

# Political life after civil wars: Introducing the Civil War Successor Party dataset

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Journal of Peace Research

1–10

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DOI: 10.1177/0022343320920905

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## Abstract

Around the world, following civil wars, rebel and government belligerents contest and win the founding postwar elections. Despite the prevalence of these elections and their importance in setting post-conflict environments on specific political trajectories, their outcomes have been understudied. Existing scholarship centers on the timing and institutions of the postwar elections, but not on their party and voter participants. This article introduces a dataset which traces the postwar political trajectories of civil war belligerents, identifies their successor parties, charts their electoral performance, and documents their decision to remilitarize or demilitarize. The Civil War Successor Party (CWSP) dataset covers all belligerents that have transitioned from civil conflict in the period 1970–2015. The article describes the contours of the dataset, reveals patterns of political life after wars, and outlines the potential uses of the dataset for future research. In particular, it suggests how the data may be leveraged by scholars and practitioners to understand dynamics of political behavior, patterns of governance and public goods provision, quality of democracy, and recurrence of low- and high-intensity war in the aftermath of mass violence.

## Keywords

civil war, dataset, elections, peace, political legacies

## Introduction

Civil war successor parties emerge out of almost every conflict termination and remain important figures in the politics of countries transitioning from war to peace. To understand the politics of countries recovering from conflict, it is critical to understand the electoral fates of civil war belligerents. How do parties derived from rebel and government belligerents perform in founding post-war elections? Why does their performance vary? And what are the implications of these electoral results for peace, democracy, governance, and justice?

In this article, I present the Civil War Successor Party dataset (CWSP), which traces the political legacies of armed conflict and the contours of electoral politics after mass violence in the period 1970–2015. More specifically, my goal is to place civil war successor parties on the map as key actors in the transition from war to peace. The dataset documents 205 civil war belligerents' political postwar trajectories. It builds on the important work of scholars who study the timing of postwar elections

(Brancati & Snyder, 2012; Flores & Nooruddin, 2012; Reilly, 2002), the institutions structuring the elections (Hartzell & Hoddie, 2007; Mattes & Savun, 2009; Walter, 1999), and the provisions allowing for rebels to participate in the elections (Marshall & Ishiyama, 2016; Matanock, 2017). CWSP adds to this body of scholarship how the parties perform in the elections. While the existing literature focuses exclusively on rebel parties, CWSP covers successor parties derived from the government belligerent, rendering our understanding of post-war politics more complete. It further contributes to data on conflict termination and resumption. It carefully examines each case of conflict termination to verify that a meaningful cessation of hostilities took place. Rather than code war recurrence at the country or conflict level, CWSP codes remilitarization at the organizational level,

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enabling scholars to disentangle which former belligerent reinitiated the return to armed conflict.

To proceed, I first survey the existing literature and datasets. I demonstrate the importance of the CWSP project. In the second section, I introduce the structure of the dataset. The third describes potential applications of the data. In the fourth section, I analyze problems associated with the dataset, and conclude by identifying directions for future research.

### The need for a new dataset

Civil war researchers have significantly advanced knowledge of the political legacies of war. Scholars have explained why civil wars engender democratization in their aftermath in some cases, but not in others (Bermeo, 2003; Fortna & Huang, 2012; Hartzell & Hoddie, 2015; Huang, 2016; Wantchekon, 2004). Researchers have studied the timing of elections: why, at times, they happen in the immediate aftermath of war and, at other times, are delayed for years or even decades (Brancati & Snyder, 2011). Scholars have debated the advantages and disadvantages of holding elections for the sustainability of peace. Some argue in favor of elections (Lyons, 2002) whereas others show how postwar elections may be a ‘revolving door’ back to war because ‘losers will refuse to accept the results peacefully’ (Brancati & Snyder, 2012; Flores & Nooruddin, 2012; Reilly, 2002). In the study of postwar elections, many have focused on the nature of the institutions structuring the postwar environment in general, and the elections and translation of votes into political power in particular (Hartzell & Hoddie, 2007; Paris, 2004). Most advocate for inclusive structures that enable rebel groups to become political parties and contest power nonviolently (Manning & Smith, 2016; Marshall & Ishiyama, 2016; Matanock, 2017). And a large body of scholarship advocates for arrangements to share power between belligerents as an internal guarantee to prevent the other side from renegeing and to ensure that electoral losers do not become victims of the electoral winners’ policies (Hartzell & Hoddie, 2007; Walter, 1999).<sup>1</sup>

Receiving less attention in the discussions of postwar democratization, political institutions, and elections have been the political *parties* that are running in the elections and the *outcomes* of those elections.<sup>2</sup> There exist no

comprehensive data identifying the successor parties of all civil war belligerents and how they perform in the postwar elections. Critical recent data advances have facilitated our knowledge of if *rebels* participated in elections (Manning & Smith, 2016; Söderberg & Hatz, 2016) and how they performed from 1990 to 2016 (Manning & Smith, 2018), but have left the other key belligerent – the government<sup>3</sup> – and non-belligerent parties missing from our study of postwar politics. Given that voters choose between these different parties and parties compete against each other, examining only one political actor in the arena truncates our understanding of postwar politics. Additionally, existing datasets cover only the post-Cold War period, leaving decades of post-conflict politics underexplored. Finally, there exist few organizational-level indicators of remilitarization to enable an understanding of the relationship between electoral outcomes and the decision to rearm. The CWSP dataset builds on the work of Nilsson (2008) and Kreutz (2018) to facilitate the study of war recurrence at the meso unit of analysis.

### A worthwhile gap to fill

Given the strong assumption that postwar elections have a relationship with the recurrence of war and consolidation of peace, they merit further study. What happens in those elections is a lynchpin of theories of peace that link institutions and elections (Brancati & Snyder, 2012; Flores & Nooruddin, 2012; Reilly, 2002). In particular, these frameworks rely on incentivizing electoral losers not to return to war and electoral winners not to govern in such a fashion that fertilizes grievances and engenders further violence. To fully assess these established theories, we have to understand who *wins* and who *loses* the elections and why.

In addition, our knowledge of political behavior – how parties campaign, how voters vote, and with what electoral outcomes – tends to cover with great depth ‘normal’, nonviolent times,<sup>4</sup> and, to a lesser extent, ‘violent’ times,<sup>5</sup> but misses the transition between the two. To advance the study of political parties, we need to reveal the nature of the electoral organizations emerging out of conflict, how they develop their platforms, choose their candidates, run their campaigns, and appeal to

<sup>1</sup> Other scholars highlight the dark side of power-sharing (Daly, 2014; Roeder & Rothchild, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> Exceptions are important case studies that illuminate the varied performance of rebel parties (see, for examples, Allison, 2010; Curtis & Sindre, 2019; Manning, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Themner (2017) provides insightful cases of ex-military leaders’ political participation in Africa.

<sup>4</sup> For canonical texts, see Downs (1957), Fiorina (1981).

<sup>5</sup> For examples, see Wilkinson (2004), Dunning (2011), Matanock (2016).

voters and to advance the study of political behavior, we need to understand how voters respond to successor parties' appeals in the aftermath of mass violence (Curtis & Sindre, 2019; Daly, 2019).

### The CWSP dataset: Universe, definitions and sources

This article presents a dataset that fills these gaps. The CWSP data set the belligerent in a specific conflict episode as the unit of observation. The dataset is built upon the foundation provided by the UCDP Armed Conflicts Dataset, which defines civil war as 'a contested incompatibility that concerns government or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths'.<sup>6</sup> I restrict the dataset to conflicts which, since their onset, exceeded 1,000 battle-related deaths, according to the UCDP cumulative intensity variable. I do so in order to study the episodes of violence that would have impacted the population and generated political legacies, and for which our study of 'normal' nonviolent politics therefore may prove inadequate.

For inclusion in the universe of cases, it is important that the conflict experience a meaningful termination such that the study of postwar politics and a return to war is merited. To ensure that each case fulfills this criterion, I first consult the UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset v.2-2015 (Kreutz, 2010), which defines termination as an active year 'followed by a year in which there are fewer than 25 battle-related deaths'. However, many of these cases did not even briefly demilitarize; the groups just did not cross the reported death threshold in the given year. Fifty-six percent of the cases 'ended' neither in victory nor with a peace agreement. Of these, 43% are coded as ending in 'low activity'. Examining these cases to assess which should be characterized as termination and which as mere lulls in active fighting is itself a contribution. That the latter are subject to resumption is not that surprising whereas, for the former, a change in strategy from peace back to war must be explained. Moreover, the factors leading active conflicts to shift from lower to higher intensity likely diverge from those that cause a terminated conflict to resume. And, the factors explaining party success for active fighting groups likely differ from those that account for party success after conflict. This project is interested in politics

following episodes of mass violence and therefore takes great care to verify, with extensive qualitative sources, that each belligerent has transitioned from violence. The universe of cases are belligerents meeting these criteria that terminated their conflicts between 1970 and 2015. The coding decisions and sources are discussed for each case in the codebook. The codebook also includes justifications for the UCDP cases excluded from this universe.

#### *Successor parties*

The dataset then identifies the successor parties of all wartime belligerents. Civil war successor parties are defined as the postwar parties representing the ideological and organizational characteristics of the wartime belligerents.<sup>7</sup> The *incumbent* belligerent is defined as the political party, group, or organization that possessed authoritative control over the state's coercive apparatus during the conflict. In cases where the state meaningfully ceased to function during hostilities, the government belligerent refers to the party, group, or organization that controlled the forces most closely associated with the previously constituted state's coercive apparatus.<sup>8</sup> An *incumbent successor party* is the political party derived from this belligerent. In some cases, this is a conflict-era party. In other cases, it is the party that formally adopts the name, program, or mantle of the government belligerent, or is the party most closely associated with the government belligerent due to its platform or membership.

The *rebel* is defined as the armed opposition organization. A *rebel successor party* is the political party derived from this rebel belligerent. It may be a previously existing party representing the rebels during the conflict. If no conflict-era rebel party exists or it disbands before the founding election, the rebel successor is the party that formally adopts the name, program, or mantle of the rebels, or is the party most closely associated with the rebels due to its platform or membership.

#### *Elections*

The dataset determines the founding elections following the termination of armed struggle. It records the dates of the *founding legislative, presidential, and regional elections*. The first postwar election for a national legislature

<sup>6</sup> UCDP definitions available at <https://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/>.

<sup>7</sup> See Jhee (2008).

<sup>8</sup> Where incumbents changed over the conflict (e.g. Bangladesh and Indonesia), the codebook notes this, and identifies the incumbent at the height of the conflict.

excludes constituent assemblies except where they governed in excess of a year as a de facto legislative body (e.g. Nepal and East Timor). The first postwar election for a regional legislature is coded for cases in which the local legislature exercised the majority of political control within a region with a formally established degree of legislative autonomy (for example, Papua New Guinea's Autonomous Bougainville Government).

### *Election results*

The dataset traces the successor parties' electoral fates in the founding postwar elections. It also summarizes the electoral outcomes for parties without a violent past. It collects the total valid votes for each successor party based on information collected from various print and electronic sources. These include Birch (2003), Grotz, Hartmann & Nohlen (2001), Nohlen (2005a,b), Nohlen, Krennerich & Thibaut (1999), Nohlen & Stöver (2010), Lansford (1999), African Elections Database, Political Database of the Americas, and Parties and Elections in Europe. I also consulted Keesing's Record of World Events, Lexis-Nexis Academic, Pro-Quest Historical Newspaper Databases, CIA World Factbook, US State Department Reports, Library of Congress Country Reports, BBC Country Profiles (Latin American Election Statistics), and Economist Intelligence Unit Country Profiles. I code whether the party was banned from participation or boycotted the elections using information from the National Elections across Democracy and Autocracy (NELDA) dataset (Hyde & Marinov, 2012). I use qualitative sources to verify and add nuance to the nature of non-participation in the elections, which I record in the codebook.

### *Remilitarization*

CWSP presents data on whether the belligerents returned to war. Unlike most existing data on war recurrence, it not only presents conflict-level data on whether a conflict resumed, but also identifies *who* reinitiated the fighting. This belligerent-level coding of remilitarization is important because existing theories posit that losers of the founding postwar elections are likely to return to war absent certain safeguards. Without knowledge of which actors remilitarized and which did not, we cannot test this important logic. Data are collected both for resumed violence that crosses the threshold of 1,000 battle-related deaths and also for violence which remains low intensity. To distinguish remilitarization from violence caused by new belligerents and conflicts, I carefully trace the actors after termination. Drawing on the definition of Daly

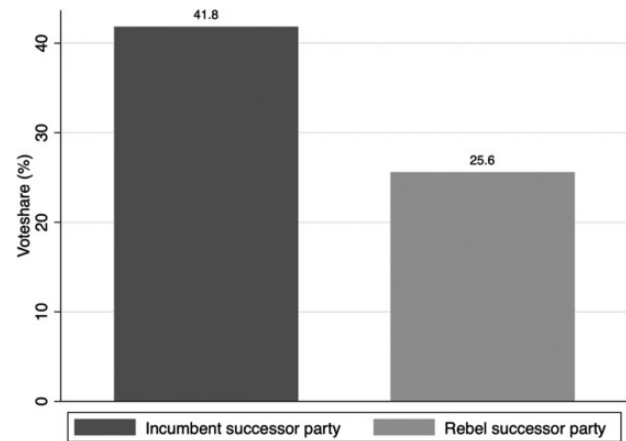


Figure 1. Civil war successor party success

(2016: 113), I define remilitarization as 'a return to organized violence by the same armed group, exploiting the assets of the prior group, that is, its coercive structure, recruits, command-and-control apparatus, organizational know-how, finances, and ties to the population'.

## **Descriptive statistics**

This section presents descriptive statistics of the electoral performance of rebel and incumbent successor parties from the CWSP. The dataset traces the postwar trajectories of 205 civil war belligerents across 57 different states. Successor parties emerged out of all conflicts. The dataset suggests that incumbent successor parties tend to outperform rebel successor parties. On average, incumbent parties gained 41.8% of the vote while rebel parties won, on average, 25.6% of the vote (Figure 1). Meanwhile, non-belligerent parties without a violent past gained, on average, a combined 43.6% of the vote share, suggesting that parties with violent pasts tended to dominate the elections, with an average combined vote share of 56.4%.

The electoral results on all sides ranged dramatically, with some successor parties sweeping the elections and others performing dismally. Patterns were relatively uniform across the world. Figure 2 shows the vote shares across different regions. On average, successor parties gained 25% of the vote across Europe, 31% in Asia, and 33% in the Middle East. This rose to 36% for belligerent parties in Africa and the Americas.

Only seven of the 205 incumbent and rebel cases were banned from running. Rebels and incumbent successor party runs were common both during and after the Cold War (17% of cases ran before the end of the Cold War). While runs became more common after 1989, successor

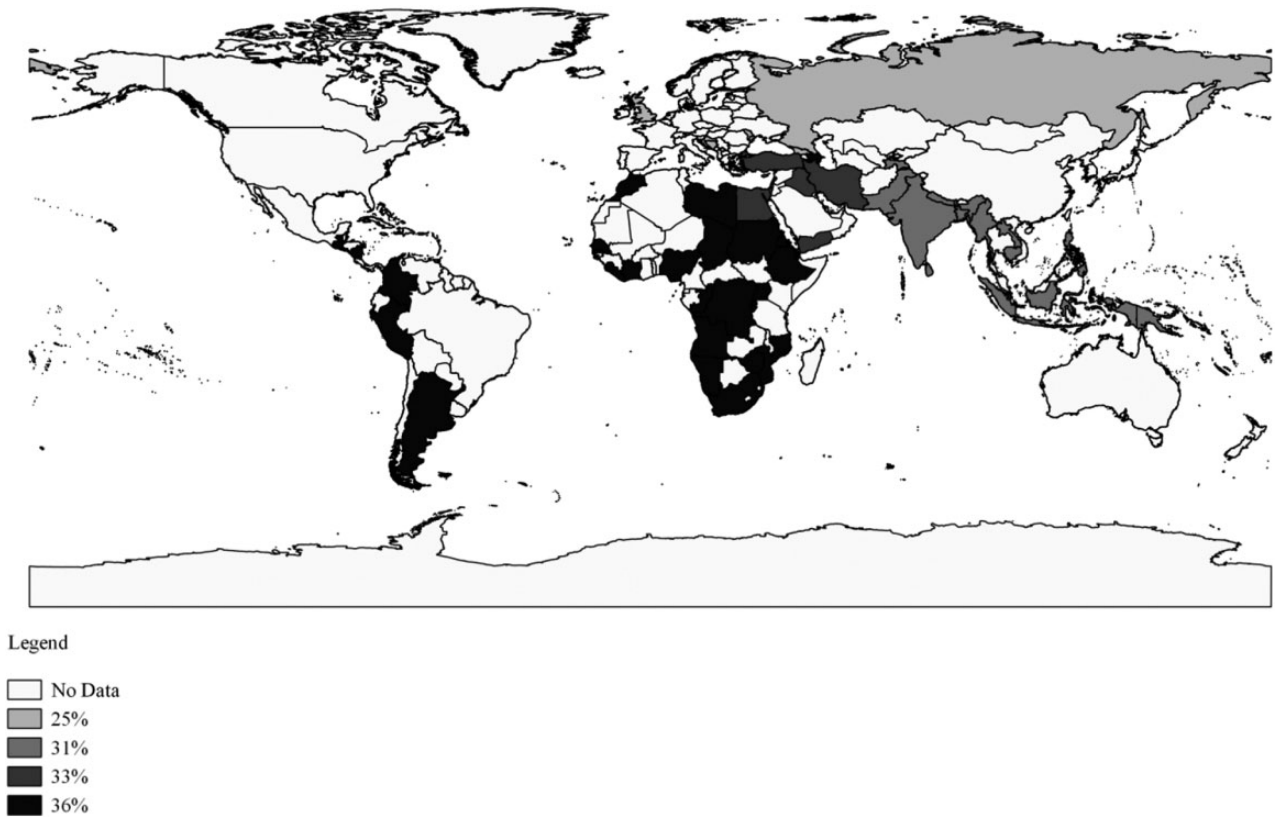


Figure 2. Average vote share for civil war successor parties across world regions

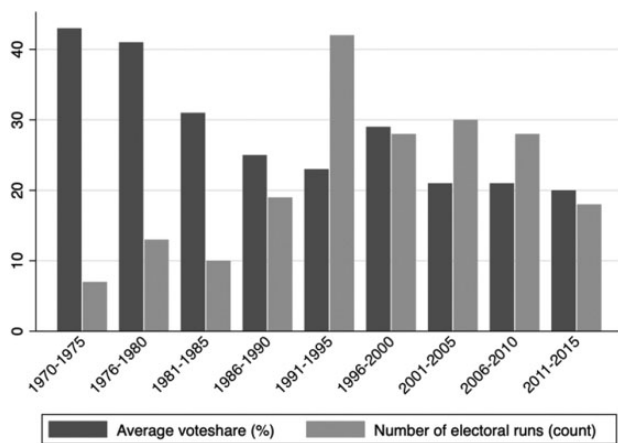


Figure 3. Civil war successor party runs and success over time

parties also became less successful electorally. Figure 3 displays the average number of successor parties and their average vote shares from 1970 to 2015.

Postwar politics exhibited significant path dependency: the correlation between the first and second election results was 0.7. This underscores the extent to which the first postwar elections help set the political

trajectory of post-conflict countries, and highlights the merit of studying these founding elections.

The transformation of armed groups into political parties has become part of the international community’s standard operating procedures for fostering peace in war-torn regions,<sup>9</sup> largely as a result of normative diffusion (Matanock, 2017). De Zeeuw (2008) argues that the presence of the UN renders rebels’ successful transformation from bullets to ballots more likely by reconfiguring the electoral system, providing technical assistance, and helping parties develop their platforms. However, while UN intervention might render political participation by belligerents more likely, it actually seems to dampen their vote shares. Successor parties achieved, on average, 37.8% of the vote where the UN did not engage in any intervention and 29.9% where it did (Figure 4). This result may reflect selection in where the UN deploys, and the fact that the UN can also foster parties without roots in the violent organizations, an outcome that merits greater attention.

<sup>9</sup> See Brancati & Snyder (2011).

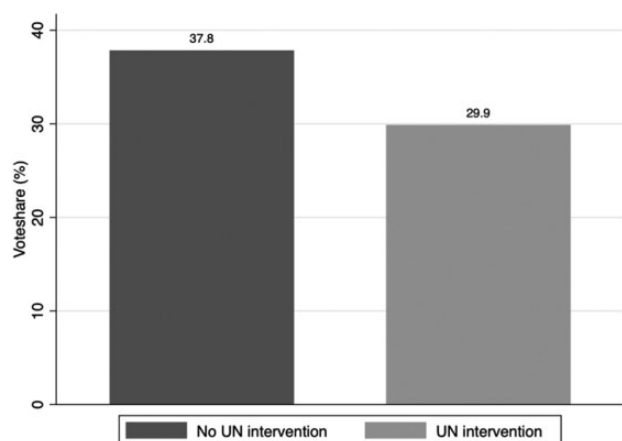


Figure 4. United Nations intervention and civil war successor party success

The data also present interesting patterns related to electoral violence that deserve further study. For example, 21% of postwar elections involving civil war successor parties exhibited government harassment of the opposition and 47% witnessed violence during the elections, suggesting variation in the electoral tactics of belligerents as they transitioned from war.

Of the belligerents in the sample, 30% experienced a return to war between the same combatants. Of these cases, 60% constituted a return to high-intensity war, passing the 1,000 battle-death threshold over their course; 40% manifested as lower-intensity hostilities below this fatality threshold, but between the same combatants. An additional 18% of cases witnessed new conflicts in which the participants diverged from the prior conflicts' fighting parties. In nearly all cases of war recurrence, it was possible to identify which actor reinitiated the conflict.

### CWSP data applications

The CWSP can help advance research agendas in the study of conflict, peace, democratization, governance, and electoral politics. Both scholars and policymakers can make use of these data to evaluate existing theories, and to develop new ideas grounded in empirically validated research.

The CWSP is built upon the strong foundation of the UCDP infrastructure. With identifying codes at the conflict, dyadic, and actor levels, all CWSP cases may easily be merged with existing and widely used conflict data (Gleditsch et al., 2002). This facilitates, for example, analysis of the correlates of electoral success based on (1) organizational attributes available, for example, in the

Non-State Actor Dataset (Cunningham, Gleditsch & Salehyan, 2013), Ethnic Power-Relations Dataset (Cederman, Wimmer & Min, 2010), Rebel Governance Dataset (Huang, 2016), Rebel Contraband Dataset (Walsh et al., 2018), and Religion and Armed Conflict Dataset (Svensson & Nilsson, 2018); (2) attributes of the violence including those available from the One-Sided Violence Dataset (Eck & Hultman, 2007; Themner & Wallensteen, 2012); and (3) attributes of the peace environment including those deriving from the Conflict Termination Dataset v.2-2015 (Kreutz, 2010), Hartzell & Hoddie's (2015) comprehensive power-sharing data, and Gromes & Ranft's (2016) Post-Civil War Order dataset.

Including CWSP data in their analyses would allow scholars to ask questions about the legacies of violence for political life. Many argue that fragmented versus cohesive groups have divergent postwar trajectories (Manning, 2008; Rudloff & Findley, 2016) as do resource-rich versus resource-poor organizations (Huang, 2016; Weinstein, 2007). Additionally, how groups treat civilians during war – whether with public goods, rebel governance, or indiscriminate violence – is posited to matter for violent actors' postwar relations with the citizenry (Huang, 2016; Stewart, 2018). The CWSP allows scholars to further explore these hypotheses.

CWSP may also be used to help generalize from a rich case study literature on rebel to party transformations (see, for example, Allison, 2010; Curtis & Sindre, 2019; Manning, 2008), to expand datasets on rebel parties to also include incumbent belligerent parties, and to extend our knowledge of rebel parties post-Cold War back in time to preceding decades. Doing so can help reveal how postwar politics is influenced by the nature of the incompatibility, the existence or absence of electoral democracy before the war, and the extent of electoral experience of the warring parties.

Charting the electoral success and political roles played by former belligerents during the often-stormy seas of transitions from civil war can also be of help to policymakers seeking to gain traction on the question of how to marginalize and curb the political influence of certain violent groups, while potentially enhancing that of others. For example, analysts might ask whether access to the legal political arena and elections would increase or decrease the political leverage of groups such as the Taliban and Islamic State. Or they might assess who is likely to rule the postwar environments and with what implications for peace and democracy.

With standard country codes and election years, CWSP also may be merged with existing data on the nature and quality of elections. For example, all cases are compatible with the NELDA dataset (Hyde & Marinov, 2012) and the Varieties of Democracy Project (Lindberg et al., 2014). It is therefore possible to study the extent to which elections contested and won by actors with violent pasts are free and fair, how media are used and harnessed in these elections, and when and why election violence accompanies postwar voting.

The CWSP data are further compatible with datasets tracking economic conditions and reconstruction, such as the World Bank Indicators and those studying governance outcomes including the Quality of Government Standard Dataset (Teorell et al., 2018). Elections are pervasive in postwar societies and are thus among the key mechanisms by which postwar rule is decided. Studies of how postwar societies are governed, reconstructed, and stabilized could include CWSP indicators to test whether it matters what type of party – rebel, incumbent, or non-belligerent – is elected to rule the country. This would augment the possibilities for studies to take into consideration *who* is in charge of the post-conflict governments, and how their character influences how they govern. How do ex-violent actors in office after wars affect reconstruction, aid effectiveness, and human development?

For an important subset of cases, it is further possible to merge the CWSP dataset with the Democratic Accountability and Linkages Project (Kitschelt, 2013) to understand how postwar political parties are organized, what exchange mechanisms they rely on to seek votes, how they monitor and enforce their members, on what policy positions they run, and if and how they differ fundamentally from parties campaigning during ‘normal’ times. The CWSP further presents the election years over time allowing analyses of how postwar politics changes as the environment extends away from the violent period and transitions to peaceful politics.

CWSP data are compatible with data on authoritarian parties (Loxton & Mainwaring, 2018), permitting the study of the broader phenomena of successor politics during transitions (Grzymala-Busse, 2002; Ishiyama, 1997). The CWSP dataset focuses on voting in contexts emerging from civil war. However, it can be used to reach beyond these contexts to examine post-violence settings more generally and to help us understand why people vote for actors with unsavory pasts across multiple environments.

The CWSP dataset may complement existing data on provisions for rebels to participate politically including

the Militant Group Electoral Participation dataset (Matanock, 2016), Acosta’s (2014) data on militant political party formation, and NELDA’s data on political bans and boycotts. Incorporating CWSP outcomes into these existing datasets may allow analyses of the selection process by which certain postwar regimes emerge, and specifically enable understanding of when demilitarized groups reinvent themselves as political parties, co-opt existing parties, or form nongovernmental associations and govern informally. It would permit scholars to further explore why belligerents are allowed to run for office, why violent actors retain an organizational structure enabling them to run for office, and why they gain the endorsement of a sufficient segment of the population so as to win office (Daly, 2011, 2016).

Finally, including successor party election results in our analyses can shed light on questions of how political participation inoculates societies against a return to war. As noted earlier, scholars disagree as to whether it matters for peace only that belligerents be included or instead that they perform well in the elections (Brancati & Snyder, 2012; Hartzell & Hoddie, 2007). Interacting institutional arrangements and timing of elections with the election results would enable further testing of these predictions.

### Limitations and future extensions

CWSP enables scholars to gain traction on important questions of political life, democratic elections, and governance after conflict. As any dataset, CWSP exhibits limitations. The project relies on battle-related death reporting, which may be uneven, introducing bias. It also restricts the universe of cases to those that, since their onset, exceeded 1,000 battle-related deaths. It may be worth extending the analysis to the universe of conflicts that do not cumulatively reach this threshold over their course. These cases may exhibit divergent postwar trajectories. For example, they may constitute lower-capacity rebel groups that choose to participate in politics informally through sociopolitical associations, or to co-opt parties and run their candidates hidden on existing party tickets. The Militant Group Electoral Participation dataset provides a list of such groups. Coding their electoral success and collecting information on incumbent actors would be a worthwhile extension. Small militant groups may be powerful only at a regional or local level (Lewis, 2017). CWSP includes regional elections where these determined governance in autonomous zones. Coding the electoral success of belligerent parties in local elections in non-secessionist cases would be a valuable

addition to the CWSP dataset. In certain elections, such as those in Pakistan (1985) and Yemen (1971), all candidates ran as independents despite public association with specific parties. Research on the individual candidates could reveal their party affiliations to complement the coding of these important cases. Establishing the vote share for other belligerents who ran on multiple party tickets (e.g. the Colombian paramilitaries) similarly requires in-depth qualitative research to trace the violent ties and electoral fates of each individual politician. Such research would enhance the CWSP dataset. Determining the postwar trajectories of civil war belligerents presents coding challenges that different scholars may dispute. By being as transparent as possible about the decisions in the accompanying online materials, the CWSP dataset enables future scholars to replicate the coding, and re-assess the coding process.

## Conclusion

The lack of inclusive data has hindered the comprehensive analysis of postwar politics and stabilization. In this article, I introduce a new dataset on civil war successor parties of all armed actors following all recent civil conflicts since 1970. The data demonstrate significant variation in the electoral fates of civil war belligerents, as well as variation over time and by belligerent type.

The CWSP dataset can help advance knowledge of the causes and consequences of postwar elections. The data suggest that actors with violent pasts do not always win the elections, a source of governance that policymakers may be interested in harnessing to win meaningful peace for populations plagued by violence.

## Replication data

The dataset, codebook, and do-files for the empirical analysis in this article can be found at <http://www.prio.org/jpr/datasets>.

## Acknowledgments

I thank Jonathan Panter for invaluable research assistance and appreciate the research of Ashley Litwin, Minju Kwon, and Camilo Nieto Matiz. For very helpful discussions, I am grateful to seminar participants at Harvard University, Princeton University, University of Chicago, MIT, UNC, George Washington University, Rutgers University, and annual meetings of APSA and ISA.

## Funding

I acknowledge funding from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and United States Institute of Peace.

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## CODEBOOK

POLITICAL LIFE AFTER CIVIL WARS:  
Introducing the Civil War Successor Party Dataset

*Journal of Peace Research*  
doi: [10.1177/0022343320920905](https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343320920905)

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## Part I: General

### A. Definitions and coding criteria

*Civil War*: The dataset draws on the UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflicts Dataset, which defines civil war as any armed and organized confrontation between government troops and rebel organizations that reaches an annual battle death threshold of twenty-five (Gleditsch et al. 2002). The dataset further draws off the UCDP cumulative intensity criteria, limiting its scope to wars that exceed 1000 battle deaths over the duration of the conflict.

*Conflict termination*: The dataset consults the UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset as a first check as to whether the conflicts have ended (Kreutz 2010). This dataset defines termination as an active year “followed by a year in which there are fewer than 25 battle-related deaths.” Some conflicts, deemed “ended” by these criteria, did not even briefly demilitarize; the groups merely proved unable to cross this violence threshold for a period. The dataset therefore relies on the UCDP Encyclopedia and extensive qualitative sources to verify that each actor has transitioned from violence and the conventional wisdom in the case literature on the date of the termination (peace accord, ceasefire, end of hostilities). The coding decisions, end dates, and sources are discussed for each case.

*Universe of cases*: Cases comprise all conflicts meeting the definition of civil war outlined above with termination dates between 1970 and 2015.

### B. Description of variables

#### *location*

This field indicates the location of the armed conflict.

#### *ccode*

This variable records the COW country code.

#### *incumbent*

This field indicates whether the belligerent is an incumbent. It is a binary variable, which assumes a value of “0” if the belligerent is a rebel group; “1” if it was the government side of the conflict.

### *incumbent*

This field is the reverse of the *incumbent* variable and simply indicates whether the belligerent is a rebel or not. It is a binary variable, which assumes a value of “0” if the belligerent was the government side of the conflict; “1” if it was a rebel group.

### *belligerent*

This variable indicates the name of the belligerent: incumbent or rebel group. Incumbent is defined as the political party, group, or organization that possessed authoritative control over the government’s coercive apparatus during the conflict. In cases where the state had meaningfully ceased to function during hostilities, incumbent refers to the party, group, or organization that controlled the forces most closely associated with the previously-constituted state’s coercive apparatus. Rebel is defined as the armed opposition organization.

### *successorparty*

This variable indicates the name of the belligerent successor party. *Incumbent successor Party* is defined as the political party representing the ideological and organizational characteristics of the wartime government belligerent: the government actor during the conflict, which possessed authoritative control over the state’s coercive apparatus, and to whom citizens may attribute wartime government violence. It is not necessarily the electoral incumbent party. *Rebel successor party*: The political party representing the ideological and organizational characteristics of the rebel actor during the conflict, and to whom citizens may attribute wartime rebel violence.

### *year\_first\_legislative*

Founding legislative election: The year of the first election for a national legislature after conflict termination (as previously defined). This excludes constituent assemblies (which usually precede legislative elections where the previous state has been overthrown), except where such assemblies governed in excess of a year as a de facto legislative body. These exceptions are explained in the case notes.

### *boycott1*

This field indicates whether opposition leaders boycotted the first legislative elections (*nelda14*). A boycott implies an overt decision by a political party not to contest the election. Typically, these leaders also encourage their supporters to boycott the election by not voting.

*Source*: Hyde and Marinov 2012. Verified that specific successor parties boycotted the elections with qualitative information.

### *banned1*

This field indicates whether opposition leaders were prevented from running in the first legislative elections. A decision to boycott the election was coded “Yes” here only if it was in response to the government preventing opposition figures from running. Cases where the opposition was not allowed were also coded as “yes.”

*Source:* Hyde and Marinov 2012. Verified that specific successor parties were banned from participation with qualitative information.

#### *voteshare1\_leg*

This field indicates the number of valid votes / the number of votes that the successor party won in the year1 legislative election. This variable treats vote share of boycotting parties as “0,” but banned parties’ vote share as missing.

*Sources:* Information about electoral vote shares was collected from various print and electronic sources including Birch 2003, Grotz, Hartmann, and Nohlen 2001, Nohlen 2005a, b, Nohlen, Krennerich, and Thibaut 1999, Nohlen and Stöver 2010, Political Handbook of the World 1999, African Elections Database, Political Database of the Americas, and Parties and Elections in Europe. I also consulted Keesing’s Record of World Events; Lexis-Nexis Academic; Pro-Quest Historical Newspaper Databases; CIA World Factbook; US State Department Reports; Library of Congress Country Reports; BBC Country Profiles, Latin American Election Statistics; and Economist Intelligence Unit Country Profiles.

#### *voteshare1\_leg\_np*

This field indicates the number of valid votes / the number of votes that the successor party won in the year1 legislative election. Non-participation (because of banning, formal boycott, one-party election, participation only in regional elections or no formation of a successor party) is treated as missing.

#### *non\_participation*

This is a binary variable capturing non-participation in the elections because of a formal ban, formal boycott, one-party election, participation only in regional elections, or no formation of a successor party.

#### *year\_first\_presidential*

Founding presidential election: The first election for a national executive authority after conflict termination.

#### *year\_first\_regional*

Founding regional election: The first election for a regional legislature after conflict termination. This coding is exclusive to cases where the primary rebel organization in a conflict represented a separatist cause, and conflict termination resulted in regional

autonomy, but not national independence, for the separatist group. Not included are provincial or local council elections whose authority is limited to a small sub-national portfolio of affairs. Rather, regional elections refer to cases where the local legislature exercises the majority of political control within a region with a formally established degree of legislative autonomy.

*year\_second\_legislative*

Second legislative election: The second election for a national legislature after conflict termination.

*year\_second\_presidential*

Second presidential election: The second election for a national executive authority after conflict termination.

*year\_second\_regional*

Second regional election: The second election for a regional legislature after conflict termination, within the restrictions as previously defined.

*remilitarization*

Return to war: A binary coding representing whether there occurred a return to war between the same combatants.

*reinit\_war*

Conflict re-initiation: A binary coding representing whether the belligerent was the side that initiated a return to war.

*rtw\_high\_intens*

This field is a binary variable indicating whether the resumed hostilities constituted a return to high-intensity war, passing the 1,000 battle-death threshold over their course.

*rtw\_low\_intens*

This field indicates whether the resumed hostilities manifested as lower-intensity hostilities below the 1,000 fatality threshold, but between the same combatants.

*rtw\_newwar*

This field indicates whether new conflicts erupted in which the participants diverged from the prior conflicts' fighting parties.

*unintrvnull*

This field indicates whether a UN intervention took place, including mediation, observation, peacekeeping - traditional and multidimensional, and enforcement.

*Source:* Brancati and Snyder 2011

*e\_nelda\_15\_leg*

This field indicates the level of harassment of the opposition. Harassment may include detaining opposition leaders, disrupting opposition political rallies with state forces, and shutting down opposition newspapers and offices.

*Source:* Hyde and Marinov 2012.

*e\_nelda\_33\_leg:*

This field indicates whether there was violence during elections. If there was any significant violence relating to the elections that resulted in civilian deaths, a “yes” is coded. These deaths should be at least plausibly related to the election, though sometimes it is difficult to be certain.

*Source:* Hyde and Marinov 2012.

*epstartyear* and *ependyear*

These fields indicate the year of the start and end of the conflict according to UCDP.

*coldwar*

This field indicates whether the conflict terminated during the Cold War (“0”) or after the end of the Cold War (“1”).



## Part II: Cases

### ANGOLA (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1975-1991

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Angola (under People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola – MPLA); National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA); National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)

*Summary:* After Angolan independence from Portugal in 1975, FNLA and UNITA initiated a rebellion against the ruling MPLA. The belligerents signed the Bicesse Accords on May 31, 1991.

*Founding legislative election:* 1992

*Incumbent party:* MPLA

*Rebel successor parties:* UNITA; FNLA

*War re-initiation:* Yes. UNITA re-initiated in 1992 after disputing election results.

*Founding presidential election:* 1992

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* N/A (next legislative election, 2008, is the founding election for a subsequent conflict period)

*Second presidential election:* N/A (none since 1992)

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

“Angola.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Angola](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Angola)

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### ANGOLA (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1992-2002

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Angola (under MPLA); UNITA

*Summary:* MPLA won legislative elections in 1992, and UNITA disputed the result and recommenced rebellion. On October 31, 1994, UNITA and MPLA agreed to the Lusaka protocol, brokered by the UN and several foreign governments, the purpose of which was

a cease-fire and demobilization of UNITA. The cease-fire was short lived, and the conflict continued until MPLA killed UNITA's leader in 2002, then ceased operations. Both sides agreed to implement the Lusaka protocol, and UNITA disarmed and converted into a political party.

*Founding legislative election:* 2008

*Incumbent party:* MPLA

*Rebel successor party:* UNITA

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* N/A (None since 1992)

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2012

*Second presidential election:* N/A

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Angola (1)

## ARGENTINA

*Conflict dates:* 1969-1983

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Argentina; Montoneros; Worker's Revolutionary Party (PRT; armed wing People's Revolutionary Army – ERP)

*Summary:* ERP was founded in 1969; Montoneros (left-wing Peronists) in 1970. Both were leftist groups in opposition to the military dictatorship and conducted terrorist attacks on civilians and government personnel. The Argentine Dirty War against leftist groups commenced under Isabel Peron's government in 1974. Peron was overthrown in a US-backed coup in 1976 and the Dirty War continued under the Argentine Junta. Montoneros and the ERP were largely destroyed by government repression by the late 1970s. Elections were held in 1983 after the Junta stepped down in the aftermath of the Falklands war.

*Founding legislative election:* 1983

*Incumbent party/parties:* N/A. No successor party to the military junta emerged at the national level, although some did at the subnational level (Loxton and Mainwaring 2018: 14-15). The existing parties' records with regards to support for the Junta are mixed, but none indicates a clear endorsement or association with the military dictatorship. The Justicialist Party (right-wing Peronist) is associated with some of the violence against the Montoneros and ERP, but not the peak of it, and the party itself was displaced by the Junta in the 1976 coup. The leader of the conservative Union of the Democratic Centre (UCeDe) opposed the coup, but supported the National Reorganization Process implemented by the Junta. The leader of the Federal Alliance supported the coup and his party received local positions in the Junta, but his party ran did not run in the legislative elections.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A. The Montoneros were destroyed by 1979. The Movement for Socialism or Popular Socialist Party (PSP) had Montonero ties, but were not successor parties. Both ran only in presidential, not parliamentary elections.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1983

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1985

*Second presidential election:* 1989

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

- “Argentina.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.  
[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Argentina](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Argentina)  
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## AZERBAIJAN

*Conflict dates:* 1991-1994

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Azerbaijan (under New Azerbaijan Party); Artsakh Defense Army (also known as NKR Defense Army)

*Summary:* From 1988-1989, extensive interethnic fighting and internal displacements occurred in the region of Nagorno-Karabakh, prompting Soviet military intervention. With the fall of the USSR, Armenian separatists and Azerbaijani regulars came into direct conflict in 1991. In 1992 the region declared independence. The recently-established Republic of Armenia supported Armenian militants in Nagorno-Karabakh. The government of Armenia, government of Azerbaijan, and an NKR representative signed the Bishkek Protocol on May 5, 1994.

*Founding legislative election:* 1996. Elections were initially held in 1995 but the results were invalidated and the election held again the following year.

*Incumbent party/parties:* New Azerbaijan Party

*Rebel successor party/parties:* Armenian Revolutionary Federation

*War re-initiation:* No high-intensity war resumed, but Mardakert skirmishes occurred in 2008. UCDP data indicates greater than 25 battle-related deaths, but other sources dispute this. Re-initiation cannot be attributed.

*Founding presidential election:* 1998

*Founding regional election:* 1995

*Second legislative election:* 2001. Elections were initially held in 2000 but the results were partially invalidated. Elections for some constituencies were held again the following year.

*Second presidential election:* 2003

*Second regional election:* 2000

*Sources:*

- “Armenia.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.  
[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Armenia](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Armenia)  
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- “Azerbaijan.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Azerbaijan](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Azerbaijan)  
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“Karabakh casualty toll disputed.” *BBC News*, March 5, 2008.  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7278871.stm> (Accessed February 16, 2019).

## BANGLADESH (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1971-1971

*Primary belligerents:* Government of West Pakistan; Provisional Government of Bangladesh (armed wing Mukhti Bahini).

*Summary:* Bangladesh War of Independence. Following the 1970 elections, widespread unrest spread in Bangladesh. The military junta in West Pakistan commenced an armed operation to subdue Bengali nationalists on March 25, 1971, prompting nationalists to declare independence and establish the Provisional Government of Bangladesh. Elements of the East Pakistani military and local paramilitaries formed the Mukhti Bahini and engaged in armed struggle against the West Pakistani military, until the latter surrendered on December 16, 1971.

*Founding legislative election:* 1973

*Incumbent party/parties:* N/A. Prior to the war, Pakistan approximated a two-party system, with Awami enjoying control in East Pakistan and West Pakistani parties having little influence in East Pakistan. The dominant party in West Pakistan, the Pakistan People’s Party, did not establish a branch in Bangladesh after the latter’s independence. None of the parties that ran in 1973 in the newly-independent Bangladesh were associated with anti-secession sentiments. In subsequent elections, Jamaat e-Islami, which had been a Pakistani party against secession, established a branch in Bangladesh.

*Rebel successor party:* Bangladesh Awami League

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1978

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1979

*Second presidential election:* 1981

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Ahmed, Nizam. 2003. “From Monopoly to Competition: Party Politics in the Bangladesh Parliament (1973-2001).” *Pacific Affairs* 76(1): 55-77.

Rahman, Tahmina. 2019. “Party System Institutionalization and Pernicious Polarization in Bangladesh.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 681: 173-192.

## BANGLADESH (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1977-1997

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Bangladesh (under Bangladesh National Party – BNP); United People’s Party of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (PCJSS; armed wing Shanti Bahini).

*Summary:* Shanti Bahini launched an insurgency against the Government of Bangladesh in 1977. After the restoration of democracy in 1990, peace negotiations resumed. The conflict ended with the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord on December 2, 1997.

*Founding legislative election:* 2001

*Incumbent party:* BNP was the majority party during the hostility portion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts conflict. The Awami party was the majority party immediately prior to the peace agreement. However, Awami had only been in power for one year (1996-7) and was not the governing party during hostilities.

*Rebel successor party:* PCJSS.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2001

*Founding regional election:* The peace agreement established a regional council, but data is lacking on its parties and results, and the council’s mandate was nullified by a court ruling in 2010.

*Second legislative election:* 2008

*Second presidential election:* 2002 (after previous president resigned)

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Ahmed, Nizam. “Bangladesh.” In *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook Vol. I*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. doi: 10.1093/019924958X.003.0025

“Bangladesh.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Bangladesh](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Bangladesh)

(Accessed October 10, 2018).

## BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

*Conflict dates:* 1992-1995

*Primary belligerents:* Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (under Party of Democratic Action – SDA); Republika Srpska; Herzeg-Bosnia.

*Summary:* In 1992, the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence from Yugoslavia after a successful referendum. Bosnian Serbs boycotted the referendum and rejected its results. The country was renamed the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbian forces intervened on behalf of the Bosnian Serbs who sought independence for the region of Republika Srpska. A conflict commenced between the forces of Republika Srpska on one side, and the government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Herzeg-Bosnia (an unrecognized entity of ethnic Croats in Bosnia) on the other side. The conflict ended with the Dayton Agreement on December 14, 1995.

*Founding legislative election:* 1996. This consisted of a joint election; one held nationally, and one within the limited autonomous region of Republika Srpska (coded here as a regional election).

*Incumbent party:* SDA. SDA won the 1990 election (when Bosnia was still the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia).

*Rebel successor parties:* Serbian Democratic Party (SDS; successor to Republika Srpska); Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HDZ-BiH; successor to Herzeg-Bosnia).

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1996

*Founding regional election:* 1996, Republika Srpska. SDA ran in both national and regional elections; HDZ-BiH only ran in national elections. SDS ran only in regional elections.

*Second legislative election:* 1998

*Second presidential election:* 1998

*Second regional election:* 1998

*Sources:*

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## BURUNDI (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1994-2003

*Primary belligerents:* Union for National Progress (UPRONA; incumbent) National Council for the Defense of Democracy – Forces for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD-FDD); National Council for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD); National Liberation Front (FROLINA)

*Summary:* Between 1988 and 1994, Hutu and Tutsi elements in the Burundian government and military struggled for power. After a 1994 convention aimed at establishing the relative influence of the parties in government, violence commenced among various militias, chief of which were the FAB (Tutsi-dominated Burundian military), FROLINA (Hutu, offshoot of pre-war PALIPEHUTU), Palipehutu-FNL (Hutu, offshoot of pre-war PALIPEHUTU) and the CNDD (Hutu), with its armed branch CNDD-FDD. All parties with the exception of Palipehutu-FNL agreed to the terms of the Pretoria protocol on November 2, 2003, and a comprehensive cease-fire on November 16, 2003.

*Founding legislative election:* 2005

*Incumbent party:* UPRONA. Although the primary belligerents struggled for political influence throughout the 1990s, Tutsis controlled the coercive capacity of the government during this period of fighting. As such, UPRONA (a Tutsi party) is considered the incumbent.

*Rebel successor parties:* CNDD-FDD; CNDD; FROLINA

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2005 (indirect election by the new parliament)

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* N/A (next legislative election, 2010, is the founding election for a subsequent conflict period)

*Second presidential election:* N/A (next presidential election, 2010, is the founding election for a subsequent conflict period)

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

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## BURUNDI (2)

*Conflict dates:* 2003-2008

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Burundi (under CNDD-FDD); Palipehutu-National Forces of Liberation (FNL)

*Summary:* Despite the cessation of fighting between CNDD-FDD and Tutsi rebel groups in 2003, Palipehutu-FNL continued fighting the government until signing a ceasefire on November 7, 2006, although sporadic fighting continued until a final peace agreement on December 4, 2008. Palipehutu-FNL converted to a political party and was renamed FNL.

*Founding legislative election:* 2010

*Incumbent party:* CNDD-FDD. Although the Tutsi-dominated parties held the coercive power of the government during the war, the 2005 election brought CNDD-FDD to power.

As such, during the continued fighting with FNL from 2005-2008, CNDD-FDD was the incumbent.

*Rebel successor party:* FNL. Boycotted.

*War re-initiation:* No. After Pierre Nkurunziza (CNDD-FDD) decided to run for a third term in 2014, there has been one-sided government-initiated violence against civilians and opposition parties (including FNL) that does not meet the definition of civil war.

*Founding presidential election:* 2010

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2015

*Second presidential election:* 2015

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Burundi (1)

Santora, Marc. "As Burundians Vote in Presidential Election, Many are Afraid to Pick a Side," *The New York Times* July 21, 2015.

## CAMBODIA (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1968-1975

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Cambodia (Khmer Republic); Khmer Rouge

*Summary:* In 1966 conservatives won a majority of seats in Cambodia's parliament and installed hard-line general Lon Nol as prime minister. To suppress communists he taxed and confiscated rice shipments. Peasant rebellions broke out in 1967 and were followed in 1968 by large scale offensives by the new Khmer Rouge. A bloody war ensued that included the intervention of neighboring states and foreign actors. The Khmer rouge took the capital in April 1975.

*Founding legislative election:* 1976.

*Incumbent party:* Social Republican Party (party founded by Lon Nol that had won all seats in 1972 elections). Defunct in 1975, due to regime overthrow. In addition, banned, as 1976 was a single-party election.

*Rebel successor party:* National United Front of Kampuchea (FUNK)

*War re-initiation:* No. Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1978; deposed Khmer Rouge and installed PRK; KPLNF (1979) and FUNCINPEC (1981) rebel groups organized to fight Khmer Rouge and the PRK. Coded as a "no" for war re-initiation because the initiator was neither of the original combatants.

*Founding presidential election:* 1976

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1981 (new government; PRK; single-party election)

*Second presidential election:* 1981

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

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"Kingdom of Cambodia" Asia-Pacific Parliamentary Forum, 2015.

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## CAMBODIA (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1979-1991

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Cambodia (under Cambodia People's Party – CPP); Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPLNF); National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC); Party of Democratic Kampuchea (PDK)

*Summary:* In 1979, the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) replaced the fallen Khmer Rouge regime. Civil war ensued between FUNCINPEC, KPLNF, and PDK (the direct successor to Khmer rouge) and ended with a peace agreement on October 23, 1991.

*Founding legislative election:* 1993

*Incumbent party:* CPP (also known as KPRP) was the only legal party during the 79-91 period.

*Rebel successor parties:* FUNCINPEC (1993 and 1998); Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party (BLDP) (1993). BLDP ceased to be a party before 1998 election. Cambodian National Unity Party (CNUP) was the successor to PDK after 1993 (PDK outlawed in 1994), and boycotted the 1993 elections. CNUP was dissolved in 1997 and succeeded by two parties, both of which denounced the Khmer Rouge; consequently PDK does not have a successor party for either election.

*War re-initiation:* Yes. In 1997 CPP re-initiated violence in an attempted coup, resulting in several days of fighting with approximately 200 casualties. Parties allied with CPP and FUNCINPEC fought each other, although it is unclear whether the violence was sanctioned by official bodies.

*Founding presidential election:* 1993

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1998

*Second presidential election:* 1998

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Adams, Brad. "Cambodia: July 1997: Shock and Aftermath." Human Rights Watch, July 27, 2007. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2007/07/27/cambodia-july-1997-shock-and-aftermath> (accessed September 30, 2018).

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<https://www.hrw.org/news/2007/07/27/cambodia-july-1997-shock-and-aftermath>

## CHAD (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1965-1979

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Chad (under Chadian Progressive Party – PPT); National Liberation Front of Chad (FROLINAT; various splinters, including First Liberation Army, Second Liberation Army, Democratic Revolutionary Council – CDR); Transitional Government of National Unity (GUNT); Armed Forces of the North (FAN)

*Summary:* The First Chadian Civil War began in 1965 when the FROLINAT commenced a campaign to oust President Francois Tombalbaye. Tombalbaye was killed in a coup in 1975 and succeeded by Felix Malloum. Hissene Habre split from FROLINAT and formed FAN in 1976. After continued fighting, the government collapsed. The Lagos Accord, signed on August 21, 1979, established GUNT (a coalition of rebel groups) to assume control over the capital and pacify the country. This arrangement fell apart by 1980. The conflict in Chad can be seen as ongoing from 1965-1993, since the lull in hostilities between 1979 and 1980 lasted only five months. Following Brancati and Snyder (2011), I have chosen to break it into two periods, given the implementation of a formal peace agreement in 1979. In addition, the primary belligerents had changed completely by the next conflict lull and follow-on election (1993-1997).

*Founding legislative election:* 1990

*Incumbent party/parties:* N/A. All candidates ran as independents.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A. All candidates ran as independents.

*War re-initiation:* Yes. FAN re-initiated in January 1980.

*Founding presidential election:* N/A. The next presidential election (1996) was the founding election for the next conflict episode.

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* N/A. Following legislative election (1997) was the founding election for the next conflict episode.

*Second presidential election:* N/A. Following presidential election (2001) is the second presidential election for Chad (2).

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

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## CHAD (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1980-1993

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Chad (under Patriotic Salvation Movement – MPS); Movement for Democracy and Development (MDD)

*Summary:* After Habre's FAN re-initiated hostilities in January 1980, it seized power in the capital in 1982. GUNT reverted to being a rebel group, supported by Libya. French intervention stabilized the conflict briefly in 1983, and in 1984 Libya and France agreed to a mutual withdrawal of troops, with only France complying. In 1989, Idriss Deby of the MPS mounted an armed challenge to the Habre government, succeeding in overthrowing him in 1990. The MDD (supporters of Habre) continued to fight the government, now controlled by MPS. The conflict fell below the UCDP definition of Civil War in 1993.

*Founding legislative election:* 1997

*Incumbent party:* MPS

*Rebel successor party:* None; MDD, comprised of supporters of Habre, was successor to his period of incumbency and successor to FROLINAT. However, by the time of the 1997 election, MPS (under Deby) had been in power long enough to be considered the incumbent of the conflict, and MDD was not constituted as an official political party by the time of the legislative election. United Front for Democracy and Peace (FUDP), founded in 2005, included MDD. Although its conflict with the incumbent ended in 1993, 2011 is the first election in which MDD was affiliated with an official political organization (although FUDP did not run in the 2011 election, it existed as a party at the time).

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1996

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* N/A (next legislative election, 2002, is the founding election for a subsequent conflict period)

*Second presidential election:* 2001 (during subsequent conflict)

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Chad (1)

## CHAD (3)

*Conflict dates:* 1998-2002

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Chad (under MPS), Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (MDJT)

*Summary:* MDJT conducted an anti-government rebellion from 1998-2002, and signed separate agreements suspending its activities in 2002 and 2003.

*Founding legislative election:* 2002

*Incumbent party:* MPS

*Rebel successor party:* None. MDJT was not represented in the political process. In 2002, some MDJT members folded into FUDP, and in 2006 the non-conciliatory members joined FROLINAT. Neither ran in 2002.

*War re-initiation:* No. MDJT signed a peace agreement, but a successor with similar goals and some of the same persons, SCUD, commenced conflict in 2005. The 2005-10 conflict was sufficiently distinct in its participating groups to qualify as a separate conflict rather than a recommencement of the 1998-2002 MPS-MDJT conflict.

*Founding presidential election:* 2006 (during subsequent conflict)

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* N/A (next legislative election, 2011, is the founding election for a subsequent conflict period)

*Second presidential election:* N/A (next presidential election, 2011, is the founding election for a subsequent conflict period)

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Chad (1)

#### CHAD (4)

*Conflict dates:* 2005-2010

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Chad (under MPS); Union of Forces for Democracy and Development (UFDD; includes FUC and Democratic Revolutionary Council); United Front for Democratic Change (FUC; an alliance of eight rebel groups including Platform for Change, Unity, and Democracy – SCUD).

*Summary:* SCUD initiated hostilities against the Chadian government in December 2005; a number of other groups joined the conflict, many supported by the Sudanese government. The conflict ended with a peace agreement between Chad and Sudan on January 15, 2010.

*Founding legislative election:* 2011.

*Incumbent party:* MPS

*Rebel successor party:* UFDD / AN (did not participate); FUC (did not participate); subsequent election to 2011 has not yet occurred, and thus I am unable to determine which groups will participate.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2011

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2019 (2018 elections postponed)

*Second presidential election:* 2016

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Chad (1)

#### COLOMBIA (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1964-1984

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Colombia (under Liberal Party); Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)

*Summary:* The FARC fought a long-running insurgency against the Government of Colombia; a short *détente* in the 1980s yielded the Uribe Accord of March 28, 1984. During the ensuing cease-fire, some members of FARC formed the Patriotic Union (UP) to participate in the 1986 elections.

*Founding legislative election:* 1986

*Incumbent party:* The Liberal and Conservative parties are both incumbent parties as they each held the presidency and controlled the legislature during different moments of the hostilities. From 1958-1974, they alternated in power under the post-La Violencia National Front powersharing arrangement.

*Rebel successor party:* UP

*War re-initiation:* Yes. In 1987, FARC re-initiated violence in response to the murder of as many as 3,000 UP members.

*Founding presidential election:* 1986

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1990

*Second presidential election:* 1990

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

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## COLOMBIA (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1967-1990

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Colombia; 19<sup>th</sup> of April Movement (M-19); Ejercito Popular de Liberacion/ Esperanza, Paz, y Libertad (EPL)

*Summary:* M-19, founded in response to the disputed election of 1970, engaged in acts of political violence throughout the 1980s. M-19 signed a cease-fire agreement on November 2, 1989, and converted to a political party on April 2, 1990. EPL, founded in 1967, was a left-wing guerilla group in the 1970s and 1980s. The EPL signed a cease-fire with the government and converted to a political party on February 15, 1991.

*Founding legislative election:* 1991

*Incumbent party:* The Liberal and Conservative parties are both incumbent parties as they each held the presidency and controlled the legislature during different moments of the hostilities. From 1958-1974, they alternated in power under the post-La Violencia National Front powersharing arrangement.

*Rebel successor party:* ADM-19 (successor to M-19); Esperanza, Paz y Libertad, EPL

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1994

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1998

*Second presidential election:* 1998

*Second regional election:* N/A

Sources: See Colombia (1)

Castro, G., et al. (1980). *Del ELN al M-19: once años de lucha guerrillera*. Bogotá, C. Valencia Editores.

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#### CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1977-1978

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Democratic Republic of the Congo (under Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR); Front for Congolese National Liberation (FLNC)

*Summary:* Veterans of the Angolan Civil War formed FLNC, crossed into Zaire's Shaba province, and staged an uprising on March 8, 1977 (Shaba I conflict). By May 26 the government troops (FAZ) with international support re-took the area and the FLNC left to regroup. The FNLC returned on May 11, 1978 (Shaba II conflict). With foreign assistance, the FNLC was expelled again by June 1978.

*Founding legislative election:* 1982

*Incumbent party:* MPR. Only legal party.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A. Single-party election

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1984

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1987

*Second presidential election:* 2006

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

"Democratic Republic of the Congo." In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

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#### CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1998-2003

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Democratic Republic of Congo (under People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy – PPRD); Movement for the Liberation of the Congo

(MLC); Congolese Rally for Democracy (also known as Rally for Congolese Democracy – RCD); Congolese Rally for Democracy – Liberation Movement (RCD-ML).

*Summary:* In 1997, at the end of the First Congo War, Laurent-Desire Kabila (Leader of the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire – ADFL) overthrew Mobutu Sese Seko, took the capital, and renamed Zaire to DRC. While consolidating his power, he alienated his erstwhile allies in Rwanda and Uganda. In turn, they provided support to a budding rebellion, starting the Second Congo War, a multi-sided conflict among various rebel groups supported by neighboring states. MLC, RCD, and RCD-ML signed a peace agreement on December 17, 2002.

*Founding legislative election:* 2006

*Incumbent party:* PPRD

*Rebel successor parties:* MLC; RCD; Forces du Renouveau (Forces for Renewal – successor to RCD-ML)

*War re-initiation:* No. Although DRC has experienced continued political violence, these combatants did not return to war against each other.

*Founding presidential election:* 2006

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2011

*Second presidential election:* 2011

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Congo, Democratic Republic of the (1)

### CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE (3)

*Conflict dates:* 2004-2009

*Primary belligerents:* Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (under PPRD); National Congress for the Defense of the People (CNDP)

*Summary:* First phase of the Kivu conflict; latest phase is ongoing with different rebel actors. In 2004, Laurent Nkunda, a veteran of RCD in the Second Congo War, led his forces to clash with government troops, ostensibly to protect Tutsis from genocidal actions. There was a violent and contested election in 2006, and although Nkunda claimed he would accept the results, his forces continued their anti-government violence. He founded CNDP in December 2006. In 2007, with UN encouragement, the DRC negotiated with Nkunda but efforts to integrate his forces into the national military were unsuccessful. The conflict continued until Rwandan intervention in 2009 resulted in Nkunda's capture. On March 23, 2009, CNDP signed a peace agreement with the government.

*Founding legislative election:* 2011

*Incumbent party:* PPRD. Had won greatest vote share in 2006 election.

*Rebel successor party:* CNDP. Transitioned into political party. Unclear whether it participated in 2011 election; not listed in IPU Parline. This means it won no seats, but it could have contested the election. This could not be verified.

*War re-initiation:* Yes. In 2012, CNDP leader Bosco Ntaganda led a group of mutineers called the “March 23 Movement” (M23) that commenced the M23 Rebellion. Because this party was led by the head of the CNDP, funded by Rwanda like the CNDP, and took its name from the date of the peace accords (which it said had been violated), it is considered a direct inheritor of CNDP and not a separate group.

*Founding presidential election:* 2011

*Founding regional election:* N/A  
*Second legislative election:* 2018  
*Second presidential election:* 2018  
*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Autesserre, Severine. 2014. *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention*. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Nangini, Cathy, Mainak Jas, Hugo L. Fernandes, and Robert Muggah. 2014. "Visualizing Armed Groups: The Democratic Republic of the Congo's M23 in Focus." *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 3(1).

CONGO, REPUBLIC OF THE (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1993-1994

*Primary belligerents:* Pan-African Union for Social Democracy (UPADS; armed wing Cocoye; incumbent); Congolese Party of Labor (PCT; armed wing Cobra); Congolese Movement for Democracy and Integral Development (MCDDI; armed wing Ninja)

*Summary:* Dennis Sassou Nguesso, of the PCT, had been the president of Republic of the Congo since 1979. Parliamentary elections in 1992 were won by a coalition of UPADS and the PCT. However, PCT dropped out and joined the opposition. Presidential elections the same year were won by Pascal Lissouba (UPADS). Bernard Kolelas (MCDDI) came in second, Sassou Nguesso (PCT) third. Kolelas formed the Ninja militia, Sassou Nguesso formed the Cobra militia, and Lissouba formed the Cocoye militia. Parliamentary elections were again held in 1993. The Ninja and Cobra contested the result and commenced violence against the Cocoye. The belligerents signed a ceasefire in January 1994.

*Founding legislative election:* N/A. Next parliamentary elections in Congo were held in 2002, after the next conflict episode.

*Incumbent party/parties:* UPADS, the party of Lissouba, who had won the 1992 elections.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* MCDDI; PCT

*War re-initiation:* Yes. Lissouba (UPADS) re-initiated in 1997.

*Founding presidential election:* N/A. Next presidential elections in Congo were held in 2002, after the next conflict episode.

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* N/A, for reasons described in "founding legislative election" section above.

*Second presidential election:* N/A, for reasons described in "founding presidential election" section above.

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

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<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2011/congo-republic-brazzaville>  
(Accessed October 20, 2018).

“The Republic of Congo (Brazzaville): Country Assessment.” Country Information and Policy United. Immigration and Nationality Directorate. Home Office, United Kingdom, October 2002. <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/3df4aad0.pdf> (Accessed October 21, 2018).

## CONGO, REPUBLIC OF THE (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1997-1999

*Primary belligerents:* PCT (Cobra; incumbent); UPADS (Cocoye); MCDDI (Ninja, with allied faction Ntsiloulou)

*Summary:* Lissouba remained in power after the first war that ended in 1994. In June 1997, expecting a Sassou coup, he tried to disarm the Cobra, starting second civil war. Lissouba negotiated with the rebels, and in September 1997, Ninja joined the war on the government side. In October, Sassou and his Cobra militia entered the capital and took over the government, forcing Ninja and Cocoye out of the city. The Cobra integrated into the armed forces (i.e. at this point, incumbent shifts from UPADS/Cocoye to PCT/Cobra). The Ntsiloulou militia formed in 1998, and allied with Ninja. The belligerents signed a peace accord on December 29, 1999.

*Founding legislative election:* 2002. There was no election held after the first civil war.

*Incumbent parties:* PCT/UDF (United Democratic Forces, not to be confused with Union of Democratic Forces, a party that ran in 2007). UPADS (Cocoye) and UPADS/MCDDI (Ninja) were variously the incumbent from 1993-1997, until Sassou (PCT-Cobra) seized control of the government in 1997 and integrated his militia into the armed forces. Consequently, for the founding election (2002), PCT (Cobra) was the incumbent. Sassou was head of both PCT and UDF; consequently this vote share is combined.

*Rebel successor parties:* UPADS; MCDDI

*War re-initiation:* Yes. The Ntsiloulou militia, allied with the Ninja, did recommence conflict in 2002. Note, they had not participated in the election.

*Founding presidential election:* 2002

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* N/A (next legislative election, 2007, is the founding election for a subsequent conflict period)

*Second presidential election:* N/A (next presidential election, 2009, is the founding election for a subsequent conflict period)

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Congo, Republic of the (1)

## CONGO, REPUBLIC OF THE (3)

*Conflict dates:* 2002-2003

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Republic of the Congo (under PCT); Ntsiloulou (faction of Ninja led by Pastor Ntumi).

*Summary:* Ntsiloulou staged a rebellion against the government from 2002-2003. Its political arm, the National Resistance Council (CNR) signed a peace agreement in March 2003, and subsequently registered as a political party and stood in the 2007 election without winning any seats.

*Founding legislative election:* 2007

*Incumbent party:* PCT (ran in an alliance with MCDDI; MCDDI not counted here jointly with PCT because this was not a founding election for the MCDDI-PCT conflict; 2002 was).

*Rebel successor party:* CNR

*War re-initiation:* Yes. In 2016, the Ntisloulou reinitiated violence against the government.

*Founding presidential election:* 2009

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2012

*Second presidential election:* 2016

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Congo, Republic of the (1)

“Republic of the Congo.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Republicofthecongo](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Republicofthecongo) (Accessed October 21, 2018).

## COTE D’IVOIRE (1)

*Conflict dates:* 2002-2004

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Cote D’Ivoire (under Ivoirian Popular Front – FPI); New Forces of Ivory Coast (FNCI/FN). FNCI is a coalition of Patriotic Movement of Cote D’Ivoire (MPCI), Ivoirian Popular Movement of the Great West (MPIGO), and Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP).

*Summary:* First Ivoirian Civil War. FN/FNCI rebelled against the Ivoirian government in 2002. The belligerents signed a peace agreement on March 4, 2007.

*Founding legislative election:* N/A. Next parliamentary elections in Cote d’Ivoire were held in 2011, after the next conflict episode.

*Incumbent party:* FPI

*Rebel successor parties:* Rally of the Republicans (RDR) in 2010 presidential election; rebel successor different in 2011 legislative election.

*War re-initiation:* Yes. FPI re-initiated after losing the 2010 presidential election.

*Founding presidential election:* 2010

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* N/A, for reasons described in “founding legislative election” section above.

*Second presidential election:* N/A. Next presidential elections in Cote d’Ivoire were held in 2015, after the next conflict episode.

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

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[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Cotedivoire](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Cotedivoire) (Accessed February 26, 2019).

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[https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace\\_publications/election\\_reports/cote-diviore-2010-2011-elections-final-rpt.pdf](https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/cote-diviore-2010-2011-elections-final-rpt.pdf) (Accessed October 21, 2018).

“Legislatives 11 DEC 2011.” Abidjan.Net.

<http://abidjan.net/elections/legislatives/2011/> (Accessed October 21, 2018).

## COTE D’IVOIRE (2)

*Conflict dates:* 2010-2011

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Cote D’Ivoire (under FPI); FNCI/FN

*Summary:* Second Ivoirian Civil War. Presidential elections held from October 31 to November 28, 2010. The FPI lost but refused to concede, while the international community recognized the president-elect. The second civil war ensued from November 28, 2010 to April 11, 2011 and was pacified by foreign intervention. This is an unusual case because there was an identifiable gap with a peace agreement between the two conflict periods, but there was no interceding legislative election.

*Founding legislative election:* 2011

*Incumbent party/parties:* FPI. Boycotted 2011 legislative election.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* Rally of the Republicans (RDR) in alliance with Rally of Houphouëtists for Democracy and Peace (RHDP). Some districts only ran the RHDP candidates; consequently vote share is counted jointly. The rebels who commenced the second civil war did so because they supported the victory of the RDR candidate in the 2010 presidential election.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2015

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2016

*Second presidential election:* Expected 2020

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Cote D’Ivoire (1)

## CROATIA (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1991-1992

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Croatia (under Croatian Democratic Union – HDZ); Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) / Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA – Serb-controlled)

*Summary:* Croatian War of Independence. In 1990, during the “Log Revolution,” Serbian areas of Croatia declared their autonomy after mono-ethnic referendums. Small scale inter-ethnic violence commenced in early 1991. In April 1991 Croatian President Tudjman created a separate Croatian National Guard. In May 1991 Croatia held an independence referendum from Yugoslavia; Serbs boycotted and the motion passed. Yugoslavia rejected this and sent the JNA to establish control; Croats began to desert the army, which was already a Serb-dominated force. The conflict escalated into full-blown civil war. The belligerents agreed to a cease-fire on January 3, 1992, supervised by a UN peacekeeping force that arrived in March.

*Founding legislative election:* 1992

*Incumbent party:* HDZ

*Rebel successor party:* Serb People’s Party

*War re-initiation:* Yes. Croatia re-initiated in 1995.

*Founding presidential election:* 1992

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* N/A. 1995 was founding election for next conflict period

*Second presidential election:* N/A. 1997 was founding election for next conflict period

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. 1992. "Parliamentary and Presidential Elections in an Independent Croatia August 2, 1992."

Kasapovic, Mirjana. "Ten Years of Political Transformation in Croatia." *Politička misao*, Vol. XXXVII, (2000), No. 5, pp. 3–20.

## CROATIA (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1995-1995

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Croatia (under HDZ); RSK / JNA

*Summary:* Croatia launched an offensive and re-took RSK in April 1995. A series of peace agreements beginning with the Erdut Agreement on November 12, 1995 concluded the conflict.

*Founding legislative election:* 1995. Election was held on October 29, but formal cessation of hostilities did not occur for another two weeks, although UN safe zones had been implemented. This election is counted as "founding" due to proximity to conflict end (two weeks instead of the next election, 2000, which is five years). However, 2000 should be used in addition as a robustness check.

*Incumbent party:* HDZ

*Rebel successor party:* Serb People's Party

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1997

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2000

*Second presidential election:* 2000

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1996). 1995 Parliamentary Elections in Croatia. Washington, DC, CSCE.

Kasapovic, Mirjana. "1995 Parliamentary Elections in Croatia." *Electoral Studies* 15(2): 269-282.

OSCE. 1995 "Report on the Elections to the House of Representatives in the Republic of Croatia. 29 October 1995." OSCE Election Report. November 5.

Salay, Cathy and Katerina Duich, eds. "Republic of Croatia: 1995 Election Observation Report." International Foundation for Election Systems. Washington DC.

## DJIBOUTI (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1991-1994

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Djibouti (under People's Rally for Progress – PRP); Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD)

*Summary:* Tensions over equal representation of the ethnic groups Issa and Afar were exacerbated by one-party rule of the PRP starting in 1981. FRUD, a pro-Afar group, commenced a rebellion in 1991. FRUD signed a peace agreement on December 26, 1994. A breakaway faction, FRUD-AD, continued fighting. UCDP indicates fewer than 1000 battle deaths. Regan (2000) asserts the conflict resulted in greater than 1000 battle deaths.

*Founding legislative election:* 1997

*Incumbent party:* PRP. Ran joint candidates with FRUD.

*Rebel successor party:* FRUD. Ran joint candidates with PRP.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1999

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* N/A (next legislative election, 2003, is the founding election for a subsequent conflict period)

*Second presidential election:* N/A (next presidential election, 2005, is the founding election for a subsequent conflict period)

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

“Djibouti.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Djibouti](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Djibouti)

(Accessed December 25, 2018).

Regan, Patrick M. 2000. *Civil Wars and Foreign Powers*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press).

## DJIBOUTI (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1994-2000

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Djibouti (under PRP); Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy – Ahmed Dini (FRUD-AD)

*Summary:* FRUD-AD continued fighting after its parent group, FRUD, ceased fighting in 1994. FRUD-AD signed a cease-fire in 2000. UCDP indicates fewer than 1000 battle-related deaths. This may be because UCDP counts the Government of Djibouti/FRUD-AD dyad conflict as separate from the original government-FRUD conflict, which ended in 1994. I have chosen to code cumulative battle deaths for conflicts in which a splinter group that is sufficiently similar to the parent group continued fighting until a later date.

*Founding legislative election:* 2003

*Incumbent parties:* PRP and FRUD. In the 1997 election, PRP and FRUD ran joint candidates under the coalition Union for a Presidential Majority.

*Rebel successor party:* Union for a Democratic Change (UAD)

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2005

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2008

*Second presidential election:* 2011

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Djibouti (1)

## EAST TIMOR

*Conflict dates:* 1999-1999

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Indonesia; Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin)

*Summary:* After Suharto's fall in 1998, his successor B.J. Habibie declared that East Timor would be given the opportunity for a referendum on independence. The referendum was held in August 1998, with the majority of East Timorese voting for independence. Anti-independence militias initiated violence in 1999, leading to a harsh government crackdown. Government troops withdrew in October, and were replaced by international peacekeepers. An election for a constituent assembly was held on August 30, 2001. East Timor achieved formal independence on May 20, 2002. The end of the conflict is coded as 1999 (when the peacekeeping force stabilized the country), rather than 2002 (formal independence).

*Founding legislative election:* 2001. This was a constituent assembly election, but the assembly acted as the de facto parliament until 2007. Accordingly 2001 is coded both as a legislative election and as the country's first election, despite the country not being formally a country until 2002. By 2001 East Timor was a de facto sovereign nation, since Indonesian troops had left the country in 1999 and the country was administered by a UN-led transitional government.

*Incumbent party:* People's Party of Timor (PPT). PPT was not part of the pro-independence coalition, and one of its leaders was a former member of APODETI, the ruling government for much of the occupation period (he was also tied to the pro-Indonesian militias that fomented violence in 1999). UDT is not coded as incumbent: even though it was initially opposed to independence, it ultimately allied with Fretilin in the 1990s. The Democratic Party is also not coded as the incumbent; although it has a similar name to the ruling party in Indonesia (the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle – PDI-P), the East Timorese version does not appear to be affiliated or ideologically similar to the Indonesian variant.

*Rebel successor party:* Fretilin

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2002

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2007

*Second presidential election:* 2007

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

“Timor-Leste (East Timor).” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_TimorLeste](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_TimorLeste)  
(Accessed December 25, 2018).

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Smith, Anthony. 2004. “East Timor: Elections in the World's Newest Nation.” *Journal of Democracy* 15(2): 145-159.

## EGYPT

*Conflict dates:* 1992-1998

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Egypt (under National Democratic Party – NDP); Jamiya al-Islamiya

*Summary:* From 1992-1998, Jamiya al-Islamiya conducted a low-level insurgency against the Government of Egypt, resulting in approximately 800-1200 dead. Jamiya al-Islamiya officially renounced violence in 2003, and the group formed into a political party after the 2011 Egyptian revolution, running in the 2011-12 parliamentary elections. For this case, the death toll criterion of greater than 1000-battle-related deaths over the course of the conflict is unclear. UCDP indicates fewer than 1000 battle deaths. Wright (2006, 258) suggests that including civilians, this number exceeds 1200. Many terrorism-related deaths may have been civilians, rather than combatants. Case should be excluded as a robustness check.

*Founding legislative election:* 2000.

*Incumbent parties:* NDP. After the Egyptian Revolution (2011), the NDP was forbidden from participation in the electoral process. Candidates ran under the banner of seven parties known to be representative of former NDP personnel: Egyptian Citizen Party, Egypt Revival Party/Union Party, Freedom Party, National Party of Egypt, Conservative Party, Democratic Peace Party, and Egyptian Arab Union Party.

*Rebel successor party:* N/A. No successor party to Jamiya al-Islamiya in 2000, 2005, and 2010. After the Egyptian Revolution, the group formed the Building and Development Party (BDP), which participated in the 2011 elections.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1999

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2005

*Second presidential election:* 2005

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

“Egypt.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Egypt](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Egypt)

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[http://archive.ipu.org/parline/reports/2097\\_A.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline/reports/2097_A.htm) (accessed January 28, 2019).

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Ries, Matthias. “Egypt.” In *Elections in Africa: A Data Handbook*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Bernard Thibaut, and Michael Krennerich. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. doi: 10.1093/0198296452.003.0017

Wright, Lawrence. 2006. *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. New York: Vintage Books.

## EL SALVADOR

*Conflict dates:* 1979-1992

*Primary belligerents:* Government of El Salvador (under Nationalist Republican Alliance – ARENA); Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN)

*Summary:* Following a 1979 coup and government crackdown, the FMLN (an umbrella group of left-wing organizations) initiated an anti-government insurgency. The civil war was characterized by heavy US involvement and widespread human rights violations by the military. The belligerents signed the Chapultepec Peace Accords on January 16, 1992.

*Founding legislative election:* 1994

*Incumbent party:* ARENA (derived from death squads and paramilitaries); National Conciliation Party (PCN) (Later, National Coalition Party). PCN was official party of the military under authoritarianism and, albeit largely supplanted by ARENA in the 1980s in legislative and presidential politics, persisted into democratic and postconflict era.

*Rebel successor party:* FMLN

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1994

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1997

*Second presidential election:* 1999

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Daly, Sarah Zukerman. 2019. "Voting for Victors." *World Politics*.

"El Salvador." In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_ElSalvador](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_ElSalvador)  
(Accessed December 25, 2018).

Krennerich, Michael. "El Salvador." 2005. In *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook Vol. I*, edited by Dieter Nohlen. New York: Oxford University Press.

Loxton, James I. 2014. *Authoritarian Inheritance and Conservative Party-Building in Latin America*, Harvard University. Ph.D. Diss.

## ERITREA

*Conflict dates:* 1961-1991

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Ethiopia; Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF)

*Summary:* Eritrean War of Independence (also includes the First and Second Eritrean Civil Wars; overlaps with Ethiopia (1) – the conflict between Government of Ethiopia and EPRDF). After WWII the Ethiopian government sought control of Eritrea and the UN granted it in a federated status. Eritrean opposition was led by the ELF and armed conflict began in 1961. Ethiopia dissolved the federation and annexed Eritrea. The ELF splintered in the 1970s and some of these groups formed the EPLF in 1977. Multiple peace talks were held, and failed, from 1989-1990. In May 1991, the Ethiopian regime fell and US-led talks established a transitional government in Ethiopia. Eritrean representatives met with the transitional government in July 1991 and secured the right to hold an independence referendum. In April 1993 the Eritrean people voted for independence.

*Founding legislative election:* No national elections have been held in Eritrea since independence.

*Incumbent party/parties:* N/A. New state established. Eritrea is a single-party state with no legal parties other than EPLF/PDFJ.



*Rebel successor party:* EPLF (renamed People's Front for Democracy and Justice – PDFJ in 1994).

*War re-initiation:* No. There was a border war with Ethiopia in 1998, but since Eritrea was now independent, this constitutes an inter-state conflict.

*Founding presidential election:* No national elections have been held in Eritrea since independence.

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* No national elections have been held in Eritrea since independence.

*Second presidential election:* No national elections have been held in Eritrea since independence.

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

“Eritrea.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Eritrea](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Eritrea)  
(Accessed February 16, 2019).

## ETHIOPIA (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1974-1991

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Ethiopia (under the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police and Territorial Army – “Derg”); Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)

*Summary:* After the overthrow of Haile Selassie in 1974, the Derg assumed control of Ethiopia. The EPRDF (an umbrella of rebel groups) staged an uprising, lasting until the EPRDF overthrew the Derg in 1991. Today EPRDF is a political coalition of OPDO, ANDM, SEPDM and TPLF.

*Founding legislative election:* 1995. A constituent assembly election was held in 1994. ONLF split into an armed and a political wing in 1994, and the political wing ran in the 1995 elections, but the conflict was ongoing, so this is not a founding election for ONLF.

*Incumbent party:* Worker’s Party of Ethiopia (WPE; did not run; disbanded).

*Rebel successor party:* EPRDF.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1995

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2000

*Second presidential election:* 2000

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

“Ethiopia.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

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Lyons, Terrance. (2016). "From Victorious Rebels to Strong Authoritarian Parties:

## ETHIOPIA (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1973-1993

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Ethiopia (under Derg, then under EPRDF); Oromo Liberation Front (OLF; armed wing Oromo Liberation Army – OLA).

*Summary:* OLF commenced an armed uprising against the Abyssinian Empire in 1973. After the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974, the Derg assumed control of Ethiopia and OLF continued its armed struggle against that regime. The EPRDF overthrew the Derg in 1991. OLF announced it was willing to work with the new government, but the two were unable to cooperate and EPRDF attacked OLF positions in 1992. OLF was subdued and inactive after 1993.

*Founding legislative election:* 1995. A constituent assembly election was held in 1994.

*Incumbent party:* Worker's Party of Ethiopia (WPE; did not run; disbanded).

*Rebel successor party/parties:* OLF; did not participate in 1995 (Meier 2003). The ruling EPRDF created the OPDO to co-opt OLF's support, but OLF disavowed it and OPDO allied with EPRDF. In addition, a party called OLUF is not affiliated with OLF and is allied with EPRDF. In later 2005, OFDM can be considered a rebel successor party as it was seen as allied with the OLF.

*War re-initiation:* Yes. OLF reinitiated in 1999.

*Founding presidential election:* 1995

*Founding regional election:* 2000. Regional state council of Oromia.

*Second legislative election:* 2000

*Second presidential election:* 2000

*Second regional election:* 2005.

*Sources:*

Meier, Michael. "Ethiopia." In *Elections in Africa: A Data Handbook*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Bernard Thibaut, and Michael Krennerich. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. doi: 10.1093/0198296452.003.0020

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<https://www.hrw.org/reports/2005/ethiopia0505/ethiopia0505.pdf> (Accessed March 1, 2019).

## GEORGIA

*Conflict dates:* 1992-1994

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Georgia (under Peace Bloc); Abkhaz militias; Confederation of Mountain Peoples of Georgia

*Summary:* In 1992 Abkhaz separatists attacked Georgian government outposts and declared independence. A government crackdown ensued, leading to continued fighting and ethnic cleansing operations by both sides. Russia intervened indirectly on the side of Abkhaz militants, and Georgia lost control over most of Abkhazia, leading to its de facto independence. The Government of Georgia and Abkhaz representatives signed the Agreement on a Ceasefire and Separation of Forces on May 14, 1994.

*Founding legislative election:* 1995

*Incumbent party/parties:* Union of Citizens of Georgia. Party of Eduard Shevardnadze, who had been president from 1992-1995. This party was a member of the Peace Bloc, which won 1992 elections.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* Communist Party of Abkhazia. Non-participant at national level. The Abkhaz President, Vladislav Ardzinba, who led Abkhazia during the war, had formerly been secretary of the Communist Party.

*War re-initiation:* No high-intensity conflict resumed. In 1998, ethnic Georgians in Abkhazia staged a week-long uprising resulting in hundreds of deaths. However, the Georgian government did not intervene directly on their behalf, so this episode is not considered a return to war between the primary belligerents of this conflict.

*Founding presidential election:* 1995

*Founding regional election:* 1996. All candidates ran as independents. All winning candidates were supporters of the Abkhaz president.

*Second legislative election:* 1999

*Second presidential election:* 2000

*Second regional election:* 2002

*Sources:*

“Georgia.” *PARLINE Database on National Parliaments*. Interparliamentary Union. [http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2119\\_arc.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2119_arc.htm) (accessed January 23, 2019).

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Jones, Stephen and Robert Parsons. 1996. “Georgia and the Georgians.” In *The Nationalities Question in the Post-Soviet States*, ed. Graham Smith. New York, N.Y.: Longman.

## GUATEMALA

*Conflict dates:* 1960-1996

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Guatemala (under various, including the Guatemalan Republican Front - FRG); Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG). URNG was an alliance of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms (ORPA), Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), and the Guatemalan Labor Party (PGT).

*Summary:* A group of junior, left-leaning military officers led a rebellion in 1960. The rebellion failed. A second generation of rebels – this time in pro-government eastern Guatemala – also failed. A third generation of leftists, which mobilized in the mid-1970s in the predominantly indigenous Western highlands succeeded in sparking a full scale war which pitted the authoritarian state against four guerrilla armies which formed an alliance, URNG, in 1982. A formal peace accord was signed on December 29, 1996 and URNG became a political party.

*Founding legislative election:* 1999

*Incumbent party:* FRG. A non-belligerent party, National Advancement Party (PAN) won elections in 1995, but FRG was the party most closely associated with the military via its long-time ruler Efraim Rios Montt, and was a member of the ruling coalition throughout the 1990s.

*Rebel successor party:* Alternativa Nueva Nacion (ANN). URNG was a political party on its own, but was a member of ANN's coalition in the 1999 election, which comprised two minor leftist parties: DIA and UNID.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1999

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2003

*Second presidential election:* 2003

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

"Guatemala." In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Guatemala](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Guatemala)  
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Trudeau, R. H. (1992). Guatemala. *Political Parties of the Americas, 1980s to 1990s: Canada, Latin America, and the West Indies*. C. D. Ameringer. Westport, Greenwood Press: 333-348.

## INDIA (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1984-1993

*Primary belligerents:* Government of India (under Indian National Congress – INC); Sikh insurgents (Khalistan movement)

*Summary:* Punjab insurgency. In 1984 Sikh nationalist Jarnail Sing Bhindranwale established an armed group. He was killed in a government operation, and his death prompted the assassination of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984. Anti-Sikh riots followed, resulting in thousands of deaths, and militant Sikh groups escalated the insurgency. Elections were suspended in Punjab, the government imposed direct rule, and the insurgency diminished, largely ceasing in 1993.

*Founding legislative election:* 1996

*Incumbent party:* INC (victor of 1984 election, held sizeable majority until 1989, during period of peak violence). In 1989 INC won the most seats but the opposition parties united to form the governing coalition. In 1991 INC returned to power as leader of a minority government as no party held a majority.

*Rebel successor parties:* Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar), left-wing splinter faction of Shiromani Akali Dal, with a leader associated with the conflict. The mainstream Shiromani Akali Dal explicitly distanced itself from violence in the 1996 campaign.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1997 (president indirectly elected by Parliament of India and state legislative assemblies)

*Founding regional election:* 1997

*Second legislative election:* 1998

*Second presidential election:* 2002

*Second regional election:* 2002

*Sources:*

Enskat, Mike, Subrata K. Mitra, and Vijay Bahadur Singh. "India." In *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook Vol. I*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. doi: 10.1093/019924958X.003.0027

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<https://www.nytimes.com/1993/10/26/world/though-sikh-rebellion-is-quelled-india-s-punjab-state-still-seethes.html> (Accessed January 15, 2019).

<https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/indiascope/story/19961115-shiromani-akali-dals-victory-reflects-shift-away-from-hardline-politics-in-punjab-834109-1996-11-15>

## INDIA (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1992-2000

*Primary belligerents:* Government of India (under INC); National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN; two factions – NSCN-IM and NSCN-K)

*Summary:* Nagaland conflict. Naga separatists have agitated for independence from India and Myanmar since 1954. NSCN was formed in 1978, but UCDP cannot confirm that deaths exceeded the 25 battle death/ year threshold until 1992. The insurgency was particularly active from 1992-1996. India's cooperation with Myanmar, and the success of its counterinsurgency campaign, combined to pressure NSCN into negotiations in 1997. NSCN-IM signed a ceasefire with the government on August 1, 1997. The ceasefire was extended repeatedly throughout the 2000s. NSCN-K signed a ceasefire with the government in 2000. Since then, its violence has been largely limited to continued attacks in Myanmar, the battle deaths for which are not included in the cumulative total for this case. NSCN signed, and then abrogated, a peace treaty with the Indian government in 2015. The conflict is in remission.

*Founding legislative election:* 2004

*Incumbent party:* INC. The peak of the violence between the government and NSCN-IM occurred from 1991-1996. INC won the election in 1990, and lost to Bhariya Janata Party (BJP) in 1996, before the two tied in 1998.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A. There are no rebel-aligned parties because the groups remain unintegrated into politics. The Naga People's Front is the dominant party, and maintains constructive relationships with the rebels.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2002

*Founding regional election:* 2003

*Second legislative election:* 2009

*Second presidential election: 2007*

*Second regional election: 2008*

*Sources:*

“India.” *PARLINE Database on National Parliaments*. Interparliamentary Union. [http://archive.ipu.org/parline/reports/2145\\_arc.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline/reports/2145_arc.htm) (accessed January 27, 2019).

“India.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2013*, edited by Tom Lansdorf, 624-43. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2013.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2013\\_India](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2013_India)

(Accessed February 16, 2019).

Hanson, Kolby. Forthcoming. “Good Times and Bad Apples: Rebel Recruitment in Crackdown and Truce.” *American Journal of Political Science*

## INDONESIA (1)

*Conflict dates: 1962-1984*

*Primary belligerents: Government of Indonesia (under Golkar); Free Papua Movement (OPM)*

*Summary:* Papua conflict. The western half of the island of New Guinea has been under Indonesian control since 1962, and is known as Papua. The province was officially incorporated into Indonesia in 1969 in a questionable referendum, after which separatist groups led an uprising against the government. After its peak in the 1970s and early 1980s, the conflict had resulted in several hundred thousand deaths. The conflict has continued largely inactive until present although UCDP lists no years from 1989-2016 in which the conflict has exceeded 25 battle-related deaths. It is considered a frozen conflict. Today the region is divided into two provinces, Papua and West Papua, each with special autonomy status granting it a regional legislature.

*Founding legislative election: 1987*

*Incumbent party: Golkar*

*Rebel successor party/parties: N/A. OPM has not participated in the political process.*

*War re-initiation: No*

*Founding presidential election: 2004*

*Founding regional election: 2004. Regional Representative Council (DPD), established 2001. Members run without party affiliation.*

*Second legislative election: 1992*

*Second presidential election: 2009*

*Second regional election: 2009*

*Sources:*

Rüland, Jürgen. “Indonesia.” In *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook Vol. I*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. doi:10.1093/0199249598.003.0004

## INDONESIA (2)

*Conflict dates: 1976-2005*

*Primary belligerents: Government of Indonesia (under Golkar and Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle – PDI-P); Free Aceh Movement (GAM)*

*Summary:* Aceh achieved autonomy after WWII. In 1976, the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) declared independence, prompting violent repression by the government of

Indonesia under Suharto. These measures were largely successful, until Libyan training and financial support re-invigorated the rebellion in the 1980s, leading to a more violent period between 1989-1998. Suharto's fall in 1998 led to further rebellion in 1999, with broader popular support, and subsequent Indonesian military repression. The 1999 elections brought the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) to power. Negotiations between GAM and the Indonesian government were held between 1999 and 2002. Golkar returned to power in the April 2004 elections, although the Democratic Party (PD; not PDI-P) won presidential elections held between July-September. GAM ceased operations after the December 2004 Tsunami. International actors facilitated a new round of negotiations, leading to a peace agreement on 15 August 2005. In 2006, GAM won regional gubernatorial elections in Aceh. National parliamentary elections were held in 2009, with Acehnese parties only contesting the elections in Aceh.

*Founding legislative election:* 2009 (national level; PDI-P and Golkar contested, Aceh Party did not)

*Incumbent party:* PDI-P and Golkar. Vote share combined. During various stages of the rebellion, both Golkar and PDI-P enjoyed power at the national level. Golkar was the party in charge of the government under Suharto until his resignation in 1998. Golkar ruled from 1971-99. The Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDI-P) came to power after winning elections in 1999. Golkar came back to power in 2004, and violence declined thereafter.

*Rebel successor party:* Aceh Party (Partai Aceh)

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2009

*Founding regional election:* 2009 (Aceh Party contested at regional level only).

*Second legislative election:* 2014

*Second presidential election:* 2014

*Second regional election:* 2014

*Sources:*

"Indonesia." In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Indonesia](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Indonesia) (Accessed December 25, 2018).

"Final Report of the Carter Center Limited Observation mission to the April 9, 2009 Legislative Elections in Indonesia." The Carter Center, 2009.

[https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace\\_publications/election\\_reports/FinalReportIndonesia2009.pdf](https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/FinalReportIndonesia2009.pdf) (Accessed December 25, 2018).

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Stange, G. and R. Patock (2010). "From Rebels to Rulers and Legislators: The Political Transformation of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in Indonesia." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 29(1): 95–120.

## IRAN (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1977-1979

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Iran (under Pahlavi Dynasty); supporters of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini

*Summary:* Iranian Revolution. From 1977-1978 civil resistance developed against Shah Reza Pahlavi, resulting in strikes, protests, and armed confrontations between pro-Shah elements and supporters of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. In January 1979 the Shah went into exile, and Khomeini returned to Iran the following month. Although the Prime Minister intended to allow Khomeini to lead a small religious state in Qom, the secular government's support rapidly collapsed as street fighting continued. After a referendum and subsequent writing of a new constitution, Khomeini was declared Supreme Leader in December 1979. During the uprising, the military declared neutrality and remained in garrison. Consequently, battle deaths were relatively low and difficult to determine. I follow Doyle and Sambanis (2006) in estimating greater than 1000 battle-related deaths over the course of this brief conflict (their estimate is drawn from the COW project).

*Founding legislative election:* 1980

*Incumbent party:* Resurgence Party (banned)

*Rebel successor party:* Islamic Republican Party

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1980

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1984

*Second presidential election:* 1981

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

“Iran.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Iran](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Iran)

(Accessed March 14, 2009).

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Nikazmerad, Nicholas M. 1980. “A Chronological Survey of the Iranian Revolution.” *Iranian Studies* 13 (1/4): 327-368.

Doyle, Michael W. and Nicholas Sambanis. 2006. *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

## IRAN (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1979-1981

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Iran; Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan (Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran – KDP-I)

*Summary:* In March 1979, shortly after the Iranian Revolution, Kurdish separatists rebelled against the government. Sunni Kurds in particular were alarmed about their exclusion from the Shia-led government. Initially the rebels secured territorial gains but the government launched a successful counteroffensive in 1980. The rebellion was largely quelled by 1981.

*Founding legislative election:* 1984

*Incumbent party:* Islamic Republican Party (associated with clerics; pro-Islamic Revolution; had won election in 1980).



*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A; No parties other than Islamic Republican Party ran in the 1984 election.

*War re-initiation:* Yes. KDPI re-initiated an insurgency that lasted from 1989-1996. KDPI unilaterally ceased operations due to attrition of its membership. The death toll was below the 1000 battle-related-death threshold for the 1989-1996 period of hostilities, and consequently it is not coded as a separate conflict episode in this dataset.

*Founding presidential election:* 1985

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1988

*Second presidential election:* 1989

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Milburn, Frank. 2017. "Iranian Kurdish Militias: Terrorist-Insurgents, Ethno Freedom Fighters, or Knights on the Regional Chessboard?" *CTC Sentinel* 10(5): 29-35.

## IRAQ (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1961-1970

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Iraq (under junta until 1963; then Arab Ba'ath Party Socialist Party – ABSP; "the Ba'ath"); Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP)

*Summary:* First Iraqi-Kurdish War. The KDP was established in 1946. In 1961, its leader Mustafa Barzani initiated an uprising in support of Kurdish autonomy. After several failed government offensives, the war stalemated. The government of Iraq and the KDP signed the Iraqi-Kurdish Autonomy Agreement on March 11, 1970.

*Founding legislative election:* N/A. Next parliamentary elections in Iraq were held in 1980, after the next conflict episode.

*Incumbent party/parties:* ABSP/National Progressive Front (NPF). NPF was a coalition of the Ba'ath and selected parties supportive of the Ba'ath. Although it was comprised of several parties, its real influence was the Ba'ath, making Iraq in practice a one-party state.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A. In the next Iraqi election, Iraq was a one-party state. The Kurdish representatives permitted in the NPF were hand-picked by the Ba'ath and thus cannot be considered to be rebel successors.

*War re-initiation:* Yes. Iraqi government re-initiated in 1974.

*Founding presidential election:* N/A. Next presidential elections in Iraq were held in 1995, after the next conflict episode.

*Founding regional election:* N/A. Next regional elections in Iraq were held in 1992, after the next conflict episode.

*Second legislative election:* N/A, for reasons described in "founding legislative election" section above.

*Second presidential election:* N/A, for reasons described in "founding presidential election" section above.

*Second regional election:* N/A, for reasons described in "founding regional election" section above.

*Sources:*

Axtmann, Dirk. "Iraq." In *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook Vol. I*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. doi: 10.1093/019924958X.003.0004

“Iraq.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Iraq](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Iraq)

(Accessed February 17, 2019).

Natali, Denise. 2001. “Manufacturing Identity and Managing Kurds in Iraq.” In O’Leary, Lustick and Callaghy (eds.), *Right-sizing the State* (2001), pp. 253-288.

## IRAQ (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1974-1975

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Iraq (under ABSP); KDP

*Summary:* Second Iraqi-Kurdish War. The Ba’athist regime never implemented the 1970 Iraqi-Kurdish Autonomy Agreement, instead embarking on a program of Arabization in Kurdistan. The Iraqi government launched an offensive against the Kurds in 1974, resulting in a military defeat for the KDP and Mustafa Barzani’s flight into exile.

*Founding legislative election:* 1980

*Incumbent party/parties:* ABSP/NPF. NPF was a coalition of the Ba’ath and selected parties supportive of the Ba’ath. Although it was comprised of several parties, its real influence was the Ba’ath, making Iraq in practice a one-party state.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A. In the next Iraqi election, Iraq was a one-party state. The Kurdish representatives permitted in the NPF were hand-picked by the Ba’ath and thus cannot be considered to be rebel successors.

*War re-initiation:* Yes. In 1991, the KDP (in alliance with PUK) initiated an anti-government uprising.

*Founding presidential election:* N/A. Next presidential elections in Iraq were held in 1995, after the next conflict episode.

*Founding regional election:* N/A. Next regional elections in Iraq were held in 1992, after the next conflict episode.

*Second legislative election:* 1984

*Second presidential election:* N/A, for reasons described in “founding presidential election” section above.

*Second regional election:* N/A, for reasons described in “founding regional election” section above.

*Sources:* See Iraq (1)

## IRAQ (3)

*Conflict dates:* 1991-1991

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Iraq (under ABSP); Kurdistan Front (alliance of KDP and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan – PUK)

*Summary:* Between March and April 1991, Kurdish parties and militias staged an uprising in Northern Iraq. The Iraqi government instituted heavy repressive measures, and the uprising ended with the imposition of a US-led “no-fly-zone” over Iraqi Kurdistan in April.

*Founding legislative election:* 1996. Post-2003 (after the fall of Saddam), the first election was in 2005. Two national elections were held in Iraq in 2005: January and December. The January 2005 election was for a constituent assembly with parliamentary powers to be held

until the ratification of the new constitution. The December 2005 election represented the first official parliament elected on a non-temporary basis.

*Incumbent party:* In 1996 and 2000, the Ba'ath Party. After 2003 the Ba'ath Party was banned. In January 2005, the closest approximation to an incumbent would be a Sunni list, "The Iraqis"; in the December election, this coalition was re-named and its members changed, becoming the "Iraqi National List."

*Rebel successor party:* In 1996, KDP. PUK did not contest nationally in 1996 but contested regionally in 1992. In 2000, no rebel successor – all non-Ba'ath parliamentarians were independents or appointed. In Iraq's post-2003 elections (after the fall of Saddam Hussein's government), the rebel successor is the Kurdistan Alliance (PUK and KDP). PUK and KDP, while separate parties, both fought together against the Baathist regime in 1991 and also ran jointly as Kurdistan Alliance in 2005, the first election after the fall of Saddam.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1995. Kurdish regions did not participate; referendum with a single candidate (Saddam Hussein).

*Founding regional election:* 1992

*Second legislative election:* 2000

*Second presidential election:* 2002. After 2003, Iraq does not have direct election of the president; president chosen by elected MPs.

*Second regional election:* 2005

*Sources:* See Iraq (1)

"Endless Torment: The 1991 Uprising in Iraq and its Aftermath." Human Rights Watch, 1992. <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/1992/Iraq926.htm> (Accessed March 14, 2019).

#### IRAQ (4)

*Conflict dates:* 1991-1993

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Iraq (under ABSP); Supreme Council for the Islamic Resistance in Iraq (SCIRI)

*Summary:* Between March and April 1991, Shia parties and militias staged an uprising in Southern Iraq. The Iraqi government crushed the uprising, although violent repressive measures continued until 1993 against the Marsh Arabs.

*Founding legislative election:* 1996. Post-2003 (after the fall of Saddam), the first election was in 2005. Two national elections were held in Iraq in 2005: January and December. The January 2005 election was for a constituent assembly with parliamentary powers to be held until the ratification of the new constitution. The December 2005 election represented the first official parliament elected on a non-temporary basis.

*Incumbent party:* In 1996 and 2000, the Ba'ath Party. After 2003 the Ba'ath Party was banned. In January 2005, the closest approximation to an incumbent would be a Sunni list, "The Iraqis"; in the December election, this coalition was re-named and its members changed, becoming the "Iraqi National List."

*Rebel successor party:* N/A. The only participants in the 1996 parliamentary elections were the Ba'ath, Kurdish parties, and the Communist Party of Iraq. In 2000, only the Ba'ath and independents participated. After 2003, the rebel successor is the United Iraqi Alliance.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1995

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2000

*Second presidential election:* 2002. After 2003, Iraq does not have direct election of the president; president chosen by elected MPs.

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Iraq (1) and Iraq (3)

## IRAQ (5)

*Conflict dates:* 2004-2008

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Iraq (under various); Jaish al-Mahdi (Mahdi Army)

*Summary:* The Mahdi Army was founded in 2003 by Moqtada al-Sadr to contest the US occupation of Iraq. It became heavily involved in Iraq's sectarian civil war from 2004-2006. The organization was disbanded in 2008.

*Founding legislative election:* 2010

*Incumbent party:* Islamic Dawa Party / State of Law Coalition

*Rebel successor party:* National Iraqi Alliance

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* N/A. Iraq does not have direct election of the president; president chosen by elected MPs.

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2014

*Second presidential election:* N/A

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Gordon, Michael R. and Bernard E. Trainor. 2012. *The Endgame: The Inside Story of the Struggle for Iraq, from George W. Bush to Barack Obama*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Munson, Peter J. 2009. *Iraq in Transition: The Legacy of Dictatorship and the Prospects for Democracy*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc.

Rayburn, Joel. 2014. *Iraq After America: Strongmen, Sectarians, Resistance*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press.

## ISRAEL (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1964-1993

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Israel (under Labor Party); Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO; dominated by Fatah faction)

*Summary:* The PLO was founded in 1964, and by 1968 was controlled by Fatah, a faction led by Yasir Arafat. The group engaged in guerilla attacks against Israel from the West Bank and Gaza Strip after the latter two territories' occupation in 1967. PLO/Fatah also fought Israeli troops in the context of the Lebanese civil war and engaged in international terrorism. From 1987-1993, Fatah and other Palestinian armed groups ( Hamas; Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – PFLP; Palestinian Islamic Jihad – PIJ) engaged in a rebellion known as the First Intifada. On September 13, 1993, the government of Israel and Fatah signed the Oslo Accords, providing a path towards limited Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Although Hamas, PFLP, and PIJ opposed Oslo, their armed conflict with Israel also reduced in intensity from 1995-2000.

*Founding legislative election:* 1996 (Knesset election; Palestinian parties did not participate)

*Incumbent party:* Labor

*Rebel successor party:* Fatah. Hamas, PLFP, and PIJ did not participate in 1996 Palestinian election.

*War re-initiation:* Yes. In 2000, Fatah (along with other Palestinian parties) initiated the Second Intifada.

*Founding presidential election:* 1998. President indirectly elected by Knesset. Presidential elections were held in March 1993, but this was before the signing of the Oslo Accords.

*Founding regional election:* 1996 (Palestinian Authority election; Israeli parties did not participate)

*Second legislative election:* 1999 (Knesset election; Palestinian parties did not participate)

*Second presidential election:* 1998

*Second regional election:* N/A. Second regional election (elections in Palestinian Authority) occurred in 2006, and was the founding regional election for the next conflict episode.

*Sources:*

“Israel.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Israel](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Israel)

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Mitchell, George J., Suleyman Demirel, Thorbjørn Jagland, Warren B. Rudman, and Javier Solana. 2001. “Sharm El-Sheikh Fact-Finding Committee Report.” *Sharm el-Sheikh Fact Finding Committee*.

<https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/nea/rls/rpt/3060.htm> (Accessed March 14, 2019).

Pressman, Jeremy. 2003. “The Second Intifada: Background and Causes of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.” *Journal of Conflict Studies* 23(2).

<https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/jcs/article/view/220/378> (Accessed March 14, 2019).

## ISRAEL (2)

*Conflict dates:* 2000-2005

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Israel (under Likud Party); PLO (Fatah); Hamas; Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP); Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)

*Summary:* On September 28, 2000, Palestinians in Jerusalem rioted in response to Ariel Sharon’s visit to the Temple Mount/al-Aqsa Compound. Israeli anti-riot measures prompted a Palestinian uprising (Second Intifada). Fatah, PFLP, Hamas, and PIJ all participated. A combination of Israeli repressive measures and enhanced security reduced the violence by 2005. The conflict ended with the Sharm al Sheikh Summit on February 8, 2005, in which the Palestinian Authority and Israel agreed to a truce. Although Hamas and PIJ were not parties to the truce, the Palestinian Authority eventually convinced them to honor the terms. Sporadic violence continued.

*Founding legislative election:* 2006 (Knesset election; Palestinian parties did not participate)

*Incumbent party:* Likud

*Rebel successor parties:* Fatah (PLO); Hamas; Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa (PFLP)

*War re-initiation:* Yes; 2006. Re-initiation cannot be attributed. Current phase of the conflict ongoing.

*Founding presidential election:* 2007

*Founding regional election:* 2006 (Palestinian Authority election; Israeli parties did not participate).

*Second legislative election:* 2009 (Knesset election; Palestinian parties did not participate)

*Second presidential election:* 2014

*Second regional election:* N/A. None to date.

*Sources:* See Israel (1)

“World Report 2006: Israel/Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT): Events of 2005.” 2006. *Human Rights Watch*. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2006/country-chapters/israel/palestine> (Accessed March 14, 2019).

## KOSOVO

*Conflict dates:* 1998-1999

*Primary belligerents:* Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA)

*Summary:* Kosovo War. The KLA was established in 1991 and began sporadic attacks on Yugoslav and Serb authorities in Kosovo from 1995-1997. In 1998, Serb regulars and paramilitaries commenced a major offensive against the KLA. The war caused mass population displacements and prompted a NATO air campaign. The Government of Yugoslavia and the KLA signed the Kumanovo Agreement on June 9, 1999 to end the war.

*Founding legislative election:* 2001

*Incumbent party:* Coalition Return. Slobodan Milosevic was president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from 1997-2000, and the leader of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. One branch of this was the League of Communists of Kosovo, which later merged into the Socialist Party of Serbia. Coalition Return, which was led by a former member of SPS, sought to return Kosovo to the political control of Belgrade.

*Rebel successor party:* Democratic Party of Kosovo

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2008

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2004

*Second presidential election:* 2011

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Bekaj, Armend R. “The KLA and the Kosovo War: From Intra-State Conflict to Independent Country.” Berghof Transitions Series.

“Certified Results, Election 2001.” *Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Mission in Kosovo*.

<https://www.osce.org/kosovo/20466?download=true> (Accessed January 18, 2019).

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International Crisis Group (ICG) (2001). “Kosovo: Landmark Election.” *Balkans Report* 120 (November 21).

European Parliament. 2001. “Ad Hoc Delegation for Election Observation in Kosovo

## LAOS

*Conflict dates:* 1959-1975

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Laos; Pathet Lao; international actors

*Summary:* Laotian Civil War. Political upheaval followed the decolonization of Laos in 1953. The belligerents of the Vietnam War covertly supported different sides jockeying for power in Laos. The 1973 Paris Peace accord resulted in the withdrawal of US forces, while North Vietnamese forces remained. This strengthened the Pathet Lao, who were increasingly integrated into the government. In 1975 Pathet Lao forces made territorial gains, deposed the king, and declared a new government.

*Founding legislative election:* 1989 (first election since 1972)

*Incumbent party/parties:* N/A; single-party state run by rebel successor (rebel victory in civil war)

*Rebel successor party:* Lao People’s Revolutionary Party

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* N/A. Laos does not hold presidential elections.

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1992

*Second presidential election:* N/A. Laos does not hold presidential elections.

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

“Laos.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Laos](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Laos)

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Brown, MacAlister and Joseph J. Zasloff. 1976. “Laos in 1975: People's Democratic Revolution -- Lao Style,” Survey, Vol. 16, No. 2, A Survey of Asia in 1975: Part II (Feb.), pp.193-199.

## LEBANON

*Conflict dates:* 1975-1990

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Lebanon (including after 1977, forces of Michel Aoun); Phalange (Kataeb; Lebanese Front – militia); Amal; Hezbollah; National Salvation Front (later, Lebanese National Resistance Front – LNRF; successor to pro-Syrian and pro-PLO Lebanese National Movement – LNM); Lebanese Arab Army (LAA; Muslim faction of Lebanese military; allied with LNM and PLO; defunct by 1977).

*Summary:* The Lebanese civil war began with clashes between Phalangists and Palestinian militants in 1975. By 1976 a series of sectarian attacks escalated the conflict into all-out war, prompting Syrian intervention and a de facto division of Beirut into sectors occupied by various groups. In 1978 PLO attacks into Israel prompted an Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Israel withdrew after creating a buffer zone, but re-invaded in 1982 and occupied parts of Beirut. Hezbollah’s presence was established by Iran in Syria-occupied areas of Lebanon that year. The sectarian nature of the war intensified, leading to the “War of the Camps” from 1985-1986, during which Amal and Syria fought the PLO. In the following

years, Amal fought Hezbollah. In 1988, Michel Aoun was appointed head of the military (Lebanese Forces) and commenced a campaign against Syria and its allied Shia militias. The Taif Agreement, signed on October 22, 1989, represented the beginning of mobilization. Sporadic fighting continued until late 1990. In 1991 parliament granted a general amnesty, and most militias except for Hezbollah demobilized that year.

*Founding legislative election:* 1992. All candidates ran as independents, though it is possible to identify some of the candidates as affiliated with certain blocs.

*Incumbent party:* Kataeb (also known as Phalange; Maronite Christians who controlled what remained of the Lebanese government). Boycotted the 1992 election. Participated in 1996. Michel Aoun did not return from exile until 1995, and his party (Free Patriotic Movement – FPM) did not contest the 1996 or 2000 elections.

*Rebel successor parties:* Amal; Hezbollah; Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP – successor to LNRF and LAA).

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1998. President elected by parliament.

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1996. Party affiliation permitted.

*Second presidential election:* 2008

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Collings, Deirdre, ed. 1994. *Peace for Lebanon? From War to Reconstruction*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

El Khazen, Farid. 1998. *Prospects for Lebanon. Lebanon's First Postwar Parliamentary Election, 1992: An Imposed Choice*. Oxford, UK: Centre for Lebanese Studies.

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Scheffler, Thomas. “Lebanon.” In *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook Vol. I*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. doi:10.1093/019924958X.003.0008

## LIBERIA (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1989-1997

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Liberia (under National Democratic Party of Liberia – NDPL, led by Samuel Doe); United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO – pro-government militia); National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL, led by Charles Taylor); Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INFPL, led by Prince Johnson).

*Summary:* First Liberian Civil War. In 1999, the NPFL initiated an uprising against the regime of Samuel Doe. NPFL fought the government, ousting and executing Doe in 1990. In 1991, the ULIMO militia was founded, consisting of former Doe allies. Subsequently, rebel groups fought for control of the capital, with NPFL fighting a breakaway faction, INPFL, led by Prince Johnson. INPFL disbanded in 1992. NPFL and ULIMO signed the Abuja Accord on August 19, 1995, although clashes continued in 1996.

*Founding legislative election:* 1997



*Incumbent party:* All Liberia Coalition Party (ALCOP; successor to ULIMO). NDPL is not listed as an incumbent successor because its control ended in 1980 when Samuel Doe was arrested and executed, and it was a party, not a combatant, for the remainder of the conflict. ULIMO was associated with the Doe regime, having been founded by a former minister in the Doe government, and having former military personnel among its ranks. Consequently, when selecting a party most associated with pro-incumbent violence, ULIMO (which ran in the 1997 elections) is a more appropriate choice than NDPL (which also ran, but was not a wartime belligerent).

*Rebel successor party:* National Patriotic Party (NPP – Charles Taylor’s party, and hence the successor to NPFL). INPFL dissolved in 1992, with Prince Johnson going into exile in Nigeria. It had no successor in the 1997 election. Prince Johnson did run for a senate seat in 2005, presumably as an independent. He founded the National Union for Democratic Progress to contest the 2011 election.

*War re-initiation:* Yes. In 1999, ULIMO (reconstituted as LURD) re-initiated, starting the Second Liberian Civil War.

*Founding presidential election:* 1997

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* N/A. Next legislative election (2005) is the founding election for the next conflict episode.

*Second presidential election:* N/A. Next presidential election (2005) is the founding election for the next conflict episode.

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Harris, D. (1999). "From ‘Warlord’ to ‘Democratic’ President: How Charles Taylor Won the 1997 Liberian Elections." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37(3): 431-455.

“Liberia.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2007*, edited by Arthur S. Banks, Thomas C. Muller, and William R. Overstreet, 714-25. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2007. [http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2007\\_liberia](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2007_liberia) (Accessed January 19, 2019).

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Lyons, Terrance. (1999). *Voting for Peace: Postconflict Elections in Liberia*. Washington, DC, Brookings Institution.

## LIBERIA (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1999-2003

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Liberia (under NPP); NPFL; Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy

*Summary:* Second Liberian Civil War. In 1999, LURD (which consisted of members of two factions of ULIMO) initiated an uprising against Charles Taylor’s regime. Taylor deployed both government troops and former members of his NPFL rebel group against LURD. LURD made territorial gains, approaching the capital, and was joined by the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL), a rebel group in the south. After a siege of the capital, Taylor resigned on August 11, 2003. The government, LURD, and MODEL signed the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement on August 18, 2003.

*Founding legislative election:* 2005

*Incumbent party:* NPP

*Rebel successor parties:* Progressive Democratic Party (PRODEM); ALCOP. ALCOP is successor to ULIMO, which was also the precursor group to LURD. PRODEM's presidential candidate in 2005 was the former chairman of LURD. Vote share is combined for these two groups. MODEL does not have a successor party.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2005

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2011

*Second presidential election:* 2011

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Liberia (1)

## LIBYA

*Conflict dates:* 2011-2011

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Libya (under Muammar al-Qaddafi); National Transition Council (NTC – umbrella organization)

*Summary:* First Libyan Civil War / Libyan Revolution. On February 15, 2011, Libyan security forces cracked down violently on protestors, sparking an anti-government uprising. Opposition forces consolidated into the National Transition Council, and were aided by NATO military intervention. Qaddafi was killed on October 20 and the NTC declared the war over on October 23. The National Forces Alliance won a plurality in the 2012 elections for the General National Congress (GNC), an interim governing body. A constitutional assembly election was held in February 2014, and elections were again held in June 2014 for a new House of Representatives (HoR). The process was challenged in court, leading to the GNC establishing a rival parliament, called the National Salvation Government (NSG). Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar commenced a military operation in support of the HoR against the NSG in May 2014, leading to a second civil war.

*Founding legislative election:* 2012

*Incumbent party:* Libyan Popular National Movement. Founded in 2012 and composed of ex-Qaddafi loyalists. Banned from participation in the election.

*Rebel successor party:* National Forces Alliance

*War re-initiation:* Yes. Attribution impossible; violence ongoing among various groups throughout 2011-2014. Formal start to second civil war occurred on May 16, 2014.

*Founding presidential election:* N/A. Next scheduled presidential election in Libya was in 2019, after the beginning of the next conflict episode.

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2014

*Second presidential election:* N/A.

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

International Crisis Group. 2011. "Holding Libya Together: Security Challenges After Qadhafi" *Middle East & North Africa Report* 115. 14 December 2011.

The Carter Center. 2012. "General National Congress Elections in Libya." Final Report. July 7, 2012.

## MOLDOVA

*Conflict dates:* 1992-1992

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Moldova (under Popular Front of Moldova); Pridnestrovian Moldovan Republic (PMR)

*Summary:* Transnistria War. The PMR declared independence in 1990, prompting Moldovan troops to deploy to the region, clashing sporadically with civilians attempting to prevent their advance. In 1992, in response to the killing of a PMR militiamen, some PMR inhabitants began an uprising. A several-month conflict ensued between PMR irregulars and the Moldovan military. The belligerents signed a ceasefire on July 21, 1992, but the conflict remains, although terminated, officially unresolved in the absence of a final peace agreement. The death toll for this conflict is unclear. The UCDP dyad reports 585 killed, with other sources indicating greater than 1000. I follow Doyle and Sambanis (2006) in estimating greater than 1000 battle-related deaths (their estimate is drawn from the COW project).

*Founding legislative election:* 1994

*Incumbent party/parties:* Alliance of the Christian Democratic Popular Front

*Rebel successor party/parties:* Republic. Did not participate at national-level elections.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1996

*Founding regional election:* 1995

*Second legislative election:* 1998

*Second presidential election:* 2016

*Second regional election:* 2000

*Sources:*

Carothers, Thomas, Ray S. James, Jonathan Soros, and Dorin Tudoran. "IFES Report on the February 27, 1994 Moldovan Parliamentary Elections." *International Foundation for Electoral Systems*. Washington, DC: 1994. <https://www.ifes.org/sites/default/files/r01760.pdf> (Accessed January 26, 2019).

Doyle, Michael W. and Nicholas Sambanis. 2006. *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

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Roper, Steven D. 2001. "Regionalism in Moldova: The Case of Transnistria and Gagauzia." *Regional & Federal Studies* 11 (3):101-122.

## MOROCCO

*Conflict dates:* 1975-1991

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Morocco (under Constitutional Union); Polisario Front

*Summary:* The Polisario Front was established in 1973 to contest the Spanish colonial presence in Western Sahara. After Spain withdrew in 1975, Mauritania and Morocco annexed parts of the territory. Mauritania withdrew in 1979. Morocco and the Polisario Front commenced an armed uprising. Morocco and the Polisario Front signed a cease-fire agreement on September 6, 1991.

*Founding legislative election:* 1993

*Incumbent party:* Constitutional Union. Winner of the previous election (1984) and aligned with the ruling monarchy.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* Polisario Front. Western Saharan parties do not participate in Moroccan elections, only in those in Western Sahara.

*War re-initiation:* No. Limited demonstrations have since occurred in Western Sahara, but there has been no return to active hostilities in excess of the 25 battle death/year criterion.

*Founding presidential election:* N/A. Morocco has no president.

*Founding regional election:* 2008 (Elections in the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic)

*Second legislative election:* 1997

*Second presidential election:* N/A. Morocco has no president.

*Second regional election:* 2012 (Elections in the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic)

*Sources:*

“Morocco.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Morocco](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Morocco)

(Accessed February 17, 2019).

## MOZAMBIQUE (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1977-1992

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Mozambique (under Front for the Liberation of Mozambique – FRELIMO); Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO)

*Summary:* Mozambique achieved independence from Portugal in 1975. FRELIMO began a program of nationalization, inspiring discontent and fear among both some elements of the population, and antagonizing white-minority rule Rhodesia. Rhodesia founded RENAMO with the help of a FRELIMO dissident, and RENAMO commenced an uprising in 1979. The conflict reached brutal proportions and began to stalemate in the 1980s. FRELIMO and RENAMO signed the Rome General Peace Accords on October 4, 1992.

*Founding legislative election:* 1994

*Incumbent party:* FRELIMO

*Rebel successor party:* RENAMO; in 1999, renamed as Mozambican National Resistance-Electoral Union (RENAMO-UE)

*War re-initiation:* Yes. In 2013, RENAMO re-initiated.

*Founding presidential election:* 1994

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1999

*Second presidential election:* 1999

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

“Mozambique.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Mozambique](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Mozambique)  
(Accessed March 2, 2019).

Manning, C. (2008). *The Making of Democrats: Party-Building and Elections in Post Conflict Bosnia, El Salvador, and Mozambique*. New York, Palgrave MacMillan.

## MOZAMBIQUE (2)

*Conflict dates:* 2013-2014

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Mozambique (under Front for the Liberation of Mozambique – FRELIMO); Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO)

*Summary:* RENAMO’s re-initiation of its insurgency led to a year of clashes with government forces. The party had been seeking greater military and political representation and natural resource rents. The belligerents signed a ceasefire on August 25, 2014, followed by a more formal peace deal on September 5, 2014.

*Founding legislative election:* 2014 (October; after ceasefire)

*Incumbent party/parties:* FRELIMO

*Rebel successor party/parties:* RENAMO

*War re-initiation:* Yes. RENAMO re-initiated on June 14, 2015, seeking autonomous rule of some provinces.

*Founding presidential election:* 2014

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* N/A. Next legislative election to be held in 2019; this would qualify as the founding election for the next conflict episode, beyond on the dataset’s scope.

*Second presidential election:* N/A. Next presidential election to be held in 2019; this would qualify as the founding election for the next conflict episode.

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

The Carter Center. “Presidential, Legislative, and Provincial Assembly Elections in Mozambique. Final Report.” October 2014.

## MYANMAR (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1948-2012

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Myanmar; Karen National Union (armed wing Karen National Liberation Army – KNLA); Democratic Karen Buddhist Army – Brigade Five (DKBA-5)

*Summary:* Karen conflict. Groups representing the Karen ethnic minority began to agitate for independence in 1948, immediately after Burma achieved independence from Great Britain. The KNU was the last Karen group to continue fighting, and reached a ceasefire on January 12, 2012, and signed the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) on October 15, 2015.

*Founding legislative election:* 2015

*Incumbent party/parties:* Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP). USDP is the direct successor to the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA), a military-junta supported party founded in 1993.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* Karen National Party (KNP). Only contested regional elections.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2015

*Founding regional election:* 2015. Kayin State Huttlaw (regional assembly; Kayin State is the present name for the region formerly known as Karen state).

*Second legislative election:* N/A

*Second presidential election:* N/A

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Kenny, P. D. (2010). "Structural integrity and cohesion in insurgent organizations: Evidence from protracted conflicts in Ireland and Burma." *International Studies Review* 12(4): 533-555.

Human Rights Watch. "Burma Elections 2015." <https://www.hrw.org/blog-feed/burma-elections-2015>. (Accessed March 2, 2019).

## MYANMAR (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1948-1988

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Myanmar (Burma) (under Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League – AFPFL, then Union Party, then Burma Socialist Programme Party – BSPP); Communist Party of Burma (CPB); Communist Party (Burma) ("Red Flag Communist Party")

*Summary:* In 1946, the communist movement in Burma split into two groups: the CPB and the Red Flags. Both groups engaged in armed uprising soon after Burmese independence in 1948. The Red Flag party was smaller than the main party, and became defunct by 1978. In August 1988, major pro-democracy protests occurred in Burma, known as the "8888 Uprising." In September 1988, the military took power in a coup, and crushed the uprising.

*Founding legislative election:* 1990

*Incumbent party:* National Unity Party (re-constitution of BSPP after 1988).

*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A. CPB banned in 1953, disbanded in 1988.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2011. Position of the President re-established in 2011; indirect election by Parliament

*Founding regional election:* N/A. Myanmar has regional elections but this conflict was not limited to a specific region.

*Second legislative election:* 2010

*Second presidential election:* 2016; indirect election by Parliament

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Cheeseman, Nick and Nicholas Farrelly, eds. 2016. *Conflict in Myanmar: War, Politics, Religion*. Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. <https://muse-jhu.edu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/> (Accessed March 2, 2019)

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[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_MyanmarBurma](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_MyanmarBurma) (March 1, 2019).

#### MYANMAR (3)

*Conflict dates:* 1959-2013

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Myanmar; Mong Tai Army (MTA); Restoration Council of Shan State (RCSS – armed wing Shan State Army – SSA); Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA – offshoot of MTA); Shan State Nationalities Liberation Organization (SSNLO – merged into Pa-O National Liberation Organization – PNLO – in 2009)

*Summary:* Shan conflict. Prior to Burma’s independence from Britain in 1948, the Shan ethnic group had been promised the option of independence for Shan state ten years after independence. The newly-established Burmese government reneged on this promise, however, and Shan groups commenced an insurgency in 1958. SSA was dissolved in 1975 and replaced by SSA-N. SSA-N was the armed wing of the Shan State Progress Party, which signed a ceasefire with the government in 1989, though hostilities have continued and this is the only Shan group not to have ceased fighting. Most members of the MTA disarmed in 1995, but a large group formed SSA-S. SURA merged into SSA-S in 1996, and SSA-S signed a ceasefire in 2011, and RCSS signed a ceasefire in 2012. PNLO was the last armed group to sign a ceasefire with the government, the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) on October 15, 2015.

*Founding legislative election:* 2015

*Incumbent party/parties:* Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP). USDP is the direct successor to the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA), a military-junta supported party founded in 1993.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD)

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2015

*Founding regional election:* 2015

*Second legislative election:* N/A

*Second presidential election:* N/A

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Human Rights Watch. “Burma Elections 2015.” <https://www.hrw.org/blog-feed/burma-elections-2015>. (Accessed March 2, 2019).

#### MYANMAR (4)

*Conflict dates:* 1961-1994

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Myanmar; Kachin Independence Organization (KIO). Its armed wing was Kachin Independence Army – KIA)

*Summary:* The KIO was founded in 1960 to advocate for self-determination for the Kachin people, a group of ethnicities whose members primarily live in Northern Myanmar. Its armed wing is the KIA. Its members commenced an armed insurgency in 1961. After a

major offensive by the Burmese military, the KIO/KIA signed a ceasefire with the government on February 24, 1994.

*Founding legislative election:* 2010

*Incumbent party:* National Unity Party. Proxy party founded by the ruling Junta to contest the 1990 elections, which NLD won, but were subsequently voided.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A; did not participate in elections

*War re-initiation:* Yes. On June 9, 2011, government forces re-initiated in an attempt to seize valuable territory in Kachin-held areas.

*Founding presidential election:* 2011

*Founding regional election:* 2010

*Second legislative election:* 2015

*Second presidential election:* 2016

*Second regional election:* 2015

*Sources:* See Myanmar (1)

## NAMIBIA

*Conflict dates:* 1966-1990

*Primary belligerents:* Government of South Africa (under National Party); South West African People's Organization (SWAPO. Armed wing People's Liberation Army of Namibia - PLAN).

*Summary:* South African Border War / Namibian War of Independence. From 1915-1990 Namibia was administered by South Africa under the name South West Africa. SWAPO, which agitated for Namibian independence, established PLAN in 1962 and commenced hostilities against South African Defense Forces (SADF) in 1966. The Angolan Tripartite Accord was signed on December 22, 1988, although hostilities continued through 1989. Namibia achieved independence on March 21, 1990.

*Founding legislative election:* 1994

*Incumbent party:* Monitor Action Group. Formerly the National Party of South West Africa, a branch of the dominant party during South Africa's apartheid regime.

*Rebel successor party:* SWAPO

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1994

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1999

*Second presidential election:* 1999

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Krennerich, Michael. "Namibia." In *Elections in Africa: A Data Handbook*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Bernard Thibaut, and Michael Krennerich. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. Doi: 10.1093/0198296452.003.0037

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(Accessed February 17, 2019).



## NEPAL

*Conflict dates:* 1996-2006

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Nepal (under Nepali Congress – NC); Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M)

*Summary:* In 1996 the CPN-M initiated a rebellion to overthrow the Nepalese monarchy. Initially, the government responded to the insurgency with police action, and the military remained uninvolved. Peace talks were held in 2001, but faltered, and the conflict reached its peak intensity from 2001-2002 (UCDP) when the military finally became involved. King Gyanendra seized direct control of the government in 2005, leading an alliance of political parties to form the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) to oppose his usurpation. The SPA and the Maoist rebels jointly condemned the King's anti-democratic rule. On November 21, 2006, the government, SPA, and CPN-M signed the Comprehensive Peace Accord.

*Founding legislative election:* 2008. Constituent assembly election, but the constituent assembly became the de facto legislature until 2013 (the next election, also for constituent assembly).

*Incumbent party:* NC. Won a plurality in the 1994 elections, and a majority in the 1999 elections. It held power during the peak of the conflict, November 2011. The King dissolved parliament in October 2002. Several of the prime ministers in the subsequent period were members of the NC. Although the Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP) was royalist in nature, it objected to the king's second seizure of power in 2005 and expelled members who had supported him.

*Rebel successor party:* CPN-M

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2008. Indirect election. President is chosen by parliament and electoral college consisting of regionally-elected members.

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2013. Also a constituent assembly election in which the assembly became the de facto legislature until 2017 (the next election).

*Second presidential election:* 2015

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

"Nepal." In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Nepal](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Nepal)

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Klapdor, D. (2009). "From Rebels to Politicians. Explaining Rebel-to-Party Transformations after Civil War: The Case of Nepal." Working Paper Series, Development Studies Institute, London: 1–54.

## NICARAGUA (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1961-1979

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Nicaragua (under Somoza regime); Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN; "Sandinistas").

*Summary:* Nicaraguan Revolution. Anastasio Somoza Garcia took power in a coup in 1936. Despite a succession of nominal presidents and governments, the Somoza dynasty effectively ruled Nicaragua until 1979. The FSLN was founded in 1961. Managua was destroyed in an earthquake in 1972, and the Somoza government embezzled money from the reconstruction efforts, contributing to popular discontent. The rebellion picked up speed in the 1970s. Riots and strikes erupted after the 1978 assassination of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Cardenal, which was attributed to Somoza. A government crackdown followed. In 1979 Somoza resigned and went into exile in Miami.

*Founding legislative election:* 1984

*Incumbent party:* Nationalist Liberal Party (PLN). Banned. PLI and PCDN are quasi-successors, but not direct ones.

*Rebel successor party:* FSLN

*War re-initiation:* Yes, Contras (partially comprising Somozistas) reinitiated.

*Founding presidential election:* 1984

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1990

*Second presidential election:* 1990

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Castro, Vanessa and Gary Prevost, eds. 1992. *The 1990 Elections in Nicaragua and Their Aftermath*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

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Close, David, Salvador Martí i Puig, and Shelley A. McConnell, eds. 2012. *The Sandinistas & Nicaragua Since 1979*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

Krennerich, Michael. "Nicaragua." 2005. In *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook Vol. I*, edited by Dieter Nohlen. New York: Oxford University Press.

## NICARAGUA (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1982-1989

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Nicaragua (under FSLN); Contras

*Summary:* Contra war. After Somoza resigned in 1979, much of the national guard leadership fled. The remaining troops surrendered in July and thousands fled the country, soon to be organized by the CIA, along with other anti-FSLN elements, into the Contras. A caretaker government assumed control (the JGRN), led by a committee of three FSLN (including Daniel Ortega) and two non-FSLN (including Violeta Chamorro). The 1984 election yielded a large Sandinista victory, and a new constitution was drafted and approved between 1985-7. The Tela Accord signed on August 7, 1989 officially ended the FSLN-contra war. The FSLN peacefully yielded power to Chamorro (of the United Nicaraguan Opposition – UNO) after losing the 1990 election.

*Founding legislative election:* 1990

*Incumbent party:* FSLN

*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A. Contras did not participate. In 1996, Nicaraguan Resistance Party (PRN – founded 1993).

*War re-initiation:* Yes. In 1990, FSLN sympathizers reinitiated violence against ex-Contra personnel, leading some Contras to remilitarize (but next conflict episode did not reach 1000 deaths).

*Founding presidential election:* 1990

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1996

*Second presidential election:* 1996

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Nicaragua (1)

Brown, Timothy C. 2001. *The Real Contra War*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Anderson, Leslie and Lawrence C. Dodd. 2005. *Learning Democracy: Citizen Engagement and Electoral Choice in Nicaragua 1990-2001*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kuant, Elia María and Trish O’Kane. 1990. *Nicaragua: Political Parties and Election 1990*. Managua: CRIES.

## NIGERIA

*Conflict dates:* 1967-1970

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Nigeria (under Federal Military Government); Republic of Biafra

*Summary:* Nigeria achieved independence in 1960, establishing the First Republic. A coup largely led by Igbo military officers overthrew the government in 1966, and was followed several months later by a counter-coup that brought General Yakubu Gowon to power. In May 1967, Gowon established a federal system dividing the country into 12 districts, a move seen to reduce the Igbo’s control over oil resources in the East. Biafra declared independence three days later, commencing the civil war. By late 1969, Nigerian government forces recaptured most of the secessionist areas. Biafran forces surrendered on January 14, 1970. Gowon was overthrown in a coup in 1975. The Junta remained in power until the establishment of the Second Republic in 1979, which was followed by parliamentary elections.

*Founding legislative election:* 1979

*Incumbent party:* NPN (Koehn 1981) – military saw NPN as most likely to guard the reforms they had put in place; this is why they were willing to transfer power.

*Rebel successor party:* Nigerian People’s Party (NPP). Associated with Igbo people. Parties ran on non-ethnic (programmatic) basis but were associated informally with various groups (Laitin 1986, 162). Ndamde Azikwe (Nigerian People’s Party) was a candidate for president in 1979. He was Ibo, and previously an Ibo nationalist in support of Biafra (although he changed his allegiance in the middle of the war).

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1979

*Founding regional election:*

*Second legislative election:* 1983

*Second presidential election:* 1983

*Second regional election:*

*Sources:*

- Koehn, Peter. 1981. "Prelude to Civilian Rule: the Nigerian Elections of 1979." *Africa Today* 28(1): 17-45.
- Laitin, David D. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change Among the Yoruba*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

## PAKISTAN

*Conflict dates:* 1973-1977

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Pakistan; Baluchistan People's Liberation Front (BPLF); Baluch Liberation Front (BLF)

*Summary:* Various Baluch separatist groups have fought the Pakistani government since 1948. In the 1960s separatists opposed a new policy that limited regional autonomy; this policy was rescinded in 1970. In 1973, Pakistani President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto dismissed the regional government in Baluchistan, sparking protests that the government responded to with a military operation. Several years of conflict followed, until General Zia ul-Haq overthrew the Bhutto government in July 1977 and imposed martial law in Baluchistan.

*Founding legislative election:* 1985. Boycotted by opposition parties because elections held on a non-party basis (Zingel 2003). Elections were held in Pakistan in March 1977, but this was four months prior to the beginning of the pacification of the conflict in Baluchistan (July 1977).

*Incumbent party/parties:* N/A. All candidates ran as independents. In the subsequent election (1988), the incumbent was Pakistan People's Party (party of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was in power during the operation in Baluchistan).

*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A. All candidates ran as independents. In the subsequent election (1988), the rebel successor was Baluchistan National Party (a pro-autonomy Baluch party).

*War re-initiation:* Yes. In 2003, the Baluchistan Liberation Army (BLA), understood to be an outgrowth of previous secessionist groups, re-initiated violence against the government. Next conflict episode is ongoing.

*Founding presidential election:* 1985

*Founding regional election:* 1988

*Second legislative election:* 1988

*Second presidential election:* 1988

*Second regional election:* 1990

*Sources:*

"Balochistan Liberation Army." Mapping Militant Organizations. Stanford University, 2015. <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/297> (Accessed February 17, 2019).

"Pakistan." In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Pakistan](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Pakistan) (Accessed March 17, 2019).

Zingel, Wolfgang-Peter. "Pakistan." In *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook Vol. I*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. doi: 10.1093/019924958X.003.0031

## PAPUA NEW GUINEA (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1988-1990

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Papua New Guinea (under Pangu Party); Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA)

*Summary:* Since 1930, tensions over the exploitation of precious metal deposits on the island of Bougainville have fed calls for autonomy and/ or independence among the local inhabitants. In 1988 the BRA formed and commenced a separatist insurgency against the government. The BRA unilaterally declared independence, while the government withdrew from the island in 1990 and imposed a blockade. On August 6, 1990, both sides signed the Endeavor Accord, a cease-fire.

*Founding legislative election:* 1992

*Incumbent party:* Pangu Party

*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A

*War re-initiation:* Yes. Government of PNG re-initiated in 1992.

*Founding presidential election:* N/A. PNG does not have presidential elections.

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1997

*Second presidential election:* N/A. PNG does not have presidential elections.

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

“Papua New Guinea.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_PapuaNewGuinea](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_PapuaNewGuinea) (Accessed March 17, 2019).

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<https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/asiapacific-region/papua-new-guineabougainville-1975-present/> (Accessed January 21, 2019).

Reilly, Benjamin. “Papua New Guinea.” In *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook Vol. I*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. doi: 10.1093/0199249598.003.0026

## PAPUA NEW GUINEA (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1992-1998

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Papua New Guinea (under People’s Progress Party – PPP); Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA)

*Summary:* After the 1992 elections in PNG, the new government made renewed efforts to militarily take back Bougainville. The insurgency continued until a ceasefire was signed in 1998, followed by the Bougainville Peace agreement on August 30, 2001. The agreement established the Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG).

*Founding legislative election:* 2002

*Incumbent party:* PPP

*Rebel successor party:* Bougainville People’s Congress. Did not participate in national legislative elections. Participated in 2005 ABG elections.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* N/A. PNG does not have presidential elections.  
*Founding regional election:* 2005  
*Second legislative election:* 2007  
*Second presidential election:* N/A. PNG does not have presidential elections.  
*Second regional election:* 2010  
*Sources:* See Papua New Guinea (1)

## PERU

*Conflict dates:* 1981 – 1993  
*Primary belligerents:* Government of Peru; Communist Party of Peru (Sendero Luminoso - SL)  
*Summary:* Abimael Guzman founded Shining Path as a Maoist revolutionary movement in 1970. After a coup in 1975, Peru elected a constituent assembly in 1978 and established a new constitution in 1980. Communist groups, including SL, objected to the new constitution and commenced an armed uprising. Guzman was captured in 1992, and called for his group's surrender on television, prompting thousands to lay down arms. A breakaway faction known as "Sendero Rojo" under Oscar Ramirez continued to engage in violence. A combination of repression and the group's alienation of the population led to a decline in casualties by 1999, when Ramirez was captured.  
*Founding legislative election:* 1995.  
*Incumbent party:* Cambio 90  
*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A. SL was defeated, but not integrated into the political process. Moreover, it was explicitly opposed to participation in politics. A coalition called "United Left" ran in 1995, comprising several groups, including the Peruvian Community Party (PCP). However, SL, known also as the Communist Party of Peru, is not the same organization despite the similar name. Guzman specifically founded his party to distinguish it from the PCP, with which he fundamentally disagreed. He vocally opposed other Communist groups' participation in Peruvian politics, specifically condemning the United Left by name (McLintock 1998, 64-7).  
*War re-initiation:* No  
*Founding presidential election:* 1995  
*Founding regional election:* N/A  
*Second legislative election:* 2000  
*Second presidential election:* 2000  
*Second regional election:* N/A  
*Sources:*  
"Final Report." *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru*. Lima, 2003.  
<http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/pagina01.php> (Accessed January 23, 2019).  
McLintock, Cynthia. 1998. *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America: El Salvador's FMLN and Peru's Shining Path*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.  
Weyland, Kurt. 2000. "A Paradox of Success? Determinants of Political Support for President Fujimori." *International Studies Quarterly* 44(3): 481-502.

## PHILIPPINES

*Conflict dates:* 1969-1996

*Primary belligerents:* Government of the Philippines (under various); Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF)

*Summary:* Moro conflict. In 1969 Muslim rebel groups in the region of Mindanao launched an insurgency against the Government of the Philippines. MNLF was founded that year. The conflict reached high intensity during several period in the 1970s and 1980s. The government established the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) in 1989. The government and the MNLF signed the Final Peace Agreement (Jakarta Accord) on September 2, 1996. Another significant Moro separatist group, Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), remained in conflict with the Philippine government until signing a ceasefire in 2014. MILF is not included in the analysis because its ceasefire is out of the date scope.

*Founding legislative election:* 1998

*Incumbent party:* Lakas-NUCD-UMDP. The previous elections (1992) were won by LDP, but when Lakas-NUCD won the presidency, most congressmen from LDP switched their allegiance to Lakas-NUCD. There were numerous peaks in violence in the conflict, but the most recent (according to UCDP) was in 1993, during the tenure of Lakas-NUCD.

*Rebel successor party:* N/A at the national level. At the regional level, Lakas-CMD, which was the party under which MNLF could run candidates in ARMM.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1998

*Founding regional election:* 2005. Elections for governor and vice-governor were also held in ARMM in 1996 and 2001, but 2005 was the first assembly election in ARMM.

*Second legislative election:* 2001

*Second presidential election:* 2004

*Second regional election:* 2008

*Sources:*

Hartmann, Christof, Graham Hassall, and Soliman M. Santos. "Philippines." In *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook Vol. II*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. doi:10.1093/0199249598.003.0007

"Moro National Liberation Front." Mapping Militant Organizations. Stanford University, 2015. <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/379> (Accessed January 19, 2019).

"Philippines." *PARLINE Database on National Parliaments*. Interparliamentary Union. [http://archive.ipu.org/parline/reports/2253\\_arc.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline/reports/2253_arc.htm) (accessed January 31, 2019).

## RUSSIA (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1994-1996

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Russia (under Liberal Democratic Party of Russia – LDPR); Chechen Republic of Ichkeria

*Summary:* First Chechen War. Chechnya declared independence from Russia in 1993, and a series of coups along with internal unrest followed. In December 1994, Russian troops invaded, and in January both sides suffered high losses in the battle for Grozny. Multiple battles occurred in the city, and on August 31, 1996 the combatants agreed to a ceasefire that would withdraw both sides' forces from Grozny, and all Russian soldiers from

Chechnya by December 31. From November 1996 to May 1997, a series of deals were negotiated providing for amnesties and reparations.

*Founding legislative election:* N/A. Next parliamentary elections in Russia were held in December 1999, after the beginning of the next conflict episode.

*Incumbent party:* LDPR. Won plurality in 1993 legislative elections.

*Rebel successor party:* Party of National Independence (the party to which Aslan Maskhadov, rebel leader and elected president of Chechnya in 1997, belonged). Non-participant at national level.

*War re-initiation:* Yes. Government of Russia re-initiated in 1999.

*Founding presidential election:* N/A. National presidential elections in Russia were held in June 1996, prior to the conflict's end. The next presidential elections were held in March 2000, after the beginning of the next conflict episode.

*Founding regional election:* 1997. Held between this conflict episode and the following.

*Second legislative election:* N/A, for reasons described in "founding legislative election" section above.

*Second presidential election:* N/A, for reasons described in "founding presidential election" section above.

*Second regional election:* N/A. Next regional elections in Chechnya were held in October 2003, after the beginning of the next conflict episode.

*Sources:*

Bakke, Kristin M. 2015. *Decentralization and Intrastate Struggles: Chechnya, Punjab, and Québec*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

## RUSSIA (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1999-2009

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Russia (under United Russia); Chechen Republic of Ichkeria

*Summary:* Second Chechen War. In August 1999, Islamists declared independence for the Russian region of Dagestan, prompting a Russian military invasion of Chechnya. Russian forces laid siege to Grozny and seized it in February 2000, establishing direct rule by Moscow and replacing the Chechen government with a pro-Russian regime in June. With the end of major combatant operations, a guerilla campaign began. The Russian government declared an official end to its counterinsurgency campaign in April 2009.

*Founding legislative election:* 2011

*Incumbent party:* United Russia

*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A. After the establishment of direct rule, only Russian parties have run in Chechnya, with local politicians randomly assigned to them.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2012

*Founding regional election:* 2013

*Second legislative election:* 2016

*Second presidential election:* 2018

*Second regional election:* N/A (none has occurred since 2013)

*Sources:*



Pan, Esther. 2005. "Elections in Chechnya." *Council on Foreign Relations*. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/elections-chechnya> (Accessed January 15, 2019).

## RWANDA

*Conflict dates:* 1990-1994

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Rwanda (under National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development – MRND); Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)

*Summary:* Rwandan Civil War. In 1987, Tutsi refugees in Uganda formed the RPF, which launched an attack on Rwanda in 1990. After initial successes, government forces assisted by French troops pushed back the RPF, which commenced a guerilla war. The Government of Rwanda and the RPF signed the Arusha Accords on August 4, 1993. However, in April 1994 the Rwandan genocide began, and RPF recommenced hostilities, taking the whole country and assuming power by the end of the year.

*Founding legislative election:* 2003

*Incumbent party:* Party for Congress and Concord (PPC). Majority-Hutu party established after the MRND was banned in 2003.

*Rebel successor party:* RPF

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2003

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2008

*Second presidential election:* 2010

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

"Rwanda." In *Political Handbook of the World 2009*, edited by Arthur S. Banks, Thomas C. Muller, William R. Overstreet, and Judith F. Isacoff, 1119-27. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2009\\_Rwanda](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2009_Rwanda)  
(Accessed January 18, 2019).

Straus, Scott. (2006). *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press.

The Economist (2003). "Kagame won, a little too well; Rwanda's presidential election."

Africa News (2003). "Rwanda: Presidential Elections: the Good, the Bad And the Ugly."

## SENEGAL

*Conflict dates:* 1990-2004

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Senegal (under Socialist Party of Senegal – PS); Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC)

*Summary:* MFDC was founded in 1982 to advocate for independence for the Casamance region of Senegal. Large demonstrations in 1990 were met with government repression, sparking an armed rebellion. Despite several ceasefires the conflict continued throughout the 1990s and early 2000s. A ceasefire signed on December 30, 2004, has largely held despite occasional flare-ups. The number of annual deaths in the conflict remained below the 25 death/year threshold until 2011; subsequently, it fell below the threshold again.

*Founding legislative election:* 2007. Large opposition boycott (including the Socialist Party of Senegal).

*Incumbent party:* PS. It won the 1988, 1993, and 1998 elections (thus presiding over the majority of the highest-casualty period of the conflict). Coalition Sopi (which did not include the Socialist Party of Senegal) won the 2001 election.

*Rebel successor party:* MFDC. Banned. The Senegalese People's Party had members associated with Casamance separatism, but the party appeared to be defunct prior to the 2007 parliamentary elections.

*War re-initiation:* In 2011 there was a single spike in violence indicated in UCDP, 39 deaths. This does not seem to represent an identifiable return to hostilities, but surpassed 25-battle-related deaths. It may therefore be considered low-intensity.

*Founding presidential election:* 2007

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2012

*Second presidential election:* 2012

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

“Senegal.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2009*, edited by Arthur S. Banks, Thomas C. Muller, William R. Overstreet, and Judith F. Isacoff, 1154-64. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2009\\_Senegal](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2009_Senegal)

(Accessed January 23, 2019).

## SIERRA LEONE

*Conflict dates:* 1991-2002

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Sierra Leone (under Sierra Leone People's Party – SLPP); Revolutionary United Front (RUF); Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC); foreign actors (ECOMOG, EO, UNAMSIL, Military of the United Kingdom).

*Summary:* In 1991, the Liberian-supported RUF initiated a rebellion in southern and eastern Sierra Leone, rapidly taking territory. By 1993, the Sierra Leone Army (SLA) pushed the rebels back to the border with the help of troops from the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). However, army defections contributed to a reversal of fortunes and RUF regained the upper hand by 1995. The government hired Executive Outcomes (EO), a mercenary force, which pushed back the RUF. RUF signed the Abidjan Peace Accord in 1996, which mandated the withdrawal of EO. After EO withdrew, a group of SLA officers led a coup that established the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). RUF and AFRC jointly took the capital, but ECOMOG intervened again, followed by United Nations Mission to Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) peacekeepers in 1999, and British military ground force in 2000. The RUF were largely defeated and signed a new peace treaty. The war was declared over on January 18, 2002.

*Founding legislative election:* 2002

*Incumbent party:* SLPP. Won the 1996 presidential election; its leader was supported by the international community and led the negotiations to end the civil war.

*Rebel successor party:* Revolutionary United Front Party; Peace and Liberation Party (AFRC successor)

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2002

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2007

*Second presidential election:* 2007

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

“NDI Final Report on Sierra Leone’s 2007 Elections.” 2008. *National Democratic Institute for International Affairs*. Washington, DC.

[https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/NDI\\_Final\\_Report\\_on\\_2007\\_Sierra\\_Leone\\_Elections.pdf](https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/NDI_Final_Report_on_2007_Sierra_Leone_Elections.pdf) (Accessed January 17, 2019).

International Crisis Group (2003). "Sierra Leone: The State of Security and Governance." *ICG Africa Report 67*.

## SOUTH AFRICA

*Conflict dates:* 1961-1993

*Primary belligerents:* Government of South Africa (under National Party); African National Congress (ANC); Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)

*Summary:* The ANC was founded in 1912 to advocate for civil rights for black South Africans, and engaged in peaceful resistance until the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 and subsequent banning of the party. Starting in 1961, the ANC fought the apartheid government via its military wing, uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK). The IFP was founded in 1975, and also fought the government. The continuing unrest and international pressure led Prime Minister P.W. Botha to resign in 1989. He was replaced by F. W. De Klerk who lifted the ban on ANC. On September 26, 1992, the government and ANC signed a “record of understanding,” and the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum (which intermittently included the IFP) ratified the new constitution on November 18, 1993. The Truth and Reconciliation commission of South Africa found in 1998 that the IFP was responsible for more deaths in the conflict than either the government or the ANC (TRC, pp. 232-3).

*Founding legislative election:* 1994

*Incumbent party/parties:* National Party (after 1997, the National party was reconstituted as the New National Party, trying to distance itself from its apartheid past. It disbanded in 2005). Another party, the Freedom Front, actively advocated for Afrikaner interests, including a separate Afrikaner state. The Freedom Front was led by a prominent military officer whose decision to enter politics is credited with preventing an outbreak of violence among South Africa’s white minority prior to the 1994 election. Vote share combined.

*Rebel successor parties:* ANC; IFP

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1994. National Assembly elects the president.

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1999

*Second presidential election:* 1999

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Engel, Ulf. “South Africa.” In *Elections in Africa: A Data Handbook*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Bernard Thibaut, and Michael Krennerich. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. Doi: 10.1093/0198296452.003.0046

- “Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, Volume V.” 1998. *South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Cape Town, South Africa. <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/report/finalreport/Volume5.pdf> (Accessed January 17, 2019).
- “South Africa.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017. [http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_SouthAfrica](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_SouthAfrica) (Accessed January 24, 2019).
- “South Africa.” *PARLINE Database on National Parliaments*. Interparliamentary Union. [http://archive.ipu.org/parline/reports/2291\\_arc.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline/reports/2291_arc.htm) (accessed January 31, 2019).

#### SRI LANKA (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1971-1971

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Sri Lanka (under United National Party – UNP); People’s Liberation Front (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna – JVP)

*Summary:* JVP was founded in 1965 as an offshoot of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. From April-June 1971 the group mounted a large-scale attempt to overthrow the government. After initial successes, the group was repressed by a military crackdown. The government lifted the ban on JVP in 1977 after the legislative elections, allowing it to field a candidate in the 1982 presidential election.

*Founding legislative election:* 1977

*Incumbent party/parties:* UNP

*Rebel successor party/parties:* JVP. Did not participate in the 1977 or 1989 legislative elections, but did participate in the 1982 presidential election.

*War re-initiation:* Yes. JVP re-initiated in 1987.

*Founding presidential election:* 1982

*Founding regional election:* N/A. Sri Lanka does have regional elections, which are coded for Sri Lanka (2) because it is a secessionist conflict. However, the JVP insurrection was not associated with any particular region.

*Second legislative election:* 1989 (during the next conflict episode). Elections were held in February, but the conflict lasted until late 1989.

*Second presidential election:* 1988 (during next conflict episode).

*Second regional election:* N/A.

*Sources:*

Dewasiri, Nirmal Ranjith. 2010. “Mainstreaming Radical Politics in Sri Lanka: The case of JVP post-1977.” *Power, Conflict, Democracy Journal* 2(1): 69-94. <https://doi.org/10.22146/pcd.25721> (Accessed March 2, 2019).

Hill, Tom H.J. 2013. “The Deception of Victory: The JVP in Sri Lanka and the Long-Term Dynamics of Rebel Reintegration.” *International Peacekeeping* 20(3): 357-374. doi: 10.1080/13533312.2013.830024

#### SRI LANKA (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1983-1987

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Sri Lanka (under UNP); Eelam People’s Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF); Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO)

*Summary:* TELO was founded in 1979 as a Tamil separatist group. Its major combatant operations commenced in 1983. EPRLF was founded in 1980 and launched a military wing in 1982. In 1984 TELO and EPRLF joined forces under a unified banner. However, EPRLF was largely destroyed by the LTTE in 1986, with TELO also destroyed by the LTTE in 1987. Both groups converted into political parties thereafter.

*Founding legislative election:* 1989

*Incumbent party/parties:* UNP

*Rebel successor party/parties:* TULF (alliance between TELO and EPRLF)

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1988

*Founding regional election:* 1993. From 1990-2007, no regional elections were held in Northeastern province (a merger of North and Eastern provinces). North and Eastern provinces demerged in 2007, but no elections were held in North until 2013.

*Second legislative election:* 1994

*Second presidential election:* 1994

*Second regional election:* 1994

*Sources:*

“Sri Lanka.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_SriLanka](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_SriLanka)  
(Accessed March 2, 2019).

Wagner, Christian. “Sri Lanka.” In *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook Vol. I*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. DOI: 10.1093/019924958X.001.0001

### SRI LANKA (3)

*Conflict dates:* 1987-1989

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Sri Lanka (under UNP); JVP

*Summary:* In 1987 JVP launched a terrorist campaign and insurgency, differing from their first rebellion attempt in 1971 which was a large coordinated attack. After two years, the government successfully repressed the insurgency.

*Founding legislative election:* 1994

*Incumbent party/parties:* UNP

*Rebel successor party/parties:* JVP

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1994

*Founding regional election:* N/A. Sri Lanka does have regional elections, which are coded for Sri Lanka (2) because it is a secessionist conflict. However, the JVP insurrection was not associated with any particular region.

*Second legislative election:* 2000

*Second presidential election:* 1999

*Second regional election:* N/A.

*Sources:* See Sri Lanka (1)

### SRI LANKA (4)

*Conflict dates:* 1983-2009

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Sri Lanka (under various); Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)

*Summary:* The LTTE was founded in 1976 to advocate for national self-determination for the Tamil people in the northeastern regions of Sri Lanka. The LTTE launched a campaign of assassinations, and began direct armed conflict with the Sri Lankan military in 1983. The war continued for the next two decades, with LTTE taking significant territory. After several attempts at peace talks, the Government of Sri Lanka launched an offensive from 2006-2009, resulting in defeat of the LTTE.

*Founding legislative election:* 2010. Since the civil war was not over until 2009, however, 2010 is considered the founding election for the LTTE conflict.

*Incumbent party/parties:* United People's Freedom Alliance (UPFA). This party was in power for the last years of the civil war (having won the election in 2004). UNP won the 1977 and 1989 elections; People's Alliance won the 1994 and 2000 elections; United National Front won the 2001 elections.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* TNA is considered representative of Tamil self-determination interests. However, whether it derived from the LTTE is debatable and thus this case is a gray one.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2010

*Founding regional election:* 2012

*Second legislative election:* 2015

*Second presidential election:* 2015

*Second regional election:* 2013

*Sources:*

Bose, Sumantra. 1994. *States, Nations, Sovereignty: Sri Lanka, India and the Tamil Eelam Movement*.

Hellmann—Rajanayagam, Dagmar. 1994. *The Tamil Tigers: Armed Struggle for Identity*.

Horowitz, Donald. 1989. "Incentives and Behaviour in the Ethnic Politics of Sri Lanka and Malaysia," *Third World Quarterly*.

Tambiah, Stanley. 1992. *Buddhism Betrayed? Religion, Politics and Violence in Sri Lanka*.

## SUDAN (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1955-1972

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Sudan (under Sudanese Socialist Union – SSU); South Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM – not to be confused with a modern group of the same name).

*Summary:* First Sudanese Civil War. Sudan achieved independence in 1953. Regional tensions developed in the country, resulting in a separatist movement that resorted to violence in 1955. At least half a million people died in the subsequent civil war that involved many rebel groups and a variety of Sudanese governments to a succession of coups. Gafaar Nimeiry assumed power in a coup in 1969, and Joseph Lagu unified many rebel groups under the SSLM umbrella in 1971. The government and the rebels reached a

compromise agreement granting southern autonomy and signed the Addis Ababa agreement on February 27, 1972.

*Founding legislative election:* 1974

*Incumbent party:* SSU

*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A. the 1973 constitution established Sudan as a single-party state.

*War re-initiation:* Yes/No. In 1983 the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) began an uprising in response to the Sudanese president's revocation of the South's regional autonomy that it had enjoyed since the Addis Ababa agreement. The rebel group had morphed, but it was a renewed war over the same grievances. There is therefore some ambiguity to this case.

*Founding presidential election:* 1977

*Founding regional election:* 1973

*Second legislative election:* 1978

*Second presidential election:* 1983. Election was in April; Second Civil War began in June.

*Second regional election:* 1980

*Sources:*

Fleischhacker, Helga and Curtis F. Doebbler. "Sudan." In *Elections in Africa: A Data Handbook*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Bernard Thibaut, and Michael Krennerich. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. doi: 10.1093/0198296452.003.0047

"Sudan." *PARLINE Database on National Parliaments*. Interparliamentary Union. [http://archive.ipu.org/parline/reports/2297\\_arc.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline/reports/2297_arc.htm) (accessed January 27, 2019).

Willis, Justin, Atta el-Battahani, and Peter Woodward. "Elections in Sudan: Learning from Experience." *Rift Valley Institute*. 2009.

## SUDAN (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1983-2005

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Sudan; Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM; armed wing was Sudan People's Liberation Army – SPLA, which later became the military of South Sudan after independence).

*Summary:* Second Sudanese Civil War. In 1983 the president of Sudan revoked the regional autonomy granted to the South under the Addis Ababa agreement, prompting an armed uprising. The war continued for the next two decades. SPLM and the government of Sudan signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement on January 9, 2005. South Sudan achieved independence in 2011. Subsequent intrastate war commenced between rebel groups and the government of South Sudan, but these conflicts are outside of the date scope.

*Founding legislative election:* 2010

*Incumbent party:* National Congress Party (NCP). The party of Omar al-Bashir who seized power in a coup in 1989 and has held it since.

*Rebel successor party:* SPLM (contested regional elections in South Sudan); SPLM-N contested in the national election

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 2010

*Founding regional election:* 2010

*Second legislative election:* N/A. South Sudan became an independent state in 2011.

*Second presidential election:* N/A. South Sudan became an independent state in 2011.

*Second regional election:* N/A. South Sudan became an independent state in 2011.

*Sources:*

“Sudan.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Sudan](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Sudan)

(Accessed January 24, 2019).

“South Sudan.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_SouthSudan](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_SouthSudan)

(Accessed January 24, 2019).

## TAJKISTAN

*Conflict dates:* 1992-1997

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Tajikistan (under Communist Party of Tajikistan); United Tajik Opposition (UTO)

*Summary:* In 1992, protests against the results of the 1991 elections led to clashes between regime supporters and supporters of ethnic groups from the south of the country. Fighting escalated between pro- and anti-government militias in 1992. In 1993, the UTO was formed, combining the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRP), the Democratic Party of Tajikistan (DPT), Rastokhez (whose members later folded into the DPT), and Lali Badakhshan. On June 27, 1997, the government and UTO signed a peace agreement.

*Founding legislative election:* 2000

*Incumbent parties:* Communist Party of Tajikistan and People’s Democratic Party of Tajikistan (PDP-T). The Communist Party won majorities in elections in 1990 and 1995. PDP-T was founded in 1994, and in 1998 the president assumed leadership it. By 2000 it had consolidated power and emerged as the dominant force in Tajik politics. Consequently, the dataset uses the combined vote share for both parties in the founding election.

*Rebel successor parties:* DPT; IRP

*War re-initiation:* No renewed war between the same combatants, but a new conflict with IMU.

*Founding presidential election:* 1999

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2005

*Second presidential election:* 2006

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

“Final Report: The Republic of Tajikistan Elections to the Parliament, 27 February 2000.” Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. *Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe*. Warsaw, May 17 2000.

<https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/tajikistan/15984?download=true> (Accessed January 18, 2019).

Grotz, Florian. “Tajikistan.” In *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook Vol. I*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. doi: 10.1093/019924958X.003.0021

“Tajikistan.” *PARLINE Database on National Parliaments*. Interparliamentary Union. [http://archive.ipu.org/parline/reports/2309\\_arc.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline/reports/2309_arc.htm) (accessed January 31, 2019).



## TURKEY

*Conflict dates:* 1984-2013

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Turkey, Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)

*Summary:* The PKK was founded as a Kurdish separatist group in 1978. On August 15, 1984, the group commenced an armed insurgency against the Turkish government. Peace talks began in 2012 and resulted in a ceasefire on March 21, 2013.

*Founding legislative election:* 2015

*Incumbent party/parties:* Justice and Development Party (AKP)

*Rebel successor party/parties:* People's Democratic Party (HDP)

*War re-initiation:* Yes. On July 22, 2015, PKK reinitiated conflict by assassinating two Turkish policemen in retaliation for an Islamic State bombing targeting Kurds that had occurred on July 20; the PKK blamed Turkish authorities for not having prevented the bombing. On July 25, the Turkish government commenced a major anti-PKK military campaign.

*Founding presidential election:* 2015

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* N/A. Next legislative election was held in 2018, after conflict re-initiation.

*Second presidential election:* N/A. Next presidential election was held in 2018, after conflict re-initiation.

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Barkey, Henri and Graham Fuller. 1998. *Turkey's Kurdish Question*

Imset, Ismet G. 1992. *The PKK: A Report on Separatist Violence in Turkey*

McDowall, David. 1997. *A Modern History of the Kurds*.

## UGANDA

*Conflict dates:* 1981-1986

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Uganda (under Uganda People's Congress – UPC); National Resistance Movement (NRM; armed wing National Resistance Army – NRA)

*Summary:* Ugandan Bush War. After Idi Amin was overthrown in 1979, the UPC won the 1980 elections. The opposition claimed electoral fraud. Yoweri Museveni, leader of the UPM (which the UPC had outperformed in the elections) merged two rebel groups in 1981 to found the NRA, and commenced an uprising. By 1986 the NRA secured control over the country and installed Museveni as president.

*Founding legislative election:* 1989. Election for National Resistance Council, a body that functioned as a parliament. Semi-democratic organization with “members indirectly elected at the county level” (Schmidt 2017). The NRC governed until a constituent assembly election in 1994, followed by national assembly elections in 1996.

*Incumbent party/parties:* UPC. Unclear if it participated in 1989. Elections in 1996 and 2001 were held on a non-party basis as parties were banned in 1995. Partisan elections were restored in 2006.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* NRM

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1996

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1996  
*Second presidential election:* 2001  
*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

Schmidt, Siegmur. "Uganda." In *Elections in Africa: A Data Handbook*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Bernard Thibaut, and Michael Krennerich. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. doi:10.1093/0198296452.003.0052

"Uganda." In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.  
[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Uganda](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Uganda)  
(Accessed January 24, 2019).

## UNITED KINGDOM

*Conflict dates:* 1969-1998

*Primary belligerents:* Government of United Kingdom (under various); Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA)

*Summary:* Northern Ireland Conflict; "The Troubles." From the 1960s to the 1990s, the Irish Republican Army conducted a violent struggle in support of separating Northern Ireland from the United Kingdom and uniting it with the Republic of Ireland. On August 31, 1994, the PIRA announced a ceasefire, which it broke on February 9, 1996 with a bombing. Both sides signed the Good Friday Agreement on April 10, 1998, ending the conflict and establishing greater self-governance for Northern Ireland. Although there was a ceasefire in 1994, with an intervening election (1997) before the final peace agreement, I code this as a single conflict for two reasons: first, despite the ceasefire, there was violence between 1994 and 1998, although not at a high enough level (exceeding 1000 deaths) to justify inclusion of a second conflict episode; second, the Good Friday Agreement was a highly symbolic event that definitively indicated the end of the conflict to all parties.

*Founding legislative election:* 2001

*Incumbent party:* Conservative Party. Although Labour won the 1997 election, peace followed in 1998. Consequently, the Conservative Party, which had been the ruling party for the previous 18 years, governed during a much longer period of the conflict.

*Rebel successor party:* Sinn Fein

*War re-initiation:* No high-intensity renewal of war. Only low-level violence with paramilitaries and PIRA.

*Founding presidential election:* N/A. UK has no president (constitutional monarchy).

*Founding regional election:* 1998 (held in June in Northern Ireland)

*Second legislative election:* 2005

*Second presidential election:* N/A

*Second regional election:* 2003

*Sources:*

"United Kingdom: Northern Ireland." In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_UnitedKingdomNorthernIreland](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_UnitedKingdomNorthernIreland) (Accessed January 24, 2019).

Irvin, C. (1999). *Militant Nationalism: Between Movement and Party in Ireland and the Basque Country*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

## YEMEN (1)

*Conflict dates:* 1962-1970

*Primary belligerents:* Government of North Yemen (Yemen Arab Republic); Royalist forces (loyal to the Mutawakkilite Kingdom of Yemen)

*Summary:* North Yemen Civil War. In 1962 republican forces in the army staged a coup and declared a republic. The monarch fled to Saudi Arabia, assembled royalist supporters, and began a military campaign to retake power. International actors intervened to support both sides. Fighting continued until 1970. Republican forces successfully defeated the royalists and a ceasefire was signed on April 14, 1970.

*Founding legislative election:* 1971

*Incumbent party/parties:* N/A. Parties were banned in both 1971 and 1988, and all candidates ran as independents.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* N/A. Parties were banned in both 1971 and 1988, and all candidates ran as independents.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* N/A. There were only two presidents of North Yemen, neither elected.

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1988

*Second presidential election:* N/A

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

“Kingdom of Yemen/Yemen Arab Republic/North Yemen (1918-1990).” Intra-State Dispute Narratives, Middle East/North Africa/Persian Gulf Region. *Dynamic Analysis of Dispute Management (DADM) Project*, eds. Mark Mullenbach and Dmitriy Nurullayev. University of Central Arkansas.

<http://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/middle-eastnorth-africapersian-gulf-region/north-yemen-1944-present/> (Accessed January 15, 2019).

“Yemen.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Yemen](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Yemen) (Accessed January 24, 2019).

## YEMEN (2)

*Conflict dates:* 1986-1986

*Primary belligerents:* Forces of Ali Nasser Muhammad (faction of Yemeni Socialist Party – YSP; incumbent – governed from 1980-1986); Forces of Abdul Fattah Ismail (faction of YSP)

*Summary:* South Yemen Civil War / “The Events of ‘86”. The National Liberation Front (NLF, the predecessor to the YSP) held power in South Yemen (People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen – PDRY) following independence in 1967. Abdul Fattah Ismail headed the party beginning in 1969. Ismail’s severe economic policies, isolationism, and intervention in North Yemen undermined his support at home and abroad, and the USSR encouraged moderate elements in his party to depose him. Ismail resigned in 1980, and was replaced by Ali Nasser Muhammad. The party split between supporters of each, and

fighting broke out at a YSP Politburo meeting on January 13, 1986. During 12 days of fighting, Ismail was killed and Ali Nasser fled into exile. Fighting ceased on January 24. Ali Salem al Beidh (an Ismail ally) assumed control over YSP.

*Founding legislative election:* 1986. Single-party election, with only Yemeni Socialist Party and independents permitted to run.

*Incumbent party/parties:* N/A.

*Rebel successor party/parties:* YSP stood in the election as a single party, not as specific factions.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* N/A. No presidential elections were held in South Yemen.

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* No further legislative elections were held in South Yemen. North and South Yemen unified in 1990, and legislative elections were held in 1993.

*Second presidential election:* North and South Yemen unified in 1990, and presidential elections were held in 1999.

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Yemen (1)

### YEMEN (3)

*Conflict dates:* 1994-1994

*Primary belligerents:* Republic of Yemen (ROY; incumbent); Democratic Republic of Yemen (DRY).

*Summary:* 1994 Yemeni Civil War. In 1990, the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen) and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY – South Yemen) unified into one state, called the Republic of Yemen (ROY). Ali Abdallah Saleh (from North Yemen), leader of the General People's Congress (GPC) became the president. Ali Salem al Beidh (from South Yemen), leader of the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) became the vice president. Parliamentary elections were held in April 1993, diminishing YSP's power when GPC won a significant number of seats, and a northern Islamist party also won a significant bloc. The North and South Yemen militaries had not integrated, and fighting began in April 1994, prompting the South to secede in May and declare the Democratic Republic of Yemen (DRY). The Northern forces pushed south and secured control over all of Yemen.

*Founding legislative election:* 1997

*Incumbent party:* GPC. Saleh's party, which dominated the leadership of the state that DRY seceded from.

*Rebel successor party:* YSP. Beidh's party, which was the aggrieved party that prompted a southern secession. Boycotted.

*War re-initiation:* No

*Founding presidential election:* 1994. Saleh elected by Parliament.

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 2003

*Second presidential election:* 1999. First *direct* presidential elections.

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:* See Yemen (1)

Glosemeyer, Iris. "Yemen." In *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook Vol. I*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003. doi: 10.1093/019924958X.003.0015

## ZIMBABWE

*Conflict dates:* 1964-1979

*Primary belligerents:* Government of Rhodesia (under Rhodesian Front – RF); Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU – armed wing ZANLA); Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU – armed wing ZIPRA).

*Summary:* Rhodesian Bush War. ZANU and ZAPU formed in 1963, as rival groups representing different tribes but both advocating majority black rule. ZANU and ZAPU commenced an uprising in 1964, and the war continued until the government, ZANU, and ZAPU signed the Lancaster House Agreement on December 21, 1979.

*Founding legislative election:* 1980

*Incumbent party:* RF

*Rebel successor parties:* ZANU-PF; ZAPU-PF (merged in 1987)

*War re-initiation:* No high-intensity conflict resumed. ZANU and ZIPRA continued to clash with each other in the 1980s, but did not clash with the former incumbent, RF.

*Founding presidential election:* 1990

*Founding regional election:* N/A

*Second legislative election:* 1985

*Second presidential election:* 1996

*Second regional election:* N/A

*Sources:*

"Zimbabwe." In *Political Handbook of the World 2016-2017*, edited by Thomas Lansford. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2017.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017\\_Zimbabwe](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2017_Zimbabwe)

(Accessed January 24, 2019).

Atlas, P. M. and R. Licklider (1999). "Conflict among Former Allies after Civil War Settlement: Sudan, Zimbabwe, Chad, and Lebanon." *Journal of Peace Research* 36(1): 35–54.

## PART III: Excluded cases

### 1. Conflict Ongoing:

In addition to the cases listed above which "returned to war," and, upon returning to fighting, the actors have not yet stopped fighting again (e.g. Israel (3)), the dataset excludes the following conflicts because they do not meet its criteria for conflict termination:

#### ETHIOPIA

- Insurgency in Ogaden, 1996-
- Government of Ethiopia; Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF); al-Ittihad al-Islamiya (AIAI); Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF)
- Somalia has long tried to foment rebellion among people of Somali descent in Ethiopia's Ogaden region. The first rebel group was called Ogaden Liberation Front (OLF; not to be confused with Oromo Liberation Front). OLF became defunct and

was soon replaced by WSLF. WSLF rebelled in 1975, and in 1977 the Somali government sent troops to assist. In March 1978, Somalia withdrew, but the WSLF continued fighting. WSLF was largely defeated by 1983. Some WSLF shifted their support to ONLF. ONLF began as a pro-independence movement but engaged in no hostilities. It joined the government and moderated its demands for independence, accepting only autonomy, from 1991-1994. In 1994 it split into an armed and a peaceful faction. The armed faction commenced an uprising that has continued past 2015, with no significant lulls justifying its inclusion as a case. The EPRDF established a party called Ethiopian Somali People's Democratic Party (SPDP) ostensibly to represent the Somali populace of Ogaden, but this is considered illegitimate by the ONLF and consequently cannot be considered a rebel successor party.

- According to Stanford's *Mapping Militant Organizations*, AIAI was dissolved in 1997. This actor is also excluded because the ONLF conflict is ongoing.
- Sources:
  - “Al Ittihad al Islamiya.” *Mapping Militant Organizations*. Stanford University, 2016. <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/99> (Accessed January 19, 2019).
  - “Ethiopia: Prospects for Peace in Ogaden.” *Africa Report No.207*, International Crisis Group. Brussels, Belgium: August 6, 2013. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/ethiopia/ethiopia-prospects-peace-ogaden> (Accessed January 23, 2019).
  - “Ethiopia.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2007*, edited by Arthur S. Banks, Thomas C. Muller, and William R. Overstreet, 392-402. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2007. [http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2007\\_ethiopia](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2007_ethiopia) (Accessed January 30, 2019).
  - “Ethiopia/Ogaden (1948-present).” Intra-State Dispute Narratives, Sub-Saharan Africa Region. *Dynamic Analysis of Dispute Management (DADM) Project*, eds. Mark Mullenbach and Dmitriy Nurullayev. University of Central Arkansas. <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/69-ethiopiaogaden-1948-present/> (Accessed March 1, 2019).

## INDIA

- Naxalite-Maoist Insurgency, 1967-
- Government of India; Communist Party of India Marxist-Leninist People's War Group (PWG; not to be confused with earlier actor, CPI-ML); Communist Party of India-Maoist (CPI-M; absorbed PWG); Communist Party of India-Marxist Leninist (CPI-ML; dissolved 1972).
- The conflict paused between 1994-5, but with no formal ceasefire or agreement, (and no electoral participation of rebel actors). Communist Party of India (CPI) and Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPM) participated in elections during the 1990s, but these are separate actors.
- Sources:

“India.” In *Political Handbook of the World 2007*, edited by Arthur S. Banks, Thomas C. Muller, and William R. Overstreet, 529-46. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2007.

[http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2007\\_india](http://library.cqpress.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/phw/phw2007_india)  
(Accessed January 30, 2019).

## INDIA

- Insurgency in Manipur, 1964-
- Government of India; Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP); People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK); United National Liberation Front (UNLF); People’s Liberation Army of Manipur (PLA)
- Conflict ended in 2010 as a de facto government victory against UNLF, PREPAK, and PLA. PLA was the earliest of these groups to reach 25 deaths/year, in the 1980s, and had a lull before returning to violence in the 1990s. Groups remain active and armed to various degrees, with surrenders ongoing, and no formal participation in the political process.
- Sources:
  - Ahanthem, Chitra. 2014. “The Road to Peace in Manipur.” *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Special Report #156.  
[http://www.ipcs.org/issue\\_briefs/issue\\_brief\\_pdf/SR156-PeaceAuditNortheast-Chitra.pdf](http://www.ipcs.org/issue_briefs/issue_brief_pdf/SR156-PeaceAuditNortheast-Chitra.pdf) (Accessed January 30, 2019).
  - Freddy H.J. 2017. Conflict in Northeast India: An Overview. In: *Conflict and Youth Rights in India*. Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore. doi: [https://doi-org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/10.1007/978-981-10-3069-7\\_3](https://doi-org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/10.1007/978-981-10-3069-7_3)

## IRAN

- MEK Insurgency, 1979-
- Government of Iran; People’s Mujahedin of Iran (MEK)
- There have been several conflict periods, but the group remains an active armed group and has not been defeated or brought into the political process
- Sources:
  - Masters, Jonathan. 2014. “Mujahedeen-e-Khalq (MEK).” *Council on Foreign Relations*. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/mujahadeen-e-khalq-mek>  
(Accessed February 15, 2019).

## PAKISTAN

- Insurgency in Baluchistan, 2004-
- Government of Pakistan; Baluch Liberation Army (BLA; allied with BLF and BRA); Baluch Republican Party (armed wing Baluch Republican Army – BRA)
- Conflict has been ongoing since 2004 with no sustained breaks in violence (UCDP).

## RWANDA

- Kivu Conflict; Second Congo War
- Government of Rwanda; Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR)
- While these conflicts have ended, the FDLR remains active. Its drop in violence in 2002 was due to a loss of support from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and

a corresponding Rwandan military crackdown. The group later returned to violence after 2009 and remains active. Accordingly, its lull between 2002-2009 was not due to a transition from conflict, peace agreement, or victory; it just merely failed to meet the threshold for violence in those years.

## SOMALIA

- Somali Civil War, 1991-
- Government of Somalia; Somalia Reconstruction and Restoration Council (SRRC); United Somali Congress / Somalia National Alliance (USC)/SNA
- Somalia has been consistently at war since the 1980s, with a variety of internal actors. Somalia's current civil war episode has been ongoing since 1991. The conflict is difficult to separate into periods because of the shifting loyalties and alliances of these actors. In addition, Somalia has been a failed state since 1991, and had no elections between 1984 and 2016. Even 2016 was an indirect election, with electors appointed by clans chose the members of the assembly. Consequently, our practice of measuring the electoral outcomes of actors who have exited a conflict, even when the wider conflict is ongoing, is inapplicable to the Somali case.
- Sources:  
Brancati, Dawn and Jack L. Snyder. 2011. "Rushing to the Polls: The Causes of Premature Postconflict Elections." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(3): 469-492.

## UGANDA

- LRA insurgency, 1987-
- Government of Uganda; Lord's Resistance Army
- There government and LRA signed a ceasefire on August 26, 2006, and largely observed it until 2008. Elections in 2006 were held on February 23, before the ceasefire was signed, and the LRA returned to violent activity.

## UGANDA

- ADF insurgency, 1996-
- Government of Uganda; Allied Democratic Forces
- From 2000-2010, there were fewer than 25 battle-related deaths per year, due to government success in the anti-rebel campaign. However, violence recommenced in 2010. The pause in hostilities was not due to any transition from war, ceasefire, peace process, or political participation.

## 2. Conclusion of conflict post-2015:

### INDIA

- Assam conflict, 1979-2015
- Government of India; United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)
- ULFA reached a cease-fire with the government in 2012, which has largely held. Other rebel actors in the Assam conflict remain armed, but fighting intensity overall has fallen since 2015.



## MOZAMBIQUE

- RENAMO insurgency, 2015-2019
- Peace agreements signed on August 1 and 6, 2019

## PHILIPPINES

- Communist insurgency (CPP-NDA-NPF Rebellion), 1965-
- Government of Philippines; Communist Party of Philippines
- From 1994-1999 there was a lull in hostilities, during which the CPP and the Philippine government engaged in negotiations. During this time there was no rebel participation in the political process. In 1999 hostilities recommenced. The CPP signed a ceasefire in 2016, but returned to conflict shortly after (UCDP).

### **3. Conflict does not exceed 1000 battle-related deaths over duration:**

## CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

- Central African Republic Bush War, 2004-2008.
- National Convergence “Kwa Na Kwa” (KNK); Union of Democratic Forces for Unity (UFDR); Democratic Front of the Central African People (FDPC); People’s Army for the Restoration of Democracy (APRD); Convention of Patriots for Justice and Peace (CPJP).
- Francois Bozize seized power in a coup in 2003. His accession was opposed by UFDR which began a rebellion in 2004; this group was joined by several others. A coalition of parties known as KNK formed to support Bozize, winning the 2005 election. On June 21, 2008, APRD, UFDR, and FDPC signed the Global Peace Accord. UFR signed on December 15, 2008, CPJP on August 25, 2012. KNK won elections again in 2011. Losing presidential candidates contested the vote, and a new rebel coalition called Seleka was founded in 2012 that comprised old and new rebel groups (CPJP, CPSK, UFDR, FDPC, A2R). A second conflict commenced between the government, Seleka, and anti-Balaka militias on December 10, 2012.
- Fewer than 1000 battle-related deaths (UCDP)

## GUINEA

- Anti-government rebellion, 2000-2001
- Government of Guinea; Rally of Democratic Forces of Guinea (RFDG)
- Fewer than 1000 battle-related deaths (UCDP)

## LAOS

- Lao Hmong Insurgency, 1989-
- Government of Laos; Lao Resistance Movement (LRM)
- Anti-communist insurgency mostly involving Hmong people
- According to UCDP hasn’t reached 25 death/yr threshold since 1990, so technically not ongoing by that definition, although there was never a formal end to the conflict
- UCDP codes fewer than 1000 deaths before “termination” in 1990. Although the death toll may be higher, absent evidence to the contrary this does not fall within the dataset’s criteria; further casualty figures not immediately available.

## NICARAGUA

- Re-Contra War, 1990-1997
- Government of Nicaragua; Recontras (Revueltos)
- Lack of information in UCDP. Brown (2001, 176) suggests 708 deaths from 1990-1996.

## NIGERIA

- Conflict with Ahlul Sunna Jamaa, 2003-2004
- Government of Nigeria; Ahlul Sunna Jamaa
- Fewer than 1000 battle-related deaths (UCDP)

## MACEDONIA

- Macedonian War, 2001-2001
- Government of Macedonia; National Liberation Army (UCK)
- Fewer than 1000 battle-related deaths (UCDP)

## PAKISTAN

- Conflict with MQM, 1991-1996
- Government of Pakistan; Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)
- Fewer than 1000 battle-related deaths (UCDP)

## PARAGUAY

- 1989 Coup d'état
- Government of Paraguay; Military faction (forces of Andres Rodriguez)
- Five hour battle resulting in 50-300 deaths (UCDP)

## RUSSIA (USSR)

- Street protests and crackdown, 1990
- Government of Russia (USSR); Azerbaijani Popular Front (AFP)
- In 1990, AFP led protests for independence. The Soviet military intervened and fighting ensued, resulting in 143 deaths (UCDP).

## UGANDA

- West Nile Conflict, 1995-1996
- Government of Uganda; West Nile Bank Front (WNBF); Uganda National Rescue Front II (UNRF II – splinter of WNBF)
- WNBF was defunct by 1998. UNRF II signed a ceasefire with the government in 2002. Combining dyadic battle-related death tolls for each does not exceed 1000 (UCDP).

## URUGUAY

- Tupamaro insurgency, 1967-1972
- Government of Uruguay; Tupamaros National Liberation Movement (MLN-T)

- UCDP has no data on deaths and considers MLN destroyed by 1972. I have found no evidence to suggest that deaths exceeded 1000.
- Sources:
  - Connable, Ben and Martin C. Libicki. 2010. "How Insurgencies End." Report prepared for the Marine Corps Intelligence Activity. *National Defense Research Institute*. RAND Corporation: Santa Monica, CA.

#### 4. Lack of information about cumulative casualties:

##### CAMEROON

- 1984 Cameroonian coup d'état
- Government of Cameroon; military faction (Ibrahim Saleh)
- Death toll estimates range from approximately 70 to 2000 (mentioned as an estimate in UCDP but unattributed).

##### CHAD

- 2005-2010 Civil War
- Government of Chad; Popular Front for National Resistance (PFNR)
- "FPRN [same as PFNR above] was created in 2001 from remnants of other groups... was one of the factions that created the UFR rebel alliance in January 2009... given the poor quality of the information available... the UCDP was unable to code any active dyads involving FPRN prior to its split from UFR in 2010. It was thus after this that the group emerged as a separate actor in the UCDP data, even if it had existed for years before this." (UCDP)

##### YEMEN

- NDF Rebellion, 1978-1982
- Government of Yemen (North); National Democratic Front (NDF)
- UCDP does not disaggregate the death toll from this conflict and the conflict between North and South Yemen; it is possible that this conflict exceeded 1000 battle-related deaths but I have found no casualty estimates for this rebellion.

#### 5. Does not meet civil war definition:

##### ISRAEL

- Lebanon War, 2006
- Government of Israel; Hezbollah
- This is not an intra-state conflict, but rather a conflict between a state actor and a non-state actor in a separate state.

##### MAURITANIA

- Western Sahara Conflict, 1976-1979.
- Government of Mauritania; Polisario Front
- The Polisario Front was established in 1973 to contest the Spanish colonial presence in Western Sahara. After Spain withdrew in 1975, Mauritania and Morocco annexed

parts of the territory. The Polisario Front commenced an armed uprising, and Mauritanian forces withdrew after a peace treaty on August 5, 1979.

- During subsequent elections held in the Sahrawi Arab Republic (unrecognized state in Western Sahara) in 2008 and 2012, Mauritania had already withdrawn. Consequently the conflict and its electoral aftermath cannot be considered to have occurred on Mauritanian territory. This is different than Morocco, which maintained territorial control over Western Sahara after the de facto end of armed conflict.

#### SERBIA

- Croatian War of Independence, 1991-1992
- Government of Serbia; Government of Croatia; Croatian Irregulars
- Conflict already coded under Croatia (1) as intra-state (war of secession). If Croatia had already been an independent state at the beginning of the conflict, then this would constitute an inter-state war, with Serbia fighting Croatia on Croatian soil.

#### **6. Other – dyad reflects 1000 battle-death UCDP criterion but belongs to larger conflict otherwise coded in the dataset:**

#### AZERBAIJAN

- 2008 Mardakert Skirmishes
- Government of Azerbaijan; Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh
- UCDP reflected year ends 2005 and 2008 for 1000 battle-death count. These reflect border skirmishes not approaching 1000 deaths themselves, but incorporating the earlier conflict (1994 war) to arrive at this cumulative number.