Guatemala 1960 - 1996	3	1						Y	N
Iraq – Kurdish Civil War 1994 - 1998	5	1						N	N
Israel - Jordan 1967 - 1994	2			1				Y	Y
Ivory Coast 2002 - 2011.	3					0.5	0.5	Y	N
Lebanon 2006	4		1					N	N
Liberia 1989 - 2003	3	0.5			0.5			Y	N
Moldova - Transnistria 1992 - 1997	3			0.5			0.5	Y	N
Mozambique 1976 - 1992	3	0.5	0.5					Y	N
Nepal 1996 - 2006	2			0.5	0.5			N	N
Papua New Guinea 1988 - 1998	3			1				Y	Y
Republic of Congo 1997 - 2000	3		0.5				0.5	Y	N
Russia - Chechnya 1994 - 1996	1						1	Y	N
Rwanda 1990 - 1993	3						1	Y	N
Rwanda 1994	1			1				N	N
Sierra Leone 1991 - 2002	3					0.5	0.5	Y	N
Sri Lanka 1983 - 2009	2						1	Y	N
Sudan 1983 - 2005	3		0.5				0.5	Y	N
Tajikistan 1992 - 1997	2				0.5	0.5		Y	N
Yugoslavia - Kosovo 1998 - 1999	3					0.5	0.5	Y	N
Total: 33		5.5	5	7	3	2	10.5	23 Y	3 Y

The data regarding how wars ended between 1992 and 2017 offers some interesting insights. Of the 33 wars that ended in the timeframe, 22 were intrastate conflicts with foreign involvement, 5 were intrastate conflicts, 4 were interstate conflicts, 1 was an extrastate conflict, and 1 was a war between non-state actors. Two figures are of particular note from these results: the relatively low number (around 10% of the total) of interstate wars and the prevalence of intrastate conflict, both with and without foreign involvement, which constitutes over 80% of the total.

10.5 of the 33 wars ended as a result of one side triumphing over the other(s), 7 were ended by the belligerents negotiating a peace treaty between themselves, 5.5 ended due to external governmental bodies brokering a peace treaty between the warring parties, 5 were brought to an end by external non-governmental bodies such as the UN, 3 ended following domestic reforms, and 2 ended as a result of international intervention. Of note here is that 20.5 (more than half) of the wars in study, were ended without the significant involvement of external bodies – that is, they were ended by one side winning the war, a government making concessions to opposition groups, or the belligerents agreeing to cease hostilities of their own accord. Only 2 wars of 33 were ended by military intervention by the international community.

23 wars offered some form of political benefit to one of the sides when it ended. In many cases, this was either the government of a state defeating rebels and consolidating its control, or vice versa, and rebels defeating the government and seizing control for themselves. Only 3, however, offered any tangible benefit to the population. In all three cases, the population was freed from a particularly oppressive government, and in two of the cases, a minority group managed to establish greater autonomy from the central government and have their rights recognised.

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[United Nations Peacemaker](#).

The University of Notre Dame's [Peace Accord Matrix](#).

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About the author

At the time of publication, Elliot Short was in the final stages of completing a PhD at the University of East Anglia, in Norwich, UK. His research is focussed on the relationship between the state, identity, and the military, and his thesis is (currently) titled "The State, Identity, and the Military: Building a Multi-Ethnic Army in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina."

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