

Data Notes for *Peacekeeping and the Peacekept*

Civil Wars Ending 1989-1999

The list of cases adapted is from Doyle and Sambanis ({, 2000 #421; , Forthcoming #530} – hereafter D&S).¹ They define a civil war as [add definition from sambanis 2004 JCR article].

I include cease-fires between January 1 1989 and December 31 1999. This allows for at least five years in which to observe whether peace lasts.

Below I explain the main coding for each case, the date the fighting stopped (cf), the date of renewed fighting, if any (faildate), and the nature of the peacekeeping mission, if any. First, however, a few general comments on the messy and often ambiguous nature of civil war data:

Cease-Fire

Because my interest is in attempts to stop the war, whether or not they succeed, some cases are split to reflect significant breaks in the fighting.² In an ideal world, this list of cases would include every cease-fire, no matter how short-lived, in every civil war. [more here]

In a few cases, one or more factions reached a cease-fire while others do not. I include these cases, but mark them (partcf=1) so that I can test whether their inclusion or exclusion makes a difference.

cfdate=. for wars ongoing as of Dec 31 1999

Outcome

I follow the distinctions made by D&S2000 between government victory, rebel victory, truce, and settlement. The truce category includes cease-fires, agreements on a peace process (i.e. agreeing on general principles or on a timetable for negotiations) that do not themselves settle underlying political issues, interim arrangements that leave final status negotiations on major issues unsettled. Cases in which the fighting ends with a unilateral cease-fire or just a fizzling out of the violence (what UCDP refers to as termination through “low activity”) are also coded as truces. The settlement category requires agreement on fundamental political issues.

Peace Failure

¹D&S2000 refers to {Doyle, 2000 #421}; D&S(F) refers to {Doyle, Forthcoming #530}; [S2004 refers to Sambanis’ “Civil War Coding Notes” for {Sambanis, 2004 #688} and {Doyle, Forthcoming #530}]; Dubey refers to data from {Dubey, 2002 #423}; UCDP refers to data from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program; MG refers to case notes collected by Megan Gilroy.

²Note that while the revised (Forthcoming) D&S list of cases is more comprehensive and systematic, the original (2000) version of their data suits my purposes better. The original data emphasized peacebuilding attempts, and therefore coded more short-lived cease-fires. The new version combines episodes of fighting in stop and start war into single cases. My list of cases thus builds on the 2000 list, with revisions made in part according to the revised D&S data.

I code peace as failing if D&S code a new war in the same country and research indicates that involved the same or similar parties, or if UCDP code a restart to a war they consider previously terminated, or if I have information on full-scale fighting after the date of a cease-fire. In some cases it is ambiguous whether fighting should be considered a full-scale return to war [for example, Ambiguous cases are marked so that robustness to these coding choices can be checked.] In general, however, when coding decisions had to be made, I coded cases in a way that would cut against the argument that peacekeeping is effective. In other words, if peacekeepers were present, I erred on the side of coding a resumption of war and if no peacekeepers were present I erred on the side of coding no failure of peace.

If peace held through Dec 31 2004, the observation is censored at that point.

A word on dates

In many cases the exact date of a cease-fire agreement or the date of resumed fighting is unknown. In others there may be no exact date, the fighting stopped or escalated over a period of days or weeks (or even months), so that coding stop and start dates is arbitrary. Where possible, I have noted the precise date of a cease-fire agreement, or the date of large-scale return to fighting. In other cases a specific date is picked arbitrarily according to the best information available. For example if research indicates a cease-fire in May, I use May 15th; at the end of May, May 31st, etc. I note whether dates coded refer to a specific event, or are arbitrary. Where decisions about dates had to be made, I again coded cases in a way that would cut against the argument that peacekeeping is effective, coding longer spells of peace if peacekeepers were absent, and shorter ones if they were present.

estdate marks whether exact dates are known or estimated

- 0 = exact date coded
- 1 = cfddate estimated
- 2 = faildate estimated
- 3 = both cfddate and faildate estimated

pkop peacekeeping mission types

- 0 = no peacekeeping
- 1 = political mission – consisting of a special representative or a handful of observers (eg the OSCE mission in Nagorno-Karabakh). Also includes UN “political and peacebuilding missions” run through the Dept of Political Affairs, as opposed to DPKO (e.g. the UN’s mission in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville). Note: these missions are not generally considered peacekeeping missions (and do not fit the definition used in this project). This coding allows for differentiation between these cases, and those with no international peacebuilding involvement after a cease-fire. [better just to drop altogether?]
- 2 = monitoring mission – relatively small missions (monitors in the hundreds), unarmed, mandated to watch and report what they see. UNAVEM II in Angola, or MINURSO in Western Sahara are examples
- 3 = interpositional mission (aka traditional pk) – somewhat larger, lightly armed missions, mandated to monitor but also to separate forces or to disarm and demobilize faction. MINURCA in the Central African Republic and MINUGUA in Guatemala are examples

4 = multidimensional mission – in addition to monitoring and interpositional roles, include substantial civilian components to organize elections, monitor human rights, reform police, etc. UNTAG in Namibia and ONUMOZ in Mozambique are examples. Also includes transitional administration missions (such as UNTAC in Cambodia)

5 = enforcement mission – substantial military force mandated to use force for purposes other than self-defense. Not necessarily deployed with consent of both sides. UNAMSIL in Sierra Leone and the NATO missions in the Balkans are examples

Peacekeeping operation dates go by authorization dates, unless I have information that a mission actually deployed much later, in which case I use that.

Note pkop codings are from D&S2000 for pcw=0 cases

pk_dum peacekeeping dummy
0 = no peacekeeping (pkop<2)
1 = peacekeeping (pkop>1)

pkop2 mission type for cases that had more than one pk mission type (or pk by more than organization) at one time

pkwho peacekeeping mission by whom
1 = UN
2 = regional organization (OAU, OAS, ECOWAS, OSCE, NATO)
3 = led by great or regional power (US, Russia/CIS, Australia, France, Syria, etc.)

pkwho2 same for pkop2

pkopC time constant peacekeeping coding
= highest pkop coding for case, constant across duration of cease-fire

pk_dumC time constant peacekeeping dummy
0 = no peacekeeping (pkopC<2)
1 = peacekeeping (pkopC>1)

pkwhoC pk mission by whom, for time constant pk

chapterC
0 = no peacekeeping, or political mission only (pkopC<2)
1 = consent-based peacekeeping (pkopC>1 and <5)
2 = enforcement mission (pkopC=5)

pastchap past peacekeeping, by chapter
0 = no peacekeeping, or peacekeeping mission still present
1 = chapter VI mission deployed previously, but has departed
2 = chapter VII mission deployed previously, but has departed

NB: an observation can have a current chapter VI mission and a past chapter VII mission

UNpk_dum **UN pk**
= pk_dum if pkwho==1

noUNpk_d **non UN pk**
= pk_dum if pkwho~=1

UNchapter **UN chapter**
= chapter if pkwho==1

noUNchap
= chapter if pkwho~=1

Cases

id 10 **Afghanistan-Mujahideen**

cf April 25 1992 date Mujahedin capture Kabul.
outcome Rebel victory
faildate Aug 10 1992 from Dubey D&S(F) code end of this war & start of next
in Feb. Using their dates would favor the pk argument.
pkop none

id 15 **Afghanistan-Taliban**

cfdate Mar 7 1993 Islamabad Accord (MG).
outcome Settlement
faildate April 15 1993 broken mid-April (date arbitrary) (MG)
pk none agreement called for Org of Islamic Conference & Pakistan
to supervise the cf but no evidence any monitors ever sent

Note D&S(F) code a war “end” when the Taliban take Kabul in late Sept 1996, and the immediate start of a new war, but there was no actual break in the fighting at this point. So for my purposes, no case. Adding an extremely short-lived case here would bolster the pk argument.

id 40 **Algeria-FIS/AIS**

cf Oct 15 1997 Unilateral cf by AIS (armed wing of FIS). made permanent
in 1999, later leads to a peace agreement. Not accepted by other factions
outcome Truce [until settlement in 1999]
faildate .
pk none
partcf 1 Partial cease-fire as only one rebel faction stopped fighting.
D&S(F) code one war among all these factions ongoing as of 2004.

id 60 **Angola**

UNITA
cf May 31 1991 Bicesse Accords.
outcome Settlement
faildate Oct 11 1992 from Dubey. elections were Sept 29-30, country back to
full scale war in October.
pkop 2 observer mission – UNAVEM II, May 1991-Feb 1995
pkwho UN

id 70 **Angola**

UNITA
cf Nov 20 1994 Lusaka Accords.
outcome Settlement

faildate	Dec 4 1998	from Dubey. D&S (F) code new war in Jan 1997, UCDP
code new war in 1998.		
pkop	2	observer mission – UNAVEM II until Feb 8 1995
	4	then multidimensional – UNAVEM III until June 30 1997
		[note UNAMEM mandated as multidimensional, but not
		really staffed for the job, so could be considered 3]
	3	then scaled down mission – MONUA [meant to be just
observers but military units remain]		to Feb 1999
pkwho	UN	

Angola-Cabinda (FLEC)

in D&S(F) and Fearon (and UCDP) but S2004 notes that it probably doesn't actually meet death criteria. not added because don't have sufficient data. UCDP suggest several stops and starts, adding would thus support pk argument as UNAVEM mission did not deal with the Cabinda conflict.

id 95 Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh

cfdate	Aug 31 1993	cease-fire (MG)
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Oct 5 1993	cease-fire holds till Oct 5 (MG)
pk	none	

id 100 Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh

cf	May 16 1994	date of informal ceasefire (MG). UCDP puts cf May 9.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	.	
pkop	0	until May 1 1995
	1	representatives. OSCE mission "responsible for monitoring
the cease-fire" (MG). D&S 2000 code as observer mission, but this is a tiny mission, only about		
5 OSCE people, apparently only civilians. larger pk mission discussed but never sent. OSCE		
rep mission deployed in early May 1995 ³ Still there at least through August 2003, no evidence		
they've left		
pkwho OSCE		

id 120 Bangladesh-CHT

cf	Aug 1 1992	date of first unilateral cf by Shanti Bahini, extended from
		then thru 1997 peace agreement. D&S(F) code end of war in 1997, but v. little fighting 1992-
		1997. UCDP put cf Nov 11 1992.
outcome	truce	truce until settlement Dec 2 1997
	settlement	

³at least it was supposed to be according to OSCE press release on March 17 1995
<<http://www.osce.org/item/4972.html>>.

faildate .
pkop none

id 1325 **Bosnia**

cfdate Jan 1 1995 (MG). See also Blue Helmets p.537
outcome truce
faildate May 1 1995 lasts 4 months (MG). Blue Helmets says some fighting in March, but intensifies by May 1.
pk 3 Part of UNPROFOR's mandate covered Bosnia, but only as traditional pkers (provided airport security, protected humanitarian delivery, monitored no-fly zone and safe areas, authorized to use force only in self-defense). the parts of UNPROFOR in Croatia and Macedonia are renamed in March 1995, but the Bosnian piece remains as UNPROFOR.
pkwho UN
partcf 1 cf not in effect in Bihac region, but takes hold in rest of Bosnia

id 1330 **Bosnia**

(formerly Yugoslavia-Bosnia)
cf Dec 14 1995 General Framework Agreement for Peace (neg'd at Dayton). UCDP use Nov 21 1995 (date negotiated rather than signed)
outcome Settlement
faildate .
pkop 5&2 [+4? Lise] enforcement. NATO IFOR December 1995-Dec 20 1996; then SFOR to present. also UNMIBH (police monitoring) Dec 1995 to Dec 31 2002. Note: British and French Rapid Reaction Force that takes back Sarajevo in Sept not coded – intervention during fighting, not mission to keep peace.
pkwho NATO & UN

id 220 **Cambodia**

cf Oct 23 1991 Paris Peace Agreement
outcome settlement
faildate . coup July 6 1997 leads to violence, but according to S2004, below level for full scale war (deaths=345)
pkop 2 UNAMIC advance mission of monitors and mine clearance specialists, until March 15 1992 when UNTAC operational;
4 then multidimensional UNTAC until Sep 24 1993;
2 small "UN military liaison team" of 20 monitors from UNTAC's withdrawal until May 15 1994 (Blue Helmets p.473)
0 then 0 after liaison mission departs
pkwho UN

id 230 Central African Republic

cf Jan 25 1997 Bangui Accords
outcome settlement
faildate . coup May 28 2001 leads to 250-300 deaths, but consistent
w/ Cambodia coding, this not a full-scale resumption
pkop 3 MISAB Feb 1997 to Mar 27 1998;
3 then UN mission: MINURCA (also 3 until withdrawal on
Feb 15 2000. Note MINURCA's mandate expanded to include election monitoring & securing
ballots, but not actually running the election
1 BONUSCA "peace-building mission" (dpa) after
MINURCA's withdrawa;
pkwho OAU & UN [is MISAB an OAU or an ad hoc African mission?]

id 250 Chad

cf Aug 11 1994 Dubey and UCDP termination date. D&S(F) also indicate
end of one phase of war in 1994. (S2004 uses date of Libyan withdrawal, but this doesn't appear
to have affected internal fighting much)
outcome settlement Series of agreements with various factions in 1994 (and
some in 1992). (Note D&S2000 coded as rebel victory)
faildate Mar 15 1997 UCDP codes war restarting in 1997. MG notes fighting in
March (15th picked arbitrarily) Note D&S(F) code new war in June 1994, same month as they
code old one ending. Using their dates would favor pk argument
pkop none contra D&S2000 who code a non-UN pk mission (trad pk
3), D&S2000 mentioned an OAU pk mission, but no mention of it in S2004 or MG's notes.
OAU pk force was in 1981-82. There was a 9 member UN military observer team (UNASOG)
that observed Libya's withdrawal from the Aouzou strip in May and June 1994 – before this cf,
and in any case an interstate pk mission).

Note D&S(F) put end of war in Aug 1997, could code a cf at this point, but on and off fighting
Oct 1998 thru 2000 and heavy fighting Jan 2001 (MG). UCDP code conflict thru 2002. Adding
a case with a 2001 faildate would favor pk argument

id 310 Congo-Brazzaville

cf Jan 30 1994 UCDP dates termination. MG notes peace agreement in
Dec 1994 and S2004 puts c.f. at end of Jan 1995. Earlier date harder on pk argument that other
possible dates
outcome settlement
faildate June 25 1997 UCDP, MG & other sources note resumption. date from
Dubey
pk none

id 312 Congo-Brazzaville

cf	Oct 15 1997	D&S(F) end war in Oct 1997 (15 th arbitrary)
outcome	rebel victory	Sassou-Nguesso defeats President Lissouba.
faildate	Aug 15 1998	D&S(F) new war (15 th arbitrary)
pk	none	

id 315 **Congo-Brazzaville**

cf	Dec 29 1999	D&S(F) code end, UCDP note Accord de Cessez-le-Feu et de Cessation des Hostilités
outcome	truce	
faildate	Mar 15 2002	UCDP code restart in 2002, S2004 puts this in March (15 th arbitrary)
pk	none	

id 370 **Congo-Dem Rep**

(fka Congo-Zaire)

cf	May 17 1997	date Kabila takes capital
outcome	rebel victory	
faildate	Aug 2 1998	S2004
pk	none	

Note Lusaka accords of 10 July 1999 never implemented. They led to establishment of initial MONUC mission, but not deployed before cf broke down (and only consisted of 40 liaison officers until much later in the conflict).

[see also Yugoslavia-Croatia, below]

id 1345 **Croatia**

(formerly yugo-croatia)

cf	March 30 1994	cease-fire agreement (MG)
outcome	truce	
faildate	May 15 1995	MG notes cf holds till May. Dubey puts faildate in August
pk	3	UNPROFOR to March 31 1995; Note UNPROFOR is a multidimensional mission, but its mandate in Croatia at this point was only interpositional.
	4	then UNCRO, multidimensional (human rights monitoring, refugee return, other civilian tasks)
pkwho	UN	

id 1350 **Croatia**

(formerly yugo-croatia)

cf	Nov 12 1995	Erdut agreement Nov 12 1995. Dubey. end of war date not entirely clear. D&S(F) say Dec. UCDP Erdut agreement and MG notes things calm after summer 1995
outcome	truce	interim arrangement, not full settlement
faildate	.	

pk	4	UNCRO to Jan 15 1996
	5	then UNTAES (chapter VII, mandated to use force and did
so ⁴) to Jan 15 1998		
	2	then UNPSG (police monitoring) to Oct 15 1998,
	2	then turns over to OSCE, same mandate as UNPSG
(mission #s reduced Oct 31 2000)		
pkwho	UN, then OSCE	

id 425 Djibouti

cfdate	Feb 28 1992	Afars declare unilateral cf
outcome	truce	
faildate	July 19 1992	FRUD renounces cf in March, but fighting
doesn't resume until July 19 (MG)		
pk	3	250 French pkers act as buffer(part of a
larger garrison in Djibouti), until withdrawn in late Nov after fighting resumes. Possible this was		
an enforcement mission, but small size suggests not.		
pkwho	France	

id 430 Djibouti

cf	Dec 26 1994	Accord de Paix
outcome	settlement	
faildate	.	UCDP restart 1999, but only minor conflict in 1999 –
probably doesn't qualify as war resumption. no mention in MG or S2004.		
pk	none	had been french pkers in 1992 but withdrawn Nov 1992

id 450 Egypt

cf	Sept 15 1997	Luxor massacre in Sept, after which militant groups largely
turned away from violence (15 th arbitrary)		
outcome	truce	UPCD "low activity"
faildate	.	
pk	none	

D&S(F) add a case for Egypt (not in D&S2000), tho S2004 notes it's debatable whether it qualifies as civil war on death toll (estimates of total killed are c. 1200 but 200 of those from before D&S(F) start date). [Note this case dropped from some analyses due to missing data, since most data sets (including Fearon & Laitin) do not code this as a civil war. UCDP codes a minor conflict] Coded as a non-identity conflict – muslim groups make up rebellion, but difference is one of theology and its role in govt, not ethnic or identity distinction between rebels and rest of Egyptian society. 3+ factions (gov't Gamaat Islamaya, Islamic Jihad), 1244 dead, acc to S2004. UK colony. no evidence of contraband financing. substantial mil support from US, so

⁴Lise Howard notes that this was the first time in recent history UN blue helmets did peace enforcement (as opposed to the UN authorizing other to do it).

major=1.

id 470 El Salvador

cf	Jan 16 1992	Chapultec Accords
outcome	settlement	
faildate	.	
pk	2	ONUSAL monitoring mission from cf to 27 May 1993. ⁵
	4	then mission expanded to be multidimensional. Mandate
itself could be interpreted as traditional pk, with only an electoral component added, but mission		
actually involved in judicial reform, police reform, etc. (Lise Howard)		
	0	withdrawn April 30 1995
pkwho	UN	

id 480 Ethiopia-Eritrea

cf	May 21 1991	Eritrean secession succeeds when EPLF takes control of
Eritrea, as its allies EPRD take capital.		
outcome	rebel victory	
faildate	.	Now-independent Eritrea fights Ethiopia in the interstate
war starting in May 1998, but the ruling power in Ethiopia at that point is the secessionist		
movement's erstwhile friends, not those it fought before. Could consider May 1998 a failure of		
the peace. Doing so would favor pk argument		
pk	none	

id 510 Ethiopia-ideology

cf	May 21 1991	rebels take capitol
outcome	rebel victory	
faildate	.	
pk	none	

id 520 Georgia-Abkhazia

cf	July 27 1993	Dubey and MG
outcome	truce	
faildate	Sept 16 1993	Dubey and MG
pk	1	UNOMIG agreed to but only 5 deployed as of Sept 16 1993
(MG)		

id 525 Georgia-Abkhazia

cf	May 14 1994	one of several agreements reached spring '94 – the one that
requests CIS pkers and extension of UNOMIG's mandate		
outcome	truce	UCDP calls it a partial peace agreement because only part

⁵Note ONUSAL originally established in May 1991 as human rights monitoring mission.

of the “incompatibility is regulated” by the agreement

faildate . Abkhaz offensive May 20 1994 but doesn’t seem to resume to full scale war. some fighting in 1998 & in 2001, but again, not full-scale (or even mentioned in UCDP)

pk 3&2 UNOMIG observer mission, and CIS traditional pkers – consented to only reluctantly by Georgian govt, but mandate limited (not enforcement) according to Accord 1999 Georgia report. both missions deployed to present

pkwho CIS & UN

id 530 Georgia-Ossetia

cf July 14 1992 cf and Russian-led pk force agreed to (MG)

outcome truce

faildate .

pk 3+1 Russian-led, plus v. sm OSCE mission to monitor CIS

pkwho CIS & OSCE

id 565 Guatemala

cfdate Apr 26 1991 Mexico Accords (UCDP & MG)

outcome truce agreement on peace process, issues not settled

faildate Dec 15 1991 cf fails by Dec at the latest (MG)

pk none

id 570 Guatemala

cf Mar 20 1996 UNRG cf, reciprocated by govt. D&S(F) end war in April 1994 but UCDP puts intermediate violence thru 1995 (and code war end in 1995, but note peace process thru Dec 1996)

outcome settlement this agreement and those leading up to it settle most issues

faildate .

pk 1 MINUGUA present as human rights observers from earlier agreement, to Jan 20 1997 when...

3 MINUGUA’s mandate expanded to trad pk mission

0 MINUGUA withdraws end of May 1997

pkwho UN

id 574 Guinea-Bissau

cf Aug 26 1998 cf reached in Praia, Cape Verde. (Adebajo)

outcome truce

faildate Oct 31 1998 fighting resumed 2 months later (31st arbitrary)

pk none

id 576 Guinea-Bissau

cf	Nov 2 1998	peace agreement reached in Abuja
outcome	settlement	
faildate	Jan 31 1999	
pk	none	Abuja calls for ECOMOG pkers, but don't deploy until
after peace fails		

id 578 Guinea-Bissau

cf	Feb 3 1999	Vieira & Mane sign another cf. (Adebajo)
outcome	truce	
faildate	6 May 1999	Mane launches coup
pk	2	712 ECOMOG troops deploy (600 there by Feb 12). [Not exactly clear what their mandate was, but referred to as "observers" Given the small numbers and the fact that, unlike in ECOMOG mission in Sierra Leone e.g., they did not engage in fighting, seems they behaved only as monitoring mission.
pkwho	ECOWAS	

note: by strict coding rules, not clear that fighting on May 6 fits criteria for full-scale renewal of civil war (see Cambodia and CAR) – not clear how many die in this fighting, but as it only lasts 1 day probably not many). However, Mane's coup represents failure of ECOMOG mission, so to code this case as having no faildate would incorrectly suggest successful pk. The coding inconsistency here (w/ Cambodia and CAR) cuts against pk argument since in those cases pkers had left before the coup.

id 580 Guinea-Bissau

cf	May 7 1999	Mane takes capital (also UCDP termination date)
outcome	rebel victory	
faildate	.	
pk	2	ECOWAS mission until June 7 1999
	1	UNOGBIS dpa peacebuilding mission since then (Joao Honwana is special rep)
pkwho	ECOWAS, UN	

For details of the Guinea Bissau cases see, Adebajo 2002, chap 5.

[note: some missing data for these cases, because G-B not in original D&S data, some filled in from Fearon & Laitin: outcome: Aug 98 cf; Nov 98 peace agreement; Feb 93 cf; May 99 rebel victory
govt (but not rebels) supported by neighbors
total deaths c. 2000 350,000 displaced
conflict over army (not clearly identity-based) – tho F&L code as mixed or ambiguous]
not p5_col (portugal was colonial power)

id 590 Haiti

cf	Sept 18 1994	military agrees to return to civilian rule. D&S(F) put end in Dec 95 with US restoration of order and elections UCDP doesn't include anything more than
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minor fighting, over in 1991

outcome truce

Aristide restored to power eventually but in Sept 1994 only

a truce

faildate .

Unrest (starting Sept 30 2004) does not qualify as

resumption of war. Over 100 dead by end of Nov, acc. to ICG Crisis Watch (# 16, 12/1/04).

Reports after that cite isolated deaths (5 or so per month thru Apr 2005). NYT 5/28/05 p.A5 says

700 killed in "political and gang violence" but most of it seems to be violent crime, not organized political violence. Coding this as failure would help pk argument since no pkers

present at the time

pk 5+5

US-led enforcement mission, MNF to Mar 31 1995

5

UNMIH chapter VII mission until June 31 1996

3

then UNSMIH police training to July 31 1997;

2

two civilian police monitoring missions (UNTMH and

MIPONUH) there consecutively until March 15 2000

0

then no pkers until

5

US-led MIF enforcement Feb 29 to June 1 2004;

5

then MINUSTAH UN chapter VII mission, to present

pkwho US, UN, US, UN

[also a joint UN-OAS civilian peacebuilding mission]

[maybe censor this case before Sept 2004 unrest and subsequent pk ops]

id 635 **India-Assam**

cfdate Apr 20 1991

S2004 notes unilateral cf by ULFA

outcome truce

faildate Sep 15 1991

broken by Sep at latest (S2004)

pk none

id 637 **India-Assam**

cfdate Dec 17 1991

UCDP termination. ULFA unilateral cf

outcome truce

faildate Jan 1 1994

UCDP restart in beginning of 1994

pk none

partialcf 1

another faction maintains activity, according to UCDP

Assam case not in D&S2000; clearly identity based, and secessionist, 3+ factions (several rebel groups operate), approx 5000 dead (S2004), UK colony, p5 contiguous, ploughares armed conflict report notes drug trade supporting rebels

id 640 **India-Sikh**

cf Dec 31 1993

precise end date unclear. govt puts down rebellion by end

of 1993 (MG). accords with D&S(F) and UCDP info

outcome govt victory

faildate .

pk none

id 680 Indonesia-Aceh

cf Dec 31 1991 D&S(F) give no date. UCDP puts at end of year.
outcome govt victory
faildate May 15 1999 violence escalates in May (15th arbitrary)
pk none

id 690 Indonesia-E. Timor

cf Oct 22 1999 INTERFET restored security throughout E. Timor by this
date (See Smith 2003, p.19). S2004 put end of war at deployment of UNTAET.
outcome rebel victory
faildate .
pk 5 INTERFET Australian led, UN sanctioned enforcement
mission (aka MNF) until Feb 23 2000 when transfers authority to:
4 UNTAET (transitional admin) until May 20 2002, then
UNMISSET to present, both multidimensional (tho latter much smaller)
pkwho Australia-led, UN

id 740 Iraq-Kurds

cf Mar 1 1993 date unclear, UCDP codes termination in 1993, MG notes
that for most of 1993 the situation was peaceful. (March 1 is arbitrary)
outcome rebel victory Kurds gain autonomy
faildate Mar 15 1995 MG notes fighting resumes in March (15th arbitrary) (note
UCDP puts date of restart in 1996)
pk 5 US-led coalition (Operation Provide Comfort) enforcing
safe haven in Kurdistan since end of Gulf war in 1991
pkwho US-led

id 745 Iraq-Kurds

cf Oct 15 1996 D&S(F) end war in Oct 1996 (15th arbitrary)
outcome rebel victory
faildate . Kurds don't fight in any serious way during US-Iraq war in
2003. UCDP codes Kurdistan conflict as "still terminated" as of 2004
pk 5 enforcement by US-led coalition. Op Provide Comfort
ends end of Dec 1996, replaced by much smaller Operation Northern Watch
pkwho US-led

id 750 Iraq-Shiites

cf Dec 15 1993 end date unclear. D&S(F) put end to rebellion in Dec 1993,
MG notes hostilities through at least November. UCDP code fighting thru 1996. (MG notes some
clashes at least thru 1999 but major rebellion quelled by March 26 1991)
outcome govt victory

faildate . Shiites take power after US-Iraq war. UCDP list of terminated conflicts notes “termination” of Iraq-SCIRI war ends after 7 years (i.e. 2003), but, as with Kurdish war, no serious fighting between Shia & Hussein’s forces in US-Iraq war. email communication w/ Nora Bensahel, RAND
pk none

id 760 Israel-Palestine

cf Sept 13 1993 Oslo Agreement. S2004 puts end date at end of Oslo process in 1997, but a longer spell here cuts against pk argument.
outcome settlement
faildate Sept. 28 2000 Al Aksa intifada starts with Sharon’s visit to Temple Mount
pk none UNTSO still present but inactive for years. (UNDOF also still present, but doesn’t deal with Palestinian conflict)

Kenya D&S(F) list a war ending in 1993, but S2004 notes as ambiguous case. Not included in Fearon&Laitin or UCDP. Not included here, because while evidence that govt supported and instigated violence, this is a case of ethnic violence not violence between organized rebels and the state. also, end date unclear, D&S note ongoing violence after 1993.

id 830 Lebanon

cf Oct 13 1990 Taif agreement. UCDP. S2004 dates end of war in Sept 1991 w/ Lebanese-Syrian agreement – but MG notes most militias disarmed & Lebanese army in control of most areas by May 2 1991 at latest.
outcome settlement
faildate .
pk 5 Syrian enforcement mission
pkwho Syria

[check that pk data not coding UNIFIL which had little to do with post-Taif stability]

id 840 Liberia

cf Nov 28 1990 Bamako agreement. D&S(F) add break in 1990 to older data
outcome settlement agreement calls for elections and disarmament
faildate Oct 15 1992 Bamako falls apart in October (15th arbitrary) MG. D&S(F) put new war in Jan 1992, but not clear from S2004 notes why
pk 5 ECOMOG enforcement mission
pkwho ECOWAS

id 850 Liberia

cf Aug 17 1996 Abuja agreement – leads to elections that Taylor wins.

S2004 puts end date at Taylor's election in July 1997

outcome	settlement	
faildate	May 15 1999	D&S(F) code another war in May (15 th arbitrary). LURD made up of some ULIOM fighters from before Abuja agreement.
pk	5+2	ECOMOG throughout & UNOMIL until Sept 30 1997
	5	ECOMOG until after faildate
pkwho	UN & ECOWAS	

id 868 **Mali**

cf	Jan 6 1991	Tamanrasset Accords. UCDP notes war termination, tho D&S do not.
outcome	settlement	
faildate	May 15 1991	MG notes fighting in May after a coup in March. UCDP put resumption of war in 1994, but MG notes fighting in 1991 and 1992.
pk	none	

id 870 **Mali**

cf	Mar 31 1995	rebels announce dissolution at end of March, marking end of war (MG). UCDP put end at end Dec 1994. D&S(F) code no month
outcome	settlement	announcement follows from peace process on substantive issues
faildate	.	
pk	none	

Mexico case dropped Listed in D&S2000 but S2004 notes not enough deaths to qualify; UCDP notes breaks in 1994 and 1996 – leaving in would thus be neutral for pk argument (1 short lived break with no pkers, one case of peace lasting with no pkers)

id 890 **Moldova**

Trans-Dniester

cf	Jul 21 1992	Peace agreement signed btw Yeltsin & Moldovan Pres. (Russia backed the rebels in Trans-Dniester). MG
outcome	settlement	
faildate	.	
pk	5	CIS enforcement force. deployed troops all from Russia, Moldova and Trans-Dniester
pkwho	CIS/Russia	

id 900 **Morocco-W. Sahara**

cf	Sep 6 1991	Cease-fire agreed to in June takes effect
outcome	truce	

faildate	.	
pk	2	MINURSO to present
pkwho	UN	

id 910 **Mozambique**

cf	Oct 4 1992	General Peace Agreement signed (D&S(F) & S2004 seem to have incorrect date for signing)
outcome	settlement	
faildate	.	
pk	4	ONUMOZ to December 1994
	0	
pkwho	UN	

Myanmar (aka Burma) is an exceptionally complicated case, with several rebellions and shifting alliances among them. S2004 notes that only 4 of these meet the 1000 battle death threshold. One of these, the communist insurgency ended before 1989. The other three are the Kachin, Karen, and Shan rebellions. I follow UCDP in coding two cease-fires in the Karen case (id 158 and 160), and one in the Kachin case (id 165). UCDP lists the Shan conflict ongoing through 2002, though the government seems to have reached an agreement with one Shan rebel group (the Shan State Progressive Party) in September 1989. [this case not added for lack of information]. Note that because D&S2000 combined these cases, control variables are for all three conflicts.

id 158 **Myanmar-Karen**

cf	April 28 1992	UCDP note a break in the fighting from 1993 through 1994, with termination date April 28 1992. They note the govt declared a unilateral cease-fire and negotiated with KNU to get them to accept it.
outcome	truce	
faildate	June 1 1995	Date unclear, but according to UCDP war restarts sometime in 1995.
pk	none	

id 160 **Myanmar-Karen**

cf	June 15 1995	from Dubey
outcome	truce	UCDP low activity
faildate	Feb 15 1997	UCDP restart 1997. govt offensive in Feb (MG) (15 th arbitrary, exact date unclear). Note, old version of pk data had no more war in Burma. S2004 and UCDP indicate that there was substantial fighting among the same groups starting in 1997.
pkop	none	

id 165 **Myanmar-Kachin**

cf	Oct 15 1993	MG notes cease-fire with KIO (Karenni Independence Organization) in Oct (15 th arbitrary)
----	-------------	--

outcome	truce	
faildate	.	lasts to date. UCDP codes no activity after 1992
pk	none	

id 920 **Namibia**

cf	Apr 1 1989	Cease-fire made official (de facto in place since Aug 1988, but clashes Mar 31 and Apr 1). See Fortna in Durch 1993, p. 369.
outcome	settlement	
faildate	.	
pk	4	UNTAG, multidimensional, until Mar 21 1990
	0	
pkwho	UN	

Note UCDP and others don't include this as a war, but S2004 confirms it meets the criteria. Also could argue this cf really in 1988, but a) not really in effect until Apr 1991, and b) this mission really the start of UN's post-cold war pk behavior

id 940 **Nicaragua**

cf	April 19 1990	demobilization agreement btw govt & contras. MG.
D&S(F) code	war end in April but S2004 says they end the war at elections, which were in Feb.	
outcome	settlement	
faildate	.	
pk	3+3	OAS- UN & ONUCA until January 24 1992
	0	
pkwho	UN&OAS	

[id 1005 **Pakistan** Mohajirs

cf	Dec 31 1990	UCDP, exact cf date unclear
outcome	truce	low activity
faildate	June 1 1995	UCDP code restart in 1995 (June 1 arbitrary)
pk	none	

drop	1
------	---

This case occurs before D&S(F) say war starts – adding it would aid pk argument]

id 1007 **Pakistan** Mohajirs

cf	Oct 15 1999	D&S(F) (15 th arbitrary)
outcome	truce	low activity
faildate	.	
pk	none	

Note missing data because not in D&S2000 (added in D&S(F) UCDP codes only minor conflict, but codes a termination in 1990 and a restart in 1995. Some data filled in from Fearon & Laitin,

also, 2 factions, approx 4500 dead (S2004), not secessionist (urban Mohajir immigrants fighting against “feudal” domination by Sindhi’s in Punjab). UK colony, p5 contiguous.

id 1008 Papua New Guinea

cfdate	Mar 15 1990	cf in March (15 th arbitrary) (MG)
outcome	truce	
faildate	Sep 15 1990	clashes in Sept after govt returns troops to island
(MG)		
pk	none	

id 1009 Papua New Guinea

cf	Jan 21 1991	Honiara Declaration
outcome	truce	agreement on peace process but not itself a settlement
faildate	April 15 1991	MG notes accord failed by early March, S2004 notes resumption in April 1991 (tho they no longer include this break in the fighting because of new emphasis). later date goes vs. pk argument
pk	none	

id 1010 Papua New Guinea

cf	Oct 10 1997	Burnham Truce (MG). Later turned into a cease-fire (not clear what the difference is) in Jan 1998, and a “permanent cease-fire” April 30 1998. But there doesn’t seem to have been any fighting after Oct ‘97 (UCDP code no deaths after 96). See also S2004. D&S put end of war in April 98.
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outcome	truce
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faildate	.
----------	---

pk	0	no pkers until..
----	---	------------------

	2	Truce Monitoring Group – led by New Zealand, deployed Nov 24 1997 to April 30 1998, 250 troops. TMG is replaced by; Peace Monitoring Group – led by Australia, to June 30 1998
--	---	--

	1	sm. transitional office after PMG, then UN dpa peace-building missions (UN Political Office Bougainville, then called UN Observer Mission in Bougainville) Aussie transitional mission was about 20 civilians, UNPOB & UNOMB just 2-5 people. mandate ends 6/30/05 after elections ⁶
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pkwho	NZ, Australia, UN
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id 1030 Peru

cf	Dec 31 1996	D&S(F) put end date as end of 1996. end date is arguable. Sendero Luminoso in decline after arrest of Guzman in Sept 1992. could use arrest of Durand in July 1999 when remnants of Sendero Luminoso no longer a threat (MG). (UCDP note intermediate levels of violence through 1999. Use earlier date because it cuts against pk
----	-------------	--

⁶Info on all of these missions – email correspondence (5/31/05) with PNG expert Anthony Regan, of Australian National Univ. & currently at USIP.

argument.
outcome govt victory
faildate .
pk none

id 1050 **Philippines-Communists**
(NPA & NDF)

cf Dec 31 1995 end date unclear. D&S(F) list Sept '92 but S2004 doesn't say why. Dubey lists Dec 15 1993 (which was start of a temporary cf, according to MG). UCDP code war through 1995. MG notes clashes in April 1993 but many rebels surrender by July 1993, but also fighting (and temporary cease-fires through at least Oct 1994, UCDP coding suggests this fighting continued well into 1995.
outcome truce cf agreement or fighting fizzles, unclear which
faildate May 15 1999 UCDP code restart in 1997, another stop, and restart in 1999. MG notes clashes w. NDF in May (tho small scale)
pk none

Note: using D&S(F) date would cut vs pk argument, but there seems to be plenty of evidence of fighting beyond that point. Could also add another case for the UCDP gap in 1998, this would cut vs pk argument

id 1055 **Philippines-Mindanao**

cfdate Nov 7 1993 MNLF & govt sign 3 mo cf
outcome truce
faildate Dec 22 1993 attacks by Xians on mosques, by Muslims vs govt forces, etc. escalate a few days before Xmas (MG)
pk none

id 1058 **Philippines Mindanao**
MNLF MILF

cf Dec 31 1990 UCDP codes no activity by either group in 1991 or 1992
outcome truce low activity
faildate Jan 1 1993 exact dates unclear
pk none

id 1060 **Philippines Mindanao**

cf Sept 2 1996 agreement with MNLF
outcome settlement
faildate Nov 15 2001 MNLF violates cf in Nov 2001 (MG)
pk none
partcf 1 partial cease-fire, MILF doesn't stop fighting

Mindanao case is messy because several factions, some of which maintain cease-fires while others don't. D&S(F) (unlike D&S2000) code war as ongoing because MILF continued fight. Faildate could be start of 2000 (SIPRI lists over 1000 dead that year), but that seems to be MILF not MNLF. MILF reaches cf after this data ends, in 2001.

id 1070 Romania

cf	Dec 23 1999	Ceausescu captured, executed 2 days later
outcome	rebel victory	
faildate	.	

pk	none
----	------

Note: D&S(F) drop this case – S2004 explains it “had more the flavor of rioting and short-lived popular revolt” and that whether crossed 1000 deaths is unclear – tho 3 of the 4 sources they list suggest it did.⁷ UCDP lists as minor case.

id 1085 Russia-Chechnya

cfdate	June 1 1996	cf neg'd between Chechen leader Yandarbiyev & Yeltsin
begin	at midnight on May 31 (MG)	

outcome	truce	
faildate	July 7 1996	cf held till early July (MG)
pk	none	

id 1090 Russia-Chechnya

cf	Aug 23 1996	cease-fire signed Aug 22, takes effect next day. agreements on russian withdrawal, etc. over following week. MG
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outcome	truce	
faildate	Sept 15 1999	Russia attacks in Sept (15 th arbitrary)
pk	none	

id 1105 Rwanda

cfdate	July 31 1992	cf signed in Arusha, to come into effect at end of month (MG)
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outcome	truce	
faildate	Jan 1 1993	fighting halted until roughly Jan 1993
pk	2	OAU NMOG, 50 members, in place from July 1992-July 1993 (MG)
pkwho	OAU	

⁷Not clear why the rioting and popular revolt vs the govt in Romania would be dropped if rioting in Kenya kept as a case in D&S(F).

id 1110 Rwanda

cf	Aug 4 1993	Arusha Accords. cf actually in effect since March 16 (or maybe even July 1992) (MG) but use later date (cuts vs pk)
outcome	settlement	
faildate	Apr 6 1994	date Habarimana's plane shot down, genocide begins
pk	2	OAU's NMOG II observer mission until Oct 5 1993
	3	then UNAMIR, interpositional
pkwho	OAU, UN	

id 1115 Rwanda

cf	July 18 1994	RPF controls whole country and declares unilat cf
outcome	rebel victory	
faildate	Jan 1 1998	fighting btwn RPF govt and Interhamwe & former govt kills over 1500 in 1998, acc. to SIPRI. MG (date arbitrary). D&S(F) don't code a new war, tho S2004 notes it could be considered one.
pk	3	UNAMIR II there until April 16 1996. (Note, acc. to Lise Howard, UNAMIR's mission had many dimensions, but wasn't staffed to implement them)
	0	
pkwho	UN	

Note: French mission "Operation Turquoise" deployed to southwestern Rwanda and Zaire June 22 1994, however it deployed to an area where there was no fighting btwn the RPF and the FAR (and where genocide already complete) – in effect a humanitarian mission, not a mission to keep peace. For an assessment see {Jones, 2001 #422}, pp.122-27.

id 1118 Senegal

cf	July 8 1993	UCDP notes a cease-fire
outcome	truce	cf or low activity
faildate	June 1 1995	UCDP note war restarts in 1995, (June 1 arbitrary)
pk	none	

Missing data, some data filled in from Fearon & Laitin. Note, no war in D&S2000, added in D&S(F). they code an end to this war in Dec 1999 (S2004 notes a cf that month), but UCDP code intermediate level conflict in 1999, 2000, and 2001 (and again in 2003), so no clear break in 1999. UCDP also code two earlier terminations and restarts (in 1990 restart 1993; 1993 restart 1995) Adding these cases would bolster pk argument. Other data filled in: French colony, secessionist war (Casamance), 3+ factions (MFDC had separate hardline and moderate factions). French mil support for govt so major=1 (see ploughsares armed conflict report).

id 1120 Sierra Leone

cf	Nov 30 1996	Abidjan Accords
outcome	settlement	
faildate	15 May 1997	fighting resumes within weeks, but accords only collapse

completely after Sankoh arrested in March

pk none 750 person UN Neutral Monitoring Group called for but not implemented. ECOMOG not yet deployed

id 1125 **Sierra Leone**

cf July 7 1999 Lome agreement

outcome settlement

faildate May 2 2000 RUF attacks UN & advances on Freetown

pk 5+2 ECOMOG, as it pulls out in December 1999, sm.

UNOMSIL observer mission converted to...

5 UNAMSIL (peace enforcement) authorized Oct 22 1999

(tho only really deploys over course of Dec)

pkwho ECOWAS & UN, UN

Note new cease-fire and British and further UN enforcement missions not included here because take place after 2000. See case studies for further discussion.

Note D&S(F) seem inconsistent – don't code changes of power in Sierra Leone as new wars, but do elsewhere (as in Afghanistan). Also treat some peacebuilding attempts (Abidjan) as war ends but not others (Lome)

id 1140 **Somalia**

cf 27 Jan 1991 Barre flees capital

outcome rebel victory

faildate 5 Sep 1991 MG notes fighting among clans started within 2 days of Barre leaving the country. S2004 puts start of the new war in May with Somaliland declaration of independence. I follow Dubey in putting war resumption in September, as this cuts against pk argument

pk none UNOSOM & US-led force (UNITAF) there after this cf falters, for humanitarian or peace creation purposes

(from MG's notes, it appears no cease-fires go into effect while international forces present)

Note: UCDP code a break in fighting in 1996 but note this is not because the war stopped, but because fighting then did not involve the government forces (as Somalia had no government). So for my purposes, there was no a cease-fire. Also, various rounds of fighting in Somaliland (see MG's notes)– but this not considered a civil war in D&S and others because fighting between various groups in a territory with no recognized government. There is therefore no data on these cases.

id 1160 **South Africa**

cf April 26 1994 D&S(F) put end of war in April. 26th is start date of elections.

outcome faildate

faildate .
pk 1 UN sends Special Rep (Brahimi) and helps with electoral observation but no pkers to speak of [why did D&S2000 code this as monitoring mission?]

id 1185 **Sri Lanka (Tamil)**

cfdate Jan 7 1995 cease-fire takes effect
outcome truce
faildate April 19 1995 cf holds until April 19
pk 1 ad hoc monitors from Canada Norway & the Netherlands, but not clear how many (MG), they withdraw after cf fails (note, this case well after Indian pk force withdraws)
pkwho adhoc

id 1190 **Sri Lanka JVP II**

cf Dec 29 1989 date of govt raid on JVP headquarters that kills most of its leaders. JVP defeated by end of Jan. Use Dec date in keeping with D&S(F) & cuts vs pk argument
outcome govt victory
faildate .
pk none Indian peacekeepers present July 1997, begin withdrawing Sept 1989. remnants there until March 1990, but appear to have been mostly involved in LTTE conflict and in any case on their way out as govt defeats JVP.

id 1202 **Sudan**

cfdate May 1 1989 SPLA announces a unilateral one month cf provided govt doesn't carry out troop movements in the south. cf extended several times (MG)
outcome truce
faildate Oct 31 1989 fighting at end of Oct 1989 (MG)
pk none

id 1204 **Sudan**

cfdate 28 March 1995 two month cf brokered by Jimmy Carter, then extended (MG)
outcome truce
faildate Aug 15 1995 fighting breaks out by mid-August (15th arbitrary)
pk none

id 1206 **Sudan**

cfdate July 15 1998 3 month cf in negotiated by British Minister of State Derek Fatchett, extended (MG)
outcome truce

faildate	Feb 15 1999	fighting resumes mid Feb (15 th arbitrary)
pk	none	

id 1208 **Sudan**

cfdate	April 15 1999	another cf in mid April (15 th arbitrary) (MG)
outcome	truce	
faildate	May 15 1999	fighting reported in mid May (15 th arbitrary)
pk	none	

id 1220 **Tajikistan**

cf	27 June 1997	Moscow declaration. previous cease-fires during peace process from 1994 on had little effect on fighting. follow D&S(F) in changing war end from 1994 (as it was in D&S2000). cuts against pk
outcome	settlement	
faildate		
pk	5+2	Russian-led CIS troops thru June 2000, UNMOT observing CIS thru April 2000
	0	
pkwho	CIS+UN	

id 1235 **Turkey-Kurds**

cfdate	Mar 20 1993	unilateral and unconditional cf by PKK, originally for 25 days but then extended indefinitely (MG)
outcome	truce	
faildate	May 24 1993	PKK rebels break Ocalan's order, killing 31 govt soldiers, ending the truce. fighting then escalates
pk	none	

Note: UCDP also code break in Turkey-Kurd war in 1992

id 1240 **Turkey-Kurds**

cf	Sep 1 1999	PKK leader Ocalan calls for cease-fire to start. S2004 puts end of war at Ocalan's arrest in Feb 1999, but PKK carried out bombing campaign in March & April (MG). PKK has largely observed Ocalan's cf, though Turkish govt has not (MG). UCDP code war ongoing as of 2003. but full scale war largely over with PKK cf. adding this case to D&S2000 (in which it was ongoing) cuts against pk arg.
outcome	govt victory	could argue a truce, since PKK agrees to cf, but with head of organization in jail, forces are essentially defeated
faildate	.	
pk	none	

id 1273 Uganda-Kony

cfdate	Feb 15 1989	Museveni declares 3 month moratorium on fighting
guerillas (MG)		
outcome	truce	
faildate	May 15 1989	after 3 months over govt offensive and scorched earth
campaign begins		
pk	none	

id 1275 Uganda-LRA

cf	July 1992	D&S(F) S2004: (temporary) defeat of LRA
outcome	govt victory	
faildate	Jan 15 1995	D&S(F) (15 th arbitrary). UCDP puts restart in 1994, later
date cuts against pk argument		
pk	none	

id 970 United Kingdom-N. Ireland

cf	Aug 31 1994	MG (UCDP code break from 1992-1997)
outcome	truce	IRA announces cf, Protestant groups also cease-fire
faildate	Feb 15 1996	
pk	none	

id 975 United Kingdom-N. Ireland

cf	Apr 10 1998	Good Friday Agreement
outcome	settlement	
faildate	.	
pk	none	

id 1320 Yemen

cf	July 10 1994	Yemen govt captures all of South Yemen
outcome	rebel victory	
faildate	.	
pk	none	D&S2000 code pk mission for this case [why?] – no
evidence of one since the 1960s		

id 1335 Yugoslavia-Croatia

cfdate	Nov 23 1991	first UN brokered cf (though 14 th cease-fire of the war – others apparently less than a month if went into effect at all) goes into effect (MG)
outcome	truce	
faildate	Dec 7 1991	lasted until early Dec (tho Vukovar falls in November –

using later of these dates works vs pk argument) (MG)
pk none no pkers in the Balkans yet

id 1340 Yugoslavia-Croatia

cf Jan 3 1992 Vance's cf goes into effect (MG)
outcome truce
faildate Jan 22 1993 Offensive in Krajina (also noted in dpko on unprofor).
D&S(F) start new war in Feb '92 but S2004 notes it's open to interpretation when a new war
event began – using their date would bias in favor of pk argument as UNPROFOR wasn't
authorized until feb 15 1992, and didn't start arriving until March – fully deployed by June]
pk 3 UNPROFOR Feb 15 1992 (authorization date, tho didn't
arrive till March)
pkwho UN

id 1355 Yugoslavia-Kosovo

cfdate Oct 12 1998 cf brokered by Holbrooke
outcome truce
faildate Dec 1 1998 cf more or less holds until Dec
pk 2 OSCE force of 2,000 (Kosovo Verification Mission) agreed
to (along with NATO monitoring from the air) but only 1,200 deploy. not clear how many deploy
before cf broken in Dec – all are evacuated in March 1999. mandate is human rights
observation. See {O'Neill, 2002 #698}, pp.24-25.
pkwho OSCE

id 1360 Yugoslavia-Kosovo

cf June 9 1999 D&S(F) put end of "civil" war in March 1999 when NATO
campaign makes it international (S2004). but no cf at this point. War actually ends with
agreement btwn NATO and Milosovic June 9 1999, setting up UNMIK and KFOR.
outcome rebel victory
faildate .
pk 5&4 UNMIK (transitional admin) & NATO KFOR enforcement
pkwho NATO & UN

Note: these cases dropped from some analyses due to missing data because not in D&S2000 or
F&L, but would support pk argument since no resumption of full-scale war while peace
enforcement present. Some data filled in: Clearly identity based. 2 factions (KLA, govt). approx
7500 dead and 1,000,000 refugees or displaced, acc. to S2004. various reports of drug financing
for KLA, so contraband=1 (eg The Guardian April 14 1999)

Pre 1989 cases

cfdate and faildate info from Dubey

when revised data also made these changes to the following pre 1989 cases:

id 1270 Uganda (Museveni's victory),
recoded to fail with emergence of UPDA etc.

Note – not entirely clear whether war in Uganda in 1990s should be considered a failure of the peace after Museveni's victory in 1986. The rebel groups were new (not the ex-govt that Museveni had overthrown), but many of the regional and ethnic cleavages had roots in earlier conflict (North vs South, Acholi vs others). Also, and more imp., according to Jessica Stanton (email correspondence), Kony starts out with the UPDA, which is made up mostly of former UNLA (Ugandan army under Obote) soldiers. So peace should be considered as failing in August 1986 with emergence of UPDA and Alice Lakwena's Holy Spirit Movement (later the LRA under Kony). Note D&S(F) now list this war as not ending until Jan 1987.

id 560 Guatemala

I had dropped in earlier version because acc. to Dubey, no break between 1972 and 1974 (dates from D&S2000). but D&S(F) code a break from Dec 1972 to march 1978 – so this case added back in, with these dates (15th arbitrary)

drop

- = .5 2 cases that are arguably not civil wars (India at partition, and Algeria at independence)
- = 1 other questionable cases (like Pak Mohajirs before D&S(F) start war)
- = 2 ongoing cases as of Dec 31 1999

Ongoing cases include:

id 20 **Afghanistan-United Front v Taliban**

cf Dec 7 2001

pkop 5 (ISAF c. 60,000 troops)

id 45 **Algeria-GIA/GSPC** etc.

id 75 **Angola UNITA**

cf Apr 4 2002

id 200 **Burundi**

ongoing

id 255 **Chad**

ends 2002

id 300 **Colombia**

ongoing. no significant cease-fires 1989-1999 (MG)

id 375 **Congo-D. R.**

cf March 15 2001 (reaffirmed in Feb 2002)

faildate . (thru at least 2003)

pk MONUC

India-Assam

ongoing

id 640 **India-Kashmir**

ongoing

id 685 **Indonesia-Aceh**

peace agreement signed in 2002

Israel-Palestinians

Liberia

ongoing

Myanmar-Karen

ongoing

Philippines-CPP

ongoing

Philippines-Mindano

ongoing

id 1095 **Russia-Chechnya**

ongoing

Sierra Leone

cf in Nov 2000 (Abuja accords, bolstered in May 2001)

[included in case study but not in data]

Sri-Lanka-Tamil

ongoing

Sudan

cf July 2002

Uganda-LRA

ongoing

Variables

[see pk.dta codebook]

- id** caseid
- t0** observation start date
= cfddate for firstob, and marks beginning of time period for cases with time-varying variables
- t1** observation end date
= end of time period for cases with time varying variables. for last observation in case record, = faildate if war resumes, or Dec 31 2004 for cases censored at that point.

firstob marks first observation in a case record

failed marks observations in which war resumes
0 = no new war this period
1 = new war this period

morewar marks cases in which war resumes
0 = no new war for this case
1 = new war for this case

Note failed pertains to the particular observation, morewar to the whole case (and is coded only for firstob=1)

startyear war start year
from D&S2005

note: revised from earlier D&S2000 dates. For old start year see ds_startyr

startmon war start month
from D&S2005

warstart war start date
= (startmon, 15, startyear) [15th of the month is arbitrary]
or if startmon is missing I assume start date is June 1, startyear.

Note p5_affinI data extracted using old start dates (from D&S2000) but usually only one or two year's difference, so unlikely to change results substantially. for cases not in D&S2000, affinity scores use the D&S2005 start year (or in 1996 for start years after that date).

wardur war duration (in years)

$$= (\text{cfdate} - \text{warstart}) / 365$$

NB for a few pre-1989 cases, cfdates from old data set occur before the revised start dates. In these cases I revise cfdates (generally as D&S2005 end month, 15, end year, unless S2005 provides more precise info on dates), but I did not go back to revise all cfdates in this way.

polityst polity score, year war starts

= polity IV score for startyear. Used polity2 (which interpolates values for polity scores -77 and -88)

for India start year 1946 and Malaysia startyear 1948, I use the first available polity score (1950 for India, 1957 for Malaysia)

polityle polity score one, war end lagged

= polity IV score (again polity2) in year before cfyear

for Algeria cf 1962 I use 1962 score (since not independent in 1961) and for India 1947 I use 1950 score

politycf polity score in cfyear

polityp1 polity score in cfyear plus 1

polityp2 polity score in cfyear plus 2

polityp5 polity score in cfyear plus 5

demztion1 democratization 1 year out
= polityp1 - polityle

demztion2 democratization 2 years out
= polityp2 - polityle

demztion5 democratization 5 year out
= polityp5 - polityle

Freedom House Variables (eg fhlepr, fhcfst, etc):

fh denotes freedom house

le score for year before cease-fire (lag end)

cf score for cease-fire year

p1, p2, p5 score for one, two, and five years after cease-fire year, respectively

pr political rights coding (1 is most free through 7 least free)

cl civil liberties coding (1 most free through 7 least free)

st overall status 0= free; 1=partly free; 2= not free

[so, for example fhlepr is a the political rights coding for the year before the cease-fire]

freedom house change variables:

[note the direction of change is inverted so that higher scores denote moves toward democracy – to match demzition scores, rather than away from democracy]

chfhst1 change in freedom house status score, 1 year out
= fhlest - fhp1st

chfhst2 change in freedom house status score, 2 years out
= fhlest - fhp2st

chfhst5 change in freedom house status score, 5 years out
= fhlest - fhp5st

chfhpr1 change in freedom house political rights score, 1 year out
= fhlepr - fhp1pr

chfhpr2 change in freedom house political rights score, 2 years out
= fhlepr - fhp2pr

chfhpr5 change in freedom house political rights score, 5 years out
= fhlepr - fhp5pr

chfhcl1 change in freedom house civil liberties score, 1 year out
= fhlecl - fhp1cl

chfhcl2 change in freedom house civil liberties score, 2 years out
= fhlecl - fhp2cl

chfhcl5 change in freedom house civil liberties score, 5 years out
= fhlecl - fhp5cl

free1 change in freedom house aggregate score, one year out
= (fhlecl+fhlepr) - (fhp1cl+fhp1pr)

free2 change in freedom house aggregate score, one year out
= (fhlecl+fhlepr) - (fhp2cl+fhp2pr)

free5 change in freedom house aggregate score, one year out
= (fhlecl+fhlepr) - (fhp5cl+fhp5pr)

[note for Namibia, for all of these variables, I use freedom house scores in the year of the cease-fire (1989) rather than the year before as the baseline because data are missing for 1988]

morewar1 war resumes less than one year after cf
= 1 if faildate<(cfdate+365)
= 0 otherwise

morewar2 war resumes less than two years after cf
= 1 if faildate<(cfdate+730)
= 0 otherwise

morewar5 war resumes less than 5 years after cf
= 1 if faildate<(cfdate+1825)
= 0 otherwise

garm government army size (in thousands)
from D&S2000, but filled in for Yugo-Kosovo, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, India-Assam
from SIPRI yearbooks [note not clear where in SIPRI yearbooks D&S got their figures, in some cases it their coding seemed to match SIPRI, but not in others. treat as rough estimate only]

gdpcap GDP per capita
from D&S2000, filled in for new cases from World Bank Development Indicators Online (WDI)

lifes life expectancy, start of war
from D&S2000, filled in for new cases from WDI

illit illiteracy rate, start of war
from D&S2000, filled in for new cases from WDI

infst infant mortality rate, start of war

from D&S2000, filled in for new cases from WDI

past_ag past agreement

= 0 if no past war, or if past war ended in victory for one side

= 1 if any past war (or round of fighting) in cluster ended in a truce or settlement

```
time0(t0) origin(time t0) . stset t1, id(id) failure(failed)
```

```
      id: id
      failure event: failed != 0 & failed < .
obs. time interval: (t0, t1]
exit on or before: failure
      t for analysis: (time-origin)
      origin: time t0
```

```
206 total obs.
13 event time missing (t1>=.) PROBABLE ERROR
```

```
193 obs. remaining, representing
157 subjects
85 failures in single failure-per-subject data
716865 total analysis time at risk, at risk from t = 0
      earliest observed entry t = 0
      last observed exit t = 20958
```