



CONFLICT BAROMETER | 2021

CODEBOOK

Heidelberg Institute for
International Conflict Research



disputes
non-violent crises
violent crises
limited wars
wars

Codebook Conflict Barometer 2021

The HIIK dataset is based on information gathered in its CONTRA database. For each conflict, the dataset provides specific conflict information. Explanations regarding conflict items, conflict intensity and status as well as conflict types can be found in the methodological section in the Conflict Barometer 2021.

The database contains the following information:

| <u>Variable Label</u> | <u>Description</u> |
|--------------------------|--|
| region | name of the greater conflict region |
| ID | conflict ID |
| conflict name | assigned conflict name (may vary over time) |
| conflict type | conflict type (inter-, sub-, intra-, transstate) |
| start year | start year / constitutive measure |
| (corrected) intensity | (re-evaluation of a previous year's) conflict intensity |
| status | conflict status (active, inactive, closed) |
| | |
| <u>Items</u> | |
| territory | definition or change of an interstate border |
| secession | territorial separation from a sovereign state aiming to establish a new state or joining another state |
| autonomy | gaining or extending regional or sectoral self-determination of a population |
| system/ideology | change of the national or international system / ideology with national or international scope |
| national power | central government power |
| subnational predominance | de facto political, economic or cultural predominance |
| international power | change of the power constellation in the global system or one of its regional subsystems |
| resources | natural resources |
| other | residual category |

Additionally, this Codebook provides information on inactive conflicts in 2017-2021, closed conflicts in 2017-2022, and several explanations on changes of basic conflict data such as changed conflict names, transformed conflicts, merged conflicts as well as newly and backdated newly opened conflicts. The HIIK cannot guarantee the completeness of the provided information. However, it aims at a more transparent process of data collection, making it more accessible for those seeking to work with it. If you have questions regarding the process of data collection, please contact methodik@hiik.de and/or datamanagement@hiik.de.

| SA | | | | | |
|-------------|-------|---|--------------------|---------------------|---|
| Nr | ID | Name | Region | kind of change | comment |
| 2018 | | | | | |
| 1 | 40076 | China (Taiwan) | Asia & Oceania | item added | The item system/ideology was added and retroactively applied to the start date of the conflict (1949). Beyond the issue of potential secession, conflicting systemic and ideological claims by the Chinese Communist Party and the nationalist Guomindang over the nature of China's political system, have shaped the conflict since its onset. Since (ROC) Taiwan's democratization the ideological dimension of the ideological dimension has changed, but still persists. |
| 2 | 41089 | China (Christians) | Asia & Oceania | ID | ID change from 40016 to 41089 in order to avoid double coding. |
| 3 | 10006 | Russia (Islamist rebels / Chechnya) | Europe | ID | ID change from 10005 to 10006 in order to avoid double coding. |
| 4 | 10077 | Russia (Ingush minority / North Ossetia–Alania) | Europe | ID | ID change from 19999 to 10077 in order to maintain only one ID per conflict |
| 5 | 21200 | Ethiopia – Egypt, Sudan (GERD) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Name change from Ethiopia – Egypt to Ethiopia – Egypt, Sudan (GERD) |
| 6 | 40030 | Papua New Guinea (urban tensions) | Asia & Oceania | name | Name change from Papua New Guinea (highlanders – lowlanders) to Papua New Guinea (urban tensions) |
| 7 | 40184 | India (NSCN factions et al. / Nagaland) | Asia & Oceania | name | Name change from India (NSCN et al. / Nagaland) to India (NSCN factions et al. / Nagaland) |
| 8 | 40184 | India (NSCN factions et al. / Nagaland) | Asia & Oceania | name | Name change from India (NSCN factions et al. / Nagaland) to India (Nagalim) |
| 9 | 20056 | Mali (Tuareg / Kidal) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Name change from Mali (Tuareg / Kidal) to Mali (HCUA, MNLA et al. / Azawad): Tuareg members who fought under Gaddafi in the Libyan civil war returned heavily armed to Mali and initiated a separatist movement in Kidal in the beginning of 2012. The organised groups HCUA and MNLA, to whom Tuareg members also belong, have been fighting against the Mali government for a separate nation state called Azawad that comprises next to Kidal also further regions such as Timbukti and Gao. |
| 10 | 30231 | Mexico (opposition) | Americas | name | Name change from Mexico (election) to Mexico (opposition) |
| 11 | 40098 | Japan – China (East China Sea) | Asia & Oceania | name | Name change from Japan – China to Japan – China (East China Sea) |
| 12 | 32017 | Honduras (opposition) | Americas | ID | ID change from 30269 to 32017 |
| 13 | 20955 | Eritrea (RSADO) | Sub-Saharan Africa | ID | ID change from 20955 to 21310 |
| 14 | 11044 | Romania (Hungarian minority / Transylvania) | Europe | merger | Merger with 10204 Hungary – Romania (minority), 10205 Hungary – Slovakia (minority) and 10241 Slovakia (Hungarian minority / southern Slovakia), all government actors and countries rather than regions included: frame changed to 10203 (new ID) Hungary – Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine (Hungarian minorities), actor "Hungarian minorities" now observed as a whole (Székelys included) |
| 15 | 20854 | South Africa (anti-immigrants – immigrants) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Name changed from South Africa (xenophobes – immigrants) to South Africa (anti-immigrants – immigrants) |
| 16 | 10024 | Belarus (opposition) | Europe | ID | ID change from 10021 to 10024 |
| 17 | 10021 | Belarus – Poland | Europe | ID | ID change from 10024 to 10021 |
| 18 | 42022 | Fiji (Indo-Fijians – indigenous Fijian ethnonationalists) | Asia & Oceania | ID | ID change from 40031 to 42022 |
| 19 | 21200 | Egypt – Ethiopia, Sudan (GERD) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor added, name | Name change from Ethiopia – Egypt to Egypt – Ethiopia, Sudan (GERD). |
| 20 | 40044 | Fiji – Tonga (Minerva Reefs) | Asia & Oceania | ID | ID change from 40024 to 40044 |
| 21 | 42014 | Nepal (various ethnic groups) | Asia & Oceania | name | Name change from Nepal (various ethnic groups) to Nepal (Kiratis / Kosi, Mechi, Sagarmatha) |
| 22 | 40221 | India (NDFB– S – Santhals / Assam) | Asia & Oceania | merger | The conflict merged into 40242 India (inter-ethnic rivalry / Assam): due to the great overlap and difficulty to distinguish conflict lines in Assam, the smaller conflicts on substate level were merged into the 40242 India (inter-ethnic rivalry / Assam) in order to get a more comprehensive understanding of the conflict structures. |
| 23 | 40322 | Myanmar (UNFC et al.) | Asia & Oceania | name | Name changed from Myanmar (UNFC) to Myanmar (UNFC et al.) as some member organizations left the UNFC coalition but were still observed in the conflict |
| 24 | 50020 | Iraq (AQI, ISI, Sunni militant groups) | MENA | actor changes, name | Frame change from Iraq (AQI, ISI, Sunni militant groups) to Iraq (IS et al.) |
| 25 | 50020 | Syria, Iraq et al. (IS) | MENA | name | Name change from Iraq (AQI, ISI, Sunni militant groups) to Syria, Iraq et al. (IS) |
| 26 | 50023 | Yemen, Saudi Arabia (al-Houthi) | MENA | name | Name change from Yemen (al-Houthi rebels) to Yemen, Saudi Arabia (al-Houthi) |
| 27 | 40242 | India (Bodos, Assamese – Biharis, Bengalis) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes | Frame change from India (Bodos, Assamese – Biharis, Bengalis) to India (inter-ethnic rivalry / Assam): due to the great overlap and difficulty to distinguish conflict lines in Assam, the smaller conflicts on substate level were merged into the 40242 India (inter-ethnic rivalry / Assam) in order to get a more comprehensive understanding of the conflict structures. ID of India (Bodos, Assamese – Bihari, Bengalis) was kept. |
| 28 | 32014 | Brazil (drug trafficking organizations) | Americas | start year | Start year (2010) changed to (2008): The Pacifying Police Units (UPP) started its operations in Rio de Janeiro's favelas in 2008, as a security measure for the upcoming events, as the World Cup 2014 in Brazil, and thereby acknowledging DTO problems as internal security issues. Along with the subsequent more invasive military police (PM) action, the DTO's control over the favelas was challenged. |
| 29 | 30228 | Colombia (FARC dissidents, left-wing militants) | Americas | actor added | Conflict frame change: left-wing militants (one of them being the EPL = Popular Liberation Army, more active since beginning of 2018) added as an actor as they share a common cleavage with the government. |
| 30 | 30228 | Colombia (FARC dissidents, left-wing militants) | Americas | name | Name change from [Colombia (FARC dissidents)] to [Colombia (Farc dissidents, left-wing militants)] to adjust the added actors. |
| 31 | 32022 | El Salvador (Maras) | Americas | start year | Start year changed from (2012) to (2003): first "Mano Dura" measure was implemented in 2003. We first started to observe the conflict in 2012 in the course of the gang truce. But conflict between government and gangs dates back to 2003. |
| 32 | 40074 | China (Hong Kong) | Asia & Oceania | name | Name change from [China (Hong Kong pro-democracy groups)] to [China (Hong Kong)]: adjustment to HIIK naming conventions |
| 33 | 41097 | China (Taiwan – opposition) | Asia & Oceania | corrected intensity | Conflict intensity of 2017 (2; non-violent crisis) was re-assessed and changed to (1; dispute) |
| 34 | 40055 | Indonesia (Papua) | Asia & Oceania | actor removed | Actor (PRPPB) removed: PRPPB was removed as an actor in the conflict parties constellation due to inactivity |
| 35 | 40039 | Papua New Guinea (tribal tensions) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes | Actors removed: Kukurin vs. Yapetalin vs. Wapiago vs. Tapamu vs. et al, actor added: Kala vs. Kii vs. Homu vs. various tribes - tribal conflicts are extremely heterogenous in the highlands of PNG, almost every year other actors in the constellation which show main tensions in the respective year |
| 36 | 40204 | Sri Lanka (inter-religious tensions) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes | Actor (Sinhala Jathika Balaya) removed, (Mahason Balakaya) added: Sinhala Jathika Balaya due to inactivity, actor added: Mahason Balakaya |
| 37 | 40092 | Australia – Timor Leste | Asia & Oceania | start year | Start year (2002) changed to (1962):The so-called "Timor Gap", which lacked permanent maritime borders, was created in 1962, when Australia issued petroleum permits for oil and gas reserves north of the median line between Australia and then-Portuguese Timor-Leste. While Portugal disputed this claim, Indonesia accepted the Australian maritime borders based on continental shelf expansion in the Seabed Boundary Treaty (SBT) of 1972. |
| 38 | 40092 | Australia – Timor Leste | Asia & Oceania | item added | Item (territory) added: The conflict - as solved in the treaty - deals with both territory and resources. Accordingly, both should be included as description for conflict items. |
| 39 | 40034 | India (Kashmir) | Asia & Oceania | actor added | Actor (IS) added |
| 40 | 41017 | India (Sikhs) | Asia & Oceania | item removed | Item (autonomy) removed: as SAD is no longer considered as a direct actor, no direct actors actively pursue autonomy. |

SA

| Nr | ID | Name | Region | kind of change | comment |
|----|-------|---|--------------------|-------------------|--|
| 41 | 41017 | India (Sikhs) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes | Actor (SAD) removed: as SAD changed its orientation from demanding sovereignty for the SIKHS to a form of integrative regionalism, it does not claim the item secession for itself. Hence, SAD became an indirect actor. |
| 42 | 40332 | Myanmar (TNLA – RCSS / Shan State) | Asia & Oceania | name | Name changed from [Myanmar (TNLA, RCSS / Shan State)] to [Myanmar (TNLA – RCSS / Shan State)] to meet HIIK convention standards for substate conflicts in order to avoid the impression of an intrastate conflict |
| 43 | 40244 | Pakistan (Balochistan) | Asia & Oceania | supporter added | Supporter (China) added: supports the government of Pakistan |
| 44 | 40313 | Pakistan (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | actor added | Actor (PTM) added, note: government change in July, all actors are independent from each other. |
| 45 | 40313 | Pakistan (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | item added | Item (autonomy) added for PTM: Pashtuns protest against discrimination by the government, labelling as terrorists |
| 46 | 42012 | Pakistan (Taliban – tribes) | Asia & Oceania | merger | Merged into 40301 Pakistan (Islamist militant groups): same militant groups; many government-supported tribal elders and lashkars have been killed or became less active. It now makes more sense to consider the tribes as part of the civilian population, which the government is supposed to protect; FATA merger to KP |
| 47 | 10033 | FYROM (Albanian minority – ethnic Macedonians) | Europe | name, item change | Name change from [FYROM (Albanian minority)] to [FYROM (Albanian minority – ethnic Macedonians)]; name adjusted as it is a substate conflict evolving between the Albanian minority and ethnic Macedonians. The item autonomy is also re-evaluated as subnational predominance (sub-item local socioeconomic distribution) instead beginning in 2018. |
| 48 | 12001 | Bosnia and Herzegovina (Islamist militant groups) | Europe | item removed | Item (subnational predominance) removed: the item subnational predominance is no longer pursued by Islamist militants. |
| 49 | 10190 | France (Corsican nationalists) | Europe | name | Name change from [France (FLNC / Corsica)] to [France (Corsican nationalists)]; adjustment to HIIK naming conventions |
| 50 | 10190 | France (Corsican nationalists) | Europe | item added | Item (autonomy) added in order to show that some actors also seek autonomy while pursuing secession on the long run. |
| 51 | 10033 | FYROM (Albanian minority – ethnic Macedonians) | Europe | actor changes | Actor constellation revised: government taken out as conflict actor as the conflict is a substate conflict which is primarily carried out between the two communities. The government is understood as an indirect actor which has a major impact on the conflict dynamics. |
| 52 | 10102 | Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnian Serbs / Republic of Srpska) | Europe | name | Name of conflict changed to Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnian Serbs / Republika Srpska) |
| 53 | 10203 | Hungary – Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine (Hungarian minorities) | Europe | conflict type | Conflict type changed from (interstate) to (transstate) as conflict criterias are met in all affected countries. |
| 54 | 10191 | Kazakhstan et al. – Russia (Caspian Sea) | Europe | actor changes | Actor constellation revised: all parties against each another as a dynamic |
| 55 | 10131 | Kosovo* – Serbia | Europe | conflict type | Conflict type changed from (intrastate) to (interstate) as HIIK follows the UN classification of state recognition. |
| 56 | 10131 | Kosovo* – Serbia | Europe | name | Name change from (Kosovo – Serbia) to (Kosovo* – Serbia): *naming of contested territories is oriented at UN policies. |
| 57 | 12005 | Kosovo* (opposition) | Europe | name | Name change from [Serbia (Kosovo – opposition)] to [Kosovo* (opposition)] |
| 58 | 10034 | Norway et al. – Russia (Arctic) | Europe | item added | Item (international power) added as power issues between NATO member states and Russia are at stake. |
| 59 | 10109 | Ukraine (right-wing / opposition) | Europe | name | Name change from [Ukraine (opposition)] to [Ukraine (right-wing / opposition)] due to conflict frame change. |
| 60 | 10109 | Ukraine (right-wing / opposition) | Europe | actor changes | Actor change: Civil-right groups include Roma and LGBT; Right-wings used violence against both government and civil society groups. Although opposition parties (most prominently Sakaashvili party) are not connected to civil-society groups, they are united against their fight against corruption (which is evident in the governments actions against NABU (investigating political fraud)). Opposition parties and activists/minorities both are actually too differentiated to legitimately put them in their own respective groups. So we decided for the most convenient and somewhat fitting actor constellation: Three different groups. |
| 61 | 10051 | United Kingdom (Scottish Nationalists / Scotland) | Europe | name | Name change from [United Kingdom (SNP / Scotland)] to [United Kingdom (Scottish Nationalists / Scotland)]; SNP are not the only direct actors, the Green Party was added as direct actor; name change in line with HIIK naming conventions. |
| 62 | 50401 | Algeria (opposition) | MENA | actor added | Actor (labour unions) added |
| 63 | 50042 | Egypt (opposition) | MENA | actor removed | Actor (Lewaa al-Thawra) removed as the opposition group was not active in this conflict in 2018 |
| 64 | 51014 | Iran (PDKI et al.) | MENA | name | Name change from [Iran (PDKI, PAK)] to [Iran (PDKI et al.)]: PAK ceased to be active in 2018 and was therefore removed as direct actor. |
| 65 | 50014 | Iraq (Shiite militant groups) | MENA | actor change | Actor changed due to yearly activities |
| 66 | 50121 | Israel – State of Palestine* (PNA) | MENA | name | Name change from [Israel (PNA / Palestinian Territories)] to [Israel – State of Palestine* (PNA)]: accounting for disputed statehood, symbolised by *, according to UN classification. |
| 67 | 50041 | Israel (Hamass et al.) | MENA | name | Name change from [Israel (Hamass et al. / Palestinian Territories)] to [Israel (Hamass et al.)] |
| 68 | 50052 | Lebanon (inner-Palestinian tensions) | MENA | actor changes | Conflict actor change: (Ansar Allah) added and (Jund al-Sham), (Fatah al-Islam) removed as it ceased to active in this conflict in 2018. |
| 69 | 51006 | Lebanon (Sunni militant groups) | MENA | actor removed | Actor (Saraya Ahl al-Sham) removed as did not fulfill the direct actor criteria in 2018 |
| 70 | 51400 | Libya (inter-tribal rivalry) | MENA | actor change | Actor change |
| 71 | 51400 | Libya (inter-tribal rivalry) | MENA | name | Name change from [Libya (inter-tribal tensions)] to [Libya (inter-tribal rivalry)]: adjustment to HIIK naming conventions |
| 72 | 50405 | Libya (opposition) | MENA | actor change | Actor changed due to yearly activities, and also for clarity |
| 73 | 50047 | State of Palestine* (Hamass – Salafist Groups) | MENA | name | Name change from [Israel (Hamass – Salafist groups)] to [State of Palestine* (Hamass – Salafist Groups)]: accounting for disputed statehood, symbolised by *, according to UN classification. |
| 74 | 50409 | Tunisia (opposition) | MENA | actor | Actor (opposition groups) added: opposition groups are actors next to civil society groups (Popular Front is a coalition of political parties) |
| 75 | 50409 | Tunisia (opposition) | MENA | actor | Actor (opposition groups) added in conflict constellation: Popular Front is a coalition of different parties |
| 76 | 50055 | Turkey (opposition) | MENA | actor | Actor (GÜLEN) removed, since not active this year and also structurally no valid actor. Also Nation Alliance replaces CHP, since this was one major opposition coalition (headed by CHP) for the parliamentary elections, besides the pro-Kurdish HDP |
| 77 | 50055 | Turkey (PKK) | MENA | start year | Start year changed from (1974) to (1978): 1978 is the founding year of PKK. |
| 78 | 50063 | Western Sahara (Polisario – Morocco) | MENA | name | Name changed from [Morocco (POLISARIO / Western Sahara)] to [Morocco (POLISARIO / Western Sahara*)] to account for disputed statehood. |
| 79 | 50061 | Algeria, Mali et al. (AQIM, ISGS et al.) | Sub-Saharan Africa | region | Region change from (MENA) to (Sub-Saharan Africa): conflict originated in Algeria and was therefore listed in the MENA region until 2017. However, as activities are focused in SSA countries, the conflict was shifted to SSA; ID was kept to maintain the traceability |
| 80 | 50061 | Algeria, Mali et al. (AQIM, ISGS et al.) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor changes | Actor change: actors added (JNIM, OIC), actors removed (MUJAO, Ansar al Din): actor constellation adjusted to this year's conflict developments. |
| 81 | 50061 | Algeria, Mali et al. (AQIM, ISGS et al.) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Name change from [Algeria, Mali et al. (AQIM et al.)] to [Algeria, Mali et al. (AQIM, ISGS et al.)]: consequence of actor change |
| 82 | 20077 | Angola (FLEC / Cabinda) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item removed | Item (resources) removed: resources do not appear as reason for measures anymore |
| 83 | 20078 | Angola (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Name change from [Angola (UNITA)] to [Angola (opposition)]: UNITA fought for national power in a civil war, however, the current conflict dynamics resemble an opposition conflict. |
| 84 | 20614 | Burundi (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item added | Item (national power) added: oppositional groups also strive to replace President Nkurunziza and therefore rally for constitutional reform |
| 85 | 20613 | Burundi, DR Congo (FNL, RED-Tabara) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Name change from [Burundi, DR Congo (FNL)] to [Burundi, DR Congo (FNL, RED-Tabara)]: adjustment due to actor change |
| 86 | 20613 | Burundi, DR Congo (FNL, RED-Tabara) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item removed | Item (subnational predominance) removed: in current conflict developments, subnational predominance is not pursued by conflict actors. |
| 87 | 21080 | Central African Republic (Anti-Balaka – ex-Séléka) | Sub-Saharan Africa | conflict type | Conflict type changed from (substate) to (intrastate): conflict no longer only pursued on substate level; government included in the actor constellation structure |
| 88 | 20606 | Chad (militant groups) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item added | Item (resources) added because gold is an issue in the conflict |
| 89 | 20606 | Chad (militant groups) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Name change from [Chad (rebel groups)] to [Chad (militant groups)]: adjustment to HIIK naming conventions |
| 90 | 20606 | Chad (militant groups) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor added | Actor (CCSMR) added |

| SA | | | | | |
|-------------|-------|---|--------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Nr | ID | Name | Region | kind of change | comment |
| 91 | 20011 | DR Congo (Bantu – Batwa) | Sub-Saharan Africa | conflict type | Conflict type changed from (intrastate) to (substate) as the government ceased to be a conflict actor. |
| 92 | 20210 | DR Congo (Ituri Militias) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor change | Actor changed from (FRPI) to (Ituri militias) |
| 93 | 20618 | DR Congo, Rwanda (FDLR, CNRD) | Sub-Saharan Africa | conflict type | Conflict type revised from (intrastate) to (transstate) as conflict criteria are met in both countries; also retroactively changed. |
| 94 | 20004 | Eritrea – Ethiopia | Sub-Saharan Africa | start year | Start year changed from (1961) to (1998): The Conflict Barometers 2014-2016 set the conflict start in 1961. In accordance with the previous versions (1998-2013) the start was set to 1998 due to the conflict type (Inter-state conflict vs. War of independence). The conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia starting 1961 and ending 1991 is characterized by the war of independence of Eritrea and has different, however interrelated, conflict actors. Of course, it cannot be excluded from the overall picture of the conflict and still has influence on conflict dynamics. The current conflict though must be analyzed separately by setting the starting point in 1998 with the start of the conflict over the border demarcation between two sovereign states. |
| 95 | 20055 | eSwatini (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Name change from [Swaziland (opposition)] to [eSwatini (opposition)] as the country name changed to eSwatini. |
| 96 | 20311 | Guinea (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor removed | Actor (FPSE) removed retroactively, since not active in 2018 |
| 97 | 25001 | Mali (inter-militant rivalry / northern Mali) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor added | Actor (Islamist groups) added |
| 98 | 20883 | Niger (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor removed | Actor (student unions) removed |
| 99 | 20118 | Nigeria (Islamic Movement) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item removed | Item (subnational predominance) removed: no longer pursued by Islamist Movement |
| 100 | 20909 | Sierra Leone (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Name change from [Sierra Leone (APC – SLPP)] to [Sierra Leone (opposition)]; national power has been contested between the APC and SLPP since 2007, due to its opposition character the name was changed to Sierra Leone (opposition) |
| 101 | 20904 | Somalia (Somaliland – Puntland) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor removed | Actor (Khatumo state) removed: not active in 2018 |
| 102 | 20904 | Somalia (Somaliland – Puntland) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Name change from [Somalia (Khatumo State – Somaliland – Puntland)] to [Somalia (Somaliland – Puntland)] due to previous actor removal |
| 103 | 21091 | Somalia (subclan rivalry) | Sub-Saharan Africa | merger | Merger of 21089 Somalia (Habar Gidir – Biyomal / Lower Shabelle) and 21091 Somalia (Hawadle – Surre / Hiiraan); the observation of various militia conflicts in Somalia did not really make sense. |
| 104 | 21091 | Somalia (subclan rivalry) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Name change due to the conflict merger of two conflicts |
| 105 | 21700 | South Africa (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item removed | system/ideology' is removed as an item: opposition parties no longer aim to change the orientation of the political system. Systemic change has mostly been demanded by socioeconomic protesters in separate conflict. |
| 106 | 25002 | South Sudan (various militias) | Sub-Saharan Africa | merger | 20911 South Sudan (various militias) merged with 25002 South Sudan (opposition): overlap in dynamics and actors. |
| 107 | 21084 | Sudan (inter-communal rivalry) | Sub-Saharan Africa | conflict type | Conflict type revised from (intrastate) to (substate): error in 2017 dataset |
| 108 | 20002 | Tanzania (Chadema, CUF – CCM) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Conflict name revised from [Tanzania (Chadema, CUF – CCM)] to [Tanzania (opposition)]; adjustment to naming conventions; Chadema is also considered as a nationwide opposition party and not only as an actor aiming at secession. |
| 109 | 20012 | Uganda (inter-communal rivalry / Rwenzururu) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item removed | Item (resources) removed: correction of former conflict data: the rivaling ethnic groups (mainly Bakonzo and Bamba) primarily clashed (!) over conflicting views on the Ugandan election in 2016. It does not include a certain kind of resource like gold or cobalt. Therefore, the item resources cannot be applied to this conflict and actor constellation. |
| 2019 | | | | | |
| 110 | 40313 | Pakistan (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes | JUI-F added; PTM removed and rather included in new conflict Pakistan (Pashtuns/PTM) |
| 111 | 40313 | Pakistan (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | item removed | The item 'autonomy' was added in 2018 for the new actor PTM; in 2019, the new conflict Pakistan (Pashtuns / PTM) was retroactively opened with the item 'autonomy', which was thus removed from the opposition conflict. |
| 112 | 40321 | Myanmar (SSA / Shan State) | Asia & Oceania | corrected start year | Correction of the last two CoBas 2017 and 2018 (date in CONTRA was continuously right): not 1953, but 1952, as this was the first year of Burmese Army attacks on the Guomintang in Shan territory after they had invaded it the same year (August). |
| 113 | 32017 | Honduras (opposition) | Americas | actor changes | From Libre, PAC, anti-government activists vs- government to opposition movement vs. government |
| 114 | 40499 | Bangladesh (RMG workers) | Asia & Oceania | actor removed | BGMEA is removed |
| 115 | 20311 | Guinea (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor changes, item removed | From UFDG, SLEGC, FPSE et al. --> FNDC; system/ideology removed as item |
| 116 | 29987 | Mali (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | system/ideology removed | Item system/ideology removed because no measures could be found regarding this item. National power seems to be the main conflict item |
| 117 | 10048 | Armenia (opposition) | Europe | actor changes | Active actors changed from "ANC, ARC, Heritage Party, PAP vs. government et. al" to "Prosperous Armenia, Bright Armenia vs. government et. al" |
| 118 | 40023 | Cambodia (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes, item removed | Active actors retrospectively (2018) changed from "CNRP, civil society actors vs. government" to "CNRM vs. government", as CNRP was officially disbanded and civil society actors cannot really be active (such as through protests) within the country/are intimidated and thus self-censored. It makes more sense to call them a "movement" together for their mainly exiled action (also used to be called movement until 2015, then changed due to conventions); other opposition parties (listed by mistake in CoBa 2018, were only supporters), even if ideologically different, are barely relevant with usually up to 1% of seats in parliament, CPP now leads a de facto one-party-system; resources is removed as an item because no relevant measure (formerly about land eviction/jailed activists for incitement or illegal timber logging but nothing reported except criminal trials) |
| 119 | 40017 | Laos (Hmong) | Asia & Oceania | item changes, actor removed, name | royalists' were retrospectively removed as an actor as they are not explicitly active (in exile and no news), thus Laos (Hmong, royalists) changed to Laos (Hmong); national power removed, autonomy added |
| 120 | 20122 | Mali (inter-communal rivalry / central Mali) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item and actor added | Resources added as item; Bambara ethnic group added as actor |
| 121 | 20885 | Côte d'Ivoire (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor change | Changed actor: from FPI to opposition groups |
| 122 | 21700 | South Africa (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor changes | Added IFP, civic groups, removed COSATU, as actor relevance changed |
| 123 | 20613 | Burundi, DR Congo (FNL, RED-Tabara) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Conflict name changed from Burundi, DR Congo (FNL, RED-Tabara) to Burundi, DR Congo (FNL, RED-Tabara, Forebu) because new actor became relevant |
| 124 | 21100 | Mozambique (RENAMO) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor changes | Government (FRELIMO) vs. RENAMO, MDM changed to RENAMO, MDM vs. government, to put in line with usual HIK lingo; RENAMO Military Junta split from RENAMO and started (or restarted) military rebellion |
| 125 | 20614 | Burundi (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor changes | CNL added and FNL-Agathon Rwsa remove, as Rwsa founded the CNL in 2019. UPRONA added as it became relevant in 2019 |
| 126 | 21700 | South Africa (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item added | Item system/ideology added due to protest movement on gender-based violence |
| 127 | 20001 | Zimbabwe (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor changes | MDC Alliance, MDC-T merged into the newly formed MDC party |
| 128 | 20950 | Rwanda (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor removed | DGRP removed as actor, as no information on it can be found anymore |
| 129 | 20613 | Burundi, DR Congo (FNL, RED-Tabara) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor added | Forebu added for relevance (see change #95) |

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| Nr | ID | Name | Region | kind of change | comment |
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| 130 | 40218 | China (Hui) | Asia & Oceania | name, conflict type, actor and item changes | The conflict originated as a substate conflict revolving around interethnic tensions between the Hui minority, the Tibetan minority and the majority Han population. Gradually, the inter-communal tensions lost relevance, as no conflict measures were reported. While tensions between Han, Hui and Tibetans subsided, the Islamic Hui minority was increasingly targeted by the government, as part of the PRC's broader crackdown on religious minorities and religious freedom. Since the measures that justified an intensity of 3 for the conflict in 2018 were related to the current changes as well, these will be retroactively applied to 2018 as well. Conflict name: from [China (Han - Hui - Tibetans)] to [China (Hui)] Conflict type: from substate to intrastate Conflict actors: from Tibetans vs. Han vs. Hui to Hui vs. government (Tibetans; Han removed / government added) Conflict items: item (subnational predominance) removed; item (system/ideology) added |
| 131 | 40072 | China (Uyghurs / Xinjiang) | Asia & Oceania | item change | Conflict item (system/ideology) added: While the TIP/ETIM still exists and secession remains a latent item in the conflict, we felt it was not enough anymore to characterize the conflict between the Uyghur minority in the XUAR and the Chinese government. The Turkic minority, for whom Islamic religion is a significant part of the cultural identity has become the target of an extensive policy of repression and surveillance, that is presented by the government as an effort to combat Islamist terror and religious extremism. Therefore, we decided to introduce system/ideology as a supplementary conflict item. Since this change also concerns the conflict dynamics of last year, it will also be retroactively applied to 2018. |
| 132 | 20081 | Guinea Bissau (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor added | Madem added as opposition actor |
| 133 | 41071 | India (Islamist militant groups) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes | HM, TuM removed; FIF, JMB added |
| 134 | 40244 | Pakistan (Balochistan) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes | UBA, LeB, BLF, BNM, BRG removed; BLT, BRAS, BNP-M added |
| 135 | 21091 | Somalia (subclan rivalry) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor removed | al-Shabaab' removed as actor. No measures involving AS reported in 2019. |
| 136 | 11052 | Croatia (Croatian Serbs / Krajina, East, and West Slavonia) | Europe | item added | Added subnational predominance as an item due to actor changes, see below (ethnic Croatians became involved) |
| 137 | 11052 | Croatia (Croatian Serbs / Krajina, East, and West Slavonia) | Europe | name, conflict type, actor changes | This year the conflict frame significantly changed. There were no measures by the Croatian government, there were, however, multiple attacks in which ethnic Croatians attacked ethnic Serbs. Dozens of ethnic Serbs were injured and one died of his injuries. The conflict is very similar to the one between the Albanian minority in |
| 138 | 10161 | United Kingdom (Nationalists / Northern Ireland) | Europe | actor added | Saoradh is a new actor in the actor constellation. |
| 139 | 50121 | Israel – State of Palestine* (PNA) | MENA | actor added | Palestinian protesters' added as new actor |
| 140 | 50042 | Egypt (opposition) | MENA | actor changes | Actors changed to 'militant opposition groups, political opposition and activists' (previously: HM, MB, Ansar al-Islam, civil rights activists) |
| 141 | 50404 | Jordan (opposition) | MENA | actor and item removed | trade unions' as actor removed; 'national power' as item removed |
| 142 | 50052 | Lebanon (inner-Palestinian tensions) | MENA | actor changes | Osbat al-Ansar' as new actor added. New constellation: Ansar Allah vs. al-Fatah vs. Osbat al-Ansar vs. other Palestinian fractions |
| 143 | 30055 | Mexico (inter-cartel rivalry, paramilitary groups) | Americas | actor changes | Los Zetas and LFM removed due to inactivity/disintegration; CDN added as new actor as they took a more dominant role in the conflict landscape |
| 144 | 30232 | Mexico (CNTE) | Americas | name | The conflict name changed from Mexico (CNTE et al.) to Mexico (CNTE), as no other actors act on CNTEs behalf (actors are CNTE and government) |
| 145 | 20055 | eSwatini (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actors removed | SNAT; SNUS; SWACOPA removed, as they were not active in the conflict this year |
| 146 | 10211 | Hungary (right-wings – minorities) | Europe | actor changes | Jobbik removed; Fidesz added |
| 147 | 10034 | Norway et al. – Russia (Arctic) | Europe | actors added | Sweden and Finland added |
| 148 | 10081 | Spain (Basque Provinces) | Europe | actor removed | ETA removed |
| 149 | 10035 | Spain (Catalan Nationalists / Catalonia) | Europe | actor changes | Umbrella terms added instead of names of specific organizations |
| 150 | 10161 | United Kingdom (Nationalists / Northern Ireland) | Europe | actor changes | IRM, ÓNH removed; Soaradh, NFU added |
| 151 | 10073 | EU, USA, et al. – Russia | Europe | actor changes | Poland, Finland removed; Canada, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania added |
| 152 | 40032 | India (Hindus – Muslims) | Asia & Oceania | actors added | JIH and PFI added |
| 153 | 40184 | India (Nagalim) | Asia & Oceania | actor and supporter added | NSCN-NK added, Myanmar as supporter added |
| 154 | 40187 | India (Nagas – Kukis) | Asia & Oceania | actors added | KNA, KNO added |
| 155 | 45003 | North Korea, China (defectors) | Asia & Oceania | actor added | PRC (was in name and an affected country before but retroactively put to beginning of conflict due to its extradition policy) |
| 156 | 41017 | India (Sikhs) | Asia & Oceania | actors added | Sikh Liberation Front (SLF, founded 2017); All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF); 'SAD (Amritsar)' (founded 1994); Babbar Khalsa International (BKI, founded 1978); |
| 157 | 40232 | Kazakhstan (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | actor added | Oyan, Qazaqstan' (OQ, founded 2019) is added retrospectively |
| 158 | 40003 | Philippines (Islamist militant groups) | Asia & Oceania | item removed | other' removed |
| 159 | 20087 | Ethiopia (OLF / Oromiya) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item change | The items 'autonomy' and 'secession' changed to 'subnational predominance'. The actor OLF and the Ethiopian government are engaging in a peace process. However, the militant branch of OLF, the so-called OLA refused to disarm and continued to conduct attacks. |
| 160 | 30257 | Chile (Mapuche / Araucania) | Americas | item removed | resources' removed |
| 161 | 41085 | India (ULFA-I et al. / Assam) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes, supporter and item added | Corcom, UNLFW removed; ULFA-PTF added; Myanmar as supporter added; autonomy as item added |
| 162 | 20606 | Chad (militant groups) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor changes | CCSMR, UFR, CSD enumerated to specify actors. |
| 163 | 40065 | Nepal (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | actors changes | Two major national left political parties – the Communist Party of Nepal-Unified Marxist-Leninist (CPN-UML) and the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist Centre (CPN-Maoist Center) merged and formed the Nepal Communist Party (NCP). NCP added, CPN-UML and CPN-Maoist Centre removed, retroactively also for 2018. |
| 164 | 51400 | Libya (inter-tribal rivalry) | MENA | actor changes | Qaddadfa removed; Ahali added |
| 165 | 50050 | Syria (Afrin region) | MENA | name, item added, actor changes | Conflict name changed to Syria (Turkey – SDF / Northern Syria); item 'autonomy' added; pro-Syrian government militiamen removed, YPG added |
| 166 | 50051 | Syria (inter-opposition rivalry) | MENA | actor removed | SLF removed |
| 167 | 50408 | Syria (opposition) | MENA | actor removed | Syrian Liberation Front removed |
| 168 | 21091 | Somalia (subclan rivalry) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor removed | Al-Shabaab reportedly did not engage with clan militias a/o civilians this year. |
| 169 | 50401 | Algeria (opposition) | MENA | actor and item added | Hirak Movement added; national power added |
| 170 | 10027 | Russia (opposition) | Europe | actors removed | Progress Party was removed as it was renamed; Communist Party was removed as it was not as active in 2019 as in 2018; Russia of the Future Party was also removed in order not to give it a too prominent role and was replaced by opposition groups to show the diversity of movements active |
| 171 | 40021 | Myanmar (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes | Actor 'opposition' renamed to opposition groups to include broader protests criticizing one specific issue (constitution, prison conditions this year) and to adapt HIIK convention; also because the government is partly Nation League for Democracy, partly military, and opposition may be to either or both, so it would be hard to just call it one opposition (to a united government) with similar goals |

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| Nr | ID | Name | Region | kind of change | comment |
| 172 | 51164 | Afghanistan – Pakistan | MENA | item removed | Item "other" removed as the refugee situation improved, initiated from both sides |
| 173 | 20886 | Nigeria (farmers – pastoralists) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item added | Item 'resources' added. Previous conflict measures predominantly focused on the item subnational predominance. Since the conflict turned less violent the item resources, arable land and water, became more relevant. |
| 174 | 20210 | DR Congo (Ituri militias) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item removed | The 'resources' item is removed |
| 175 | 20816 | DR Congo (KN) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor added | "BM" added |
| 176 | 20013 | DR Congo (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor changes | "CLC" removed, "CACH" forms new government, FCC added |
| 177 | 20618 | DR Congo, Rwanda (FDLR, CNRD) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item removed | "national power" removed |
| 178 | 20089 | DR Congo, Uganda (ADF) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item changes | "resources" removed, "system/ideology" added |
| 179 | 20655 | Somalia (ASWJ) | Sub-Saharan Africa | intensity | Intensity for 2018 is retroactively set to '1'. |
| 180 | 25002 | South Sudan (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor changes | Newly formed groups |
| 181 | 20920 | South Sudan (SPLM/A-IO) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item removed | System/ideology and resources removed as items because they no longer apply (no measures regarding |
| 182 | 20111 | Sudan (Darfur) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item changes | The item autonomy is added, subnational predominance and resources removed |
| 183 | 50405 | Libya (opposition) | MENA | actors removed | The actor constellation is shortened to GNA, HSC vs. LNA, HoR. Supporters and interveners (both international, e.g. Turkey, UAE and domestic, e.g. militias) are listed in the conflict text, but omitted from the conflict head. |
| 184 | 40270 | India (Manipur) | Asia & Oceania | actors added, item removed | Old groups: Meiteis, KNF, Kukis, KYKL, KCP, PREPAK-Pro, PLA, UNLF, JCILPS, ZRO New groups: PLO, KLO Item: subnational predominance removed |
| 185 | 40271 | India (GNLA et al. / Meghalaya) | Asia & Oceania | item removed | The item secession is removed because efforts to establish an independent state clearly decreased. The most active group HNLC was in talks with the government to regain more autonomy at the beginning of 2019, so no systematic pursuit of secession is assumed anymore. |
| 186 | 54321 | Saudi Arabia, Yemen (AQAP) | MENA | merger | Merger of the conflicts Yemen (AQAP - Ansar al-Sharia) (50244) and Saudi Arabia (AQAP) (50122). AQAP is only active in Yemen, but claims the entire Arabian Peninsula as sphere of influence and regularly threatens Saudi Arabia. The only item in the merged conflict is system/ideology. |
| 187 | 50061 | Algeria, Mali et al. (AQIM, ISGS et al.) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Name changed from Algeria, Mali et al. (AQIM, ISGS et al.) to Mali, Burkina Faso et al. (JNIM, ISGS et al.) to better reflect the actor constellation as well as to underline that the area predominantly affected by violent measures on both sides are the Sub Saharan African countries in the Sahel zone. |
| 188 | 40242 | India (inter-ethnic rivalry / Assam) | Asia & Oceania | actor added, conflict type | The Indian government is added as an actor: the passing of the CAA by the Indian government (parliament) significantly influenced conflict dynamics between the ethnic groups in Assam; conflict type changes from substate to intrastate |
| 189 | 40012 | Malaysia – Singapore | Asia & Oceania | corrected intensity | Intensity in 2018 has to be corrected retroactively: the dispute escalated to a non-violent crisis in December 201 (threats over an impending escalation after Malaysia stationed two ships in disputed waters and did not retreat). It de-escalated from a level 2 to 1 intensity then in January 2019 |
| 190 | 50016 | Egypt – Sudan | MENA | item added | Item 'resources' added |
| 191 | 10133 | FYROM (Albanian minority – ethnic Macedonians) | Europe | name | Renamed to North Macedonia (Albanian minority – ethnic Macedonians) |
| 192 | 10013 | FYROM – Greece (official name of FYROM) | Europe | name | Name of conflict changed to North Macedonia – Greece (official name of North Macedonia) |
| 193 | 12003 | FYROM (opposition) | Europe | name | Renamed to North Macedonia (opposition) |
| 2020 | | | | | |
| 194 | 40071 | China (Tibet) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes | Nepal added as a supporting actor for China (starting in 1974): Nepal has not only formally recognized Tibet as a part of China, but has also shared increasingly tight political and economic relations with the PRC. In 1974 Nepal deployed 2000 troops to China, to help the PRC suppress the ailing Tibetan insurgent group Chushi Gangdruk. Despite its pledge to the UNHCR give right of free passage to Tibetan refugees, in recent years Nepalese authorities have increasingly sought to apprehend Tibetan refugees and forcibly return them to China. India added as a supporting actor for the Tibetan side (starting in 1959): Since 1959 the Indian government has hosted the Tibetan government in exile (CTA), permitting it to maintain international operational capacity. Moreover, India continues to harbor one of the world's largest Tibetan diaspora communities. Despite its proneness to playing the "Tibetan card" in its relations with China, the Indian government continues to afford special conditions to Tibetan refugees. USA added as a supporting actor for the Tibetan side (starting in 1951): Tibetan insurgency operations against the PLA were from early financed and supported by the CIA. Despite the US's recognition of China's formal territorial claims, the US government periodically continues to financially support the CTA. Moreover, in 2020 the House of Representatives passed the Tibetan Policy and Support Act, seeking to guarantee a succession process for the next Dalai Lama free of Chinese interference. Chushi Gangdruk removed as a direct actor (1974): After 1974 the remnants of the Tibetan insurgency surrendered on Chinese, Nepalese and Indian territory, subsiding their operations. |
| 195 | 40091 | China – Vietnam et al. (South China Sea) | Asia & Oceania | start date | Start date adjusted from 1949 (founding of the PRC) to 1951 (year of the Treaty of San Francisco). The formation of the PRC does not provide constitutive conflict measures. Even though the Republic of China had already staked out territorial claims earlier and sent troops to the SCS in 1946, after WW2 the SCS found itself in a de jure and de facto vacuum. Several of the directly involved conflict actors had not yet been established and could thus not communicate their conflicting intentions regarding the SCS. Only in 1951, after Japan had to formally renounce its territorial claim to the area, the PRC and the Philippines communicated their incompatibility of intentions at the conference, establishing the notion of a contested territory. The treaty of San Francisco also failed to clarify the legal status of the area. |
| 196 | 40004 | North Korea – South Korea | Asia & Oceania | supporters added | UN (starting in 1950), USA (on ROK's side, starting in 1953, military alliance) and PRC (on DPRK's side, starting in 1953, formal armistice agreement) added as supporters retroactively due to involvement in Korean War |
| 197 | 20378 | Somalia (ISS) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item added | The item system/ideology added (also in retrospect since 2015); the ISS aims for a transformation of the state into an Islamic one, thus it is appropriate to add system/ideology as a second item beside national power. This is also in concordance with the al-Shabaab conflicts in the region (Kenya) and the IS in Syria which have featured the same item. |
| 198 | 40074 | China (Hong Kong) | Asia & Oceania | item added | The item secession was retroactively added, starting in 2019. While nativism as a sentiment and pro-independence groups and parties were already active prior to 2019, independentist sentiment was really exacerbated during the 2019 Hong Kong protests. Since then calls for independence have grown considerably more frequent, alongside other demands for democratic reform, rule of law and police accountability. A 2019 poll found outright support for independence had risen to as high as 20%, while opposition to it had fallen to 56%. Furthermore, in the eyes of pro-independence groups the 2020 National Security Law has created a legal foundation for their demands, given the breach of the Sino-British declaration and the "one-country-two-systems" principle. |
| 199 | 40072 | China (Uyghurs / Xinjiang) | Asia & Oceania | actor removed | The direct actor ETIM/TIP was removed. Whereas ETIM/TIP did commit a range of acts of violent extremism, it seems clear that the organization is no longer active in a meaningful way within China. While the Chinese government continues to stress the potential terrorist threat, observers are no longer certain whether the organization still exists or ever possessed a relevant organizational infrastructure. Critics suggest the phantom of the group is being instrumentalized by the PRC to justify its policy of repression in Xinjiang. On a further note, while the US had listed ETIM/TIP as a terror organization at the height of the War on Terror, this classification was revoked this year. While this act was certainly tied to political motives, it serves as further proof of the patent inactivity of the group. |
| 200 | 20081 | Guinea Bissau (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor change | Changed from PRS, Madem to MADEM-15 (change of name and clearly main opposition party) |
| 201 | 20883 | Niger (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor change | Generalizing of actors Moden-FA Lumana Africa, PJP and MNSD-Nassara under the coalition "opposition groups" especially in conflict head, as they fluctuate from year to year but are seen as existing opposition parties |
| 202 | 41093 | Indonesia (Aceh regional government – opposition / Aceh) | Asia & Oceania | conflict type | Was coded as substate in 2019, while clearly involves regional government (therefore intrastate) |

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| Nr | ID | Name | Region | kind of change | comment |
| 203 | 10081 | Spain (Basque provinces) | Europe | name | Naming slightly changed, not capitalizing "p" in "Provinces as it is not one official subnational unit but rather several, in general |
| 204 | 40175 | Thailand (Islamist Separatists / Southern Border Provinces) | Asia & Oceania | name | Naming adjusted to fit conventions, "Southern Border Provinces" not capitalized anymore because not an official name (but rather a description of the location of the four provinces affected) |
| 205 | 41074 | Thailand (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes | The actors are adjusted to recent opposition movement, rather from student groups and academics vs. government and RTAF than the former royalist-democratic line of contention. Added is the Future Forward Party (FFP) founded in March 2018 by Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, former vice president of Thai Summit Group. Its primary aims were to challenge the military's role in government, decentralize governmental bureaucracy and improve social and economic well-being. The party was ordered to dissolve in February 2020 and its leader was arrested but it continues to be active on social media and contest the court ruling. The Liberation Youth group was responsible for organising the mass demonstration of several thousand mostly youth's in Bangkok on July 18. The group openly calls for the resignation of current PM, reformation of the government and supports the FFP. People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD), United Front for Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD) and Pheu Thai Party (PTP) are removed as direct actors and interpreted as supporters. The PTP is an active party but lost relevance, PAD and UDD are mainly mentioned when Thai police arrests former members, so a systematic activity is difficult to observe; former supporters may have been included in the 2020 protests, as civilians. According to HIK conventions and since the martial law is formally over (the Thai prime minister is head of the army), the Royal Thai Armed Forces (RTAF) is also not listed as a direct actor anymore but was often a target of protests and is thus separately named as a supporter of the government. |
| 206 | 30001 | Venezuela (opposition) | Americas | actor added | Added pro-government militias as a conflict actor on the side of Venezuelan Government, also known as "colectivos" |
| 207 | 32333 | Brazil (social protests) | Americas | actor added | Added Black Lives Matter (BLM) et. al. as a conflict actor, replacing "Movimento Passe Livre" (MPL) |
| 208 | 32333 | Brazil (social protests) | Americas | actor removed | Deleted MPL as a conflict actor, conflicts centered around Black Lives Matter, while MPL did not mobilize any protest at all. |
| 209 | 20048 | Nigeria (Christians – Muslims) | Sub-Saharan Africa | merger | Merged into 20886 "Nigeria (farmers – pastoralists)", 20952 "Nigeria, Chad et al. (JAS-Boko Haram)" and 20061 "Mali, Burkina Faso et al. (ISWAP / ISWAP-GS)" because actors generally overlap. Muslims in most cases were Islamists or Fulani herders, Christians can be counted under the label "pastoralists" or civilians coincidentally involved in attacks; the Nigerian government also stated on March 2, 2020 that Christians were often targets of Islamist terrorism. During the last years, the dynamic was rather observed as a "residual" conflict but nowadays, very few cases fit the original local religious tensions framing. |
| 210 | 20912 | Nigeria (Northerners – Southerners) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor changes, name | Northerners and Southerners as general actors are not relevant anymore, all actors involved in the measures are supporters or members of either political(ly organized) party, the APC or PDP. This development has been observed in 2019 as well. Thus, the name is changed to "Nigeria (APC supporters – PDP supporters)". |
| 211 | 20903 | Uganda (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor added | The opposition party National Unity Platform has emerged as an important actor and been added as "NUP" to the oppositional coalition. |
| 212 | 33003 | Nicaragua (indigenous groups) | Americas | actors added | So far, the actors have been Miskito groups, YATAMA vs. government. As there are more indigenous groups affected than the Miskito, however, the Rama and Mayangna are added specifically, "non-indigenous settlers" ("colonos") are added to the other conflict party alongside government. |
| 213 | 32022 | El Salvador (Maras) | Americas | name | The name has been El Salvador (Maras), as the so-called Maras is the biggest drug trafficking organization in El Salvador. However, the group has split into two subgroups (MS-13, MS-503) and there are also two other allied drug trafficking organizations active in the country (Barrio 18; Northerners and Southerners). Therefore the name is changed to: "El Salvador (drug trafficking organizations)", also in accordance with similar conflicts in Brazil and Honduras. |
| 214 | 10201 | Cyprus (TRNC / Northern Cyprus) | Europe | item removed | The item national power is removed because it is mutually exclusive with the secession item. It was a part of the conflict since 2017 and is now re-evaluated to revoke adding it. Despite the conflict taking place at an intra-state level, the TRNC does not strive for power over the entire state but instead only territorial integrity/sovereign rights of the northern part of Cyprus (comparable to other secession conflicts in Europe where one region declared independence). The Cypriot state counteracting these efforts does not have to fall under this item category anymore. |
| 215 | 50064 | Afghanistan (Taliban et al.) | WANA | supporter added | The role of the USA is considered as a supporter, directly taking action besides taking part as a NATO member (also an indirect actor/intervener). This development could be seen in previous years too. By signing the Agreement for Bringing Peace to Afghanistan, the US government unilaterally changed the conflict dynamics and pressured the Afghan government to seek and accelerate peace negotiations with the Taliban. However, although the USA is also part of the NATO mission in Afghanistan, there are qualitative as well as quantitative reasons to observe the US government separately. Its role was already shown by the amount of troops deployed to Afghanistan, the extensive amount of operations carried out on Taliban, the logistical capacities offered to coalition partners, its unilateral agreements with the Taliban and unofficial right of co-determinations to the Afghan government, as well as the fact the US government used Article 5 of the NATO founding treaty in the first hand. It is not a direct actor, however, as it has a mainly mediating function and is not pursuing the item for its own interests but to "help" the democracy in the region. |
| 216 | 40034 | India (Kashmir) | Asia & Oceania | actors removed | Tehreek-ul-Mujahideen (TuM), Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HuM), removed; no relevant measures |
| 217 | 40270 | India (Manipur) | Asia & Oceania | actor removed | KRA removed, as it was not involved in any relevant measures. |
| 218 | 40232 | Kazakhstan (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | actor added | DPK (Democratic Party of Kazakhstan) was added retroactively, as this new major opposition party was founded in October 2019. |
| 219 | 42100 | Pakistan (Pashtuns / PTM) | Asia & Oceania | supporter added | Afghanistan added as supporter for "Pashtuns / PTM" coalition after comments from the Afghan president |
| 220 | 42013 | Pakistan (Sindh) | Asia & Oceania | actors changes, item added | Sindhudesh Revolutionary Army (SRA) added as actor, together with item secession (newly founded); APM and Pakhtuns removed as actors (no relevant measures) |
| 221 | 51014 | Iran (PDKI et al.) | WANA | item change | The item national power is retroactively changed to autonomy. To the knowledge of the RGL, PDKI never intended to seek national power in Iran. Instead they fight for an autonomous region of the Kurds within the Iranian borders and as such try to achieve similar rights as the Kurds of Kurdistan region in Iraq. This is claimed not only by the party's slogan "Democracy for Iran and Autonomy for Kurdistan", but in its political agenda from 2000 as well: " PDKI has documented its objectives in this Programme. It will be up to the future autonomous government within a democratic Iran to achieve these goals. [...] The autonomous region comprises of the whole territory of Iranian Kurdistan. The geographical dimension of the autonomous region of Kurdistan will be defined by taking into account the geographic and economic factors, and the demand of the majority of the people living in every region inhabited by Kurds." |
| 222 | 21312 | Djibouti (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor changes | USN and MJO were removed as actors because there were no relevant conflict measures involving them or reports about them. Instead, ARD was added because it is currently one of the biggest opposition parties, others are jointly observed as general "opposition groups". |
| 223 | 30401 | Peru (Shining Path) | Americas | supporter added | MOVEDEF added retrospectively as a supporter to Shining Path since 2014; time and again they appeared with similar demands and citing Shining Path's ideology, and although MOVEDEF itself does not admit to ties, citizens and the police often group them together (MOVEDEF as the political arm of Shining Path) and students fear infiltration of universities by MOVEDEF (and a repeat of the civil war ending in 1992). VRAEM also distances itself from MOVEDEF, indicating that other conflict actors recognize them as part of the conflict. |
| 224 | 40010 | India (GJM et al. / West Bengal) | Asia & Oceania | actor removed | GNLA was removed, as no measure took place with the concerning actor. |
| 225 | 40271 | India (GNLA et al. / Meghalaya) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes | ARA was removed as an actor, and the KSU was added. |
| 226 | 40242 | India (inter-ethnic rivalry / Assam) | Asia & Oceania | actor removed & added | ULFA-I was not an active actor for the conflict in 2020. AABYSF was added as actor, with the same aim as the Bangladeshi (coalition with the Bangladeshi migrants) |
| 227 | 40184 | India (Nagalim) | Asia & Oceania | actor added | NSCN-KYA was added as an actor. |
| 228 | 41085 | India (ULFA-I et al. / Assam) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes, actor name | NSCN-K & NSCN-R removed and NDFB added. ULFA has been written as United Liberation Front of "Assam" in previous CoBas, however, the common version (used in News as well) is "Asom". We have used "Asom" in both India (ULFA-I et al. / Assam) and India (Naglim). |
| 229 | 41016 | India (NLFT factions et al. / Tripura) | Asia & Oceania | actor removed | ATTP, ATTF, NFNS removed as they were not active in 2020. |
| 230 | 40187 | India (Nagas – Kukis) | Asia & Oceania | name | Name adjusted to "India (Kukis – Nagas)" be in accordance with conventions for substate conflicts: alphabetical order of actors |
| 231 | 40065 | Nepal (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | actor removed | RPP was added to the conflict, but CPN and UCPN-M were removed |

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| Nr | ID | Name | Region | kind of change | comment |
| 232 | 40302 | Nepal (Madhesis, Tharus / Terai) | Asia & Oceania | actor added | JSPN added |
| 233 | 20101 | Togo (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor removed, actor added | MPDD added, CST removed |
| 234 | 30269 | Nicaragua (militant groups) | Americas | changed intensity | The intensity in 2017 was mistakenly recorded as a 3 but no violent measures were found, nor was reporting at the time observed (in retrospect), so that it would also be difficult to assume an ongoing threat. It was set to inactive the year after and it seems that the actors (guerilla groups CGN, FASN-EP, FDC 3-80) ceased activity, with no relevant measures, slowly after 2017. |
| 235 | 42004 | Pakistan – USA | Asia & Oceania | changed intensity | The intensity is corrected from "1" in 2019 to "inactive" due to a lack of relevant measures |
| 236 | 30055 | Mexico (inter-cartel rivalry, paramilitary groups) | Americas | actor change | CSRL and LNFM added as new actor as they took a more dominant role in the conflict landscape |
| 237 | 32016 | Guatemala (opposition) | Americas | actor change | CODECA and CUC removed due to inactivity, replaced by "opposition groups" |
| 238 | 32016 | Guatemala (opposition) | Americas | item change | Item "resources" removed as this year no measures in relation to this item were observed |
| 239 | 12002 | Russia (Islamist militants / Northern Caucasus) | Europe | actor change | From "Islamist militants" specified to "IS Caucasus Province, other Islamist militant groups" |
| 240 | 40098 | Japan – China (East China Sea) | Asia & Oceania | name, item removed | Item "other" (formerly meaning history perceptions of both countries but not usually specified in previous texts) is removed because it is not as relevant in either rhetoric anymore and rather used as one of the obvious argumentation lines in diplomatic talks over the item "territory"; the name is changed to "China – Japan (East China Sea)" to follow naming conventions of alphabetical order in interstate conflicts |
| 241 | 21032 | Burkina Faso (inter-communal rivalry) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor changes | Actors Foulisé and Bella removed, actors Karabo, Lobi and Dogosse added, thus named "Mossi, Gourmantché, Koglleweogo et al." in conflict head |
| 242 | 21100 | Mozambique (RENAMO) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor removed | MDM removed as an actor due to no mention or measures in the context of the conflict |
| 243 | 20086 | Central African Republic, DR Congo, South Sudan (LRA) | Sub-Saharan Africa | affected country removed, name; item removed | Uganda removed, as it does not fulfill the conflict definition anymore (no measures there), thus the name is also adjusted to "DR Congo (ADF)" and it is no longer a transstate but an intrastate conflict; resources added as an item since measures regarding the attack against mineworkers and exploitation of gold were observed |
| 244 | 20089 | DR Congo, Uganda (ADF) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor removed, conflict type, name; item added | Saudi Arabia added as a direct actor in the actors constellation, supported by its coalition (until now, it had been an affected country but only been listed alongside the coalition) |
| 245 | 50023 | Yemen, Saudi Arabia (al-Houthi forces) | WANA | actor added | Various Islamist groups added in the actors constellation |
| 246 | 50051 | Syria (inter-opposition rivalry) | WANA | actor added | Pro-asylum activists had no measure regarding the conflict in 2020 |
| 247 | 10004 | Germany (xenophobes) | Europe | actor removed | Nordic Resistance Movement, Nordic youth renamed to the umbrella term "various right-wing groups", because they had no direct measure in 2020, however they were linked to right-wing groups that conducted racist attacks throughout the year. "Social activists" added because of the involvement of social activists in the BLM protests in Sweden in 2020. |
| 248 | 10005 | Sweden (xenophobes) | Europe | actors added | PNV and Geru Esku Dago were removed because they had no measure with respect to the conflict. However we should try to find an umbrella term to include these groups and possible future actors of their kind. |
| 249 | 10081 | Spain (Basque provinces) | Europa | actors removed | Actor constellation adjusted because the conflict head was simply not clear. For Corsica/Pè a Corsica (FC/PaC) is a Corsican nationalist pro-independence alliance, consisting of two actors (1) the nationalist coalition Femu a Corsica (Femu) and (2) the political party Free Corsica/Corsica Libra (FC/CL). |
| 250 | 10190 | France (Corsican nationalists / Corsica) | Europe | actors removed | 32 County Sovereignty Movement, IRM added to the list consisting of AnP, CIRA, NfU, RIRA, Soaradh, SLDP, SF and UDA South East Antrim Brigade added to the list of Alliance Party, DUP, government, RHC, UDA, UUP, UVF. The problem is that this conflict deals with various antagonistic communities such as those above who are intermingled in all sorts of conflict issues. |
| 251 | 10161 | United Kingdom (nationalists / Northern Ireland) | Europe | actors added | Removal of ISGS (merged with ISWAP to Mali, Nigeria et al. (ISWAP / ISWAP-GS): 20061). New conflict name now: Mali, Burkina Faso et al. (JNIM, AQIM et al.), with the same conflict ID. The other actors remained, AQIM as the second most relevant one is added (back) to the title. |
| 252 | 50061 | Mali, Burkina Faso et al. (JNIM, AQIM et al.) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor removed, name | Removal of actor ISWAP, which had split in 2015 from Boko Haram and is seen as a new dynamic, forming the conflict: 20061 Mali, Nigeria et al. (ISWAP / ISWAP-GS). |
| 253 | 20952 | Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Niger (Boko Haram) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor removed | Osbat al-Ansar' removed as an actor. New constellation: Ansar Allah vs. other Palestinian Islamist groups vs. al-Fatah vs. other Palestinian factions |
| 254 | 50052 | Lebanon (inner-Palestinian tensions) | WANA | actor changes | NBPP removed due to inactivity. Right-wing extremists removed as direct actor and added as government supporter |
| 255 | 32885 | USA (racial tensions) | Americas | actor changes | Removed "Bosnian Serbs" from conflict name since they are no more relevant. The conflict is about the secession of Republika Srpska, so this should also be the conflict title. "Bosnian Serbs" used to be listed as conflict actor before but now also removed from the actor frame, since there were no measures by the civilian population in 2020. |
| 256 | 10102 | Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republika Srpska) | Europe | name and actor change | Changed "Ukraine" to "government" since it is an intra-state conflict in Ukraine. |
| 257 | 10110 | Ukraine (Donbas) | Europe | actor name | Deleted item "resources" because it does not seem relevant anymore. |
| 258 | 10110 | Ukraine (Donbas) | Europe | item removed | Saudi Arabia removed from the affected countries list, but is still involved as an actor |
| 259 | 50020 | Syria, Iraq et al. (IS) | WANA | affected country removed | The conflict was renamed [Nigeria, Chad et al. (JAS-Boko Haram)]. The primary actor Boko Haram was also renamed, henceforth being referred to as [JAS]. |
| 260 | 20952 | Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Niger (Boko Haram) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name change, actor name | No measures involving Nuer people this year, thus removed as the third conflict party after a year |
| 261 | 20908 | Sudan, South Sudan (Abyei) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor removed | RSF new actor (in analogy to Darfur) |
| 262 | 21210 | Sudan (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor added | The conflict merged into 25002 South Sudan (opposition), since former oppositional SPLM/A-IO has joined forces with government after peace deal and now fights oppositional armed groups together with the army. |
| 263 | 20920 | South Sudan (SPLM/A-IO) | Sub-Saharan Africa | merger | SSOA as new oppositional alliance, SPLM/A-IO joins government side (see merger) |
| 264 | 25002 | South Sudan (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actors added | CODECO, FPIC, and Zaire militia added as actors, since they were clearly defined as actors and emerged this year, respectively; resources added as item since relating measures have been observed |
| 265 | 20210 | DR Congo (Ituri militias) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actors and item added | NDC-R and APCLS-R added as new actor, since APCLS-R split from APLCS and joined forces with NDC-R; NDC-R has been the most active group; FDLR removed as actor since it is no longer an actor in this conflict; Raia Mutomboki removed as actor because it belongs to Mayi Mayi groups; Bayanmulenge militias, Bafuilro militias, and Babembe militias added since they are primary actors active in South Kivu province |
| 266 | 20617 | DR Congo (Mayi Mayi et al.) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor change | The intensity is corrected from "1" in 2019 to "inactive" as there were no measures outside of established regulatory procedures |
| 267 | 20621 | France – Rwanda | Sub-Saharan Africa | corrected intensity | Tribes formed alliances, Ahali tribe not relevant anymore |
| 268 | 51400 | Libya (inter-tribal rivalry) | WANA | actor removed | Name change of "Abkhazia regional government" to "Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia" according to full name; also adding "" to conflict name [Georgia (Abkhazia)] to acknowledge limited recognition |
| 269 | 10002 | Georgia (Abkhazia) | Europe | name, actor name | Name change of "South Ossetian regional government" to "Republic of South Ossetia - the State of Alania"; also adding "" to conflict name [Georgia (South Ossetia)] to acknowledge limited recognition |
| 270 | 10003 | Georgia (South Ossetia) | Europe | name, actor name | Actor name change of "TRNC / Northern Cyprus" to simply "TRNC" (because Northern Cyprus is the region and already in the title), adjusted to include " for TRNC to acknowledge limited recognition status, title now also changed to "Cyprus (Northern Cyprus)" to remain consistent with other naming of disputed territories where only an independently active group would be mentioned (in this case, the territory/claimed republic and actor are identical). |
| 271 | 10201 | Cyprus (TRNC / Northern Cyprus) | Europe | name, actor name | Actor ROK (South Korea) removed as direct and considered supporter from 2020 on. In principle, the government supports defectors in their integration into Korean society. However, it does not take any action with regard to the objects of conflict but at most supports non-state actors. |
| 272 | 45003 | North Korea, China (defectors) | Asia & Oceania | actor changes | Moreover, the ROK Moon government shows an ambivalent position toward NGOs because of its North Korea policy. For example, certain activities have been banned. |

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|-------------|-------|---|--------------------|--|---|
| Nr | ID | Name | Region | kind of change | comment |
| 273 | 50325 | Russia – Turkey | WANA | status, name, item | The formerly inactive conflict (since 2017) is re-activated as a violent crisis. The intensity in 2019 is corrected from inactive to a non-violent crisis. The item "resources" (oil, gas mainly in the Black Sea) is added. The name is adjusted to the naming conventions by putting it in alphabetical order. |
| 274 | 50417 | Syria (Kurdish groups) | WANA | item added, actor changes | From "Islamist militants" specified to "IS Caucasus Province, other Islamist militant groups" |
| 275 | 41094 | Philippines (BIFM, BIFF – MILF, government) | Asia & Oceania | name, actor removed | MILF group was removed from the actor constellation due to supportive character in conflict engagement, thus also from the name -> "Philippines (BIFM, BIFF – government)". The original MILF group was not involved in fighting in 2020 according to researcher and reporting is scarce. However, several groups have emerged under similar names. They are considered as a supporter for 2020. |
| 276 | 20908 | Sudan, South Sudan (Abyei) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Changed to "South Sudan, Sudan (inter-communal rivalry / Abyei)" according to naming conventions: firstly, alphabetical order, secondly, as it is neither a trans- nor intrastate conflict and simply the region would indicate that it was about autonomy or secession of the region. The dynamic itself of substate actors is more appropriately expressed as "inter-communal rivalry" |
| 277 | 40024 | Malaysia (Sulu Sultanate supporters / Lahad Datu district) | Asia & Oceania | status, actor changes, name | Status changed from inactive to active (at a dispute level) as there were claims from the Malaysian and Phillipin |
| 278 | 10026 | Cyprus – Turkey | Europe | item removed | Item "resources" removed as it is now included in 10212 Cyprus, Greece et al. – Turkey (Eastern Mediterranean) |
| 279 | 10202 | Greece – Turkey | Europe | item removed | Item "resources" removed as it is now included in 10212 Cyprus, Greece et al. – Turkey (Eastern Mediterranean) |
| 280 | 20002 | Tanzania (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor added, corrected intensity | Adding "ACT-Wazalendo" to the opposition actors. Although the party was already founded in 2014 it only gained visible impetus in 2019 and is now active in Zanzibar. The intensity for 2019 was corrected from "inactive" to "1" since local elections were held in 2019 and the opposition contested the elections, which is seen as a measure outside of established regulatory processes. |
| 281 | 20081 | Guinea Bissau (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name | Name adjusted for correct ortography of the country: hyphen added, so it is henceforth called "Guinea-Bissau (opposition)" |
| 282 | 20082 | Bangladesh (Islamist groups) | Asia & Oceania | actor added | Actor "Allahr Dal" added retroactively from 1995 onwards |
| 2021 | | | | | |
| 283 | 40008 | Japan, South Korea, USA – North Korea | Asia & Oceania | Start date changed, actor change | Start date adjusted from 1990 to 1993 when North Korea announced it would leave NPT (although temporarily suspended until 2003). Nuclear issues are key issue of the conflict for all parties; this shows reciprocity as well, suspension followed but was discussed and reactions by USA (considered pre-emptive strike in 1994) and Japan (in 1998 assuming they would become target). The abductions issue was only voiced by Japan starting in 2002. Status of PRC (China) was changed from intervener to supporter as PRC is said to have become again the "lifeline" of the DPRK in terms of economic and political support and it is now rather on one side (or staying neutral), not acting to mediate or wanting to end the conflict itself. Moreover, PRC's own conflicts with actor constellation A suggest that its more on the side of DPRK. |
| 284 | 40006 | Japan – Russia | Asia & Oceania | item added | Item "resources" added due to measures also revolving around fish(ing), potentially and assumed by experts also oil/gas as both parties' interest |
| 285 | 10202 | Greece – Turkey (old name) | Europe | name | Name changed from "Greece – Turkey" to "Greece – Turkey (Aegean Sea)" to emphasize territory that is the main item (with other = history perception) of the conflict, while resources etc. is now observed under the Eastern Mediterranean one |
| 286 | 10212 | Cyprus, Greece et al. – Turkey, Libya (Eastern Mediterranean) | Europe | name, supporting actors, merger, starting date | Name changed to "Cyprus, Greece et al. – Turkey, Libya (Eastern Mediterranean)" to include Libya (direct actor). Start date changed from 2020 (conflict opened in HIIC) to 2002 to reflect real-world start of the conflict as well as the merger with the former resource conflict "Cyprus – Turkey" (ID 10026) which was the previous conflict over resources and system/ideology before it became more internationalized. Jordan and Lebanon are added as supporting actors due to involvement in resource projects/gas forums, as is TRNC". |
| 287 | 20012 | Uganda (inter-communal rivalry / Rwenzururu) | Sub-Saharan Africa | corrected intensity | The intensity is corrected from "inactive" in 2020 to "3" as a violent measure took place. |
| 288 | 50417 | Syria (Kurdish groups) | WANA | item added | Item "resources" added |
| 289 | 50050 | Syria (Turkey – SDF / Northern Syria) | WANA | item and actor added | Item "resources" added, Actor "HRE" added: abbreviation for Afrin Liberation Forces |
| 290 | 40321 | Myanmar (SSA / Shan State) | Asia & Oceania | actors separated, corrected start year | The North and South Shan State Armies have historically been listed as allied actors and are now listed as separate actors. Both armies still fight against the government and for the same conflict item however are increasingly clashing against each other as well and rarely engage in alieship operations against the Tatmadaw (government). The start year was mistakenly still listed as 1953 in the CoBas in 2019 and 2020 (a path-dependent error from 2017 on) and is corrected to 1952. |
| 291 | 50055 | Turkey (PKK) | WANA | name, actor | remove actor/branch TAK (Turkey (PKK, TAK) --> Turkey (PKK) as they have not been active in the past two years |
| 292 | 10211 | Hungary (right-wings – minorities) (old name) | Europe | actors added, name | Légió Hungária, Carpathian Brigade, Arrow Cross Party – Hungarist Movement added on right-wings since more prominent activities in 2021; LGBT changed to LGBTQI+, since more specific contemporary term; activists (allies) added as direct actor because of prominent measures, they are not part of the respective groups but rather allied to them. Conflict name changed to "Hungary (minorities – right-wings) to comply with alphabetical order of (substate and other) conflicts. |
| 293 | 20606 | Chad (militant groups) | Sub-Saharan Africa | item removed | Item "resources" was removed as it is no longer relevant to this conflict. |
| 294 | 40271 | India (Meghalaya) | Asia & Oceania | name and actor changed | India (GNLA et al. Meghalaya) was changed to India (Meghalaya) as the GNLA has not been active in the past few years. AHAM and KSU removed as an actor, as it has not been active. |
| 295 | 20613 | Burundi, DR Congo (FNL, RED-Tabara, Forebu) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor name | Forebu changed its name to Forces populaires du Burundi (FPB) |
| 296 | 10203 | Hungary – Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine (Hungarian minorities) | Europe | item | item "autonomy" changed to "ideology/system", since conflict is between respective governments, minorities are not acting as conflict actors. autonomy -> only possible if conflict actors would be minorities |
| 297 | 40065 | Nepal (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | actors | RPP removed as an actor, as it has not been active for a few years. NCP split into CPN and CPN-UML faction again. |
| 299 | 11052 | Croatia (Serb minority – ethnic Croatians) (old name) | Europe | name | Name change: ethnic Croatians -> ethnic Croats. Croat is the noun, Croatian the adjective. |
| 300 | 40332 | Myanmar (TNLA – RCSS / Shan State) (old name) | Asia & Oceania | actors, name | SSA refers to both north (SSA-N) and south (SSA-S) Shan State Armies collectively. Both were historically categorized as allies and SSA listed as supporters of RCSS; SSA-S is the armed wing of RCSS. During 2021 the two armies increasingly clashed against each other and were therefore separated as actors for the SSA / Shan State conflict. Therefore, the two armies need to be distinguished in this conflict as well and SSA will be changed to SSA-S to be specific. Name only changes order to comply with alphabetical convention and becomes Myanmar (RCSS –TNLA / Shan State). |
| 301 | 50062 | Algeria (Berbers / Kabylia) | WANA | corrected intensity | The intensity in 2020 is corrected from "2" to "1" |
| 303 | 40042 | Bangladesh (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | actor added | Supporter "Hefazat-e-Islam" added retroactively from 2020 onwards |
| 304 | 20055 | eSwatini (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor added | add "et al." alongside opposition parties to include all societal actors within the opposition |
| 305 | 20311 | Guinea (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor name change | instead of "FNDC vs. government" the actor constellation should be named "opposition groups vs. government" since the structure of the opposition groups changed |
| 306 | 41085 | India (ULFA-I et al. / Assam) | Asia & Oceania | actor added and removed | NLFB, UPFR and ULB added as actors, NDFB & NDFB-S were removed |
| 307 | 40242 | India (inter-ethnic rivalry / Assam) | Asia & Oceania | actor added | AAMSU added as an actor |
| 308 | 40065 | Nepal (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | actor constellation change | actors changed to opposition vs. government, due to elections |
| 309 | 30055 | Mexico (inter-cartel rivalry, paramilitary groups) | Americas | actor added and | As the conflict is fluent, new actors have to be added or become void. Added: CU. Removed: LNFM. |
| 310 | 50405 | Libya (opposition) | WANA | actor added | GNU and PC established in 2022, officially replacing GNA and LNA but both remain present |
| 311 | 40039 | Papua New Guinea (inter-communal rivalry) | Asia & Oceania | name changed | name changed from "Papua New Guinea (tribal tensions)" to "Papua New Guinea (inter-communal rivalry)" as the term "tribe" is both inappropriate and outdated. |

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|-----|-------|--|--------------------|---|--|
| Nr | ID | Name | Region | kind of change | comment |
| 312 | 42045 | Papua New Guinea (Bougainville) | Asia & Oceania | conflict item changed | Conflict item "secession" instead of "autonomy" from 2019 onwards as that was the goal of the 2019 independence referendum and afterwards, it became clear that the implementation was still contested (whether secession or autonomy, economic issues etc.). The item is changed in retrospect from 2019-12-11 (when results were announced) on. Bougainville had been autonomous since 2001 and it is not the main goal of the Bougainville "movement" anymore that has established its autonomous government. |
| 313 | 50061 | Mali, Burkina Faso et al. (JNIM, AQIM et al.) (old name) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name of conflict change and name change | the actor ISGS has to be added, which has to be reflected in the conflict name --> (JNIM, ISGS et al.). Last year, ISGS was removed but this cannot be applied this year since ISGS is operating individually and not under ISWAP rule in 2021 |
| 314 | 51400 | Libya (inter-tribal rivalry) | WANA | name | name changed from "Libya (inter-tribal rivalry)" to "Libya (inter-communal rivalry)" for consistency with other conflicts and because the term "tribe" is outdated. |
| 315 | 50061 | Mali, Burkina Faso et al. (JNIM, AQIM et al.) (old name) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor added | Côte d'Ivoire added as an additional actor and not just affected country |
| 316 | 20111 | Sudan (Darfur) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor added, item added | The conflict has developed towards subnational predominance during the last years, with non-state actors fighting each other, sometimes with support of alleged government-backed militias. Whether government-backed or not, we added "Arab" militias as a third actor, because they are becoming increasingly important. The conflict has had both an intra-state and a sub-state dimension for years now and it was about time to change it in our framing. Item "resources" added. |
| 317 | 30266 | Chile (social movements) (old name) | Americas | name; actor name changed | Name changed from 'social movements' to 'social protests' for the consistency in the region and general protest measures in the country; change actor constellation to encompass all social protests, get rid off Cones & Fonfch |
| 318 | 42045 | Papua New Guinea (Bougainville) | Asia & Oceania | actors | actors changed to "national government" and "Autonomous Bougainville Government" (part of pro-mining coalition) since the other actors were not active this year in relevant ways. "anti-mining coalition" and "pro-mining" Bougainville Copper Ltd., Meekamui Tribal Government and Meekamui Government of Unity removed as actors. Conflict measures mostly conducted by the two governments this year. |
| 319 | 32013 | Honduras (Bajo Aguán) | Americas | actors | actors changed to "farmers of Bajo Aguán, farmers' cooperatives" instead of "MUCA, MARCA, farmers of Bajo Aguán"; MUCA & MARCA don't seem to exist anymore, rather there seem to be about a dozen different farmers' cooperatives |
| 320 | 20047 | Nigeria (Ijaw groups / Niger Delta) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor added | Supreme Egbesu Liberation Fighters (SELF) added as a new actor. They resurfaced this year with a video threatening to destroy Abuja and Lagos Infrastructure amid the alleged neglect of Niger Delta as well as the unfulfillment of the Presidential Amnesty Programm. |
| 321 | 21080 | Central African Republic (militant groups) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name, actors, frame | Name changed from "Central African Republic (Anti-Balaka, ex-Séléka)" to "Central African Republic (militant groups)", actors changed to militant groups vs. government. Formation of a coalition of militant groups on 12/15/2020 called CPC comprising ex-Séléka, Fulani, and anti-Balaka militias. Thus all militants fight the government, previous actor constellation anti-Balaka vs. ex-Séléka vs government not given anymore. Therefore, change of actors, name, and change of frame. |
| 322 | 20089 | DR Congo, Uganda (ADF) | Sub-Saharan Africa | name, actor, type | Name changed from DR Congo (ADF) to DR Congo, Uganda (ADF). Uganda is an actor again since it actively joined DR Congo Armed Forces operations in eastern DRC, furthermore, ADF conducted attacks on Ugandan soil. Therefore, conflict type changed from intrastate to transstate |
| 323 | 20210 | DR Congo (Ituri militias) | Sub-Saharan Africa | frame | CODECO, FPIC, Zaire militia, FRPI vs. government; mistake in Edit last year. |
| 324 | 20617 | DR Congo (Mayi-Mayi et. al) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actors | NDC-R vs. Mayi-Mayi groups vs. Nyatura groups vs. APCLS vs. (FPP/AP) vs. Banyamulenge militias vs. Bafuiliro militias vs. Babembe militias vs. government; APCLS-R was not active this year -> deleted; FPP/AP new actor -> added |
| 325 | 10073 | EU, USA, et al. – Belarus, Russia | Europe | actor | Poland removed, Finland added; Belarus added because of its direct support for Russia, Name changed accord |
| 326 | 10004 | Germany (xenophobes) | Europe | actor | GIDA movements removed as actor, no relevant measures or cohesion anymore |
| 327 | 10161 | United Kingdom (nationalists / Northern Ireland) | Europe | actors, item | New methodological intrastate dynamic added between pro-UK-unity and Irish pro-independence groups and s |
| 328 | 50051 | Syria (inter-opposition rivalry) | WANA | actor | actor FSA removed |
| 329 | 10003 | Georgia (South Ossetia*) | Europe | actor | Change name of conflict party to "Republic of South Ossetia – the State of Alania*" to fully reflect its "own" naming convention |
| 330 | 10046 | Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh) | Europe | actor | Change name of conflict party to "Republic of Artsakh" to fully reflect its "own" naming convention |
| 331 | 10045 | Georgia (opposition) | Europe | actor name | UNM renamed to ENM to reflect local naming convention that recently changed in sources |
| 332 | 30257 | Chile (Mapuche / Araucania) | Americas | Item added | Added territory as item since actors (Mapuche indigenous) claim ancestral territory; add forestry companies as supporters |
| 333 | 40271 | India (Meghalay) | Asia & Oceania | actor | ANSC and ARA added as actors |
| 334 | 40184 | India (Nagalim) | Asia & Oceania | actor | NSCN-K-NS and NSCN-K-Khango added as actors |
| 335 | 21091 | Somalia (subclan rivalry) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actors | from various subclans to overarching clans (Darood, Dir, Hawiye clans as three coalitions) to no discriminate be |
| 336 | 40039 | Papua New Guinea (inter-communal rivalry) | Asia & Oceania | actors | Actors changed to "Agarabi, Tapo, Enga Tari, Kopiago and various other tribes" since the specific people groups involved changed (which can happen regularly) |
| 337 | 20086 | Central African Republic, DR Congo (LRA) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actor, name | South Sudan deleted as actor, no measures observed involving this actor, nor on South Sudanese territory (i. e. affected countries), subsequently name change |
| 338 | 11113 | Bulgaria (opposition) | Europe | actor, supporter, item | BSP, Democratic Bulgaria and There Is Such a Nation became part of the newly elected government coalition w |
| 339 | 20886 | Nigeria (farmers – pastoralists) (old name) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actors, name, item | Actor "bandits" added as a sort of splinter from Fulani pastoralists (but not all are Fulani) who formed criminal gangs, the substate conflict thus became a triadic frame. Name changed accordingly to "Nigeria (inter-communal rivalry)" to be consistent with others in the region and include the new, highly violent, actor and its interest. The item "other" (= kidnapping for ransom) was added as pursued by the bandits for economic reasons and affecting the other groups (civilians of both other communes are often among the victims and try to oppose it with self-defense groups etc.). |
| 340 | 10161 | United Kingdom (nationalists / Northern Ireland) | Europe | actors added, and removed | 32 County Sovereignty Movement, IRM added to the list consisting of AnP, CIRA, NFU, RIRA, Soaradh, SLDP, SF and UDA South East Antrim Brigade added to the list of Alliance Party, DUP, government, RHC, UDA, UUP, UVF. The problem is that this conflict deals with various antagonistic communities such as those above who are intermingled in all sorts of conflict issues. ACTIVE ACTORS IN 2021: Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), unionists vs. nationalists, the Irish government, and the EU / UK government vs. Sinn Féin (SF) |
| 341 | 40021 | Myanmar (opposition) | Southeast Asia | Actor name change | Government changed to Myanmar Army to reflect international consensus not to give legitimacy to the military regime and because the majority of Myanmar people do not consider it to be the legitimate government. Opposition changed to be National League for Democracy (NLD), supported by its interim government, National Unity Government (NUG). |
| 342 | 40509 | Myanmar (AA / Rakhine State) | Southeast Asia | Actor name change | Same reasoning as for Myanmar (opposition) actor change. Government changed to Myanmar Army. |
| 343 | 40331 | Myanmar (KIA, KIO / Kachin State) | Southeast Asia | Actor name change | Same reasoning as for Myanmar (opposition) actor change. Government changed to Myanmar Army. |
| 344 | 40320 | Myanmar (KNU, KNLA, DKBA et al. / Karen) | Southeast Asia | Actor name change | Same reasoning as for Myanmar (opposition) actor change. Government changed to Myanmar Army. |
| 345 | 45002 | Myanmar (MNDA / Shan State) | Southeast Asia | Actor name change | Same reasoning as for Myanmar (opposition) actor change. Government changed to Myanmar Army. |
| 346 | 41266 | Myanmar (Rohingya) | Southeast Asia | Actor name change | Same reasoning as for Myanmar (opposition) actor change. Government changed to Myanmar Army. |
| 347 | 40321 | Myanmar (SSA -N (SSPP) / SSA-S (RCSS)) | Southeast Asia | Actor name change | Same reasoning as for Myanmar (opposition) actor change. Government changed to Myanmar Army. |
| 348 | 40330 | Myanmar (TNLA / Shan State) | Southeast Asia | Actor name change | Same reasoning as for Myanmar (opposition) actor change. Government changed to Myanmar Army. |
| 349 | 40332 | Myanmar (TNLA – RCSS / Shan State) | Southeast Asia | Actor name change | Same reasoning as for Myanmar (opposition) actor change. Government changed to Myanmar Army. |
| 350 | 40333 | Myanmar (UWSA, NDAA / Shan State) | Southeast Asia | Actor name change | Same reasoning as for Myanmar (opposition) actor change. Government changed to Myanmar Army. |
| 351 | 40043 | Myanmar (socioeconomic protests) | Southeast Asia | Actor name change | Same reasoning as for Myanmar (opposition) actor change. Government changed to Myanmar Army. |

inactive conflicts 2013-2021

| Nr. | ID | name | region | inactive since | status 2018 | status 2019 | status 2020 | status 2021 | comment |
|-------------|-------|---|--------------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|---|
| 1 | 30269 | Nicaragua (militant groups) | Americas | 2018 | inactive | inactive | closed | | no active measures in 2018 |
| 2 | 41066 | Samoa (landowner protests) | Asia & Oceania | 2017 | inactive | closed | | | inactive for two consecutive years, no violent measures since 2012 |
| 3 | 10031 | Serbia (Islamist militant groups / Sandzak) | Europe | 2013 | inactive | closed | | | inactive since 2013 or longer |
| 4 | 10000 | Azerbaijan – Iran | Europe | 2013 | inactive | closed | | | inactive since 2013 or longer |
| 5 | 11058 | Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnian Croats / Herzegovina) | Europe | 2013 | inactive | closed | | | inactive since 2013 or longer |
| 6 | 10908 | Bulgaria (opposition movement) | Europe | 2015 | closed | closed | | | The Oresharski government resigned on June 19, 2014. No conflict measures of student and other opposition groups (collectively against government) observed in the course of 2 years (2015, 2016), thus closed in 2017. |
| 7 | 10029 | Georgia (Armenian minority) | Europe | 2013 | inactive | closed | | | inactive since 2013 or longer |
| 8 | 10028 | Georgia (Azeri minority) | Europe | 2013 2018 | inactive inactive | closed inactive | | inactive | inactive since 2013 or longer The conflict over subnational predominance and resources between ethnic Kyrgyz and ethnic Uzbeks in Kyrgyzstan did not see any measures in 2018. The item has not been actively pursued by the relevant conflict parties in 2016, therefore the conflict is set on "inactive". |
| 9 | 42026 | Kyrgyzstan (Kyrgyz – Uzbeks) | Europe | 2013 | inactive | closed | | | inactive since 2013 or longer |
| 10 | 10132 | Serbia (Albanian minority / Presevo Valley) | Europe | 2013 | inactive | closed | | | inactive since 2013 or longer |
| 11 | 11054 | Serbia (Bosniak minority / Sandzak) | Europe | 2013 2018 | inactive inactive | closed closed | | | inactive since 2013 or longer The intrastate conflict between the Tajik government and the opposition over national power and the orientation of the political system was set inactive in 2018. The opposition remains marginalized, and important members from actors such as Group 24 or the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRPT) fled the country. The remaining opposition consists mostly of Islamists (→ Tajikistan (Islamist groups)). |
| 12 | 40026 | Tajikistan (opposition) | Europe | | | | | | |
| 13 | 10202 | Turkey – Greece (border) | Europe | 2017 | active | active | active | | inactive in 2017, but re-emerged in 2018 as "Greece – Turkey" (under new name conventions) and is thus still ongoing. |
| 14 | 50049 | Afghanistan (Kuchi Nomads – Hazara) | MENA | 2016-2017 2017 | active inactive | active inactive | active closed | | inactive since 2016 The conflict has been dormant since 2016 and was set inactive in 2017. Tensions between the two communities persist, but no active measures have been observed due to heavy police presence in the area. As future unrests can not be ruled out, the conflict was not closed until 2020. |
| 15 | 54001 | Algeria (Malekites – Mozabites / Ghardaia) | MENA | 2017 | inactive | inactive | closed | | inactive since 2017 |
| 16 | 50048 | Egypt (Bedouin activists) | MENA | 2018 | inactive | inactive | closed | | During the last years, no active measures between the Jordan government and Hamas could be observed. However, due to Jordan's involvement in regional politics (→ Israel - State of Palestine (PNA); State of Palestine (Hamas - Fatah)), occasional communication between the government and Hamas took place. |
| 17 | 50029 | Jordan (Hamas) | MENA | 2015 | inactive | inactive | closed | | inactive since 2015 or longer (no violent measures were observed for the past two years. Due to the conflict's history, the conflict is not actively closed but rather put on an observatory status.) |
| 18 | 51005 | Lebanon (Sunni – Alawite) | MENA | 2015 | inactive | closed | | | inactive since 2015 or longer (federalism demands are not actively pursued any more, the conflict actors converged with LNA) |
| 19 | 51044 | Libya (Federalist / Cyrenaica) | MENA | 2016 | inactive | merged into 54321 | Saudia Arabia, Yemen (AQAP) | | inactive since 2016 |
| 20 | 50122 | Saudi Arabia (AQAP) | MENA | 2015 | inactive | closed | | | inactive since 2015 |
| 21 | 50025 | Turkey – Iraq | MENA | 2015 | inactive | inactive | closed | | inactive since 2015 or longer (no violent measures were observed for the past two years. Due to the conflict's history, the conflict is not actively closed but rather put on an observatory status.) |
| 22 | 50419 | Turkey (Huda Par – PKK / Kurdish regions) | MENA | 2017 | inactive | inactive (correcte | active | | no active measures in 2017 and 2018 after weapons deal was signed between both countries on September 12 2017. Seen as inactive in CoBa 2019 too, but corrected in 2020 to active due to reemerging diplomatic tensions about territory and resources |
| 23 | 50325 | Russia – Turkey | MENA | | | | | | |
| 24 | 20100 | Equatorial Guinea – Gabon (Mbanié, Cocotier, Conga Islands) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2018 | inactive | inactive | closed | | auf inaktiv gesetzt, da 2016 Vertrag geschlossen. Abwarten mit Schliessung bis ICJ entscheidet |
| 25 | 20889 | Nigeria (Eggon groups / Nasarawa State) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2016 | inactive | closed | | | no active measures since 2016 |
| 26 | 20049 | Nigeria (MOSOP, Ogoni / Niger Delta) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2016 | inactive | closed | | | inactive since 2016 or longer |
| 27 | 25003 | South Sudan, Uganda (border communities) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2018 | inactive | inactive | closed | | 1 last year, no measures this year |
| 28 | 20204 | Sudan (Eastern Front) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2018 | inactive | inactive | closed | | 1 last year, no measures this year |
| 29 | 20099 | Tanzania (Christians – Muslims) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2018 | inactive | inactive | closed | | The conflict over subnational predominance between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania did not see any measures affecting core state functions in 2018. The item has not been actively pursued by the relevant conflict parties in 2018, therefore the conflict is set on "inactive". |
| 30 | 20954 | Uganda (Baganda / Buganda) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2016 | inactive | inactive | closed | | inactive since 2016 or longer |
| 31 | 40061 | Bhutan – Nepal | Asia & Oceania | 2017 | closed | | | | after the conflict was inactive for several years, it was closed in 2017 |
| 32 | 41041 | Cambodia – Thailand (border) | Asia & Oceania | 2016-2018 | closed | | | | The border disputes over the Preaek Vihear Temple was unanimously decided in favor of Cambodia on November 11, 2013 by the International Court of Justice, with Thai villagers leaving the area and Thai troops being withdrawn. The temple was declared safe to visit again in 2015, but Thailand did not accept the ruling over the nearby Phnom Trap hill. No tensions have broken out since 2016 and no violent measures since 2013. It is thus classified as inactive in retrospect since 2016 and closed this year. |
| 33 | 41097 | China (Taiwan* – opposition) | Asia & Oceania | 2017-2018 | closed | | | | no active measures since 2017 (mistakenly a "2" in 2017, no violent measures already since 2015), main actor (sunflower movement) lost relevance |
| 34 | 41086 | India (PULF) | Asia & Oceania | 2017 | closed | | | | after the conflict was inactive for several years, it was closed in 2017 |
| 35 | 20853 | Cameroon, Nigeria (militants / Bakassi) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2017-2018 | closed | | | | The conflict between militants fighting for an independent Bakassi and the governments of Cameroon and Nigeria was closed this year after the conflict has been inactive from 2017-2018 |
| 36 | 20005 | South Africa (KwaZulu-Natal) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2000-2017 | closed | | | | inactive since 2000 or longer, closed in 2017 |
| 37 | 20010 | Tanzania (Uamsho / Zanzibar) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2014-2017 | closed | | | | after the conflict was inactive from 2014-2017, the conflict was actively closed in 2017 after an agreement was negotiated and implemented in September 2017 |
| 38 | 10013 | Greece – North Macedonia (official name of Macedonia) | Europe | 2013-2018 | active | closed | | | The conflict was inactive since at least 2013 but became active in 2018 (then called FYROM – Greece). |
| 2019 | | | | | | | | | |
| 39 | 30051 | Mexico (EZLN / Chiapas) | Americas | 2018 | active | inactive | active | | In the last 4 years only one measure (2015 sit-in). The EZLN did participate in the electoral process in 2018. However, the conflict issues are not solved as far from being solved as the EZLN in its core still wants to change the political system. It cannot be ruled out that the group will turn violent again in the future. Therefore, we should set the conflict as inactive. The conflict was reactivated in 2020 after increased activity had been observed. |
| 40 | 20012 | Uganda (inter-communal rivalry / Rwenzururu) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2019 | active | inactive | inactive (corrected to active) | | In 2019, no incidents have been reported that would indicate a continuation of the conflict. The 2020 status was corrected in 2021 to active (reactivating it) because of continued land disputes and a violent measure on August 9, 2020, in Kasese. |
| 41 | 40165 | Tajikistan (Gorno-Badakhshan) | Asia & Oceania | 2019 | active | inactive | inactive | | In 2019, no incidents have been reported that would indicate a continuation of the conflict. |
| 42 | 40311 | India (Sikhs – DSS) | Asia & Oceania | 2019 | active | inactive | active | | In 2019, no incidents have been reported that would indicate a continuation of the conflict. |
| 43 | 40095 | China (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | 2017 | inactive | closed | | | The conflict was closed in 2019 and retroactively set to inactive for 2017 and 2018. Again, the current inexistence of a somewhat cohesive and relevant opposition movement as well as the absence of a unifying goal/item, such as democratization and the general unilateral nature of the conflict, which predominantly manifested itself through one-dimensional government repression, justified the decision. Since 2017 there was no significant observed organised activity from opposition actors. |
| 44 | 21090 | Somalia (Hiraale militia – Jubaland) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2017 | inactive | inactive | closed | | No violent measures have been observed since 2017. |
| 45 | 20002 | Tanzania (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2019 | active | inactive (correcte | active | | No relevant measure observed (once called Tanzania (CUF, CHADEMA – CCM)), however, it was retrospectively corrected in 2020 to be a "1" in 2019 as opposition parties contested the elections. |
| 46 | 20078 | Angola (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2019 | active | inactive | closed | | No relevant measures observed |
| 47 | 40322 | Myanmar (UNFC et al.) | Asia & Oceania | 2019 | active | inactive | closed | | The actor itself (UNFC) as a coalition was put to a halt as the rest of the members (after a decline in previous years) nearly all left it; it still technically exists with some (former) members sharing interests but was suspended officially. It will only be observed in 2020 in case the involved organizations make any joint effort again. |
| 48 | 40024 | Malaysia (Sulu Sultanate supporters / Lahad Datu district) | Asia & Oceania | 2018 | inactive | inactive | active | | retroactively set as inactive in 2018 too, no direct new measures because actors from the 2013 attack in trial or hiding and no formation/organization that pursues the item "dormant claim" of the Sultanate itself. Philippines officially support Malaysia's territorial integrity, in 2020 it was reiterated by both sides). |
| 49 | 40013 | Indonesia, Philippines – Malaysia (immigrants) | Asia & Oceania | 2019 | inactive | inactive | closed | | No measures directly on public talks or conflicts regarding the issue, any case of immigrant issues are within regulatory processes |

inactive conflicts 2013-2021

| Nr. | ID | name | region | inactive since | status 2018 | status 2019 | status 2020 | status 2021 | comment |
|-------------|-------|---|--------------------|----------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------|--|
| 50 | 10191 | Kazakhstan – Russia et. al. (Caspian Sea) | Europe | 2019 | active | inactive | inactive | | In 2018, the littoral states signed an agreement to solve the conflict on the status of the Caspian Sea, however the agreement in 2019 is still pending ratification. Thus, the conflict has not finally ended, yet, but is inactive since the signing of the agreement, as no further measures have occurred. |
| 51 | 56249 | Iraq (Sunni opposition) | MENA | 2019 | active | merged into 50413 | Iraq (opposition) | | The conflict showed no relevant measures and merged into the wider opposition conflict. |
| 52 | 20880 | DR Congo (ex-M23) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2019 | active | inactive | active | | After being inactive in 2019 with no notable measures, ex-M23 activity was observed in Rutshuru territory, North Kivu province and in South Kivu province in 2020, thus putting it to a non-violent crisis and active again. |
| 53 | 42077 | India (Nagas – Assamese Adivasis) | Asia & Oceania | 2019 | active | inactive | inactive | | No incidents have been reported since 2017, except arrests of AANLA militants. Factions of NSCN and AANLA are currently under a ceasefire agreement. |
| 2020 | | | | | | | | | |
| 54 | 20014 | Uganda (Bakonzo / Rwenzururu) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | active | active (corrected) | inactive | closed | In 2020, no incidents have been reported that would indicate a continuation of the conflict. It was inactive in 2019 as well (corrected retrospectively in 2021), as there were already no measures anymore. |
| 55 | 40306 | India (HPC-D factions / Mizoram, Manipur, Assam) | Asia & Oceania | 2020 | active | active | inactive | | In 2020, the suspension of the Operation Act was extended. No further relevant incidents were reported on the issue. |
| 56 | 42014 | Nepal (Kiratis / Kosi, Mechi, Sagarmatha) | Asia & Oceania | 2020 | active | active | inactive | | No significant and relevant measure have taken place for the past three years, that would explain the continuation of the conflict. The conflict actors have hardly been active. |
| 57 | 41073 | Uzbekistan (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | 2020 | active | active | inactive | | This conflict will be set to inactive starting in 2020. The conflict has exhibited a clear lack of measures for a prolonged period. Due to the extensive social, political and economic control exerted by the government, no clearly recognizable or cohesive actors are observable in the opposition sphere. Acts of opposition are only sporadic and spontaneous and do not amount to a consistent challenge to the regime regarding the items system/ideology or national power. The only actual challenges to the regime's resilience are located within the regime elite itself. |
| 58 | 42037 | Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan – Uzbekistan | Asia & Oceania | 2020 | active | active | inactive | | This conflict will be set to inactive starting in 2020. Being centred around issues regarding access to water, tensions between the involved countries have decreased considerably during the last few years. Since the death of Uzbekistan's last president, the country cooperates with its neighbors regarding the issue of water dams and has also initiated military partnerships. In exchange the two neighbors have consented to guarantee the flow of water to Uzbekistan. Further observation prior to eventual closure. |
| 59 | 42004 | Pakistan – USA | Asia & Oceania | 2019 | active | inactive | inactive | closed | No relevant measures between 2019 and 2021. |
| 60 | 21060 | Ethiopia (ARDUF) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | active | active | inactive | | No relevant measures in 2020 |
| 61 | 50403 | Iraq (KRG – opposition) | WANA | 2014 | inactive | inactive | active | | Conflict had been inactive since 2014 due to no oppositional measures in the region (formerly named Iraq (KRG – opposition movement) because of old naming convention), then became active again in 2020 following violent clashes |
| 62 | 40031 | Fiji (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | 2020 | active | active | inactive | | No relevant measures in 2020 |
| 63 | 42022 | Fiji (Indo-Fijians – indigenous Fijian ethnonationalists) | Asia & Oceania | 2020 | active | active | inactive | | No relevant measures in 2020 |
| 64 | 20621 | France – Rwanda | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2019 | active | inactive | closed | | Retrospectively put to inactive for 2019 (despite there being a text in CoBa 2019 but this also mainly shows the perspective and established state procedures; the two countries resumed diplomatic relations in 2018 and following talks are rather formal and working together to try former genocide perpetrators). The last charges by France alone against Paul Kagame, who is the elected president of Rwanda, were dropped on December 21, 2018, ongoing ones are not condemned by the Rwandan government anymore. In 2020, it was re-evaluated to not fulfill the conflict definition anymore. |
| 65 | 12001 | Bosnia and Herzegovina (Islamist militant groups) | Europe | 2020 | active | active | inactive | | No relevant measures in 2020 |
| 66 | 50181 | Lebanon (March 14 Alliance – March 8 Alliance) | WANA | 2020 | active | active | inactive | | No relevant measures in 2020 |
| 2021 | | | | | | | | | |
| 67 | 50039 | Lebanon (Fatah al-Islam) | WANA | 2021 | active | active | active | inactive | No relevant measures in 2021 |
| 68 | 51006 | Lebanon (Sunni militant groups) | WANA | 2021 | active | active | active | inactive | No relevant measures in 2021 |
| 69 | 50047 | State of Palestine* (Hamas – Salafi groups) | WANA | 2021 | active | active | active | inactive | No relevant measures in 2021 |
| 70 | 30321 | Colombia (artisanal miners / Antioquia) | Americas | 2021 | inactive | active | active | inactive | No relevant measures in 2021 |
| 71 | 30226 | Colombia (Cumbre Agraria) | Americas | 2021 | inactive | active | active | inactive | No relevant measures in 2021 |
| 72 | 12000 | Romania (opposition) | Europe | 2021 | active | active | active | inactive | No relevant measures in 2021 |
| 73 | 33101 | Dominican Republic (anti-corruption) | Americas | 2021 | active | active | active | inactive | No relevant measures and a new, incoming, fairly elected opposition government that ran on an anti-corruption platform |
| 74 | 20180 | DR Congo – Rwanda | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2021 | active | active | active | inactive | No relevant measures in 2021 |
| 75 | 32010 | Chile (Rapa Nui / Easter Island) | Americas | 2021 | active | active | active | inactive | No relevant measures in 2021 |
| 76 | 42034 | Kazakhstan (Islamist groups) | Asia & Oceania | 2021 | active | active | active | inactive | no relevant measures in 2021 |

new conflicts and retroactively opened conflicts 2017-2021

| Nr | ID | name | region | observed since | conflict start | comment | edited by | verified | verified by |
|-------------|-------|--|--------------------|----------------|----------------|---|---------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| 1 | 20122 | Mali (inter-communal rivalry / central Mali) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2018 | 2012 | retroactively opened (start year 2012) | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 2 | 20003 | South Africa (socioeconomic protests) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2018 | 2018 | While violent protests on service delivery and land/housing have been frequent in South Africa throughout most of the 2000s, it was not until 2018 that they were politicized and acknowledged as political events. | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 3 | 40050 | India (Dalits / Adivasis) | Asia & Oceania | 2018 | 1950 | retroactively opened (start year 1950) | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 4 | 20006 | Mozambique (ASWJ) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2018 | 2017 | retroactively opened (start year 2017) | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 5 | 20816 | DR Congo (KN) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2017 | 2016 | retroactively opened (start year 2016) | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 6 | 20378 | Somalia (ISS) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2017 | 2015 | retroactively opened (start year 2015) | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 7 | 21085 | Djibouti – Eritrea | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2017 | 1996 | retroactively opened (start year 1996) | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 8 | 32887 | USA (right-wing extremists) | Americas | 2017 | 1990 | retroactively opened (start 1990) | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 9 | 50333 | Iran – Saudi Arabia | MENA | 2017 | 1979 | retroactively opened (start 1979) | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 10 | 30321 | Colombia (artisanal miners / Antioquia) | Americas | 2017 | 2017 | | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 11 | 30228 | Colombia (FARC dissidents) | Americas | 2017 | 2017 | | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 12 | 33101 | Dominican Republic (anti-corruption) | Americas | 2017 | 2017 | | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 13 | 56250 | Iraq (KRG – YBS) | MENA | 2017 | 2017 | | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 14 | 50099 | Qatar – Saudi Arabia et al. | MENA | 2017 | 2017 | | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 15 | 50061 | Mali, Burkina Faso et al. (JNIM, AQIM et al.) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2017 | 1998 | Retroactively opened resulting from the split of the transnational 50061 Mali, B. | Marit Braunschweig | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 16 | 23678 | Ethiopia (inter-ethnic rivalry) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2017 | 2017 | | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Franzi |
| 2019 | | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | 42100 | Pakistan (Pashtuns / PTM) | Asia & Oceania | 2019 | 2018 | retroactively opened; in 2018 part of Pakistan (opposition) | Ronja Gottschling | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 18 | 20605 | Chad (inter-communal rivalry) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2019 | 1947 | retroactively opened; conflict roots in 1947 (first measures observed); escalated in 2019 | Lisa Waldheim | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 19 | 21032 | Burkina Faso (inter-communal rivalry) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2019 | 2016 | retroactively opened: conflict roots since 1990s (partly same actors but different) | Marit Braunschweig | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 20 | 40509 | Myanmar (AA / Rakhine State) | Asia & Oceania | 2019 | 2015 | retroactively opened: escalated in 2015 with first documented constitutive violent | Katharina Valjak | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 21 | 11111 | Albania (opposition) | Europe | 2019 | 2017 | retroactively opened, conflict started already 2017 with the opposition's boycott | Damyana Veleva | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 22 | 23576 | Rwanda – Uganda | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2019 | 2018 | retroactively opened | Lisa Waldheim | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 23 | 54321 | Saudia Arabia, Yemen (AQAP) | MENA | 2019 | 1990 | merger of the conflicts Yemen (AQAP, Ansar al-Sharia) (50244) and Saudi Arab | Philipp Müller | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 2020 | | | | | | | | | |
| 24 | 11112 | Montenegro (opposition) | Europe | 2020 | 2015 | retroactively opened | Damyana Veleva | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 25 | 11113 | Bulgaria (opposition) | Europe | 2020 | 2020 | Erupted over national power and the orientation of the political system, when or | Damyana Veleva | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 26 | 11114 | Serbia (opposition) | Europe | 2020 | 2018 | retroactively opened | Damyana Veleva | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 27 | 20915 | Nigeria (Ansaru) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | 2012 | retroactively opened, split from Boko Haram | Richard Krauel | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 28 | 20914 | Nigeria (EndSARS) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | 2020 | Erupted on October 3 over the issue of police brutality, the first measure was th | Richard Krauel | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 29 | 21203 | Ghana (HSGF et al. / Western Togoland) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | 2017 | retroactively opened | Marit Braunschweig | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 30 | 20061 | Mali, Nigeria et al. (ISWAP / ISWAP-GS) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | 2015 | Retroactively opened as merger between actors ISWAP, from conflict 20952 Ni | Katharina Valjak | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 31 | 20619 | DR Congo (inter-communal rivalry / Kasai Oriental) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | 2007 | Retroactively opened (and closed in 2020 as well, the conflict lasted for several | Lisa Waldheim | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 33 | 25987 | Ethiopia, Eritrea (TPLF / Tigray) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | 2020 | Erupted on November 3, 2020 with the governments of Ethiopia and Eritrea vs. | Mika Müller-Popkes | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 34 | 20801 | Ethiopia – Sudan | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | 1902 | Retroactively opened | Mika Müller-Popkes | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 35 | 32204 | El Salvador (opposition) | Americas | 2020 | 2020 | new conflict started between the government and the opposition (on February 5 | Franziska Gottwald | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 36 | 30422 | Bolivia (opposition) | Americas | 2020 | 2017 | new conflict, split from Bolivia (socioeconomic protests) | Franziska Gottwald | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 37 | 10212 | Cyprus, Greece et al. – Turkey (Eastern Mediterranean) | Europe | 2020 | 2020 | New conflict, conflicts over international power, oil and gas resources, and the c | Maximilian Brien | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 2021 | | | | | | | | | |
| 38 | 41000 | Philippines (drugs) | Asia & Oceania | 2021 | 2017 | Retroactively opened as the item 'drugs' (resources) was identified as a sole co | Julian Klose | | |
| 39 | 40103 | China – South Korea | Asia & Oceania | 2021 | 2004 | Retroactively opened with several items, roots in diplomatic conflict over histor | Julian Klose | | |
| 40 | 40151 | India (farmers protests) | Asia & Oceania | 2021 | 2020 | Retroactively opened | Ilsa Hameed | | |
| 41 | 20102 | Nigeria (ISWAP – JAS) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2021 | 2016 | Retroactively opened to also observe the substate dynamic, the others for ISW | Clara Gehrling | | |
| 42 | 30009 | Venezuela (FARC dissidents) | Americas | 2021 | 2020 | Openend retroactively with first measures in December 2020 (see Email Kathi | Raphael Bodewig | | |
| 43 | 30224 | Colombia (social protests) | Americas | 2021 | 2019 | Openend retroactively with start date 2019-11-21 when mass protests around v | Roemer Goes | | |
| 44 | 50056 | Lebanon (opposition) | WANA | 2021 | 2019 | Retroactively opened with start date October 2019 | Hannah Lilje | | |
| 45 | 11030 | France – United Kingdom (fishery) | Europe | 2021 | 2021 | Newly opened | Thomas Cranshaw | | |
| 46 | 31505 | Ecuador (inter-gang rivalry) | Americas | 2021 | 2021 | opened due to heightened violence between gangs, most visibly in frequent pri | Franziska Gottwald | | |
| 47 | 30240 | Mexico (women's protests) | Americas | 2021 | 2020 | The conflict erupted in 2020 over the orientation of the political system, mainl | Ainhoa Palomo Vegas | | |
| 48 | 31001 | Cuba (social protests) | Americas | 2021 | 2021 | Newly opened with starting measures on July 11 as mass protests broke out ov | Ainhoa Palomo Vegas | | |
| 49 | 21221 | Kenya – Somalia | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2021 | 2021 | territorial dispute concerning the delimitation of maritime spaces claimed by | Janik Mertens | | |

closed conflicts of 2017-2021

| Nr | ID | name | region | closed in | comment |
|-------------|-------|--|--------------------|--------------------|--|
| 2017 | | | | | |
| 1 | 30002 | Colombia (FARC) | Americas | 2017 | Closed in 2017 as conflict was actively settled in 2017. New conflict Colombia (FARC dissidents) was opened. |
| 2 | 40061 | Bhutan – Nepal | Asia & Oceania | 2017 | After the conflict was inactive for several years, it was closed in 2017 |
| 3 | 40020 | India (inter-militant rivalry / Meghalaya) | Asia & Oceania | 2017 | Closure |
| 4 | 41086 | India (PULF) | Asia & Oceania | 2017 | After the conflict was inactive for several years, it was closed in 2017 |
| 5 | 41091 | Pakistan (inter-islamist rivalry) | Asia & Oceania | 2017 | Closure |
| 6 | 10908 | Bulgaria (opposition movement) | Europe | 2017 | Closed after inactivity in 2015 and 2016 |
| 7 | 20005 | South Africa (KwaZulu-Natal) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2017 | Closed passively after being inactive since 2000 or longer. |
| 8 | 20010 | Tanzania (Uamsho / Zanzibar) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2017 | After the conflict was inactive from 2014-2017, the conflict was actively closed in 2017 after an agreement was negotiated and implemented in September 2017 |
| 2018 | | | | | |
| 9 | 40092 | Australia – Timor-Leste | Asia & Oceania | 2018 | The conflict was actively settled with peace agreement and closed in 2018. |
| 10 | 41041 | Cambodia – Thailand (border) | Asia & Oceania | 2018 | The border dispute over the Preach Vihear Temple was unanimously decided in favor of Cambodia on November 11, 2013 by the International Court of Justice, with Thai villagers leaving the area and Thai troops being withdrawn. The temple was declared safe to visit again in 2015, but Thailand did not accept the ruling over the nearby Phnom Trap hill. No tensions have broken out since 2016 and no violent measures since 2013. It is thus classified as inactive in retrospect since 2016 and closed this year. |
| 11 | 41097 | China (Taiwan* – opposition) | Asia & Oceania | 2018 | No active measures since 2017 (mistakenly a "2" in 2017, no violent measures already since 2015), main actor (sunflower movement) lost relevance and thus does not fulfill definition anymore. |
| 12 | 40015 | Malaysia (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | 2018 | For the first time since Malaysia's independence in 1957, the opposition won a majority in the general elections, being led by the Pakatan Harapan coalition. They have since begun the repeal of laws repressive to democracy that they, as a former opposition, had been criticizing, and placed electoral and anti-corruption institutions under supervision of the parliament. This was also the key interest of main civil society protest organizer Bersih, although they still lobby for more meaningful reforms, yet not together with non-opposition parties. Any consequential conflict from the new opposition can be expected to be within established regulatory procedures |
| 13 | 56250 | Iraq (KRG – YBS) | MENA | 2018 | No measures this year. In 2017, most of the forces left YBS and joined the KRG-affiliated Peshmaga. YBS are not identifiable as an independent actor anymore. |
| 14 | 20853 | Cameroon, Nigeria (militants / Bakassi) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2018 | The conflict between militants fighting for an independent Bakassi and the governments of Cameroon and Nigeria was closed this year after the conflict has been inactive from 2017-2018 |
| 15 | 20851 | Ethiopia (TPDM) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2018 | The conflict ended actively with a peace agreement http://shabail.com/news/local-news/26946-tpdm-reaches-peace-agreement-with-ethiopian-government |
| 16 | 20004 | Ethiopia – Eritrea | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2018 | The conflict is closed due to Jeddah peace agreement: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ethiopia-eritrea-saudi/ethiopian-eritrea-leaders-sign-peace-agreement-in-jeddah-idUSKCN1LW0KV |
| 17 | 21021 | Republic of Congo (Ninja militias) | Sub-Saharan Africa | actively for 2017) | The conflict ended in 2017 due to peace agreement |
| 2019 | | | | | |
| 18 | 40095 | China (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | 2019 | The China (opposition) conflict was closed in 2019, due to the current inexistence of a somewhat cohesive and relevant opposition movement as well as the absence of a unifying goal/item, such as democratization and the general unilateral nature of the conflict, which predominantly manifests itself through government repression. Since 2017 there was no significant observed organized activity from opposition actors. Moreover, the conflict suffered from a partial incompatibility of items. The conflict will be retroactively set to inactive for 2018 and 2019. Further information can be found in the respective problem dossier. |
| 19 | 20088 | Ethiopia (ONLF / Ogaden) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2019 (retrospect) | The former rebel group ONLF and the Ethiopian government had signed a peace agreement in October 2018. Peace efforts between the parties turned successful when newly appointed Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed removed the rebel group off the country's list of terrorist organisations in July 2018. |
| 20 | 40026 | Tajikistan (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | 2019 | The intrastate conflict between the Tajik government and the opposition over national power and the orientation of the political system was set inactive in 2018. The opposition remains marginalized, and important members from actors such as Group 24 or the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRPT) fled the country. The remaining opposition consists mostly of Islamists (→ Tajikistan (Islamist groups)). In 2019, no further measures were documented. |
| 21 | 20655 | Somalia (ASWJ) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2019 | Ahlu Sunna Wajama'a and Galmudug State had agreed in 2018 to integrate ASWJ forces into the regional security apparatus as well as to make seats in the local parliament available to former ASWJ leaders. |
| 22 | 10013 | Greece – North Macedonia (official name of) | Europe | 2019 | The conflict between North Macedonia and Greece over the official name of the former ended, after the agreement signed on 06/17/2018 was finally ratified. |
| 2020 | | | | | |
| 23 | 40322 | Myanmar (UNFC et al.) | Asia & Oceania | 2020 | The conflict was already inactive in 2019 due to the main coalition (UNFC) dissolving in March 2019; it was further observed to see if the remaining parties themselves would start another concerted effort to negotiate together with the government, but they have not (nor have they joined a major coalition) and the conflict is therefore closed due to the absence of active actors. |
| 24 | 21090 | Somalia (Hiraale militia – Jubaland) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | Passive closure, had been inactive since 2018 |
| 25 | 41090 | China (socioeconomic protests) | Asia & Oceania | 2020 | The conflict China (socioeconomic protests) was actively closed in 2020. The reason for this were mainly the lack of unified actors and the absence of a clear conflict issue. While socioeconomic tensions and protest dynamics continue to exist in China, one cannot speak of a uniform political conflict as defined in the HIIK methodology. The clear incompatibility of intentions between at least two clearly defined conflict actors regarding an item is not given. No overarching, cohesive political conflict could be observed. |
| 26 | 54001 | Algeria (Malekites – Mozabites / Ghardaia) | WANA | 2020 | The conflict has been inactive since 2017 and was passively closed in 2020 due to absence of observable measures. Tensions between the two communities may persist, but no active measures have been observed due to heavy police presence in the area since 2016. |
| 27 | 40013 | Indonesia, Philippines – Malaysia (immigrants) | Asia & Oceania | 2020 | Closed after two years of inactivity, no measures since 2018 and no active conflict actors anymore, all immigration issues (also during Covid-19 lockdowns) were settled within established regulatory processes, with Indonesia and the Philippines not being active actors and the Malaysian government promising more commitment and introducing a program to legalize or repatriate undocumented migrant workers in November 2020. |
| 28 | 33401 | Guyana – Suriname (sea border) | Americas | 2020 (retrospect) | A UNCLOS judgement formally ended the dispute on September 20, 2007 https://pca-cpa.org/en/cases/9/ . It was observed (as inactive) afterwards, but there were no measures since. It was thus closed in retrospect. |
| 29 | 10000 | Azerbaijan – Iran | Europe | 2020 (retrospect) | The conflict over international power (cyber-security/attacks) has been inactive since 2013, and since then no measures that would constitute a conflict were observed between the two countries. It is thus closed retroactively for 2016. |
| 30 | 50416 | Syria (FSA, Islamist groups – KSC / Kurdish regions) | WANA | 2020 | The conflict was closed due to absence of the original dynamic Islamist groups vs. Kurds as actors: the actor FSA against SDF was already observed in Syria and acts under the control of the Turkish government side (Turkey – SDF / Northern Syria), the others became irrelevant or, in the case of HTS (former al-Nusra) do not share territory with the SDF. The last measure was recorded on 28 January 2018 when HTS attacked SDF but it was assumed that the Islamist groups were still tacitly active and had claims contrasting Kurdish interests. In 2020, this was re-evaluated. As the remaining actors moved in terms of territory, no two conflict parties pursuing subnational predominance and/or resources are left anymore. |
| 31 | 30269 | Nicaragua (militant groups) | Americas | 2020 | The conflict is passively closed after it was inactive since 2018. Observance of the militant groups did not show any reports about them at all in the last three years, so that the actors as assumed to not exist as active conflict actors with relevant observable measures anymore. |
| 32 | 50048 | Egypt (Bedouin activists) | WANA | 2020 | Inactive since 2017; passive closure due to no conflict measures as Bedouin tribes continued to fight alongside Egyptian forces against so-called Sinai Province (Islamic State affiliate), see Egypt (IS). However, the structural causes underlying the conflict may still be given (marginalization,...). |
| 33 | 50029 | Jordan (Hamass) | WANA | 2020 | During the last years, no active measures between the Jordan government and Hamass could be observed. After inactivity since 2018, it is now passively closed. |
| 34 | 51005 | Lebanon (Sunni – Alawite) | WANA | 2020 | No conflict measures observed since 2015, passively closed |
| 35 | 20078 | Angola (opposition) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | No conflict measures observed since 2019, passively closed |
| 36 | 20099 | Tanzania (Christians – Muslims) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | No conflict measures observed since 2018, passive closure |
| 37 | 50419 | Turkey (Huda Par – PKK / Kurdish regions) | WANA | 2020 | Passive closure after five years of inactivity, no conflict measures observed since 2015. |
| 38 | 20204 | South Sudan (Eastern Front) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | Has been inactive for 3 years |
| 39 | 25003 | South Sudan, Uganda (border communities) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | Has been inactive for 3 years |
| 40 | 20619 | DR Congo (inter-communal rivalry / Kasai O) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | Active settlement; peace agreement |
| 41 | 20048 | Nigeria (Christians – Muslims) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | Actors were distributed over other conflicts, thus no conflict dynamic left anymore that would justify to observe only the religious substate conflict; thus closed for lack of active actors. |

closed conflicts of 2017-2021

| Nr | ID | name | region | closed in | comment |
|-------------|-------|--|--------------------|-----------|---|
| | | | | | The conflict over the judicial reappraisal of the 1994 Rwandan genocide was closed (passively) as the two countries have been choosing established regulatory procedures for their dispute through international courts and collaborating with extradition. France has partly allowed the access to official documentation, and an independent commission of historians has been installed to investigate France's role, which is not recognized yet but the intentions of both countries are clearly towards mutual diplomatic engagement (which had been cut since 2006 and were one of the reasons the conflict was ongoing). Rwanda has not made any recent claims about France's involvement since 2018. The contentiousness of the issue is thus solved and the conflict, after two years of inactivity since 2018, closed. |
| 42 | 20621 | France – Rwanda | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | |
| 43 | 20920 | South Sudan (SPLM/A-IO) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | Actors merged into 25002 South Sudan (opposition), thus the previous dynamic ended |
| 44 | 20100 | Equatorial Guinea – Gabon (Mbaníé, Cocotik | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | The conflict over territory between Equatorial Guinea and Gabon was closed after two years of inactivity. It ended with the exchange of notifications of fulfillment of domestic procedures on March 3, which marked the successful conclusion of the UN mediation process. The ruling of the ICT, to which the border dispute has been submitted, is still outstanding. |
| 45 | 20954 | Uganda (Baganda / Buganda) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2020 | The conflict was seen as inactive since 2016 and observed in 2020 to conclude whether the elections would also not make it re-erupt. As this was not the case, it was closed passively due to no further relevant measures. |
| 2021 | | | | | |
| 46 | 20014 | Uganda (Bakonzo / Rwenzururu) | Sub-Saharan Africa | 2021 | The conflict has been inactive since 2019 (corrected in 2021 to also count as inactive in 2019 itself) and was then inactive in 2020 and 2021. There have been no US drone strikes, main source of Pakistani indignation, since 2019. No diplomatic activity beyond the established channels could be observed, so the conflict definition is not fulfilled anymore. |
| 47 | 42004 | Pakistan – USA | Asia & Oceania | 2021 | |
| 48 | 10037 | Estonia (Russian speaking minority) | Europe | 2021 | merged into 10038 Estonia - Russia |
| 49 | 10182 | Latvia (Russian speaking minority) | Europe | 2021 | merged into 10182 Latvia - Russia |
| 50 | 41073 | Uzbekistan (opposition) | Asia & Oceania | 2021 | Conflict was inactive and now closed. |
| 51 | 42026 | Kyrgyzstan (Kyrgyz – Uzbeks) | Asia & Oceania | 2021 | closed due to inactivity since 2019 |
| 52 | 40165 | Tajikistan (Gorno-Badakhshan) | Asia & Oceania | 2021 | closed due to inactivity since 2019 |
| 53 | 50099 | Qatar – Saudi Arabia et al. | WANA | 2021 | The conflict parties signed the Al-Ula Agreement. The agreement acceded to reopen land and sea borders between the countries as well as resume air traffic. |



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