



Attention:

This is not part of the Conflict Barometer and serves as a contextualizing summary for press purposes.

369 Conflicts Globally
The Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research
Publishes the Conflict Barometer 2023

Due to technical issues, the full 2023 report including all conflict texts will be available in mid-November. This report represents a pre-version, summarizing all quantitative data points and portraying the full Conflict Panorama of 2023. This report does not include any qualitative texts, Spotlights, conflict reports, and regional summaries, and their authors, conflict-specific maps and statistics, and the full list of supporters of our yearly publication. Please be aware that this document will be updated soon.

With the 32nd edition of the Conflict Barometer, the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIK) continues its annual study on global conflict.

Since 1992, the Conflict Barometer has qualitatively and quantitatively recorded the dynamics of political conflicts, both violent and non-violent, worldwide. In accordance with the HIIK methodology, violent conflicts are classified according to their intensity into *violent crises* (intensity 3), *limited wars* (intensity 4), and *wars* (intensity 5). Non-violent conflicts are divided into *disputes* (intensity 1) and *non-violent crises* (intensity 2). The annual report is supplemented by conflict maps, graphics, and datasets as well as Spotlight texts that shed light on the wider context of current conflict dynamics.

In 2023, the HIIK documented a total of 369 conflicts worldwide, an overall increase of ten conflicts. Of these, 220 were violent and 149 non-violent. Compared to the previous year, the number of wars rose from 20 to 22. The Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh) conflict, intrastate conflicts in DR Congo, Sudan and Myanmar (two in total), as well as a total of three conflicts in Israel, of which two involved the State of Palestine^o and one involved Hezbollah, escalated into wars. Six wars de-escalated, while 14 wars continued. The number of limited wars worldwide remained constant at 21 conflicts.

The number of non-violent conflicts rose from 148 to 149. Twelve conflicts were settled by the conflict parties themselves or closed due to inactivity.

As in previous years, the most common type of conflict was intrastate (252 conflicts), followed by inter-state conflicts (58 conflicts). The most common of the ten methodically followed conflict *items*, material or immaterial goods, which are sought by the direct conflict actors through conflict measures, were (in descending order of frequency) system/ideology, resources, subnational predominance, and national power.

As in the previous year, sub-Saharan Africa was the region with the most wars. A total of 13 wars were observed in Burkina Faso, DR Congo, Cameroon, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, and South Sudan. Eleven of these wars maintained their intensity from the previous



year, while two conflicts escalated to wars. A total of 89 conflicts were observed in sub-Saharan Africa, 58 of which were violent and 31 non-violent, and therefore one (violent) conflict fewer than in the previous year.

In the West Asia, North Africa and Afghanistan region, the number of wars rose from two to three compared to the previous year; the number of limited wars rose from four to five. All three wars involved Israel, of which two involved the State of Palestine and one involved Hezbollah. A total of 67 conflicts were observed in the region, 43 of which were violent and 24 non-violent, which is nine more than in the previous year.

In Asia and Oceania, the number of observed wars rose from one to three compared to the previous year, all three of which involved Myanmar; the number of limited wars fell from eight to four. Overall, the highest number of global conflicts of the year was observed in the region: 101, of which 61 were violent and 40 non-violent, and thus a total of four fewer conflicts than in the previous year.

In Europe, the number of wars observed rose from one to two compared to the previous year. In addition to the Russia-Ukraine war, the Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh) conflict escalated into a war; no limited wars were observed, compared to one in the previous year. A total of 49 conflicts were observed in the region, 18 of which were violent and 31 of which were non-violent, which shows no increase compared to the previous year.

In the Americas, the number of wars remained constant with one war in Haiti. The number of limited wars decreased from four to three, compared to the previous year. A total of 63 conflicts were observed in the region, 40 of which were violent and 23 non-violent, two more than in the previous year.

Since its foundation in May 1990, the Institute has been dedicated to researching, documenting, and analyzing intra-, inter-, trans-, and sub-state conflicts worldwide. More than 200 young researchers work at the HIJK on a voluntary basis. The HIJK presents its research findings both qualitatively and quantitatively in the annual Conflict Barometer. The work product comprises an approximately 200-page annual report and various data sets, both of which are open access.

November 7, 2024
The HIJK Board

THIS VERSION WILL BE UPDATED



CONFLICT BAROMETER | 2023

Heidelberg Institute for
International Conflict Research



disputes
non-violent crises
violent crises
limited wars
wars

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The Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIK), associated with the Institute of Political Science of Heidelberg University, is a registered non-profit association. It is dedicated to the research, evaluation, and documentation of political conflicts worldwide.

The HIIK evolved from the 1991 research project COSIMO (Conflict Simulation Model), led by Prof. Dr. Frank R. Pfetsch, University of Heidelberg, and financed by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

For more information please visit our website:

www.hiik.de



HIK

Heidelberg Institute for
International Conflict Research

CONFLICT BAROMETER 2023

Analyzed Period: 01/01/23 – 12/31/23

Methodology

METHODOLOGY

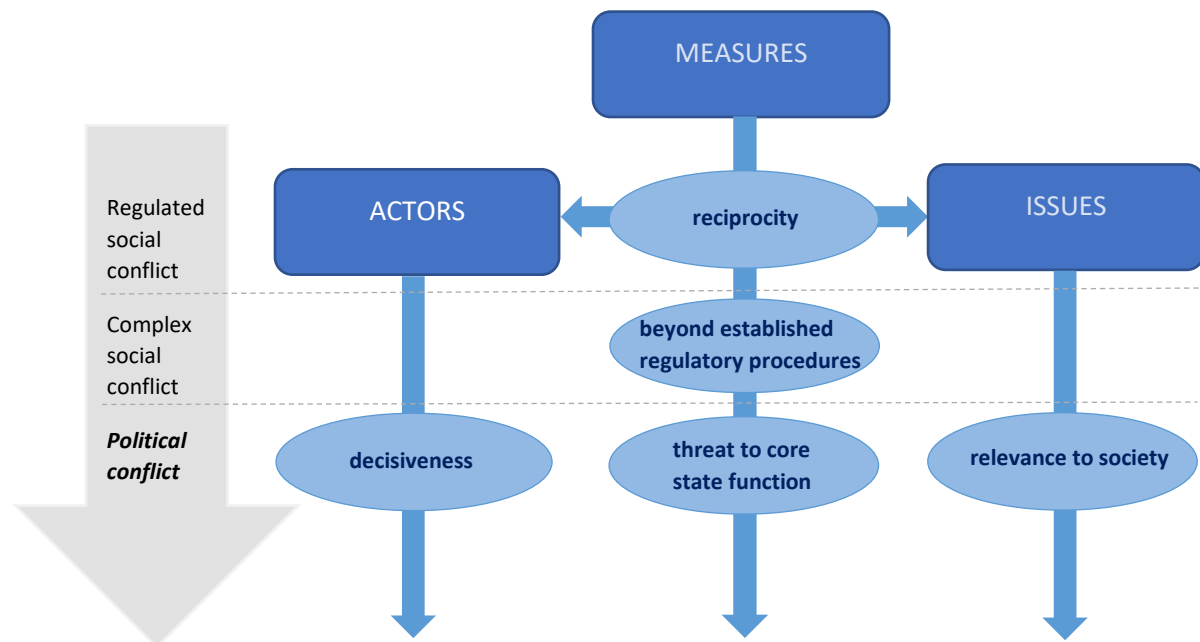
Since 1991, conflict research at HIIK has analyzed political conflicts by focusing on conflict processes rather than purely quantitative thresholds of casualties. Thus, HIIK's methodology is based on a set of specified actions and acts of communication between conflict parties. This process-oriented approach enriches the analysis of political conflicts with a broader and more detailed empirical foundation.

Located at Heidelberg University, HIIK has continuously taken steps to further elaborate its methodological approach. Notably, in 2011 the institute revised its definition of political conflicts and restructured its conflict intensity assessment. The latter now accounts for not only the intensity of a given conflict area in a given year, but also determines the intensity of a conflict for first-level subnational political units and per month. As such, it allows for a much more detailed measurement of conflict dynamics.

Furthermore, conflict actions and acts of communication can be operationalized with the help of qualitative and quantitative indicators of the means and consequences of violence. This allows for a more comprehensive overview of political dynamics and intensities.

Most recently, in 2017, HIIK introduced the concept of inactive conflicts to widen the span of observed cases and create space for dormant dynamics that may become active again within three years. These changes have further enhanced the accuracy, reliability, and reproducibility of the conflict information provided.

HIIK's Basic Concept of Political Conflict



According to HIIK's approach, a political conflict is an incompatibility of intentions between at least individual or collective actors. Such an incompatibility emerges in the form of observable and interrelated actions and acts of communication (measures) with regard to certain positional differences of values (issues) relevant to society and threatening (the continuity of) state functions or the international order. Actors, measures, and issues are the constitutive attributes of political conflict.

METHODOLOGY

CONFLICT ACTORS

Conflict actors are collective actors or individuals as part of a collective in direct pursuit of a conflict item, which are acknowledged by other conflict actors in their decision-making processes and are thus perceived to be relevant. Their actions must in turn provoke reaction; there must be reciprocity between actors to fulfill the definition. Collective actors such as states, international organizations, and non-state actors share a certain level of unitary conception, internal cohesion and a common structure of preferences. Actors may be considered as a coalition if their preferences are on the same side of a conflict dynamic and contrary to those of another actor or coalition. There may also be indirect actors involved: so-called supporters help a direct actor to claim or aspire to the conflict item, while so-called interveners wish to end the conflict without supporting either coalition in their actions regarding the item.

CONFLICT MEASURES

Conflict measures are actions and acts of communication carried out by a conflict actor in the context of a political conflict. They are constitutive for a conflict and its intensity if they occur outside established regulatory procedures and – possibly in conjunction with other measures – if they threaten the international order or a core function of the state or have the prospect to do so. Established regulatory procedures are defined as those mechanisms of conflict management that are accepted by all conflict actors in their respective context and performed without the use or threat of physical violence. Examples of conflict regulations include elections, court proceedings, public fora, round tables, or other forms of negotiations. Core state functions encompass the provision of security for a given population, as well as the guarantee of integrity of a given territory and of a specific political, socioeconomic, or cultural order. If, from a conflict actor's point of view, the fulfilment of state functions or the maintenance of the local or global order cannot be upheld, established procedures are threatened.

CONFLICT ISSUES

Conflict issues are material or immaterial goods pursued by conflict actors via conflict measures. They can become relevant for the entire society if they impact the coexistence of individuals or groups within a given polity or the relations between polities. Conflict issues are classified on the basis of ten items representing common objectives of conflict actors: (i) System/Ideology is encoded if a conflict actor aspires to change the ideological, religious, socioeconomic or judicial orientation of the political system or of the regime type itself. (ii) National Power refers to the power to govern a state, whereas (iii) Autonomy refers to attaining or extending the political self-rule of a population within a state or of a dependent territory without striving for independence. (iv) Secession refers to the aspired separation of a territory of a state aiming to establish a new state or to merge with another state. Furthermore, the goal of (v) Decolonization is the independence of a dependent territory. (vi) Subnational Predominance focuses on the attainment of the de-facto control by a government or a non-state actor over a territory or a population. The item (vii) Resources is encoded if the possession of raw materials, pasture, or the profits gained thereof, are pursued. (viii) Territory refers to a contested change of the delimitation of an international border. (ix)

International Power as an item describes an aspired shift in the power constellation in the international system or a regional system therein, through the change of military or institutional capabilities, related violent measures, or of an actor's political or economic influence. The item (x) Other is used as a residual category. Conflict actors can have multiple demands, and thus claim more than one item at the same time.

CONFLICT TYPES

IIK's methodology distinguishes between interstate, intrastate, substate, and transstate conflicts. While interstate conflicts only involve internationally recognized state actors, intrastate conflicts involve both state actors and non-state actors. Statehood is viewed as non-contested if the state is an official UN member state; states with limited recognition that are recognized by at least one other official UN member state are marked with a °. Substate conflicts are carried out solely among non-state actors. Transstate conflicts involve at least two sovereign states, both of which meet the criteria of a political conflict, and (at least) one non-state actor. This means that the actors are in conflict with each other and pursue their goals through conflict measures on the territory of at least two states.

CONFLICT START, INACTIVITY AND CLOSURE

When assessing levels of violence, IIK differentiates between violent and non-violent conflicts. A conflict is observed in the Conflict Barometer if it fulfills the minimum criteria defining a conflict. It may start at any level of intensity, therefore also at a non-violent level. As the start date, we define the day of the first recorded constitutive measure. Conflicts may be opened in retrospect.

Should the basic conflict criteria be fulfilled but no active measures can be observed at any specific time, a conflict's status can be set to inactive. An inactive conflict only comprises so-called persistent measures in which claims and goals are not renewed but implied without actions or statements, such as the tacit stipulation of a goal in a charter or effective declaration of the actor, dormant territorial demands or ongoing demobilization processes. The absence of reporting within this period is an indicator for continued inactivity. After 24 months of inactivity, a conflict is usually seen as passively closed at the end of the year, unless a re-occurrence of any violent or non-violent measures continues to be likely.

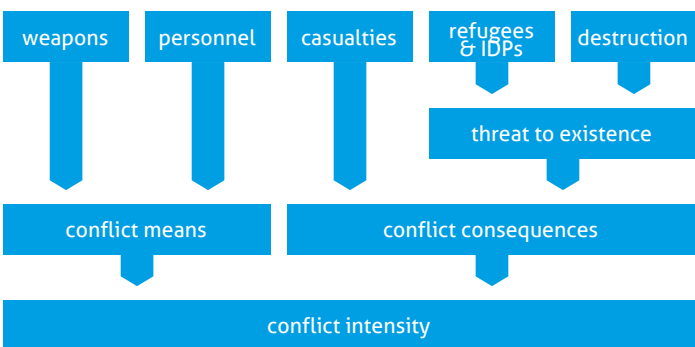
A conflict is actively closed if the basic conflict criteria are no longer fulfilled, with a set date of closure that justifies the decision. This may be the day a peace agreement is enforced between all conflict actors, for instance. Other forms of closure include the annihilation of a conflict actor, its dissolution, or unification with another.

ASSESSING THE INTENSITIES OF VIOLENT CONFLICTS

THE CONCEPT OF CONFLICT INTENSITY

intensity Level	terminology	level of violence	intensity class
1	dispute	non-violent conflicts	low intensity
2	non-violent crisis		
3	violent crisis	violent conflicts	medium intensity
4	limited war		high intensity
5	war		

In order to measure the three levels of violent conflict, five proxies are used to indicate their means and consequences. The dimension of means encompasses the use of weapons and deployment of personnel, the dimension of consequences, the number of casualties, refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), and the level of destruction.



Each indicator is scored on a ternary scale. Aggregating the five individual scores results in the total regional monthly intensity (RMI). The regions are the first-level administrative units of a country.

		conflict means		
		0 points	1 point	2 points
conflict consequences	0 points	violent crisis	violent crisis	limited war
	1 point	violent crisis	limited war	war
	2 points	limited war	war	war

WEAPONS

		weapons employment	
		light	heavy
weapon type	light	0 points	
	heavy	1 point	2 points

The weapons indicator determines whether light or heavy arms are used (e.g. handguns or hand grenades vs. artillery or heavy bombs, respectively). Regarding the extent to which the fighting capacity of heavy arms is exploited, we differentiate between limited and extensive use. The former is characterized by a light exertion of violence compared to its actual capacity, the latter by a powerful exertion of violence.

PERSONNEL

low	medium	high
≤ 50	> 50 ≤ 400	> 400
0 points	1 point	2 points

The personnel indicator measures the highest number of participants in an individual measure. All persons are counted who, by their engagement in a concerted action, represent a conflict actor in the context of a violent measure. Low, medium, and high numbers of personnel are distinguished, based on two thresholds: 50 and 400 persons.

CASUALTIES

low	medium	high
≤ 20	> 20 ≤ 60	> 60
0 points	1 point	2 points

Third, the overall number of casualties in the conflict in a region per month is counted, comprising the number of deaths from violent measures or their direct consequences. They include combattants as well as civilians who were injured or killed. Persons dying due to indirect effects, e.g. starvation or disease, are not included. The thresholds employed for the indicator are 20 and 60 persons killed.

REFUGEES & IDPs

low	medium	high
≤ 1 000	> 1 000 ≤ 20 000	> 20 000
0 points	1 point	2 points

Fourth, the overall number of cross-border refugees and IDPs in a region per month is tallied. Displacement is defined as the migration of human beings provoked by conflict measures, e.g. by the creation of inhumane living conditions. Taken into account is flow, not stock data. The thresholds employed for the indicator are 1,000 and 20,000 refugees, respectively.

DESTRUCTION

low	medium	high
within 0 dimensions	within 1 - 2 dimensions	within 3 - 4 dimensions
0 points	1 point	2 points

Lastly, destruction resulting from the conflict in a region per month is determined by four dimensions that are considered essential for civilian populations: (civilian and military) infrastructure, habitation, economy/self-sufficiency, and identity-establishing goods. The level of destruction is classified as low, medium, or high, depending on the number of dimensions affected. Any form of destruction counted within this indicator has to be on a massive scale, i.e. the damaged object must be crucial for the functioning of the category in question.

UP- AND DOWNGRADING

Regional monthly intensities (RMIs, see above) are the first pillar for determining the yearly conflict intensity of a specific conflict region (region/year intensity) as well as the overall yearly conflict area intensity (area/year intensity). A conflict area usually equals an internationally recognized country and is the sum of all subnational units affected by the respective conflict. Typically, the area/year intensity is equal to the highest RMI in a given area per year. As such, intensities of a certain spatiotemporal unit would directly translate to a corresponding yearly conflict intensity level. However, methodological issues such as a considerable variance in the size of administrative regions might threaten the comparability between different conflicts on the same intensity level. Thus, up- and downgrading becomes the determining factor when reassessing the given RMIs, if violence occurred. For instance, two conflicts might have an area/year intensity of a violent crisis according to the assessment based on the first pillar. The first conflict accounted for 30 casualties in three RMIs with ten fatalities each, while the second conflict accounted for more than 370 casualties in 37 RMIs. In this case, it might be disproportional to assign the same conflict intensity to both conflicts. Therefore, we apply up- and downgrading rules – the second pillar of our conflict intensity assessment –, which allows us to fine-tune conflict intensities to ensure comparability.

This decision is based on the conflicts' annual and area-wide numbers of refugees and IDPs, and casualties. A violent crisis must thereby be upgraded to the level of a limited war if more than 360 casualties or more than 18,000 refugees and IDPs were counted in the whole year in the conflict area. A limited war must be upgraded to the level of a war if more than 1,080 casualties or more than 360,000 refugees and IDPs were counted. In contrast, a limited war must be downgraded to the level of a violent crisis if less than 120 casualties and less than 6,000 refugees and IDPs were counted. Likewise, a war must be downgraded to the level of a limited war if less than 360 casualties and less than 120,000 refugees and IDPs were counted. In the Conflict Barometer, the area/year intensity is displayed above each conflict description and in the regional conflict overview.

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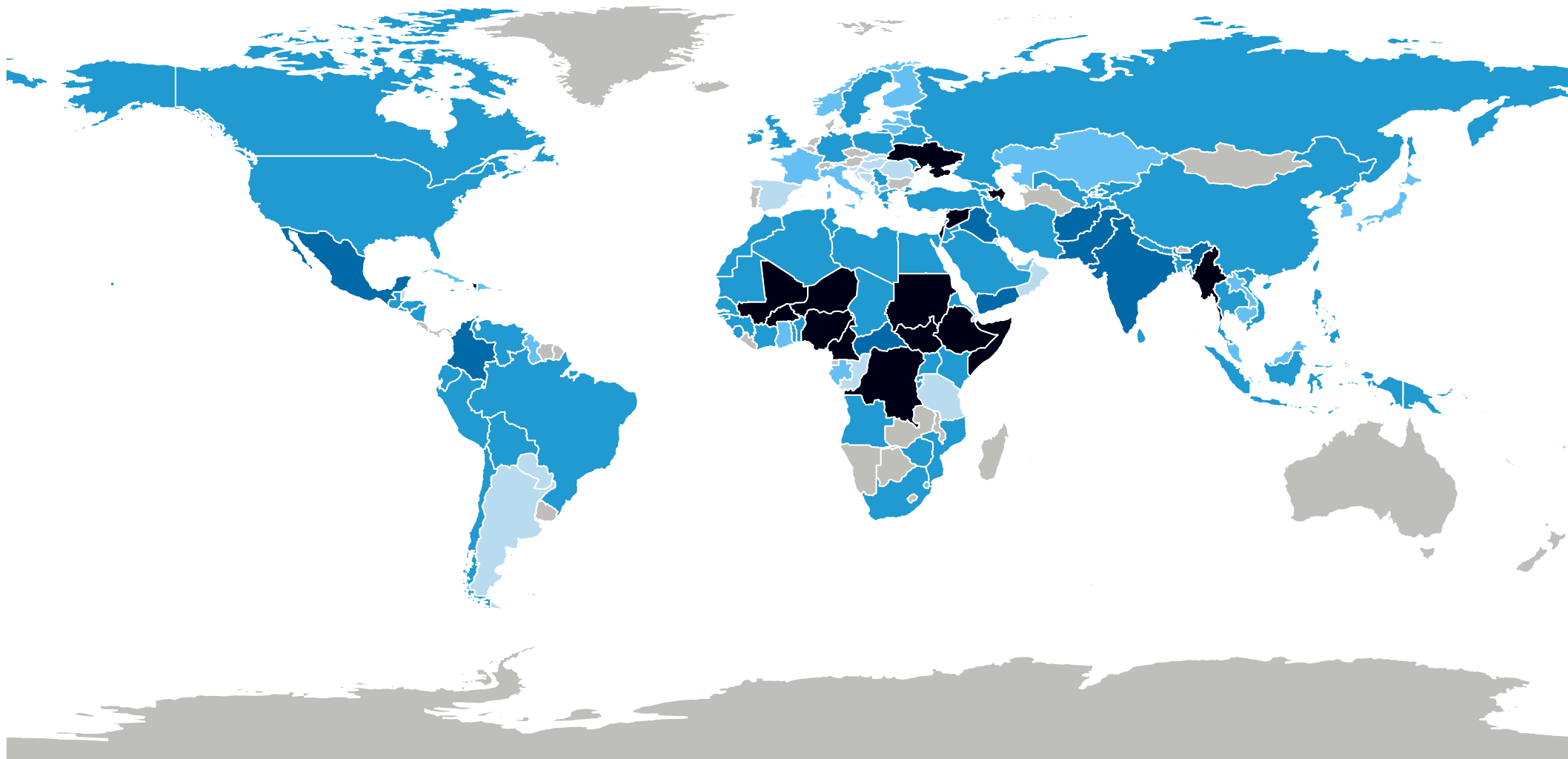
Katharina Valjak, Mostafa Bostani, Hannah Brandt, Nathalie Brügger

Methodology Revision in 2011 by:

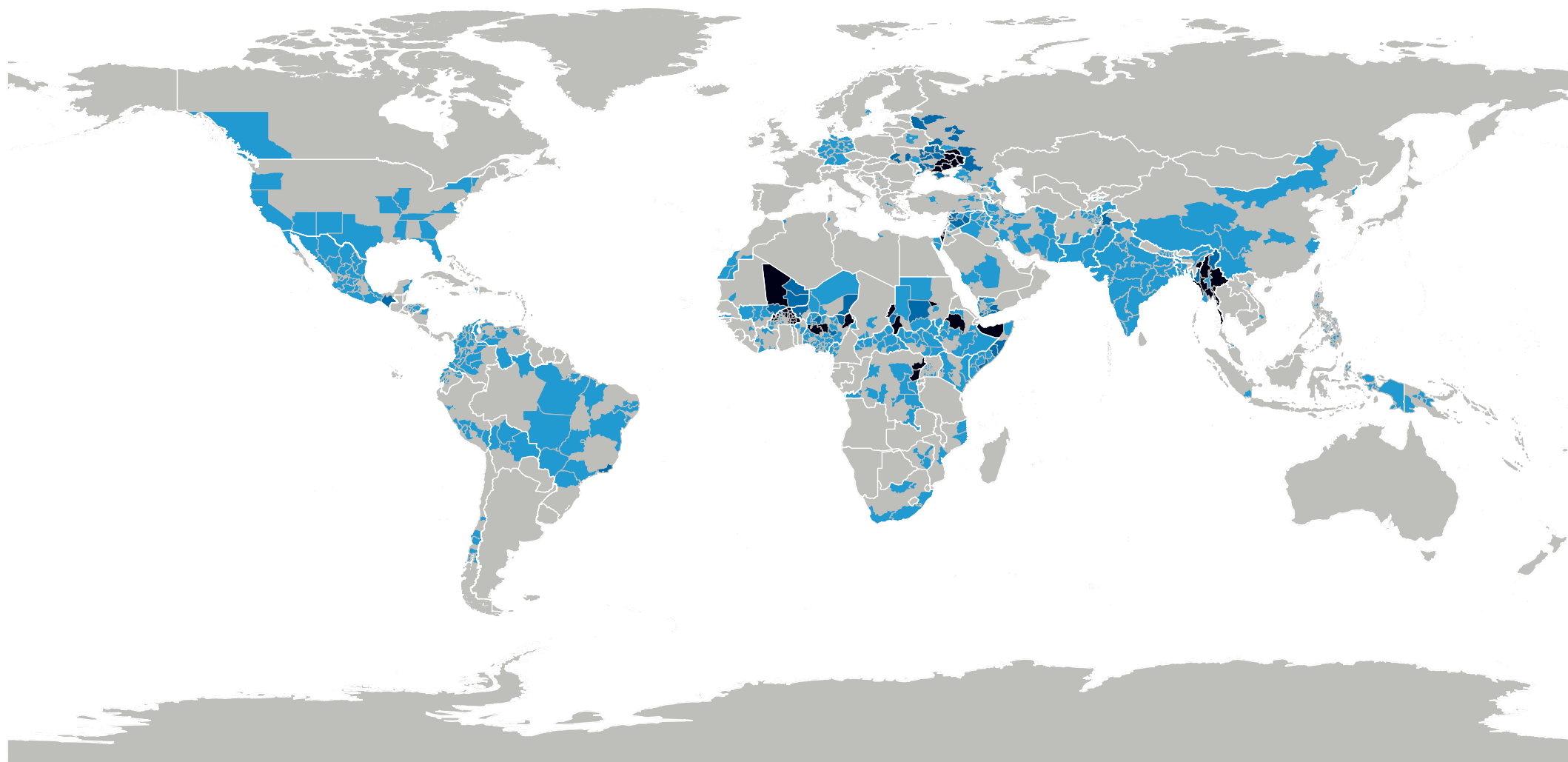
Nicholas Schwank, Thomas Wencker, Christoph Trinn, Stefan Giersdorf, Lotta Mayer, Natalie Hoffmann, Mark Gombert, Jens Hoffmann, Gregor Pawlowski

Global Conflict Panorama

CONFLICTS IN 2023
(NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVEL)



VIOLENT CONFLICTS IN 2023
(NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVEL)



HIGHLY VIOLENT CONFLICTS IN 2023

LIMITED WARS (21)

WARS (22)

WEST ASIA, NORTH AFRICA, AND AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan (opposition)	Israel (Hamas et al.)
Syria (Kurdish groups)	Israel (Hezbollah)
Syria (opposition)	Israel - State of Palestine° (PNA)
Türkiye (PKK, KCK)	
Yemen, Saudi Arabia (al-Houthi forces)	

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Burkina Faso (inter-communal rivalry)	Cameroon (English-speaking minority)
Central African Republic (militant groups)	DR Congo (Ituri militias)
Ethiopia (Fano militias / Amhara)	DR Congo (M23 factions)
Mali (CSP-PSD, CMA et al. / Azawad)	DR Congo, Uganda (ADF)
Nigeria (farmers – pastoralists)	Mali et al. (IS Sahel)
Nigeria (ISWAP - JAS)	Mali, Burkina Faso et al. (JNIM, ISGS et al.)
Somalia (Puntland – Somaliland)	Nigeria (bandits)
Somalia (subclan rivalry)	Nigeria, Chad et al. (ISWAP)
Sudan (inter-communal rivalry)	Nigeria, Chad et al. (JAS-Boko Haram)
	Somalia, Kenya (al-Shabaab)
	South Sudan (inter-communal rivalry)
	Sudan (Darfur)
	Sudan (opposition)

THE AMERICAS

Colombia (inter-cartel rivalry, neo-paramilitary groups, left-wing militants)	Haiti (inter-gang rivalry)
Mexico (drug cartels)	
Mexico (inter-cartel rivalry, paramilitary groups)	

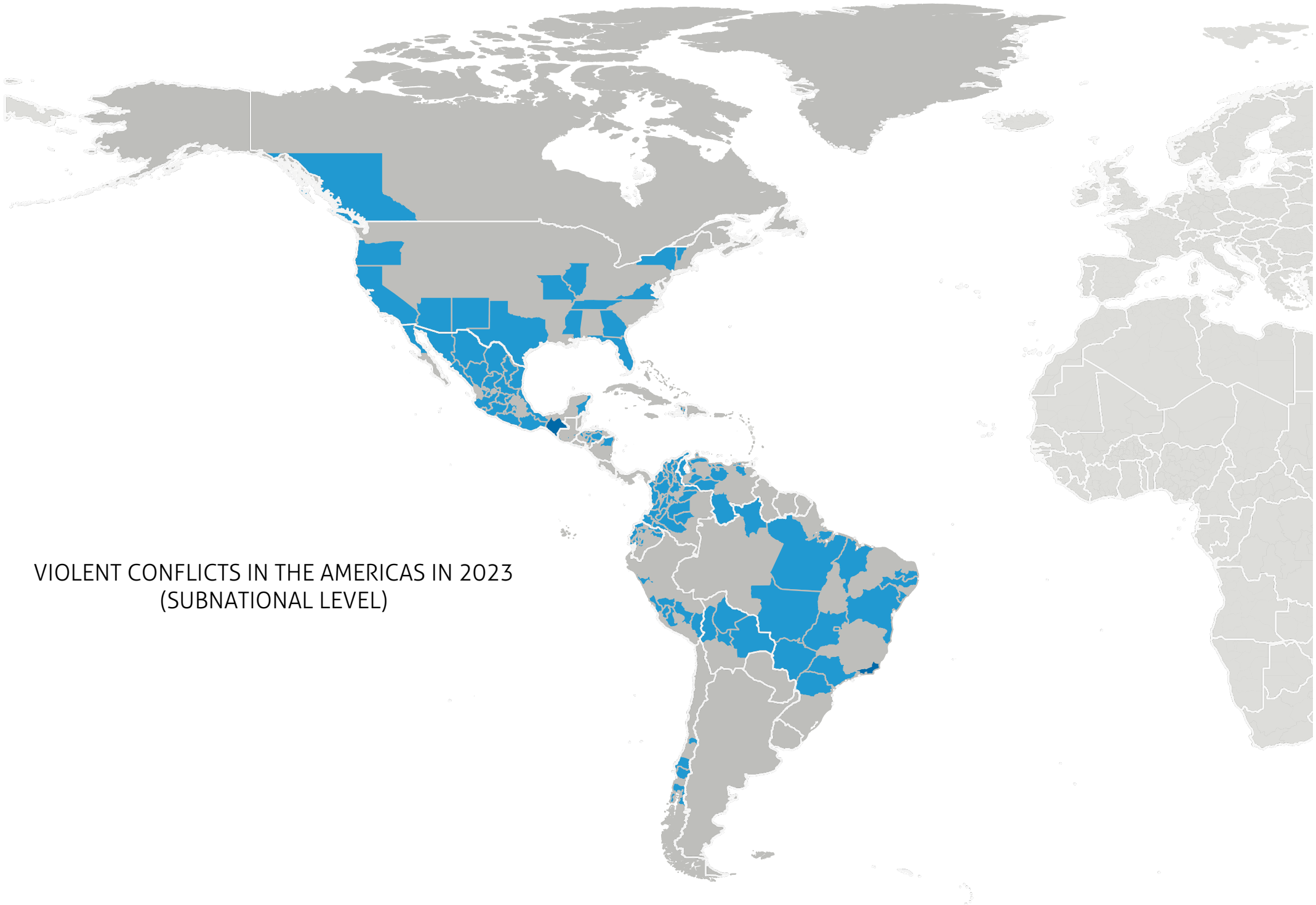
ASIA AND OCEANIA

India (Manipur)	Myanmar (AA / Rakhine State)
Myanmar (KIA, KIO / Kachin State)	Myanmar (KNU, KNLA, DKBA et. al. / Karen State, Kayah State)
Myanmar (MNDAA / Shan State)	Myanmar (opposition)
Pakistan (Islamist militant groups)	

EUROPE

Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh)
Russia – Ukraine

THE AMERICAS



VIOLENT CONFLICTS IN THE AMERICAS IN 2023
(SUBNATIONAL LEVEL)

Overview: Conflicts in the Americas in 2023

Name of conflict ¹	Conflict parties ²	Conflict items	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Argentina – United Kingdom (Falkland Islands / Islas Malvinas)*	Argentina vs. United Kingdom	territory, resources	1833	•	1
Belize – Guatemala*	Belize vs. Guatemala	territory	1981	↘	1
Bolivia (opposition)*	opposition parties and groups vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2017	•	3
Bolivia (socioeconomic protests)*	various social groups vs. government	system/ideology, resources	1983	•	3
Bolivia – Chile (access to sea)*	Bolivia vs. Chile	territory, resources	1883	•	1
Brazil (drug trafficking organizations)*	drug trafficking organizations, militias vs. government	subnational predominance	2008	•	3
Brazil (indigenous groups)*	indigenous groups vs. agribusiness, government, landowners, loggers, miners	autonomy, resources	1985	•	3
Brazil (MST, MTST)*	MST, MTST vs. agribusiness, government, landowners	resources	1996	↗	3
Brazil (social protests)*	Bolsonaro supporters vs. Lula supporters	system/ideology	2014	•	3
Chile (anarchist groups)*	Chile vs. Anarchist Groups	system/ideology	2014	•	3
Chile (Mapuche / Araucania)*	Chile vs. CAM, Mapuche, RML, WAM	autonomy, resources	2008	•	3
Chile (social protests)*	Government vs. ACES, CONES, CONFECH	system/ideology	2006	•	3
Chile – United Kingdom (Antarctica)*	Chile vs. United Kingdom	territory	2007	•	1
Colombia (artisanal miners / Antioquia)*	Colombia vs. artisanal miners	resources	2017	NEW	3
Colombia (ASCAMCAT / Catatumbo)*	ASCAMCAT vs. Colombia	autonomy, system/ideology, resources	2013	↘	1
Colombia (ELN)*	ELN vs. government	system/ideology, subnational predominance, resources	1964	•	3
Colombia (FARC dissidents)*	FARC Dissidents vs. government	system/ideology, subnational predominance, resources	2017	•	3
Colombia (indigenous groups)*	indigenous groups vs. government	resources	2005	•	3
Colombia (inter-cartel rivalry, neo-paramilitary groups, left-wing militants)*	AGC vs. CDF vs. Los Caparros vs. ELN vs. FARC Dissidents vs. EPL vs. Los Rastrojos vs. ASCN	subnational predominance, resources	2013	•	4
Colombia (neo-paramilitary groups, drug cartels)*	drug cartels, neo-paramilitary groups vs. government	subnational predominance, resources	1983	•	3
Colombia (social protests)*	Comité Nacional de Paro vs. Primera Línea vs. government	system/ideology	2019	•	3
Colombia – Nicaragua (sea border)*	Colombia vs. Nicaragua	territory, resources	1825	•	1
Colombia – Venezuela (border security)*	Colombia vs. Venezuela	other	2015	•	1
Cuba (social protests)*	civil society groups, pro-democracy groups, social protesters vs. government	system/ideology	2021	↘	2
Cuba – USA (Guantanamo)*	Cuba vs. United States	territory	1959	•	1
Cuba – USA (system)*	Cuba vs. United States	system/ideology, international power	1960	•	2
Dominican Republic – Haiti)*	Dominican Republic vs. Haiti	resources, other	2009	•	2
Ecuador (inter-gang rivalry)*	Choneros et al. vs. Lobos et al. vs. R7	subnational predominance, resources	2021	•	3
Ecuador (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. groups	system/ideology, resources	1980	•	3
El Salvador (inter-gang rivalry)*	Barrio 18 vs. MS-13 vs. MS-503	subnational predominance	2003	↘	2
El Salvador (Maras)*	Barrio 18 vs. MS-13 vs. government	subnational predominance	2003	•	3
El Salvador (opposition)*	civil society groups, vs. opposition parties vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2020	•	2
Guatemala (drug cartels)*	drug cartels vs. government	subnational predominance, resources	2009	•	3
Guatemala (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	system/ideology	1985	•	3
Guyana – Venezuela)*	Guyana vs. Venezuela	territory, resources	2015	↗	2
Haiti (inter-gang rivalry)*	G9 Alliance vs. Gpèp	subnational predominance, resources	2020	•	5

Name of conflict ¹	Conflict parties ²	Conflict items	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Haiti (opposition)*	anti-government protesters, Fanmi Lavalas, Petit Dessalines vs. government	system/ideology, national power	1986	↘	2
Honduras (Bajo Aguán)*	peasants, peasants unions vs. government, land-owning companies	resources	2009	•	3
Honduras (drug trafficking organizations, organized crime)*	criminal organizations, drug trafficking organizations vs. government	subnational predominance, resources	2012	•	3
Honduras (opposition)*	opposition movement vs. government	system/ideology, national power, resources	2009	↗	3
Honduras – El Salvador (Isla Conejo)*	El Salvador vs. Honduras	territory	2013	•	1
Jamaica (drug gangs)*	drug gangs vs. government	subnational predominance	2010	•	3
Mexico (CNTE)*	CNTE vs. government	system/ideology	2006	↘	2
Mexico (drug cartels)*	drug cartels vs. vigilante groups vs. government	subnational predominance, resources	2006	•	4
Mexico (EZLN / Chiapas)*	EZLN vs. ORCAO vs. government	autonomy, system/ideology, resources, other	1994	•	3
Mexico (inter-cartel rivalry, paramilitary groups)*	CJNG et al. vs. CU et al. vs. CSRL et al. vs. CDS et al. vs. CDN et al. vs. CDG et al.	subnational predominance, resources	2005	•	4
Mexico (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	system/ideology	2006	↘	2
Mexico (public security)*	normalistas, social movements vs. government	system/ideology	2014	•	3
Mexico (women's protests)*	feminist groups, human rights activists, women's rights groups vs. government	system/ideology	2020	•	3
Mexico, USA (border security)*	Mexico, USA vs. illegal immigrants, refugees, smugglers	other	2005	•	3
Nicaragua (indigenous groups)*	Mayangna, Miskito groups, Rama, YATAMA vs. government, non-indigenous settlers	autonomy, resources	2015	•	3
Nicaragua (opposition)*	anti-government protesters, opposition groups vs. government, paramilitary groups	system/ideology, national power	2008	↘	2
Paraguay (EPP, agrarian movements)*	agrarian movement vs. EPP, government	system/ideology, resources	1989	↓	1
Peru (opposition)*	opposition movements vs. government	system/ideology, resources	2008	•	3
Peru (Shining Path)*	government vs. SL	system/ideology, subnational predominance, resources	1980	•	3
USA (racial tensions)*	anti-discrimination protesters vs. right-wing extremist groups vs. government	system/ideology	2014	•	3
USA (right-wing extremists)*	right-wing extremist groups vs. government	system/ideology	1990	•	3
USA – Venezuela*	United States vs. Venezuela	system/ideology, international power	2001	•	2
Venezuela (FARC dissidents)*	ELN, government, Segunda Marquetalia vs. FARC dissidents	subnational predominance, resources	2020	↘	2
Venezuela (indigenous groups)*	indigenous groups vs. government, miners	subnational predominance, resources	1988	•	3
Venezuela (mega-gangs)*	Carlos Capa vs. Tren de Aragua vs. Tren de Guyana vs. El Willexis vs. Yeico Masacre vs. various gangs vs. government	subnational predominance, resources	2014	•	3
Venezuela (mining)*	El Perú vs. 3R vs. Tren de Guyana vs. El Talao vs. Sindicato de Barrancas vs. Juancho / Las Claritas Syndicate vs. ELN, government, various gangs	subnational predominance, resources	2006	•	3
Venezuela (opposition)*	opposition parties vs. government, pro-government militias	system/ideology, national power	1992	•	2

¹ Conflicts marked with * are without description

² Mentioned are only those conflict parties relevant for the period under review

³ Change in intensity compared to the previous year: ↑ or ↗ escalation by one or more than one level of intensity; ↓ or ↘ deescalation by one or more than one level of intensity; • no change

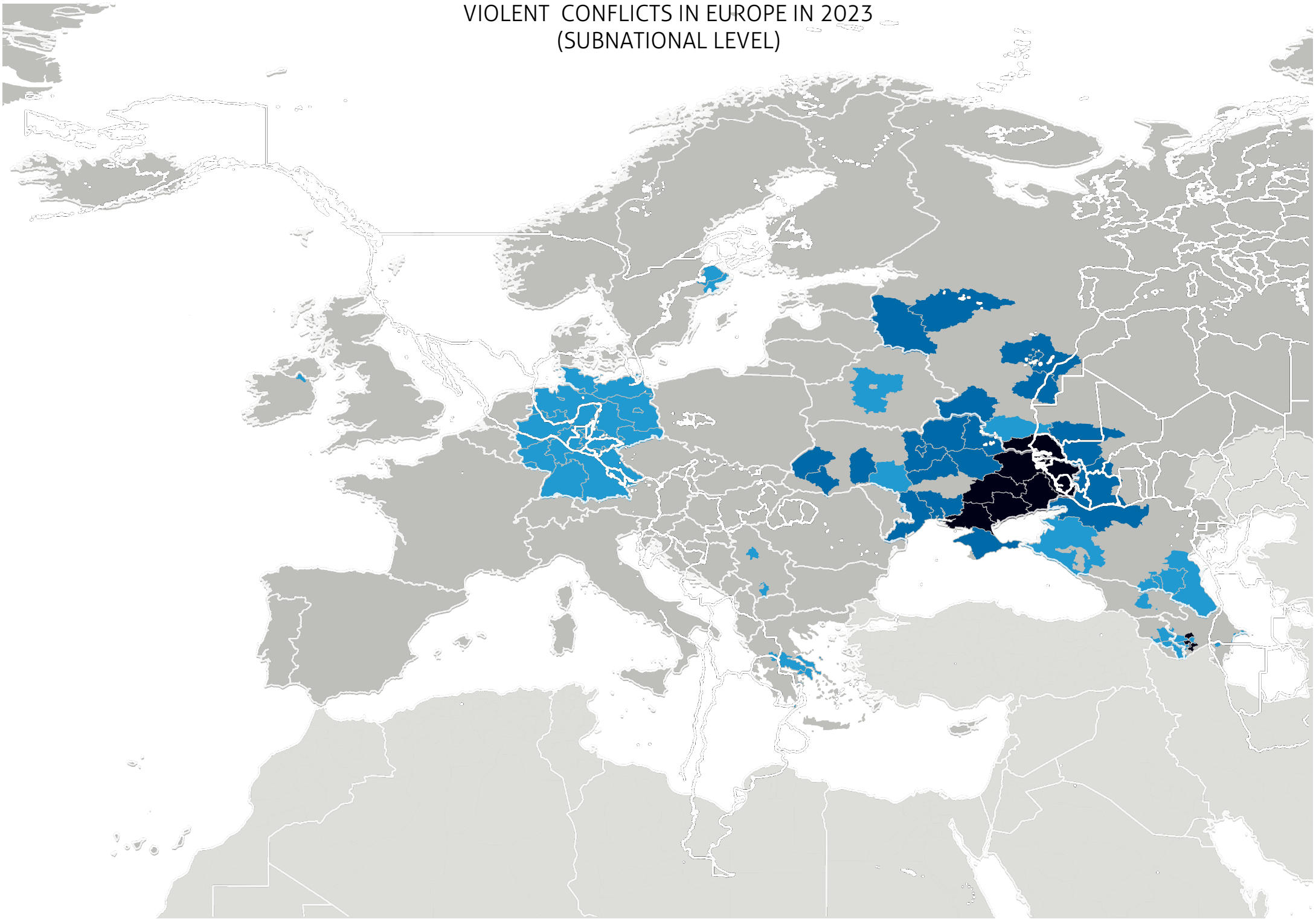
⁴ Levels of intensity: 5 = war; 4 = limited war; 3 = violent crisis; 2 = non-violent crisis; 1 = dispute

⁵ HIIK considers statehood to be non-contested if the state is an official UN members state.

Disputed statehood is marked with a * if a territory is recognized by at least one other official UN member state ("limited recognition")

EUROPE

VIOLENT CONFLICTS IN EUROPE IN 2023 (SUBNATIONAL LEVEL)



Overview: Conflicts in Europe in 2023

Name of conflict ¹	Conflict parties ²	Conflict items	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Albania (opposition)*	Opposition groups, Opposition parties vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2017	↘	2
Armenia (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2003	•	3
Armenia – Azerbaijan*	Armenia vs. Azerbaijan	territory	1987	↘	3
Armenia – Türkiye*	Armenia vs. Türkiye	international power, other	1991	•	1
Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh)*	self-declared Nagorno-Karabakh Republic vs. government	secession	1988	↑	5
Azerbaijan (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2003	↗	3
Belarus (opposition)*	Government vs. opposition parties, opposition movement, civil society activists	system/ideology, national power	1994	•	3
Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republika Srpska)*	government of Republic of Srpska vs. government, government of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina	secession	1995	•	1
Croatia (Serb minority – ethnic Croats)*	ethnic Croats vs. Serb minority	subnational predominance	1991	•	1
Croatia – Slovenia (border)*	Croatia vs. Slovenia	territory	1991	•	1
Cyprus (Northern Cyprus)*	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus vs. Government Cyprus	secession, resources	1963	•	2
Cyprus, Greece et al. – Türkiye, Libya (Eastern Mediterranean)*	Cyprus vs. Greece vs. Türkiye vs. Libya	system/ideology, international power, resources	2002	•	2
Estonia – Russia*	Estonia vs. Russia	territory, international power	1991	•	2
EU, USA et al. – Russia*	Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, et al, EU, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Ukraine, United Kingdom, USA vs. Belarus, et al, Iran, Russia	system/ideology, international power	2007	•	2
France (Corsican nationalists / Corsica)*	Corsican national government, FC, FLNC, various nationalist activists groups vs. government	secession, autonomy	1975	↘	2
France – United Kingdom (fishery)*	France vs. United Kingdom	resources	2021	•	1
Georgia (Abkhazia ^o)*	Republic of Abkhazia ^o vs. government	secession	1989	•	2
Georgia (opposition)*	ENM, various opposition groups vs. government	national power	2007	↗	3
Georgia (South Ossetia ^o)*	Republic of South Ossetia – the State of Alania ^o vs. government	secession, subnational predominance	1989	↗	3
Georgia – Russia*	Georgia vs. Russia	international power	1992	•	2
Germany (migration)*	various right-wing groups, xenophobes et al vs. government	system/ideology	2014	•	3
Greece (left-wing militants – right-wing militants)*	left-wing militants vs. right-wing militants	system/ideology	1976	↗	3
Greece (right-wing militants)*	right-wing militants vs. government	system/ideology	1985	↗	2
Greece (social protests, left-wing militants)*	left-wing militants, social groups, worker's union, government	system/ideology	2010	•	3
Greece – Türkiye (Aegean Sea)*	Greece vs. Türkiye	territory, other	1973	•	2
Hungary (minorities – right-wings)*	Arrow Cross Party – Hungarist Movement, Carpathian Brigade, Fidesz, Jobbik, Légió Hungária, Magyar Önvédelmi Mozgalom, Mi Hazánk Mozgalom vs. activists (allies), Jewish community, LGBTQI+ groups, Muslim community, refugees	system/ideology, subnational predominance	2008	•	1
Hungary – Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine (Hungarian minorities)*	Hungarian minorities (Transylvania / southern Slovakia / Transcarpathia), Hungary vs. Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine	system/ideology, international power	1989	•	1
Kosovo ^o (opposition)*	opposition groups, opposition parties vs. government	system/ideology, national power, subnational predominance	2015	↗	2

Name of conflict ¹	Conflict parties ²	Conflict items	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Kosovo ^o – Serbia [*]	Kosovar government vs. Serbian government, Serbian minority (in Kosovo ^o)	secession	1989	↗	3
Latvia – Russia [*]	Latvia vs. Russia	international power	1991	•	1
Moldova (opposition) [*]	government vs. opposition parties	system/ideology, national power	2009	•	1
Moldova (Transnistria) [*]	Transnistria regional government vs. government	secession	1989	↗	3
Montenegro (opposition) [*]	Opposition groups, Opposition parties vs. Government	system/ideology, national power	2015	↘	2
North Macedonia (Albanian minority – ethnic Macedonians) [*]	Albanian (minority) vs. Ethnic Macedonians	subnational predominance	1991	↘	2
North Macedonia (opposition) [*]	opposition groups vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2014	↘	2
Norway et al. – Russia (Arctic) [*]	Canada, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, USA vs. Russia	territory, international power, resources	2001	•	2
Russia (Islamist militants / Northern Caucasus) [*]	government vs. IS Caucasus Province, other Islamist militant groups	secession, system/ideology	1991	•	3
Russia (opposition) [*]	opposition groups, opposition parties vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2001	•	3
Russia – Ukraine [*]	Russian Federation vs. Ukraine	territory, system/ideology, international power, resources	2003	•	5
Serbia (opposition) [*]	Alliance for Serbia et al., Opposition movement vs. Government	system/ideology, national power	2018	↗	3
Spain (Basque Provinces) [*]	EH-Bildu, ETA supporters vs. EU, government	secession, autonomy	1959	•	1
Spain (Catalan nationalists / Catalonia) [*]	Catalan civil society groups, Catalan regional government vs. government, Spanish civil society groups	secession, autonomy	1979	•	1
Spain – United Kingdom (Gibraltar) [*]	Spain vs. United Kingdom	territory	1954	↘	1
Sweden (migration) [*]	various right-wing groups, xenophobes vs. government	system/ideology	2015	↘	2
Sweden (organized crime) [*]	Foxtrot nätverket, Serbian-Montenegrin Mafia, various criminal organisations, Zeronätverket vs. Bandidos vs. Black Cobra vs. Dödspatrollen vs. Hells Angels vs. Östberganätverket vs. Södertäljenätverket vs. Satudarah MC vs. 14K vs. government	subnational predominance, resources	2002	•	3
Ukraine (Crimean Tatars) [*]	Crimean Tatars vs. Crimean regional government, pro-Russian activists, Russia	autonomy	1988	•	2
Ukraine (right-wing / opposition) [*]	right-wing groups vs. civil-rights groups, minorities, oppositional parties vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2013	↘	2
United Kingdom (nationalists / Northern Ireland) [*]	DUP, Red Hand Commando, UDA, UVF vs. Army of the Republic, Óglaigh na hÉireann, Continuity IRA, nationalist youth, NIRA, Sinn Féin vs. government	secession, subnational predominance	1968	•	3
United Kingdom (Scottish nationalists / Scotland) [*]	AUOB et al., SNP vs. government	secession	2007	•	2

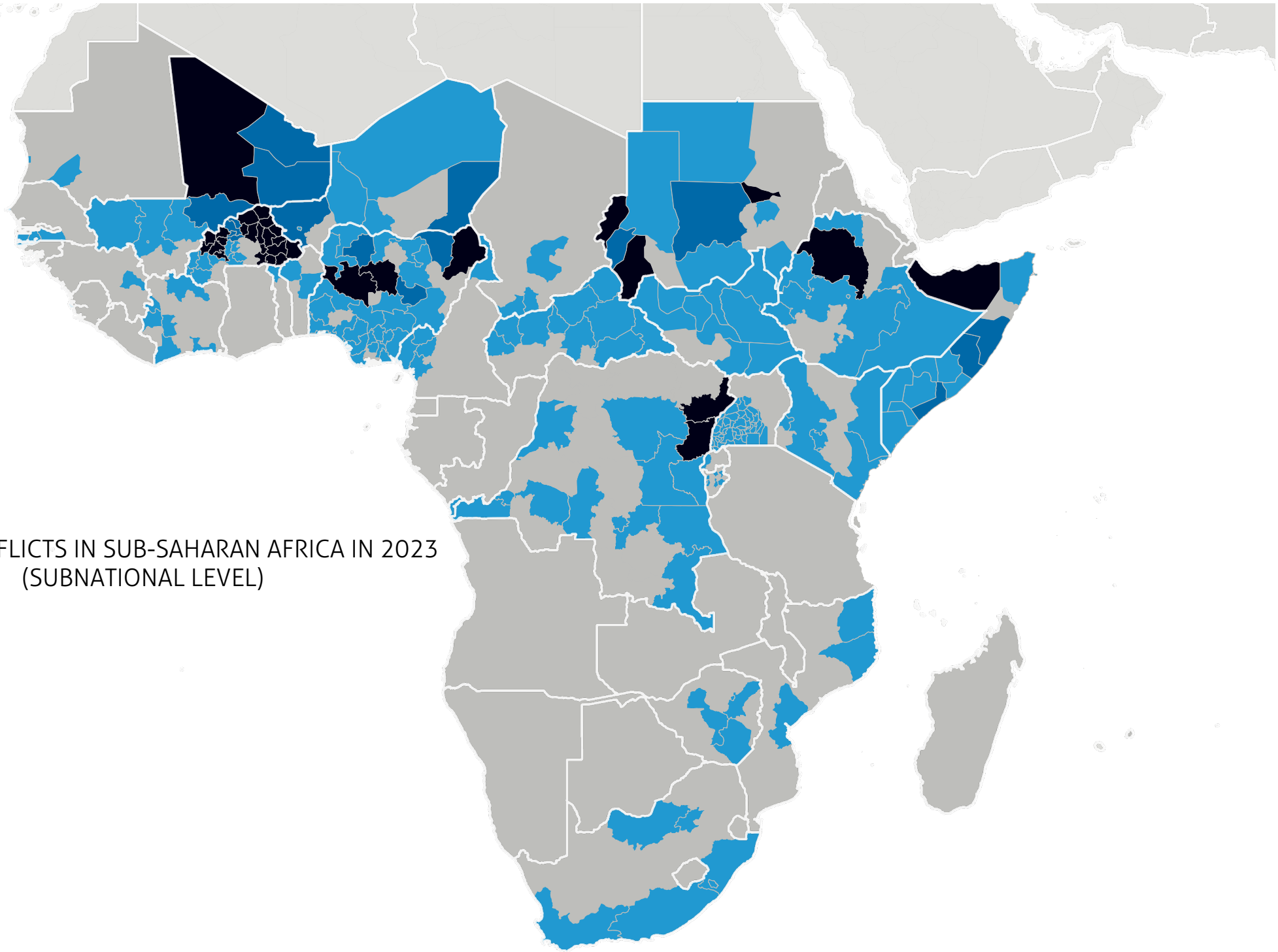
¹ Conflicts marked with * are without description

² Mentioned are only those conflict parties relevant for the period under review

³ Change in intensity compared to the previous year: ↗ or ↘ escalation by one or more than one level of intensity; ↘ or ↙ deescalation by one or more than one level of intensity; • no change

⁴ Levels of intensity: 5 = war; 4 = limited war; 3 = violent crisis; 2 = non-violent crisis; 1 = dispute

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA



VIOLENT CONFLICTS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA IN 2023
(SUBNATIONAL LEVEL)

Overview: Conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa in 2023

Name of conflict ¹	Conflict parties ²	Conflict items	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Angola (FLEC et al. / Cabinda)*	FLEC, MIC vs. government	secession	1975	•	3
Angola (opposition)*	UNITA vs. MPLA	national power	1975	↘	2
Burkina Faso (inter-communal rivalry)*	Gourmantché, Koglweogo et al., Mossi vs. Fulani vs. Islamist Groups	subnational predominance, resources	2016	•	4
Burkina Faso (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government vs. military	national power	2014	↘	2
Burundi (opposition)*	ADC-Ikibiri, CNL, RED-Tabara, UPRONA vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2006	•	3
Burundi – Rwanda*	Burundi vs. Rwanda	international power	2015	↘	2
Burundi, DR Congo (FNL, RED-Tabara, Forebu)*	Burundi, DR Congo vs. FNL, Forebu, RED-Tabara	national power	2005	•	3
Cameroon (English-speaking-minority)*	English-speaking minority vs. government	secession, autonomy	2016	•	5
Central African Republic (militant groups)*	Militant groups vs. Government	national power, resources	2012	↘	4
Central African Republic, DR Congo, South Sudan (LRA)*	Central African Republic, DR Congo, South Sudan vs. LRA	resources	1987	•	1
Chad (inter-communal rivalry)*	pastoralists vs. farmers	subnational predominance	1947	•	3
Chad (militant groups)*	CCSMR, CSD, FACT, UFR vs. government	national power	2005	•	2
Chad (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	national power	1990	↘	2
Côte d'Ivoire (militant groups)*	militant groups vs. government	national power	2012	•	2
Côte d'Ivoire (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	national power	1999	•	3
Djibouti (FRUD)*	FRUD-Armé vs. Government	system/ideology, national power	1991	↓	1
Djibouti (opposition)*	Lamuka vs. FCC vs. Government	system/ideology, national power	2011	•	1
DR Congo (Bantu – Batwa)*	Bantu militias vs. Batwa militias	subnational predominance	2013	•	3
DR Congo (Ituri militias)*	CODECO, FPIC, FRPI, Zaire militia vs. government	subnational predominance, resources	1999	↗	5
DR Congo (Kata Katanga)*	Kata Katanga vs. government	secession, subnational predominance, resources	2011	•	3
DR Congo (KN)*	KN vs. government	subnational predominance	2016	•	2
DR Congo (M23 factions)*	M23 factions vs. government, other militias	national power, subnational predominance	2004	•	5
DR Congo (Mayi-Mayi et al.)*	NDC-R vs. APCLS vs. Mayi-Mayi groups vs. Nyatura groups vs. FPP/AP vs. Banyamulenge militias vs. Bafuiliro militias vs. Babembe militias vs. government	subnational predominance, resources	2003	↓	3
DR Congo (opposition)*	church groups, civil society groups, opposition parties vs. government	national power	1997	•	3
DR Congo – Rwanda*	DR Congo vs. Rwanda	international power	1998	↗	3
DR Congo, Rwanda (FDLR, CNRD)*	FDLR vs. CNRD vs. DR Congo, Rwanda	subnational predominance, resources	1994	•	3
DR Congo, Uganda (ADF)*	ADF vs. DR Congo, Uganda	system/ideology, subnational predominance, resources	1995	•	5
Egypt – Ethiopia, Sudan (GERD)*	Egypt vs. Ethiopia vs. Sudan	resources	2011	•	1
Eritrea (RSADO)*	RSADO vs. government	autonomy	1999	•	1
eSwatini (opposition)*	COSATU, PUDEMO, SUDF vs. government	system/ideology, national power	1998	↘	2
Ethiopia (Fano militias / Amhara)*	Fano militias vs. government	autonomy, subnational predominance	2023	NEW	4
Ethiopia (inter-communal rivalry)*	vs. Oromo vs. Amhara vs. Konso vs. Ale vs. Issa vs. Afar vs. other ethnic groups	subnational predominance, resources	2017	↓	3
Ethiopia (OLA / Oromia)*	OLA vs. government	subnational predominance	1992	↓	3
Ethiopia (opposition)*	vs. opposition parties vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2005	↘	2
Ethiopia, Eritrea (TPLF / Tigray)*	Eritrea, Ethiopia vs. TPLF	system/ideology	2020	↓	3
Gabon (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	national power	2009	↗	2

Name of conflict ¹	Conflict parties ²	Conflict items	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Gambia (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	national power	2016	•	2
Ghana (HSGF et al. / Western Togoland)*	HSGF et al. vs. government	secession	2017	•	2
Guinea (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	national power	2006	•	3
Guinea-Bissau (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	national power	1998	•	3
Kenya (inter-communal rivalry)*	Pokot vs. Turkana vs. Toposa vs. Borana vs. Rendille vs. Akamba vs. Orma vs. various other tribes	subnational predominance, resources	1963	•	3
Kenya (opposition)*	Azimio la Umajo One-Kenya Coalition vs. government	national power	1999	•	3
Kenya – Somalia*	Kenya vs. Somalia	territory, resources	2015	•	1
Mali (CSP-PSD, CMA et al. / Azawad)*	CMA et al., CSP-PSD vs. government	autonomy	1989	↑	4
Mali (inter-communal rivalry / central Mali)*	Bambara, Dogon, Dozo vs. Fulani vs. Islamist Groups	subnational predominance, resources	2012	•	3
Mali (inter-militant rivalry / northern Mali)*	CSP-PSD, CMA et al. vs. Platform vs. Islamist Groups	system/ideology, subnational predominance	2012	↘	3
Mali (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	national power	2012	•	2
Mali et al. (IS Sahel)*	IS Sahel vs. Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger	system/ideology, international power	2016	•	5
Mali, Burkina Faso et al. (JNIM, AQIM et al.)*	USA vs. Al-Mourabitoun,, Ansar Dine, Ansaroul Islam, AQIM, JNIM, Macina Liberation Front vs. Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire,, Chad, France, Mali, Mauretania, Niger, Togo	system/ideology, international power	1998	•	5
Mozambique (ASWJ)*	ASWJ vs. government	system/ideology	2017	↘	3
Mozambique (RENAMO)*	RENAMO, RENAMO Military Junta vs. government	national power	2012	↑	3
Niger (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	national power	2009	↗	3
Nigeria (Ansaru)*	Ansaru vs. government	system/ideology	2012	↘	2
Nigeria (APC supporters – PDP supporters)*	APC supporters vs. PDP supporters	system/ideology, national power	1960	•	3
Nigeria (bandits)*	bandits vs. government	subnational predominance, other	2016	•	5
Nigeria (farmers – pastoralists)*	farmers vs. pastoralists	subnational predominance, resources	1960	↗	4
Nigeria (Ijaw groups / Niger Delta)*	CEND, DSF, Force of Egbesu, Ijaw groups, NDA, RND vs. government, International oil companies	autonomy, resources	1997	•	2
Nigeria (Islamic Movement)*	IMN vs. government	system/ideology	1991	•	3
Nigeria (ISWAP - JAS)*	ISWAP vs. JAS	system/ideology, subnational predominance	2016	↗	4
Nigeria (pro-Biafra groups / Biafra)*	pro-Biafra groups vs. Cameroon, Nigeria	secession	1967	•	3
Nigeria, Chad et al. (ISWAP)*	ISWAP vs. Cameroon, Chad, Niger, Nigeria	system/ideology, international power	2016	•	5
Nigeria, Chad et al. (JAS-Boko Haram)*	JAS vs. Cameroon, Chad, Niger, Nigeria	system/ideology	2003	•	5
Republic of Congo (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	national power	2015	•	1
Rwanda (opposition)*	FDU-Inkingi vs. government	national power	2003	•	1
Rwanda – Uganda*	Rwanda vs. Uganda	international power	2018	•	1
Senegal (MFDC / Casamance)*	MFDC vs. government	secession	1982	•	3
Senegal (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	national power	2023	NEW	3
Sierra Leone (opposition)*	APC vs. government	national power	2007	•	3
Somalia (ISS)*	government vs. ISS vs. al-Shabaab	system/ideology, national power	2015	•	3
Somalia (Puntland – Somaliland)*	government vs. Puntland vs. Somaliland vs. Khatumo State	subnational predominance	1998	↗	4
Somalia (Somaliland)*	regional government of Somaliland vs. government	secession	1991	•	1
Somalia (subclan rivalry)*	Hawiye vs. Rahanweyn subclan vs. Darod vs. Dir vs. Isaaq vs. various other clans	subnational predominance, resources	1991	↗	4
Somalia, Kenya (Al-Shabaab)*	al-Shabaab vs. Kenya, Somalia	system/ideology, national power	2006	•	5

Name of conflict ¹	Conflict parties ²	Conflict items	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
South Africa (opposition)*	civil rights groups, DA, EFF, IFP vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2015	•	3
South Africa (socioeconomic protests)*	residents of informal settlements vs. government	system/ideology	2018	•	3
South Africa (xenophobes)*	immigrants vs. xenophobes	system/ideology	1994	•	3
South Sudan (inter-communal rivalry)*	Murle vs. Dinka	subnational predominance, resources	2011	•	5
South Sudan (opposition)*	SPLM/A-IO-RM vs. NAS, SPLM/A-IO-Kitwang vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2011	•	3
South Sudan – Sudan*	South Sudan vs. Sudan	territory, resources	2011	•	1
Sudan (Darfur)*	“non-Arab” communities vs. RSF, ‘Arab’ militias	subnational predominance, resources	2003	•	5
Sudan (inter-communal rivalry)*	Fulani et al, Fur, Masala vs. Hawazma et al., Misseriya, Taisha	subnational predominance, resources	2007	•	4
Sudan (opposition)*	RSF vs. SAF	national power	2011	↑	5
Sudan (SPLM/A-North / South Kordofan, Blue Nile)*	SPLM/A-North vs. government	autonomy, resources	2011	↑	3
Sudan, South Sudan (inter-communal rivalry / Abyei)*	Balanda vs. Murle vs. Dinka vs. Nuer vs. Azande	subnational predominance, resources	2011	•	3
Tanzania (opposition)*	ACT-Wazalendo, CUF, CHADEMA vs. government	system/ideology, national power	1993	•	1
Togo (opposition)*	ANC, MPDD vs. government	national power	1963	•	2
Uganda (inter-communal rivalry / Rwenzururu)*	Bakonzo vs. Bamba, Basongora, Banyabind	subnational predominance, resources	2012	•	1
Uganda (opposition)*	DP, FDC, Jeema, NEED, NUP, PFT, UPC vs. Government	national power	2001	•	2
Zimbabwe (opposition)*	CCC vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2000	•	3

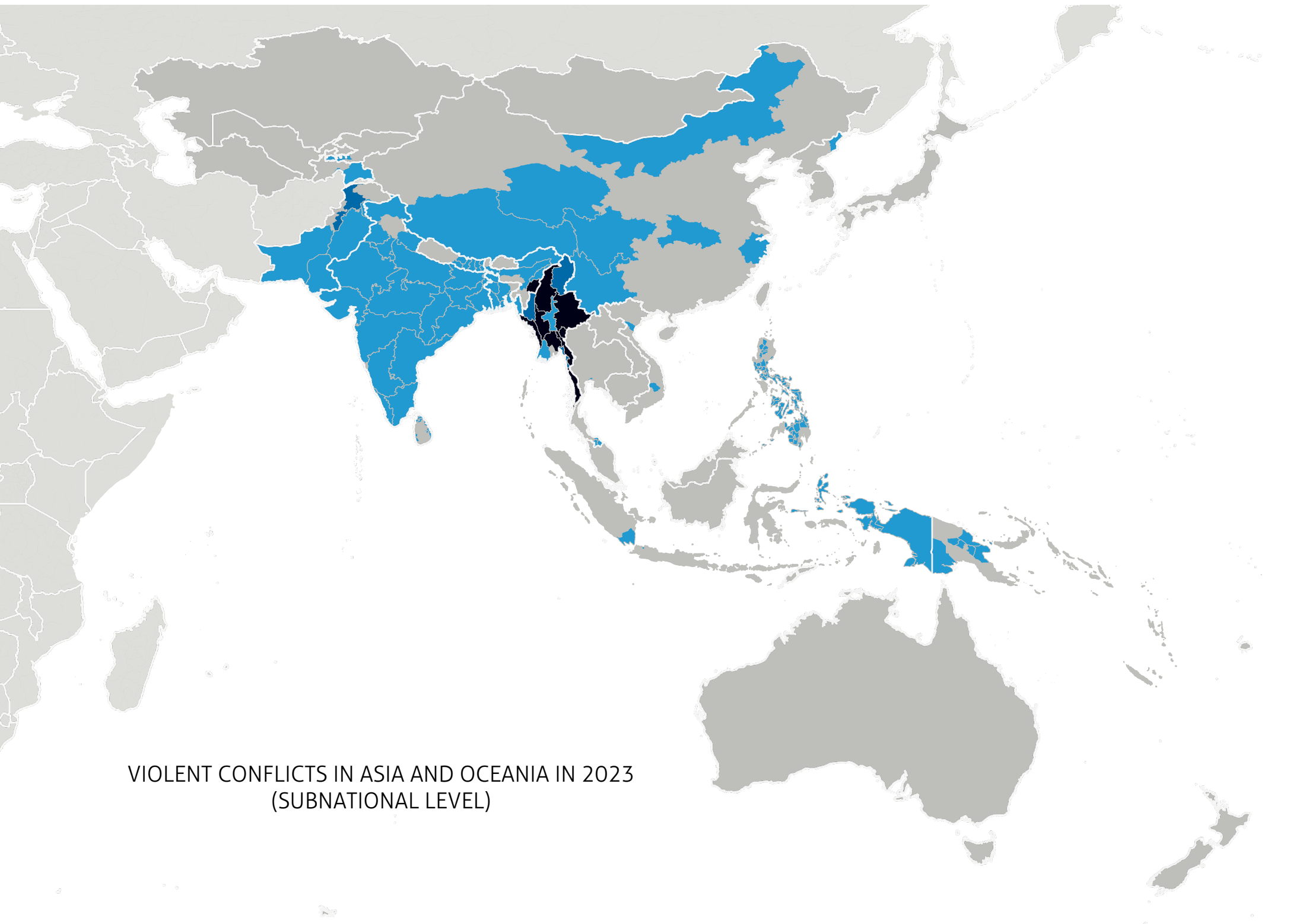
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ASIA AND OCEANIA



VIOLENT CONFLICTS IN ASIA AND OCEANIA IN 2023
(SUBNATIONAL LEVEL)

Overview: Conflicts in Asia and Oceania in 2023

Name of conflict ¹	Conflict parties ²	Conflict items	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Bangladesh (Chittagong Hill Tracts)*	PCJSS, UPDF, UPDF-Democratic vs. KNF, MNP vs. Bengali settlers vs. government	autonomy, subnational predominance	1971	•	3
Bangladesh (Islamist groups)*	AAI, Allah'r Dai], HuJI, HuT, JAFHS, JMB vs. government, Hindus	system/ideology, subnational predominance	1971	•	2
Bangladesh (opposition)*	BNP, Hel, ICS, Jel vs. AL, government	system/ideology, national power	1991	•	3
Bangladesh (RMG workers)*	RMG workers vs. factory owners, government	other	2006	•	3
Bangladesh (Rohingya / Cox's Bazar)*	ARSA vs. RSO vs. various gangs	subnational predominance	2018	•	3
Cambodia (opposition)*	CNRM, opposition parties vs. government	system/ideology, national power	1997	•	2
China (Christians)*	Christians vs. government	system/ideology	1949	•	3
China (Falun Gong et al.)*	Falun Gong vs. government	system/ideology	1999	↗	2
China (Hong Kong)*	pro-democracy groups, pro-independence groups vs. HKSAR government, PRC government	secession, autonomy, system/ideology	1997	•	2
China (Hui)*	government vs. Hui	system/ideology	1949	•	3
China (Inner Mongolia)*	Mongolian ethnic minorities vs. government	autonomy, system/ideology, resources	1981	↗	3
China (Taiwan)*	ROC vs. PRC	secession, system/ideology	1949	•	2
China (Tibet)*	CTA, ethnic Tibetans vs. government	autonomy, system/ideology, resources	1950	↗	3
China (Uyghurs / Xinjiang)*	government vs. Uyghur, WUC	autonomy, system/ideology	1949	•	2
China – India*	India, PRC	territory, international power, resources	1954	↘	2
China – Japan (East China Sea)*	Japan vs. PRC vs. ROC	territory, international power, resources	1971	•	2
China – South Korea*	PRC vs. ROK	territory, international power, resources, other	2003	•	1
China – USA*	PRC, USA	system/ideology, international power	1949	•	2
China – Vietnam et al. (South China Sea)*	PRC vs. Vietnam vs. Brunei vs. ROC vs. Malaysia vs. Indonesia vs. Philippines vs. USA	territory, international power, resources	1951	•	2
Fiji (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	national power	1987	↘	1
India (Christians – Hindus)*	BD, BJP, Hindu Munnani, Hindus, RSS, VHP vs. Christians	subnational predominance	1999	•	3
India (Dalits, Adivasis)*	Adivasis (Scheduled Tribes), Dalits (Scheduled Castes) vs. upper caste members	system/ideology, subnational predominance	1948	•	3
India (Hindus – Muslims)*	BD, BJP, Hindus, RSS, VHP vs. JIH, Muslims, PFI, TJ	subnational predominance	1947	•	3
India (inter-communal rivalry / Assam)*	AASU, AJYCP, Assamese vs. AAMSU, ABYSO, Bangladeshi immigrants vs. Adivasis et al. vs. government	subnational predominance, other	1979	•	3
India (Islamist militant groups)*	IS, JeM, JMB, LeT, PFI, SIMI vs. government	system/ideology	2000	↘	2
India (Kashmir)*	Al Badr, APHC, HM, JeM, LeT vs. government	secession, autonomy	1947	•	3
India (Kukis – Nagas)*	KIM, KLA, KNA, KNO, Kukis vs. Nagas, NNGP, NSCN-IM	subnational predominance	1992	↘	1
India (Mafia Raj)*	Sand Mafia, Timber Mafia vs. civil society actors, government	subnational predominance, resources, other	1986	•	3
India (Manipur)*	JCILPS, KCP, KNF, Kukis, KYKL, PLA, PREPAK, PREPAK-Pro, UNLF, ZRO vs. government vs. Meiteis	secession, autonomy, system/ideology, subnational predominance	1964	↗	4
India (Meghalaya)*	ANSC, HNLC vs. government	autonomy	1992	•	2
India (Nagalim)*	NSCN-IM, NSCN-K, NSCN-K-Khango, NSCN-K-NS, NSCN-KK, NSCN-KYA, NSCN-NK, NSCN-R, NSCN-U vs. Government	secession, autonomy	1947	•	3
India (Naxalites)*	Naxalites vs. Government	system/ideology	1967	•	3
India (NLFT factions et al. / Tripura)*	NLFT, NLFT-BM, NLFT-PD vs. government	secession, autonomy	1978	↘	1

Name of conflict ¹	Conflict parties ²	Conflict items	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
India (Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes et al.) [*]	Gujjars, Jats, Marathas, Rajputs vs. government	system/ideology	1981	↗	3
India (Sikhs) [*]	Khalistan supporters, KTF, SFJ vs. Government	secession	1947	↗	3
India (ULFA-I et al. / Assam) [*]	AANLA, APLA, BLA, DNLA, KLO, KLO-KN, NLFB, ULFA, ULFA-I vs. government	secession, autonomy	1979	•	3
India - Pakistan [*]	India vs. Pakistan	territory, international power, resources	1947	↗	3
Indonesia (Aceh regional government – opposition / Aceh) [*]	opposition vs. Aceh regional government	subnational predominance, resources	2006	•	1
Indonesia (Aceh) [*]	Aceh regional government, KPA, PA vs. government	autonomy, resources	1953	•	1
Indonesia (Ahmadi) [*]	Ahmadi vs. Muslims	subnational predominance	1980	•	1
Indonesia (Christians – Muslims) [*]	Muslims vs. Christians	subnational predominance	1998	•	2
Indonesia (Islamist militants groups) [*]	JAD, JI et al. vs. government	system/ideology	1981	•	3
Indonesia (Papua) [*]	OPM, ULMWP et al. vs. government	secession, resources	1961	•	3
Indonesia – Timor-Leste [*]	Indonesia, Timor-Leste	territory, other	2002	NEW	1
Japan – Russia [*]	Russia vs. Japan	territory, international power, resources	1945	•	2
Japan – South Korea [*]	ROK vs. Japan	territory, other	1951	•	1
Japan, South Korea, USA – North Korea [*]	Japan, ROK, USA vs. DPRK	system/ideology, international power, other	1993	•	2
Kazakhstan (opposition) [*]	opposition vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2004	↓	2
Kyrgyzstan (opposition) [*]	opposition vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2005	↗	3
Kyrgyzstan – Tajikistan – Uzbekistan (border communities / Fergana Valley) [*]	Kyrgyz border communities, Kyrgyzstan vs. Uzbek border communities, Uzbekistan vs. Tajik border communities, Tajikistan	territory, international power	2000	↘	3
Laos (Buddhists – Christians) [*]	Buddhists vs. Christians	system/ideology	1975	•	2
Laos (Hmong) [*]	Hmong vs. government	system/ideology	1975	•	2
Malaysia (Chinese, Indian, indigenous Malaysians – Malays) [*]	Chinese Malaysians, Indian Malaysians, Indigenous Malaysian minorities vs. Malay Malaysians	system/ideology, subnational predominance	1946	•	1
Malaysia – Singapore [*]	Malaysia vs. Singapore	territory	1963	•	1
Maldives (opposition) [*]	government vs. opposition	national power	2003	•	3
Myanmar (AA / Rakhine State) [*]	AA vs. Myanmar Army	autonomy	2015	↗	5
Myanmar (inter-militant rivalry / Shan State)	RCSS vs. SSPP, TNLA, UWSA	subnational predominance	2015	•	3
Myanmar (KIA, KIO / Kachin State) [*]	KIA, KIO vs. Myanmar Army	autonomy, resources	1961	•	4
Myanmar (KNU, KNLA, DKBA et. al. / Karen State, Kayah State) [*]	Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA), Karen National Defense Organisation (KNDO), Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA), Karen National Union (KNU), Karenni National People's Liberation Front (KNPLF), People's Revolution Alliance (Magway) vs. Myanmar Army	autonomy	1948	↗	5
Myanmar (MNDAA / Shan State) [*]	MNDAA vs. Myanmar Army	subnational predominance, resources	1989	↗	4
Myanmar (opposition) [*]	Ethnic Armed Organisations (EAOs), National League of Democracy (NLD), National Unity Government (NUG), People's Defense Forces (PDF) vs. Myanmar Army, Pyu Saw Htee militia	system/ideology, national power	1962	•	5
Myanmar (Rohingya) [*]	ARSA, Rohingya, RSO vs. Myanmar Army	subnational predominance, other	2012	↘	2
Myanmar (socioeconomic protests) [*]	Kachin Independence Army (KIA), local protesters vs. Myanmar Army, resource companies	resources	2007	↗	3
Myanmar (SSA / Shan State) [*]	RCSS (SSA-S), SSPP (SSA-N) vs. Myanmar Army	autonomy	1952	•	3

Name of conflict ¹	Conflict parties ²	Conflict items	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Myanmar (TNLA / Shan State)*	Myanmar Army vs. TNLA	subnational predominance, resources	2013	•	3
Myanmar (UWSA, NDAA / Shan State)*	NDAA, UWSA vs. Myanmar Army	autonomy	1988	•	1
Nepal (Kiratis / Kosi, Mechi, Sagarmatha)*	Kiratis, Limbuwan Rastriya Mukti Morcha, various indigenous groups vs. government	autonomy, subnational predominance	1992	↑	3
Nepal (Madhesis, Tharus / Terai)*	Janamat Party, JSPN, JTMM vs. government	autonomy	2004	↓	1
Nepal (opposition)*	opposition vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2008	•	3
Nepal (right-wing Hindu groups)*	RPP, RPP-D, SNN vs. government	system/ideology	2006	•	3
North Korea – South Korea *	DPRK vs. ROK	territory, system/ideology, international power	1948	•	2
North Korea, China (defectors)*	DPRK, PRC vs. defectors (network)	system/ideology, other	2000	•	3
Pakistan (Balochistan)*	BLA, BLF, BLT, BNA (militant group), BNA (political party), BNP-M, BRG vs. government	secession, resources	1948	•	3
Pakistan (Islamist militant groups)*	al-Qaeda, et al., IS-K, LeJ, TTP vs. government, political parties	autonomy, system/ideology, national power	2001	↗	4
Pakistan (opposition)*	opposition parties vs. government	system/ideology, national power	1973	•	3
Pakistan (Pashtuns / PTM)*	Pashtuns, PTM vs. government	autonomy	2018	•	3
Pakistan (religious groups – Sunni militants)*	IS-K, JuA, JUI-F, TTP vs. Ahmadis, Christians, Hindus, Shiites, Sufis	subnational predominance	1985	•	3
Pakistan (Sindh)*	Mohajirs, MQM vs. Balochs, PPP, Sindhis vs. ANP, Pashtuns vs. Pakistan Rangers, Sindh Rangers	subnational predominance, resources	1947	•	3
Pakistan (SRA / Sindh)*	SRA vs. government	secession, resources	2020	•	3
Papua New Guinea (Bougainville)*	national government vs. Autonomous Bougainville Government	secession, resources	1964	•	1
Papua New Guinea (inter-communal rivalry)*	Aiyala vs. Hulis vs. Engans vs. Nomali vs. Min vs. Punano vs. Yauna vs. various other tribes	subnational predominance, resources	1975	↘	3
Papua New Guinea (opposition)*	opposition vs. government vs. various electoral supporters	system/ideology, national power	2011	↓	2
Papua New Guinea (socioeconomic protests)*	customary landowners vs. government vs. resource companies	autonomy, resources	1995	•	1
Papua New Guinea (urban tensions)*	highlanders vs. lowlanders vs. ethnic Chinese	subnational predominance	1975	•	1
Philippines (BIFF)*	BIFF vs. government	secession, subnational predominance	2008	•	3
Philippines (CPP, NPA)*	CPP, NPA vs. government	system/ideology	1968	↘	3
Philippines (drugs)*	cartels, drug syndicates vs. human rights activists vs. government	resources	2016	•	3
Philippines (Islamist militant groups)*	ASG, DI vs. government	system/ideology, other	1991	•	3
Philippines (MILF – MNLF)*	MILF vs. MNLF	subnational predominance	2009	↓	1
Philippines (MILF)*	MILF vs. Philippine Government	autonomy, system/ideology, resources	1977	•	3
Philippines (MNLF)*	MNLF vs. government	secession, system/ideology, resources	1969	↑	3
Sri Lanka (interreligious tensions)*	Sinhalese Buddhist nationalists vs. Muslims vs. Christians vs. Hindus	system/ideology	1948	•	3
Sri Lanka (Northern Province, Eastern Province)*	BBS, JHU, JVP, Sinhalese nationalists vs. Tamils, TNA vs. government	autonomy, system/ideology	2009	•	2
Sri Lanka (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2022	•	3
Tajikistan (Gorno-Badakhshan)*	drug traffickers, Pamiris vs. government	autonomy, subnational predominance	1992	•	3
Tajikistan (Islamist groups)*	Islamist groups vs. government	system/ideology, national power	1997	↗	3
Thailand (Islamist separatists / southern border provinces)*	BRN, PULO vs. government	secession, system/ideology	1902	•	3

Name of conflict ¹	Conflict parties ²	Conflict items	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Thailand (opposition)*	pro-democracy activists vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2006	•	3
Uzbekistan (Karakalpakstan)*	Karakalpaks vs. government	autonomy	2022	↓	1
Vietnam (Montagnards)*	Montagnards vs. government	system/ideology	1958	↗	3
Vietnam (socioeconomic protests)*	factory workers, other civilians, peasants vs. government, manufacturing companies	resources, other	1986	•	3

¹ Conflicts marked with * are without description

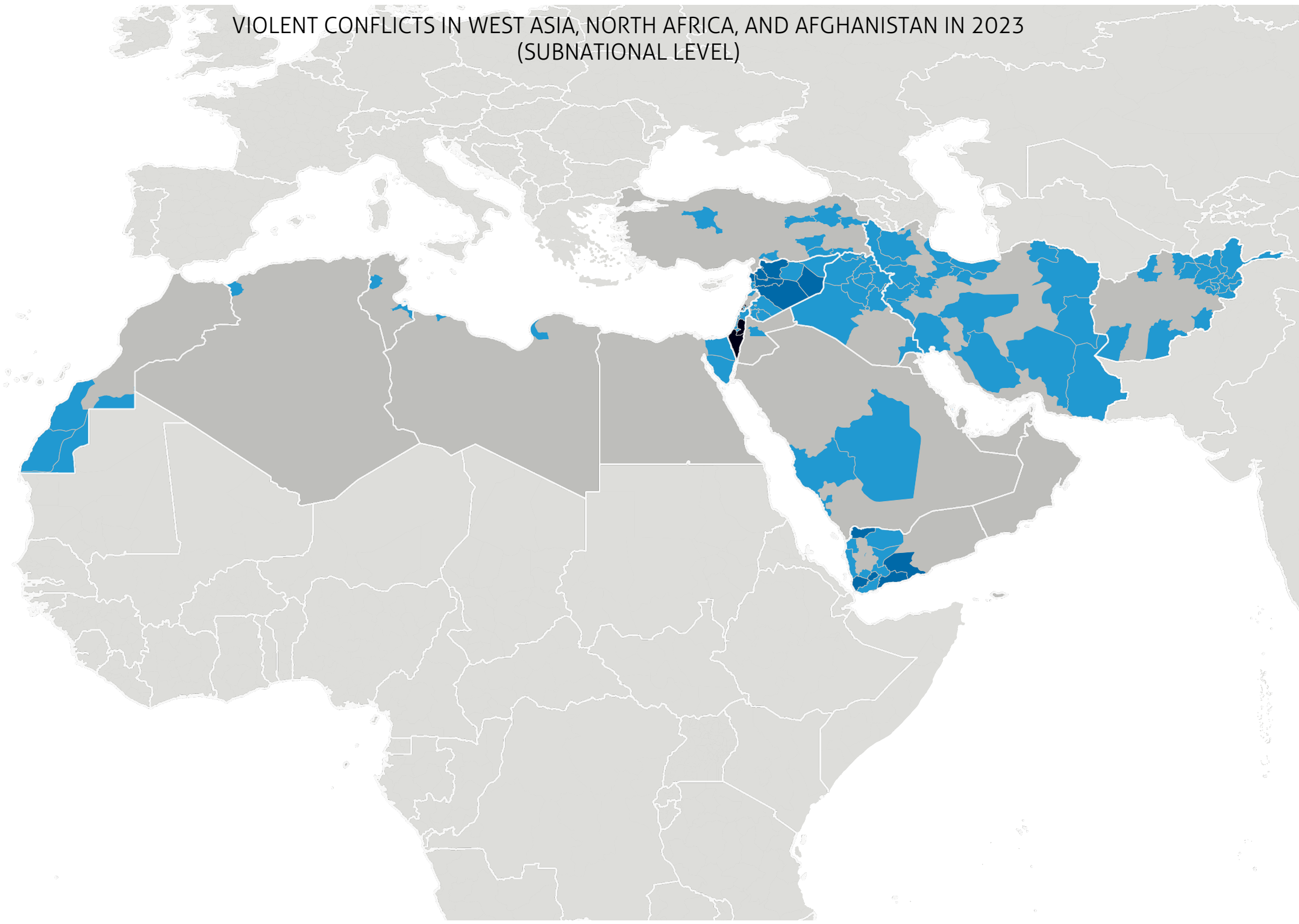
² Mentioned are only those conflict parties relevant for the period under review

³ Change in intensity compared to the previous year: ↑ or ↗ escalation by one or more than one level of intensity; ↓ or ↘ deescalation by one or more than one level of intensity; • no change

⁴ Levels of intensity: 5 = war; 4 = limited war; 3 = violent crisis; 2 = non-violent crisis; 1 = dispute

WEST ASIA, NORTH AFRICA, AND AFGHANISTAN

VIOLENT CONFLICTS IN WEST ASIA, NORTH AFRICA, AND AFGHANISTAN IN 2023
(SUBNATIONAL LEVEL)



Overview: Conflicts in West Asia, North Africa, and Afghanistan

Name of conflict ¹	Conflict parties ²	Conflict items	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Afghanistan (Hazara – Kuchi)*	Hazara vs. Kuchi	subnational predominance, resources	2007	•	3
Afghanistan (IS)*	ISKP vs. government	system/ideology	2015	•	3
Afghanistan (opposition)*	AFF, ALM, NRF, other armed opposition groups vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2022	↘	4
Afghanistan – Iran*	Afghanistan vs. Iran	resources, other	2021	•	3
Afghanistan – Pakistan*	Afghanistan vs. Pakistan	territory, international power, other	1949	•	3
Algeria (Berbers / Kabylia)*	Berbers vs. government	autonomy, system/ideology	1963	•	2
Algeria (Islamist militant groups)*	Al-Mourabitoun, AQIM, Blood Signatories, IS, Jund al-Khalifa, MUJAO vs. government	system/ideology, national power	1998	•	2
Algeria (opposition)*	Hirak movement, labor unions, opposition parties vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2011	•	2
Algeria – Morocco*	Algeria vs. Morocco	international power	1963	↑	3
Bahrain (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	system/ideology, national power	1975	↗	3
Egypt (Christians - Muslims)*	Christians vs. Muslims	subnational predominance	1952	↘	2
Egypt (IS)*	IS vs. government	system/ideology, subnational predominance	2014	•	3
Egypt (militant groups / Sinai Peninsula)*	militant groups vs. government	system/ideology, subnational predominance	2011	•	3
Egypt (opposition)*	activists, opposition groups vs. government	system/ideology	1954	•	2
Egypt – Sudan*	Egypt vs. Sudan	territory, resources	1958	•	1
Iran (opposition)*	government vs. intra-systemic opposition, non-systemic opposition	system/ideology, national power	1993	↘	3
Iran (PDKI et al.)*	PDKI, various other Kurdish parties and groups vs. government	autonomy, system/ideology	1979	↓	1
Iran (People's Mujahideen)*	PMOI vs. government	system/ideology, national power	1979	•	1
Iran (PJAK)*	PJAK vs. government	autonomy	1979	↑	3
Iran (Sunni militant groups / Sistan Baluchistan)*	Ansar al-Furqan et al., Jaish al-Adl vs. government	autonomy	1979	•	3
Iran – Israel*	Iran vs. Israel	system/ideology, international power	1979	•	3
Iran – Saudi Arabia*	Iran vs. Saudi Arabia	system/ideology, international power	1979	•	1
Iran – UAE*	Iran vs. UAE	territory	1971	↗	2
Iran – USA*	Iran vs. USA	system/ideology, international power	1979	↑	3
Iraq (IS)*	IS vs. government	system/ideology, national power, resources	2014	•	3
Iraq (KRG – opposition)*	KRG vs. opposition movement	system/ideology, subnational predominance	2011	↘	1
Iraq (Kurdistan Regional Government)*	Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) vs. Government	autonomy, resources	1971	↑	3
Iraq (opposition)*	opposition vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2011	•	3
Iraq (Shiite militant groups)*	Asa'ib Ahl al-Haq, Badr Organization, government, Kata'ib Hezbollah, Saraya al-Salam	system/ideology, national power	2004	•	3
Israel (Hamas et al.)*	Hamas, other Islamist groups, PIJ vs. government	secession, resources	1988	↑	5
Israel (Hezbollah)*	Hezbollah vs. government	territory, system/ideology	1982	↑	5
Israel – Lebanon*	Israel vs. Lebanon	territory, international power, resources	1948	↗	3
Israel – State of Palestine ^o (PNA)*	Palestinian protesters, PNA vs. government, Israeli settlement movements	secession, decolonisation, system/ideology, resources	1948	↑	5
Israel – Syria*	Syria vs. Israel	territory, international power, resources	1948	•	3
Jordan (opposition)*	opposition groups vs. government	system/ideology	2011	•	3
Kuwait (Bedouns)*	Bedouns vs. government	other	1959	•	1

Name of conflict ¹	Conflict parties ²	Conflict items	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Kuwait (opposition)*	opposition movement vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2011	•	1
Lebanon (inner-Palestinian tensions)*	Ansar Allah et al. vs. Fatah vs. other Palestinian factions	subnational predominance	2006	•	3
Lebanon (IS)*	IS vs. government	system/ideology, subnational predominance	2011	↘	2
Lebanon (opposition)*	opposition vs. government	system/ideology, national power, resources	2019	•	3
Libya (IS)*	ISL vs. GNU	system/ideology, national power, resources	2014	↓	1
Libya (opposition)*	GNU vs. GNS	system/ideology, national power, resources	2011	•	3
Libya (tribes)*	Tebu vs. Tuareg vs. various other tribes vs. GNU, LNA	system/ideology, subnational predominance, resources, other	2012	↑	3
Mauritania (anti-slavery activists)*	IRA, opposition groups vs. government	system/ideology	2015	↗	3
Morocco (opposition)*	AMDH, Front Social, Justice and Spirituality, labor rights activists vs. government	system/ideology	2011	•	2
Morocco (POLISARIO / Western Sahara°)*	POLISARIO, Sahrawis vs. government	secession, decolonisation, resources	1975	•	3
Oman (opposition)*	oppositional groups vs. government	system/ideology	2011	•	1
Saudi Arabia (IS)*	IS, government	system/ideology, international power	2015	•	2
Saudi Arabia (opposition)*	opposition vs. government	system/ideology	1992	•	3
Saudi Arabia (Shiites)*	Shiites vs. government	system/ideology	1979	•	3
Saudi Arabia, Yemen (AQAP)*	AQAP vs. IRG Government of Yemen, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, United States	system/ideology	1990	•	3
State of Palestine° (Fatah – Hamas)*	Fatah vs. Hamas	subnational predominance	1994	•	1
Syria (inter-opposition rivalry)*	HTS vs. various Islamist groups vs. Syrian Liberation Front (SLF), Syrian National Army (SNA)	system/ideology, subnational predominance, resources	2013	•	3
Syria (IS)*	IS vs. government	system/ideology, subnational predominance, resources	2014	•	3
Syria (Kurdish groups)*	KDPS vs. AANES vs. SDF vs. government	autonomy, subnational predominance, resources	1962	↗	4
Syria (opposition)*	FSA, HTS, NC vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2011	•	4
Syria (Türkiye – SDF / Northern Syria)*	HRE, SDF, YPG vs. FSA, Türkiye	autonomy, subnational predominance, resources	2018	•	3
Syria – Türkiye*	Syrian vs. Türkiye	territory, international power	1946	↘	1
Syria – USA*	Syria, USA	system/ideology, international power	2003	•	2
Tunisia (Islamist militant groups)*	Ansar al-Sharia, AQIM, Uqbah ibn Nafi Brigade vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2011	•	3
Tunisia (opposition)*	civil society groups, opposition groups vs. government	system/ideology, national power	2010	↘	2
Türkiye (IS)*	IS vs. government	system/ideology, national power, resources	2014	•	2
Türkiye (opposition)*	Government, HDP, Nation Alliance, TIP	system/ideology, national power	2013	↗	3
Türkiye (PKK, KCK)*	KCK, PKK vs. government	autonomy	1978	•	4
Yemen (al-Hirak / Southern Yemen)*	AL-Hirak vs. government	secession	2007	•	3
Yemen (AQAP – al-Houthi forces)*	al-Houthi forces, Ansar al-Sharia vs. AQAP	system/ideology, subnational predominance	2010	↓	1
Yemen, Saudi Arabia (al-Houthi forces)*	al-Houthi forces vs. Saudi Arabi, Yemen	national power	2004	•	4

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