

APPENDIX 11 ACTIVE NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS

Figure A11.1 maps the countries in which there are active nationalist movements. These movements are divided into two categories:

- 1) Armed Self-Determination Conflicts in 2000 (shaded in red), as identified by Dr. Ted R. Gurr's Minorities at Risk Project, University of Maryland Center for International Development and Conflict Management (as of June 2000). These movements are drawn from the Minorities at Risk website at <http://www.bsos.umd.edu/cidcm/mar/autonomy.htm>, and are listed in Table A11.1.
- 2) Unrepresented nations and peoples, shaded in yellow, are drawn from the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisations (UNPO) website. Participation in UNPO is open to all nations and peoples who

are inadequately represented as such at the United Nations and who declare adherence the Organization's Charter. Applicants must show that they constitute a "nation or people" as defined in the Covenant and that the organization applying for membership is representative of that nation or people (UNPO 2001).

Since these principles espouse non-violence, the conflict level associated with many of these movements is lower. These peoples are listed in Table A11.2. UNPO's website is <http://www.unpo.org/>.

A11.1 Map of Countries With Active Nationalist Movements

Countries with Active Nationalist Movements

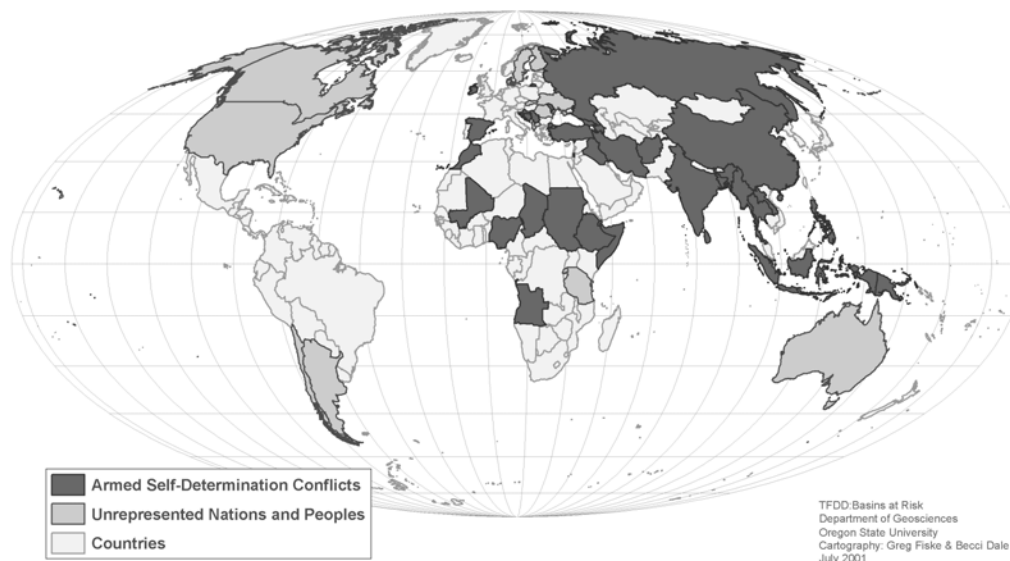


Table A11.1 Armed Self-Determination Conflicts in 2000: Mobilization, War, Negotiation, and Settlement

GROUP AND COUNTRY	ARMED CONFLICT	CURRENT PHASE	STATUS IN SPRING 2000
Igorots in the Philippines	1976-93	Conventional mobilization since 1994	Tribal peoples attempt to protect ancestral lands and control economic development in traditional regions.
Kurds in Iran	1979-94	Conventional mobilization since 1996	Armed rebellion suppressed in the mid-1990s; some Kurdish rebels based in northern Iraq.

Table A11.1 Armed Self-Determination Conflicts in 2000: Mobilization, War, Negotiation, and Settlement (cont.)

GROUP AND COUNTRY	ARMED CONFLICT	CURRENT PHASE	STATUS IN SPRING 2000
Serbs in Croatia	1991-95	Conventional mobilization since 1996	Moderates victorious in January 2000 federal elections; many Serbs who fled in the early 1990s remain refugees.
Tibetans in China	1959-67	Militant mobilization since 1996	Escalating Chinese repression in Tibet since the mid-1990s; an increasing number of Tibetans favor a violent struggle.
Chin/Zomis in Burma	1985-93	Militant mobilization since 1993	Repression reported in Chin areas; one of the few groups yet to reach a ceasefire with the junta.
Karenni in Burma	1945-present	Low-level hostilities since 1995	Short-lived 1995 ceasefire agreement as the military resumes offensive against the Karenni.
Scheduled Tribes in India	1960-present	Low-level hostilities since 1960	Some tribals waging Marxist insurgency; others utilize conventional means to press for autonomy.
Somalis in Ethiopia	1963-present	Low-level hostilities since 1994	Some factions reject 1994 regional autonomy agreement instead seek independence.
Papuans in Indonesia	1964-96	Low-level hostilities since 1998	Independence campaign -- primarily in the form of protests and riots -- reignites after Suharto's fall and East Timor referendum.
Oromos in Ethiopia	1973-present	Low-level hostilities since 1992	1994 regional autonomy agreement rejected by major Oromo factions who seek an independent Oromia state.
Kurds in Turkey	1984-present	Low-level hostilities since 1999	Arrest and trial of PKK leader Ocalan coupled with severe repression deescalate conflict.
Uighers in China	1990-present	Low-level hostilities since 1990	Widespread Chinese repression since the mid-1990s; Muslim Uighers want separate East Turkestan state.
Cabindans in Angola	1991-present	Low-level hostilities since 1991	Four decade-long independence rebellion continues in the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda.
Muslims in Thailand	1995-98	Low-level hostilities since 2000	Thai military crackdown, along with minor concessions to reduce marginalization of southern Muslims, deflates movement.

Table A11.1 Armed Self-Determination Conflicts in 2000: Mobilization, War, Negotiation, and Settlement (cont.)

GROUP AND COUNTRY	ARMED CONFLICT	CURRENT PHASE	STATUS IN SPRING 2000
Karens in Burma	1945-present	High-level hostilities since 1949	New Karen leader offers to hold peace negotiations; Burmese military offensives in recent years seriously weaken Karen movement.
Tajiks in Afghanistan	1979-92 1996-present	High-level hostilities since 1996	UN mediation unsuccessful as civil war against the Taliban regime persists.
Tamils in Sri Lanka	1975-present	High-level hostilities since 1983	Insurgents reject all power-sharing and autonomy proposals.
Acehnese in Indonesia	1977-present	High-level hostilities since 1999	Rebellion resumes in 1999 as the Acehnese demand an independence referendum modeled on East Timor.
Tripuras in India	1967-72 1979-present	High-level hostilities since 1980	Separate state of Tripura created in 1972; tribespeople agitating for own state as influxes of Bengali settlers reduce them to minority status.
Southerners in Sudan	1956-72 1983-present	High-level hostilities since 1983	Rebellion which first began in 1956 resurfaces after the government abrogates a 1972 autonomy agreement and imposes Sharia law.
Nuba in Sudan	1985-present	High-level hostilities since 1985	Ethnic cleansing by government in Nuba areas in central Sudan; Nuba and southerners battle Islamic regime.
Kashmiri Muslims in India	1989-present	High-level hostilities since 1989	Violence escalated in mid-1999 after India-Pakistan border clashes; Kashmiri moderates elected to regional government in 1996.
Assamese in India	1990-present	High-level hostilities since 1990	Rebels continue campaign for independence after 1985 accord does not halt illegal immigration.
Chechens in Russia	1991-present	High-level hostilities since 1999	Resumption of armed conflict in 1999 as Russia launches major crackdown.
Uzbeks in Afghanistan	1996-present	High-level hostilities since 1999	Civil war against Taliban regime continues.
Shan in Burma	1962-present	Talk-fight since 2000	Major rebel faction holds talks with military junta after four-year major suppression campaign in Shan areas. Other rebel groups agreed to a 1996

Table A11.1 Armed Self-Determination Conflicts in 2000: Mobilization, War, Negotiation, and Settlement (cont.)

GROUP AND COUNTRY	ARMED CONFLICT	CURRENT PHASE	STATUS IN SPRING 2000
			ceasefire.
Moros in the Philippines	1972-present	Talk-fight since 1997	Former insurgents govern autonomous southern Muslim region; rebels who want an Islamic state continue armed attacks.
Bodos in India	1989-present	Talk-fight since 2000	Limited implementation of 1993 accord that created an autonomous Bodo region within Assam. Ceasefire reached with one major rebel group in March 2000.
Hmong in Laos	1945-79 1985-96	Cessation of open hostilities since 1998	Long-running anti-communist insurgency ended without settlement or serious repression.
Nagas in India	1952-64 1972-96	Cessation of open hostilities since 1997	Ceasefire and autonomy talks with major Naga factions underway since 1997. State of Nagaland created in 1963.
Saharawis in Morocco	1973-95	Cessation of open hostilities since 1991	UN referendum on independence repeatedly postponed by Morocco; referendum scheduled for July 2000.
Afars in Ethiopia	1975-1998	Cessation of open hostilities since 1998	Major factions declare ceasefire, agree to cooperate with government in war against Eritrea.
Kurds in Iraq	1980-92	Cessation of open hostilities since 1997	Autonomous Kurdish region in northern Iraq protected by the West since 1991.
Isaaqs in Somalia	1986-90	Cessation of open hostilities since 1991	De facto regional independence of Somaliland since 1991.
Armenians in Azerbaijan	1988-97	Cessation of open hostilities since 1997	OSCE-led negotiations between Armenia and Azerbaijan continue; de facto autonomy of Nagorno-Karabakh.
Casamancais in Senegal	1991-present	Cessation of open hostilities since 1999	Ceasefire reached in December 1999; talks expected to continue toward a final settlement.
Abkhaz in Georgia	1992-93, 1998	Cessation of open hostilities since 1998	Negotiations continue on the region's political status and the return of Georgian refugees; UN and Russian peacekeepers remain in Abkhazia.
South Ossetians in Georgia	1991-93	Disengagement since 1993	Some agreements reached on economic development and refugee return;

Table A11.1 Armed Self-Determination Conflicts in 2000: Mobilization, War, Negotiation, and Settlement (cont.)

GROUP AND COUNTRY	ARMED CONFLICT	CURRENT PHASE	STATUS IN SPRING 2000
			region's political status still subject to negotiations.
Kosovar Albanians in Serbia	1998-99	Disengagement since 1999	UN administration with NATO peacekeepers since 1999; region's final status to be determined.
Basques in Spain	1959-80	Contested agreement reached in 1979	Basque rebels end talks and year-old ceasefire in December 1999; sporadic bombings since reported.
Wa in Burma	1989-present	Contested agreement reached in 1989	Largest Wa group continues to abide by 1989 ceasefire agreement; minor Wa factions engage in sporadic anti-state violence.
Sikhs in India	1978-93	Contested agreement reached in 1992	Insurgency contained by 1993; Punjabi moderates win state elections in 1992 and 1997.
Rohingyas in Burma	1945-85 1991-94	Contested agreement reached in 1994	1995 ceasefire agreement reached with one faction; reports of widespread human rights abuses in Arakan province.
Catholics in Northern Ireland	1969-94	Contested agreement reached in 1998	Implementation of peace agreement stalls in February 2000 after Northern Ireland government is dissolved over dispute on IRA disarmament.
Palestinians in West Bank and Gaza	1968-93	Contested agreement reached in 1994	Partial transfer of West Bank and Gaza to Palestinian control; key issues remaining include the return of Palestinian refugees, the status of Jerusalem and Jewish settlements.
Chittagong Hill Peoples in Bangladesh	1975-96	Contested agreement reached in 1997	Regional council created in tribal areas; former rebels join political process; development plans and withdrawal of soldiers remain key issues.
Trans-Dniester Slavs in Moldova	1991-97	Contested agreement reached in 1997	Regional government opposes 1999 agreement for withdrawal of Russian troops by 2002; status of region still subject to negotiation.
East Timorese in Indonesia	1974-99	Contested agreement reached in 1999	UN-administered territory following 1999 pro-independence referendum and scorched-earth Indonesian withdrawal. Pro-Indonesian militias still active; many refugees remain in West Timor.

Table A11.1 Armed Self-Determination Conflicts in 2000: Mobilization, War, Negotiation, and Settlement (cont.)

GROUP AND COUNTRY	ARMED CONFLICT	CURRENT PHASE	STATUS IN SPRING 2000
Bougainvilleans in Papua New Guinea	1989-98	Contested agreement reached in 2000	Spring 2000 agreement provides greater autonomy along with possible future referendum on independence. Minor rebel faction remains opposed to accord.
Kachins in Burma	1961-94	Uncontested agreement reached in 1994	1994 ceasefire agreement allows Kachins to retain weapons and control some areas; developmental assistance was promised.
Serbs and Croats in Bosnia	1992-95	Uncontested agreement reached in 1995	Creation of confederal Bosnian state; local and national elections held 1996-2000; many refugees remain internally and externally displaced.
Tuaregs in Mali	1990-95	Uncontested agreement reached in 1995	Substantial implementation of peace agreement; rebels disarmed and integrated into army and most refugees returned.
Tuaregs in Niger	1988-97	Uncontested agreement reached in 1995	Disarmament completed and social reintegration of former rebels underway.
Mons in Burma	1975-97	Uncontested agreement reached in 1995	Last rebel faction surrendered in 1997; 1995 ceasefire agreement allows Mons to retain weapons and control some areas; developmental assistance was promised.
Southerners in Chad	1979-86 1992-98	Uncontested agreement reached 1994-97	Agreements allow most factions to become political parties; some rebels integrated in army.
Afars in Djibouti	1991-95	Uncontested agreement reached in 2000	Remaining rebel faction signs autonomy agreement in February 2000; the major faction, which is part of the ruling government, negotiated a settlement in 1995.
Eritreans in Ethiopia	1961-91	Implemented agreement reached in 1993	Independence achieved in 1993 by agreement with postrevolutionary Ethiopian government.
Gaguaz in Moldova	1991-92	Implemented agreement reached in 1994	Autonomous region created in 1995; regional elections held and rebels join armed forces.

Phases in Separatist Conflicts

Phase I. Mobilization

Ia. Conventional mobilization: A communal group pursues autonomy or independence by conventional political means including demonstrations.

Ib. Militant mobilization: A communal group pursues autonomy or independence using disruptive and potentially violent strategies, including threats of violence and declarations of independence.

Phase II. War

Iia. Low-level hostilities. A communal group makes limited, localized, and selective use of disruptive and violent strategies; the regime makes limited and selective use of reactive force. The communal group may simultaneously pursue its objectives by conventional means.

Iib. High-level hostilities. A communal group, or the regime, or both use intense, widespread, and organized armed violence against their opponent.

Phase III. Negotiation

IIIa. Talk-fight. Discussions and negotiations are pursued, or cease-fires are declared, while substantial armed violence continues. Fighting may be done by the principals (for example as a bargaining tactic) or by factions that reject negotiations or the terms of previous settlements.

IIIb. Cessation of open hostilities. Fighting has largely ceased but one or both principals remain prepared to resume armed violence.

IIIc. Disengagement. The principles disengage from open conflict (disarmament, demobilization, end of emergency rule, withdrawal of troops), usually under terms of interim or partial agreements. Some factions may oppose disengagement.

Phase IV. Settlement

IVa. Contested agreement. A final settlement or agreement is accepted by most parties and is being implemented. Some factions actively oppose the agreement.

IVb. Uncontested agreement. A final settlement or agreement is accepted by most parties and is being implemented. There is no open opposition to the agreement.

IVc. Implemented agreement. A final settlement or agreement has been fully implemented and open conflict has ended. Also classified here are instances in which a group has gained internationally recognized independence.

Table A11.2 Members of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation

COUNTRY	CODE	PEOPLE/NATION
Angola	AGO	Cabinda
Albania	ALB	Greek Minority in Albania
Argentina	ARG	Mapuche
Australia	AUS	Aboriginals of Australia
Bangladesh	BGD	Chittagong Hill Tracts
Canada		Nuxalk Nation
Chile	CHL	Mapuche
China	CHN	East Turkestan, Tibet
Denmark	DNK	Scania
Finland	FIN	Inkeri
French Polynesia		Maohi People
Georgia	GEO	Abkhazia
Indonesia	IDN	Acheh/Sumatra, East Timor
India	IND	Nagaland
Iraq	IRQ	Assyria, Iraqi Turkoman, Kurdistan (Iraq)
Moldova	MDA	Gagauzia
Macedonia	MKD	Albanians in Macedonia
Myanmar (Burma)	MMR	Karenni State, Mon People, Shan State
Nigeria	NGA	Ogoni
Philippines	PHL	Cordilerra (Phillippines)
Papua New Guinea	PNG	Bougainville, West Papua
Romania	ROM	Hungarian Minority in Romania
Russia	RUS	Bashkortostan, Buryatia, Chechen Republic Ichkeria, Chuvash, Circassia, Ingushetia, Komi, Mari, Sakha Republic (Yakutia), Tatarstan, Tuva, Udmurt
Rwanda	RWA	Batwa (Rwanda)
Serbia	SRB	Kosova, Sanjak
Slovakia	SVK	Rusyn People
Sweden	SWE	Scania
Tanzania	TZA	Zanzibar
Ukraine	UKR	Crimea (Crimean Tatars), Rusyn People
United States	USA	Kalahui Hawaii, Lakota Nation