

APPENDIX A

CONFLICT, CONFLICT VICTIMIZATION, AND LEGAL REDRESS, 1945-1996

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I

INTRODUCTION

This report details a preliminary empirical, descriptive and legal study of armed conflict 1946 to 1996¹ compiled by the author under the auspices of the International Human Rights Law Institute. There have been a number of empirical studies on the incidence of conflict. This perspective of this study is on the relationship between conflict, conflict victimization, and legal redress. The study will demonstrate the gaps that exist between the incidence of armed conflict and the usually consequent commission of grave human rights violations, the current international, regional, and national legal frameworks, the regulation of such conflicts, and their victimization. The focus of this study is on the perpetration of grave human rights violations and their legal redress. The study is not a statistical study. Rather, it is primarily qualitative, with the necessary inclusion of conflict deaths adding a quantitative element. This study does not aim to be exhaustive. It aims to provide an illustrative and definitional guide to the relationship between the incidence of conflict, its legal characterization, its conflict categorization, the victimization incurred in the conflict, and any known legal redress.

II

METHODOLOGY

A. Process of Compilation

The first step was to gather data on conflicts that occurred from 1945 to 1996. This was done using a number of different sources.² Secondary sources

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1. Note that the study does not include victimization during World War II and subsequent legal redress.

2. The principle sources used for the gathering of data are as follows: HERBERT K. TILLEMA, INTERNATIONAL ARMED CONFLICT SINCE 1945: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC HANDBOOK OF WARS AND

have been the main source of information, namely newspaper and journal articles, conference reports, and books. Other conflict studies have been consulted. Some primary sources have been consulted, notably reports and transcripts of trials and truth commissions where available. Gaps in the study are due to the unavailability of certain information.

B. Conflict Categories

The next step was to categorize the conflicts. This was accomplished by determining the following aspects of all conflicts:

- (1) the classification of the conflict (legal and social scientific);
- (2) the parties involved: main perpetrators, main victims, third parties;
- (3) the victimization (deaths);
- (4) duration of the conflict;
- (5) intervention if any;
- (6) nature of the cessation of the conflict; and
- (7) legal redress, if any, and of what type.

C. Definitions

There are certain levels of categorization in the study for which an explanation is necessary.

MILITARY INTERVENTIONS (1991); SIPRI YEARBOOKS; PIOM REPORTS; UPPSALA REPORTS; THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF INTERNAL CONFLICT (Michael E. Brown ed. 1996); R. J. RUMMEL, DEATH BY GOVERNMENT (1994); EVAN LUARD, CONFLICT AND PEACE IN THE MODERN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. A STUDY OF THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER (1988, 2d ed.); EVAN LUARD, THE INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF CIVIL WARS (1972); SEMINAR ON THE RIGHT TO RESTITUTION, COMPENSATION AND REHABILITATION FOR VICTIMS OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS (Theo van Boven et al, eds. 1992); COMMISSION NATIONALE CONSULTATIVE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME & THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS, JUSTICE NOT IMPUNITY (1992); LEO KUPER, GENOCIDE. ITS POLITICAL USE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY (1981); LEO KUPER, THE PITY OF IT ALL. POLARISATION OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC RELATIONS (1977), IMPUNITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW AND PRACTICE (N. Roht-Arriaza ed., 1995), William Eckhardt & Edward Azar, *Major World Conflicts and Interventions 1945-1975*, 5 INTERNATIONAL INTERACTIONS 1, 75 (1978); Peter Wallensteen & Karin Axell, *Conflict Resolution and the End of the Cold War*, 31 JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH 3, 333 (1994); Istvan Kende, *Wars of Ten Years (1967-1976)*, 3 JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH 15, 227 (1978); J. DAVID SINGER & MELVIN SMALL, THE WAGES OF WAR 1816-1965. A STATISTICAL HANDBOOK (1972); MICHAEL KIDRON & DAN SMITH, THE WAR ATLAS: ARMED CONFLICT-ARMED PEACE (1983); Barbara Harff & Ted R. Gurr, *Victims of the State: Genocides, Politicides, and Group Repression from 1945 to 1995*, in CONTEMPORARY GENOCIDES: CAUSES, CASES, CONSEQUENCES (Albert J. Jongman ed., 1996); TED R. GURR & BARBARA HARFF, ETHNIC CONFLICT IN WORLD POLITICS (1994); CASE STUDIES ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. A WORLD SURVEY (Willem. A. Veenhoven ed. 1976); TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE. HOW EMERGING DEMOCRACIES RECKON WITH FORMER REGIMES (Neil J. Kritz ed. 1995); HELEN FEIN, GENOCIDE WATCH (1992); TOWARD THE UNDERSTANDING AND PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE. PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE HOLOCAUST AND GENOCIDE (Israel W. Charny ed., 1984); Priscilla B. Hayner, *Fifteen Truth Commissions, 1974 to 1994: A Comparative Study*, 16 HUM. RTS. Q. 597 (1994); PIOM WORLD CONFLICT MAP 1995 & 1996; Human Rights Watch Reports; Amnesty Reports.

1. *Conflict.*

For the purposes of this study, conflict is defined as public institutionalized armed conflict. It includes armed conflict of an international character (the four Geneva Conventions 1949 and Protocol I of 1977), armed conflict of a non-international character (common article 3 of the four Geneva Conventions 1949 and Protocol II of 1977), and purely internal conflict, including tyrannical regime victimization (to which the Genocide Convention, the Torture Convention, and Crimes against Humanity apply). The definition corresponds in part with that of the Department of Peace and Conflict Research (Uppsala University, Sweden): an “armed conflict” is defined as a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least twenty-five battle-related deaths.³ The study also corresponds to PIOOM’s⁴ definition of “High Intensity Conflict” by including conflicts within which at least 1,000 deaths have occurred. In addition, the study includes incidents which in and of themselves may not have resulted in 1,000 or more deaths but which are part of a systematic pattern of human rights violations. Clearly, deaths through internal regime victimization do not occur within the traditional concept of “battle” or “armed conflict”; the victims are usually not armed or only minimally, have no collective cohesive nature other than that ascribed by the state as perpetrator or as ascribed by sub-groups that may form to contest the victimization, and cannot be described as an “adversary” except in the terms of the ideological framework of the state. However, such internal conflict is public (by virtue of its being state conducted), institutionalized, and armed, and therefore corresponds to the stated framework definition.

2. *Conflict Typology*

a. Primary Classification

The database divides conflicts into three basic types, which concur with international legal characterization of conflict. These are termed the primary conflict classifications: (1) international armed conflict between states; (2) non-international armed conflict; and (3) purely internal conflict (including tyrannical regime victimization).

The rationale for this typology is as follows. The conflict types both correspond with the international legal characterization of conflict, thereby providing a formal legal framework for the study, in addition to incorporating a type of conflict - systematic regime victimization - which is not included within current international legal characterization of conflict. The conflicts are

3. See Peter Wallensteen & Karen Axell, *Conflict Resolution and the End of the Cold War, 1989-93*, 31 J. PEACE RESEARCH 3, 333-349 (1994).

4. Interdisciplinary Research Program on Root Causes of Human Rights Violations, Leiden University, the Netherlands.

categorized in this way in order to demonstrate which conflicts within the database are included within the current normative international legal framework and which are not. Thus the classification serves to demonstrate the uneven international and national legal regulation of conflicts. It also provides an umbrella framework for classification of conflicts within the study.

b. Secondary Classification

Each conflict in the database is further classified according to how the conflict may best be described outside of the primary classification of international, non-international, and internal, as well as by the central issue(s) of the conflict. The majority of conflicts will incorporate more than one of the categories listed. For example, a conflict may be classified as a civil war (secondary classification), as well as by natural resources (central conflict issue). There are eighteen conflict issue classifications and conflict categories, which fall within three main categories: external war/armed conflict, civil war, and state terror/state repression. The eighteen classifications are the following: (1) armed conflict (general); (2) civil war; (3) colonization; (4) decolonization/decolonization continuation (correlate conflict) ; (5) ethnic conflict; (6) genocide; (7) historically artificial state division or artificial state formation ; (8) natural resources; (9) national liberation/self-determination; (10) religious conflict; (11) rebel; (12) regime; (13) secession; (14) state formation; (15) state terror/state repression; (16) territorial/border; (17) traditional conflict; and (18) war .

3. Legal Redress

The legal redress codes used in the study are general codes and, as can be seen, encompass a wide range of legal remedies. There is necessary further work to be done on classification of the depth and intensity of legal redress. An indication of this can be gleaned when a combination of legal remedies is shown to have been employed; however not necessarily when only one remedy has been used. For example, there are clear differences between limited prosecutions and extensive prosecutions. There are also clear differences between overly wide ranging prosecutions and selective prosecutions combined with other legal remedies. There are differences in levels of enforcement.

Another important difference is that between legal remedies used as a purely political tool, often in the course of a particular conflict, and legal remedies following what may be termed "Rule of Law guidelines." For this reason, legal remedies used as a tool of further repression—for example, the military tribunals established by the French against Muslim Algerians in Algeria (Setif), 1945; the prosecution by the British of the Kenyan Mau Mau movement, 1952-56; and the National Commission of Inquiry consisting mainly of members of the Indonesian military established after the November 1991 "Dili Massacre"—have not been included in this report. It is also important to note the contradictions. For example, there can be both a legal remedy - for example, the 1974 Ugandan government Commission of Inquiry into

“Disappearances” of People in Uganda Since the 25th of January, 1971 - yet no legal redress. The following legal redress codes will be used here.

- (a) International Prosecution/Rulings: Includes *ad hoc* international tribunals, rulings of the International Court of Justice, and rulings of regional legal bodies and commissions.
- (b) National Civil Prosecution: Prosecutions by the national civil legal administration.
- (c) National Military Prosecution: Prosecutions by the national military administration.
- (d) Governmental Truth Commissions and Inquiries: Truth commissions or inquiries which are established and conducted by governmental bodies or their delegates.
- (e) Internationally Sponsored Truth Commissions and Inquiries: Truth commissions and inquiries that are internationally conducted by non-state bodies, either non-governmental organizations or the United Nations.
- (f) Non-Governmental Truth Commissions or Inquiries: Truth commissions or inquiries that are nationally conducted by non-governmental bodies.
- (g) Lustration Legislation: National legislation aimed at screening for or removing from public office those individuals alleged to have been involved in the former victimization.
- (h) Compensation Legislation: Includes national, regional, and international legislation, recommendations and awards, aimed at providing compensation for victims of the conflict.
- (i) Amnesty Legislation/Specific Granting of Amnesty: Legislation passed during and after the conflict to bestow amnesty.

III

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

The study has found an estimated 285 conflicts globally from 1945-1996, of which, as of December 1996, forty-eight were ongoing. These conflicts are grouped, legally, as follows: 65 international, 38 non-international, and 182 internal. The estimated 65 international conflicts produced approximately 11 million deaths between 1945 and 1996. This is compared with the estimated 220 conflicts of a non-international, internal, and tyrannical regime victimization character, which produced approximately 87 million deaths. Taken together, conflicts occurring between 1945 and 1996 have resulted in an estimated 98 million casualties; 87 million of which were in the course of conflicts of a non-international, internal, and tyrannical regime victimization character, and 11 million of which were in the course of conflicts of an international character. The evidence thus is that since World War II, conflicts of a non-international and internal character have produced a far greater level of victimization than conflicts of an international character.

TABLE 1
EXTERNAL WARS¹ AND VICTIMIZATION, 1945-1996

Date	Conflict	Victimization ²	Legal Redress ³
1950-1962	Afghanistan - Pakistan	not known	No
1979-1989	Afghanistan - USSR	1.5-2 million	No
1960	Cambodia - S. Vietnam (Second Indochina War)	not known	No
1978-1987	China - N. Vietnam	21,000, 9,000 <i>C</i>	No
1948	Costa Rica - Nicaragua	not known	No
1955	Costa Rica	not known	No
April 17, 1961	Cuba - USA	not known	No
1967-1970	Egypt - Israel	3,000+	No
1982	Falklands - Argentina - Great Britain	755-955	No
1945	France - Syria	not known	No
1945-1954	France - Viet Minh First Indochina War	45,000-1 million <i>C</i> ; 92,797	No
1983	Grenada - USA	< 100	No
1963	Haiti-Dominican Republic	not known	No
1954	Honduras - Guatemala	not known	No
1962	India - China	3,000	No
1961-1962	India - Portugal (Goa)	< 100	No
1962-1966	Indonesia - Malaysia	< 100	No
1979-1988	Iraq - Iran Persian Gulf War	500,000	No
1961	Iraq - Kuwait	not known	No
Aug. 1990- Feb. 1991	Iraq - Kuwait - USA Gulf War	not known	Yes: h
1948-1949	Israel - Egypt - Iraq - Lebanon - Syria - Transjordan	10,000	No
1956	Israel - Egypt	1,000+	No
June 1967	Israel - Egypt - Jordan - Syria - Iraq	20,800	No
July 1967- 1970	Israel - Egypt - PLO - Jordan- Syria	3,000	No

1973	Israel - Egypt - Syria - Jordan	10,000	No
1978,1982-1985	Israel - Lebanon	not known	No
1958-1961-1962	Laos - Vietnam	18,000-20,000	No
1975-1990	Laos - Vietnam	10,000 ; 30,000 <i>c</i>	No
July-Sept 1977	Libya - Egypt	100+	No
1980-1984	Libya - Tunisia	not known	No
1962-1966	Malaysia - Indonesia	100	No
1974-75; 1985	Mali - Burkina Faso	400	Yes: a
1954	Nicaragua - Guatemalan exiles - USA	not known	No
1979/1981-1990	Nicaragua - USA	30,000 ; 3,000 <i>c</i>	Yes: a
1950-53	North Korea - South Korea	2 million; 500,000 <i>c</i>	No
1947-1949	Pakistan - India (Kashmir)	2,000	No
1964-1965	Pakistan - India (Kashmir)	6,800	Yes: a
1989-cont.	Pakistan - India (Kashmir)	12,000-20,000	No
1989	Panama - USA	542-1,000	No
July 1977-March 1978,1992-cont.	Somalia - Ethiopia (Ogaden)	38,000	No
1958-1976	S. Vietnam - N. Vietnam	2 million <i>c</i>	No
1961	Syria - United Arab Republic	not known	No
1971-1979	Tanzania - Uganda	not known	No
1979-cont.	Western Sahara - Morocco -Mauritania	10,000	Yes: a
1953-1959	Kingdom of Yemen (Aden)	not known	No
1971-1972	North - South Yemen	not known	No

Notes

1. "External war" includes invasion.
2. "Victimization" denotes number of deaths. The deaths in Table 1 are military deaths unless marked by a "c" to denote civilian deaths.
3. The legal redress codes are defined, *supra*, in part II.C.3.
4. The Nicaraguan-USA conflict could also be classified as a civil war.

TABLE 2
TERRITORIAL/BORDER CONFLICTS AND VICTIMIZATION, 1945-1996

Date	Conflict	Victimization ¹	Legal Redress ²
1994-1996-cont.	Republic of Cameroon - Nigeria	not known	Yes: a
1977-1994	Chad - Libya	not known	Yes: a
1949-1969	China - Taiwan	5,000	No
Oct. 1962	Cuba - USA - USSR	not known	No
1964	Cuba - Venezuela	not known	No
1960	Dominican Republic - Venezuela	not known	No
1951, 1981, 1984	Ecuador - Peru	not known	No
1995	Ecuador - Peru	1,000	No
1964-1967	Ethiopia - Somalia - Kenya	not known	No
1957	Honduras - Nicaragua	not known	Yes: a
1972-1975	Iran - Iraq	not known	Yes: h
1980s	Libya - USA	not known	No
1952	Portugal - China (Macao)	not known	Yes: h
1995	Venezuela - Colombia	< 100	No

Notes

1. "Victimization" denotes number of deaths. The deaths in Table 2 are military deaths unless marked by a "c" to denote civilian deaths.

2. The legal redress codes are defined, *supra*, in part II.C.3.

TABLE 3
CIVIL WAR AND VICTIMIZATION, 1945-1996

Date	Conflict ¹	Type ²	Victimization ³	Legal Redress ⁴
1989-1995-cont.	Afghanistan	E, R	25,000+	No
May 8, 1945	Algeria (Setif)	DC	1,500-50,000	No
Oct. 1954-1962	Algeria	DC	12,000-60,000	Yes: b
1992-cont.	Algeria	R	60,000	No
Feb 1961-1962	Angola	NL	40,000	No
1961/2-1974	Angola	DC	3,000+	No
1975-1990-1992-cont.	Angola	E	1.5 million	Yes: e
1975, 1982-cont.	Bangladesh	NR	3,000-3,500	No
1960-1965	Belgian Congo	E, DC, S	1,000-10,000	No
July 1946	Bolivia	P	not known	No
1952	Bolivia	P	not known	No
May 1992-1994	Bosnia Herzegovina: break-up of Yugoslavia	E, N, P, R	60,000-200,000	Yes: a, b, h
1948-cont.	Burma/Myanmar	S, E, R, P	14,000-17,500	No
1967-1975	Cambodia	P	250,000	No
1979-1989- 1995-cont.	Cambodia	P	14,000-20,000	No
1955/6-mid-'60s	Cameroon	NL	100s	No
1969-1970	Chad	E, R, DC	1,500-2,000	No
1977-1987	Chad	P	24,000	No
1989-1990-cont.	Chad	P, E	40,000	Yes: d
1946-1949	China	P	10,000-40,000	No
1994-1996	CIS (Chechnya)	S, P	10,000-40,000	No
1992-1996	CIS (Moldova/ Trans-Dniester)	S	1,000	No
1992-cont.	CIS (Abkhazia & South Ossetia)-Georgia	S	17,500	No
1992-cont.	CIS (North Ossetia)	E	< 100	No: d
1991-1994	CIS (Nagorno- Karabakh) - Azerbaijan	P	10,000	No

1991/92-cont.	CIS (Tajikistan)	P	20,000-50,000	No
1994-1995	CIS (Uzbekistan)	P	100-1,000	No
1947-1953	Colombia	P	200,000 +	No
1965, 1978-1986- 1993-cont.	Colombia	P	30,000 +	No
1956-1959	Cuba	P	not known	No
1963-1973	Cyprus	E, P	not known	No
July 1974	Cyprus	E, P	not known	No
1991-1995	Djibouti	P	< 100	No
1965-1966	Dominican Republic	P	< 100	No
1951-1952, 1953- 1954, 1956	Egypt	P	not known	No
1991-1995-cont.	Egypt	P	1,000-2,000	No
1976/1979-1992	El Salvador	P	40,000-47,000; 23, 250 <i>M</i>	Yes: a, e, I
1961-1991	Ethiopia (Eritrea, Tigre)	S	300,000	Yes: b, g
1994, 1996	Ghana	E, NR	1,000+	No
Dec. 1944- Jan. 1945; Jan. 1946- Oct. 1949	Greece	P	50,000	No
1965-1996-cont.	Guatemala	P	60,000+	Yes: b, d
1962-1974	Guinea-Bissau	NL	2,000 <i>M</i>	No
1947	Hungary	P	not known	No
1948	India (Hyderabad)	S	1,000s	No
1968-1982-cont.	India (Naxalites)	P	1,000-3,000	No
1955-1961-1975	India (Nagaland, Manipur)	P	not known	No
1966-1968,1979- cont.	India (Assam)	P, S	5,000	No
1981/1984 - cont.	India (Punjab)	E, R, S	20,000	No
1993- cont.	India (Tripura, Jharkhand)	P	30,000	Yes: d
1950, 1958-1959	Indonesia	DC	not known	No
1946	Iran	C	not known	No
July 1958- March 1959	Iraq	P	2,000	No

1960-1975	Iraq (Kurds)	S, P	10,000-100,000; 5,000 <i>M</i>	No
1989-1993-cont.	Iraq (Kurds, Shi'ites)	E, R, N	100,000	No
1991-1993, 1995- cont.	Iraq (Kurds)	E, R, N	1,000s	No
1948-cont.	Israel	NL, P	12,500	No
1945-1949	Java (Netherlands)	NL	10s of 1000s	No
1970-1971	Jordan	P	1,000-2,000	No
1958-1959	Jordan	P	not known	No
1952-1956	Kenya	NL	8,000+	No
1948	South Korea	P	not known	No
1946-1987	South Korea	I, P	1,000	Yes: b, h
1958	Lebanon	P	not known	No
1975-1990	Lebanon	E, R, P	150,000+	No
1989-1996	Liberia	E, R, P	150,000	No
1947-1948	Malagasy/ Madagascar	NL	10,000-80,000	No
1948-1960	Union of Malaya	NL	10,000	No
1946-1987	Malaysia	P	4,000	No
1994	Mexico (Chiapas)	P	200+	Yes: i
1952-1956	Morocco	NL	not known	No
1964-1975	Mozambique	NL	4,000+	No
1978-1992	Mozambique (RENAMO)	P	10,000-12,000 <i>M</i> ; 110,000	No
1966-1972-1988	Namibia	NL	12,500	No
1950-1951	Nepal	P	not known	No
1984-1988-cont.	New Caledonia	NL	not known	No
1981-1987	Nicaragua	N, P	30,000	Yes: h, i
1989-1995	Niger	S, P	1,000	No
May-Oct. 1966	Nigeria	P	9,000-30,000	No
1967-1970	Nigeria (Biafra)	P, E, S	600,000-1 million	No
1995	Nigeria	P, E	100-1,000	No
1922, 1969-cont.	Northern Ireland	S, P	3,200	No
1957-1959/60	Oman	P	not known	No
1968, 1970-1977	Oman	P	1,000-3,000	No
Mar. 1971- Dec. 1971	Pakistan (Bangladesh)	P	1-3 million	Yes: b, i

1973-1977	Pakistan	S, P	3,000 M; 6,000	No
1986-1994-cont.	Pakistan	P	14,000	No
1947-1948	Paraguay	P	not known	No
1902-1962-1972	Paraguay	NL, NR	900+	No
1989	Paraguay	P	1,000	No
1965-1966	Peru	P	not known	No
1980/81-cont.	Peru	P	28,000	Yes: i
1945-1950-1955	Philippines	P	not known	No
1968/1972-1986-1996	Philippines	P,S	50,000+	Yes: d, h
1989-cont.	Papua New Guinea (Bougainville)	S, P, NR, E	2,000	No
1966, 1976-1980	Rhodesia	DC, E, R	13,000	No
1957-1959	Rwanda	E, P	1,000s	No
Mar. 1962	Rwanda	DC, E	1,000-2,000	No
Dec. 1963-1964	Rwanda	DC, E	10,000-14,000	No
1973	Rwanda	DC, E	not known	No
1990-1993	Rwanda	P, E	5, 500	Yes: e
1994	Rwanda	P, E	500,000-800,000	Yes: a, b
1989, 1991-1993	Senegal	NR	500	No
1991-cont.	Sierra Leone	P	30,000	No
1950-1956	Singapore	P, E	< 100	No
1981-1988-1991-cont.	Somalia	E, P	400,000	No
1968, 1991-1992	Spain	P	1,000	No
1958	Sri Lanka	E	not known	No
1977-1983-1987-cont.	Sri Lanka	E, P, S	50,000-60,000	Yes: d
1955-1972	Sudan	E, DC, P	500,000-1 million	No
1982/83-cont.	Sudan	E, P	500,000-1.5 million	No
1965-1987-1992	Thailand	P	2,000+	Yes: d, i
1991	Togo	P	< 100	No
1990	Trinidad and Tobago	P	1,000	No
1952-1954	Tunisia	NL	not known	No
1956	Tunisia	DC, P	not known	No
1983-cont.	Turkey	P, S, E	20,000+	No

1962-1966	Uganda	DC, S	100s	No
1989-1996-cont.	Uganda	P	12,000 <i>M</i>	No
1992	Venezuela	P	1,000	No
1961-1967	Yemen Arab Republic	P	100,000; 2,000 <i>M</i>	No
May-July 1994	Republic of Yemen	P	1,500-7,000	No
1977-1983	Zaire	E, P	3,000-4,000	No
1993-cont.	Zaire	P	20,000-60,000	No
1983-1985	Zimbabwe (Matabeleland)	P	1,500	Yes: d, i

Notes

1. Burma/Myanmar 1948-cont., Ethiopia 1974-87, Rwanda 1994, and Somalia 1981-88 could also have been classified as “state repression” conflicts.

2. The codes to denote type are as follows: “E” or “R” denotes that the civil war included ethnic or religious or traditional dimensions, respectively. “NL” denotes that the conflict was primarily for national liberation or it occurred within the context of colonization. “DC” denotes that the context of the conflict was decolonization. “NR” denotes that natural resources or territory were a key issue. “P” denotes that the civil war was primarily of a political or ideological nature (over the direction of the regime). “S” denotes that secession or autonomy was a key issue.

3. “Victimization” denotes number of deaths. The deaths listed in Table 3 are civilian deaths unless marked by an “*m*” to denote military deaths.

4. The legal redress codes are defined, *supra*, in part II.C.3.

TABLE 4¹
STATE TERROR/ STATE REPRESSION AND VICTIMIZATION,
1945-1996

Date	Conflict	Victimization ²	Victims ³	LegalRedres s ⁴
1945-1985-1989	Albania	2,000	I	Yes: b, d, g, h
1976-1983	Argentina	9,000-30,000	I, P	Yes: b, d, i
1972-1990	Benin	Not known	I, P	Yes: b, I
1990-cont.	Bhutan	Not known	ER	No
1964-1982	Bolivia	164 "disappeared" + few hundred	P	Yes: b, d
1968-cont.	Brazil	Over 80 Indian tribes destroyed	IN	Yes: b
1964-1985	Brazil	300	I, P	Yes: f, h, I
1945-1989	Bulgaria	Not known	ER, I, P	Yes: b, d, g, h
1965	Burundi	2,500-5,000	E, P	No
1972-1973	Burundi	100,000-200,000	E, P	No
1989-cont.	Burundi	200,000-300,000	E, P	Yes: e
1975-1979	Cambodia	1.8 million	ER, I, RG	Yes: c
1965-1979	Central African Republic	500	I	No
1973-1976-1990	Chile	17,500-30,000	I, P	Yes: d
1949-1987- cont.	China	35,236,000	I, P	No
Feb. 1950-cont.	China (Tibet)	65,000+	ER, I	No
1945-1948	Czechoslovakia	197,000	E, N	No
1948-1956-1968	Czechoslovakia	1,000s	I, P	No
1968-1989	Czechoslovakia	Not known	I, P	Yes: g
1946-1953-1989	East Germany	200 (estimated killings at Berlin wall 1961-1989)	I, P	Yes: b, d
1969-1979	Equatorial Guinea	1,000-50,000	ER, I, P	Yes: c
1967-1974	Greece	Not known	I, P	Yes: b, g
1958-1984	Guinea	Not known	I	No
1991-1994	Haiti	3,000	I, P	No: I
1981-1984-1993	Honduras	179 "disappeared"	I, P	Yes: d

1956-89	Hungary	Not known	I, P	Yes: d, g, h
Oct. 1965-1966	Indonesia	500,000-1 million	I, P	No
Dec. 1975-cont.	Indonesia (East Timor)	100,000-200,000	ER, N	No
1989-1991	Indonesia (Northern Sumatra)	1,000+	I	No
1969-1996	Indonesia (Sumatra)	500,000	I, P	No
Nov. 1960-1984	Indonesia (West Irian)	10,000-30,000	I	No
1979-cont.	Iran (Kurds, Baha'i, Mujahedeen)	10,000-20,000	ER, P, RG	No
1980-1988	Iraq (Kurds, Shi'ites)	280,000-550,000	ER, RG	No
1991-1996	Iraq	2,000	I, P	No
1982-1988	Kenya	Not known	I, P	No
1991-1992-cont.	Kenya	1,500	ER, N	No
1948-cont.	North Korea	1.29 million	I, P	No
1945-1989-1991	Lithuania	Not known	I, P	Yes: d, g, h
1964-1994	Malawi	Not known	I, P	Yes: b
1968-1990, 1994, 1995	Mali	1,000-2,000	ER, N	Yes: b, h
1970-1990	Mexico	500+ "disappeared"	I, P	Yes: f
1962-1990	Nepal	< 100	I	Yes: d
1945-1947	Poland	1.5 million	I, ER	No
1947-1989	Poland	Not known	I, P	Yes: b, d, g
1932-1975	Portugal	Not known	I, P	Yes: h
1947-1989	Romania	484,000	I, P	Yes: b, c, d
1994-cont.	Rwanda	10,000	ER, P	No
1948/1961-1991	South Africa	14,500+	ER, I, P	Yes: b, d, f, h
1986	Suriname	Not known	I, P	Yes: a, h
1976-1981/82	Syria	25,000-40,000	P, RG	No
1971-1979	Uganda	100,000-500,000	ER, I, P, RG	No: d
1979-1986	Uganda	50,000-100,000	ER, N, P	Yes: b, d
1974-1985	Uruguay	164 "disappearances"	I, P	Yes: d, f, I

1946-1954, 1954-1991	USSR	22,000,000	ER, I, P, RG	Yes: d, f, h
1945-1947	Yugoslavia	82,000	E, N	No
1944-1987	Yugoslavia	1 million +	I, P	No

Notes

1. Situations of “tyrannical regime victimization” and genocide are included in this table. What could have been included, but as yet have not, are the many situations of harm against indigenous peoples, which although are not usually highlighted in the “conflict” literature, represent a situation often of systematic harm for which there has been little access to legal redress.
2. “Victimization” denotes number of deaths. The deaths listed in Table 4 are civilian deaths unless marked by an “m” to denote military deaths.
3. “Victims” denotes primary victim groups, coded as follows: ER = ethnic/racial; C = communal; IN = indigenous; P = political; N = national; RG = religious; and I = indiscriminate.
4. The legal redress codes are defined, *supra*, in part II.C.3.

TABLE 5
NUMBER¹ AND TYPE² OF LEGAL REDRESS ACTIONS IN EXTERNAL
WAR/TERRITORIAL AND BORDER CONFLICTS, CIVIL WAR, AND STATE
TERROR/STATE REPRESSION (INCLUDING TYRANNICAL REGIME
VICTIMIZATION), 1945-1996

	IP	NCP	NMP	GTC/I	ITC	NGTC/I	L	C	A
External war	7			1				1	
Civil War	3	9	1	12	1		1	1	9
State Terror/ State Repression		13	3	18	1	6	7	8	9

Notes

1. The number of internal conflicts (civil war and state terror/state repression) from 1945 to 1996 is 182. The number of conflicts for which there was some form of legal redress is 49.

2. The codes for the types of legal redress actions are as follows: IP = International and Regional Prosecution/Rulings; NCP = National Civil Prosecution; NMP = National Military Prosecution; GTC/I = Government Truth Commission/Inquiry; ITC = International Truth Commission; NGTC/I = Non-governmental Truth Commission/Inquiry; L = Lustration Legislation or Practice; C = Compensation Legislation; and A = Specific Amnesty Legislation or Granting of Immunity.