

## Conflict-Barometer

December 1997

# WORLD 1997

crises - wars - putsches  
negotiations - mediations - peace agreements

*6<sup>th</sup> annual analysis of conflicts of the Institute of Heidelberg for International Conflict Research.*

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## Global conflict overview

Since 1993 the number of violent conflicts has decreased - after an abrupt increase in the 80's and beginning of the 90's. This decreasing tendency can be observed once again, for the fourth time in the year 1997.

Outstanding is the fact that even though the number of conflicts has slightly increased, the number of violent conflicts is relatively small and keeps on decreasing.

Four fifth of all the conflicts in 1997 are carried out completely or predominantly without violence.

Only every fifth conflict is held violently (in 1995: every third, 1996: every fourth conflict).

Yet, two new wars have started and finished in 1997 ( Zaire, Cambodia).

Due to it, the number of existing wars has increased in 1997 from 7 to 9; but on the other hand the number of violent crises has decreased from 21 to 18.

Almost all violent conflicts are internal conflicts; all international conflicts are carried out completely or predominantly in a peaceful way.

Two thirds of all conflicts are internal conflicts. Only one third are interstate conflicts.

The richest region in violence keeps on being the Near and Middle East (8 violent conflicts), directly followed by Africa (7) and Asia (7). Europe presents the lowest amount of violent conflicts (2). In the American Continent the number of conflicts in general is the lowest one, but one war has taken place (Columbia: FARC).

| Conflicts                    | Europe |     | Africa |     | America |     | Asia  |     | East  |     | total |     |    |     |
|------------------------------|--------|-----|--------|-----|---------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|----|-----|
|                              | exist  | new | exist  | new | exist   | new | exist | new | exist | new |       |     |    |     |
| 1: latent conflicts          | 11     | 0   | 8      | 1   | 13      | 1   | 8     | 1   | 13    | 0   | 53    | 3   | 56 |     |
| 2: mostly non-violent crisis | 10     | 0   | 11     | 2   | 1       | 1   | 8     | 1   | 6     | 1   | 36    | 5   | 40 |     |
| 3: violent crisis            | 1      | 1   | 4      | 0   | 1       | 1   | 4     | 1   | 5     | 0   | 15    | 3   | 18 |     |
| 4: war                       | 0      | 0   | 2      | 1   | 1       | 0   | 1     | 1   | 3     | 0   | 7     | 2   | 9  |     |
| total non-violent (1;2)      | 21     | 0   | 19     | 3   | 14      | 2   | 16    | 2   | 19    | 1   | 89    | 8   | 97 |     |
| total violent (3;4)          | 1      | 1   | 6      | 1   | 2       | 1   | 5     | 2   | 8     | 0   | 22    | 5   | 27 |     |
| <b>Total.</b>                |        | 23  |        | 29  |         | 19  |       | 25  |       | 28  |       | 111 | 13 | 124 |

| Putsches Europe | Africa   |          | America      |  | Asia |  | Orient         |  | sum |
|-----------------|----------|----------|--------------|--|------|--|----------------|--|-----|
|                 | putsches | attempts | Sierra Leone |  |      |  | Papua N.-Guin. |  |     |
| putsches        | 0        |          | 0            |  | 0    |  | 0              |  | 0   |
| attempts        | 0        |          | 0            |  | 1    |  | 0              |  | 1   |

**Legend:** Conflict as a general expression implies differences of interest (differences in positions) about national values (independence, self-determination, borders and territories) of a certain length and reach between at least two parties (states, groups of states, - organisations, organised groups), who are determined to obtain a favourable solution to their interest. The intensity of conflicts can go from a latent conflict (intensity 1) and a crisis (intensity 2) to a serious crisis with use of violence (intensity 3) and furthermore up to a war (intensity 4). Conflicts of the intensity 1 and 2 have a predominantly non-violent character; conflicts of the intensity 3 and 4 are mostly carried out in a violent or warlike way. 'exist': already existing in 1996; 'new': political and military conflicts with a minimum of public attention, that have newly begun in 1997. Only the highest level of intensity of a conflict in the course of the years is indicated. All data refer to changes compared with the year before. The delimitation of the regions is made according to geographical, cultural and conflictive characteristics.

## Europe

At the beginning of the year violent unrests broke out in **Albania**, after a couple of joint-stock-companies protected by the government went bankrupt due to "pyramid games".

One third of the population of the country lost their savings in the process. On march<sup>2nd</sup>, after the insurgents had taken under their control the south, the government proclaims the state of exception. On 4<sup>th</sup> march the commissioner of the OSCE, Vranitzky, tries to mediate. On the 6<sup>th</sup>, intervenes also the European Council. An international peace force under italian control is sent to the country and with its help the internal order can be restored. In April the wave of refugees moving to south Italy as a result of the disturbances led to a serious incident in the Adriatic sea, when a ship of the italian navy sank a boat full of Albanian refugees.

The wars in **Ex-Yugoslavia** are finished with the Dayton-agreement from December 1995, but the succeeded states Croatia, Serbia and especially Bosnia-Herzegovina are still far away from a peaceful consolidation.

After finished the **serbo-croat war** from 1992 the east-Slovenian territory remains in the hands of the Serbs, the territory is nowadays, as stipulated in the treaty, under UN-supervision and it is planned to be reincorporated under croatian control. Because the serbian guerrilla is disarmed, the Croats come back hesitating to their homes and an overwhelming war-weariness rules, the UN does not expect new violence.

Nonetheless, the big number of mines placed on the grounds, the slow economical reconstruction as well as the competition problem between Serbs and Croats for the administration of Vukovar are factors that plead against a consolidation of peace.

The conquest of the **Krajina** (territory populated mainly by Serbs) by the Croats and the expulsion of the serbs at the beginning of 1995, haven't left either a positive base to reach a lasting consolidation of peace. Only few Serbs go back to their land. At the same time the occidental pressure increases on Croatia's president Tudjman to make him practice the "protection of minorities" written in the Croat constitution.

In **Serbia** there are at least three virulent minority conflicts. Besides the muslim minorities in the Vojvodina and in the Sandchak, especially the Albanians in the Kosovo suffer under the policy of non-recognition and the severe centralism. Being once recognised as a national minority and endowed with autonomy rights, the albanian minority has lost since 1989 all rights of participation. A small part of the Albanian from the Kosovo are organised in violent groups.

In **Bosnia-Herzegovina** a real peace process based on the Dayton agreement has not been able to be developed. The massive presence of IFOR-troops has avoided an escalation of the violence potential. Not only the Muslim-Croat alliance oppose the bosnian Serbs, but the Serbs themselves are divided into a *softer* party that supports the president of the Republic, Mrs. Plavsic, and a *harder* nationalist party that supports the member of the state presidency, Mr. Krajisnik.

The advanced parliamentary elections in the serbian part of Bosnia on November 2nd and 23<sup>rd</sup> as a result of the controversial dissolution of the parliament made by Mrs. Plavsic does not promise any clarification of the serbian internal power problem between Banja Luka and Pale; the polls indicate that even though the democratic party of Karadzic has suffered some loss, it will still remain the strongest faction in parliament. On the background, the tentatives for unification of the sub-territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina populated by Serbs and Croats to the neighbouring Serbia and Croatia still exist and avoid the state-consolidation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In none of the five **west-european conflicts** about minorities, autonomy and independence a complete solution can be observed. In the dispute between **Spain** and **Maraca** for the enclaves **Ceuta and Melilla**, both governments keep on being fixed on their irreconcilable positions. A similar situation presents also the latent conflict between **Spain** and **England** for the **Gibraltar** enclave.

Concerning the conflict in **Northern Ireland** between the **Protestant Unionists** and the **IRA**, the military arm of the catholic Sinn Fein party, the game keeps on swinging between terror and hope. The expectations of an final success of the negotiations due to the new elected Labour-government and the Blair-plan have been only partly fulfilled. Thus it's the first time that all the parties involved in the conflict have sat at the same table. The armistice announced by the IRA on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July is still fragile.

The Corsican separatism against the French government has been weakened by the division of the movement and the dwindled support of the population. The new French government has promised economical help for the island.

Even though the militant bask separatist organisation **ETA** has been increasingly isolated, it does not give up the fight. After the assassination of a local politician, Bilbao was the scenery of the biggest demonstration in the history of the Bask-Land; around 1.000.000 people demonstrated against the terror of the ETA.

| Conflicts in Europe  | intensity 1997    |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| Russia (Tchetchenie) | 3: violent crisis |

|  |                              |
|--|------------------------------|
| Albania (unrest) <i>[new / finished]</i>                         | 3: violent crisis            |
| Bask-Land (autonomy)   | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Bosnia-Herzegov. (Croat- Muslim fed. // bosn. Serbs)             | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Georgia (Abchasia)   | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Georgia (Adcharia)   | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Georgia (South-Ossetia)  | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Greece // Turkey (Aegis sea)                                     | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Croatia // Serbia (East-Slavonia)                                | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Northern-Ireland (Secession)                                     | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Serbia (Kosovo)  | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Cyprus (division)  | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| France (Corsica)   | 1: latent conflict           |
| Croatia (Croatia // Krajina-Serbs)                               | 1: latent conflict           |
| Moldavia (Transnistria)  | 1: latent conflict           |
| Russia // Estonia (minorities; frontier)                         | 1: latent conflict           |
| Serbia (Sandchak)  | 1: latent conflict           |
| Serbia (Vojvodina)   | 1: latent conflict           |
| Spain // Maraca (Ceuta, Mellilla)                                | 1: latent conflict           |
| Spain // United Kingdom (Gibraltar)                              | 1: latent conflict           |
| Ukraine (Crimea) <i>[finished]</i>                               | 1: latent conflict           |
| Hungary // Romania (minorities)                                  | 1: latent conflict           |
| Hungary // Slovak Republic (minorities; Gabcikovo power station) | 1: latent conflict           |

The conflict for the division of **Cyprus** maintains its seriousness. Among other factors it has been the presence of the UN that has avoided the violent escalation of the multiple demonstrations on the borderline.

The greek threat to install anti-aircraft-missiles has given the conflict a new possibility of escalation. The Turkish side threats with war if the plan is carried out.

In the conflict about the border crossing-point in the **Aegis, Greece and Turkey** have tried this year, in contrast to last year's incidents and threats of war, to avoid a military escalation. Still, a co-operative tone for negotiation can not really be expected from any of both members of the NATO.

## Africa

The region of the big lakes is still the most conflictive and violent region of Africa.

The civil war in **Burundi** is still waged by both sides. The government under Buyoya, who became president on the 16<sup>th</sup> of April, and the Hutu-militia keep on being involved in constant fights. Consequently, the tensions between Burundi and Tanzania have increase, because both sides blame each other to have violated the frontier and supported rebels.

After up to 300.000 Burundians (according to estimations of the UNHCR) have fled to Tanzania, place from where the Hutu-militia now starts operating. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of august the conversations between both parties are cancelled.

Since mid '97 struggles take place in **Rwanda** between the **Tutsi-army** and the **Hutu-militia** of the Interahamwe. The UNHCR stops on the 19<sup>th</sup> of July the repatriation of the refugees to Rwanda ( ca. 56.000 according to own declarations).

Starting with East-Zaire and Shaba, the troops of **Kabila** helped by Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and Angola, conquer in just a few months the whole **Zaire**. After an attempt of mediation, undertaken by South-Africa's president Mandela, failed, Mobutu, ruler until that moment, flees to France. On the 22nd of may, the EU recognises Kabila as new ruler and on the 29<sup>th</sup>, after his self-nomination, he is also recognised by Rwanda, Burundi, Zambia, Uganda, Angola and South-Africa as new president.

Kabila changes the country's name into Democratic Republic of Congo, announces a new constitution for 1998 and new elections for 1999. After the UN makes Kabila responsible for the massacre of Rwandan refugees (according to UNHCR's approximations 200.000), Kabila obstructs a couple of UN-commissions until finally the third commission, led by the togolese Amega, is allowed again to enter the country on November 11<sup>th</sup>. In September new fights in East-Zaire break out when Rwandan mercenaries march back to Rwanda terrorising the population there and burning down little towns into ashes.

After the mandate of president Lisouba comes to an end, serious fights occur in the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) between Lisouba and the ex-president Sassou-Ngesso.

Negotiations about a transitory solution had previously failed in Gabon on June 16<sup>th</sup>. Having lost Mobutu as his most important ally, the situation for Lisouba becomes even more difficult. Sassou-Ngesso's Cobra-militia succeeds in conquering the capital of Brazzaville on October 15<sup>th</sup>, and it expels Lisouba out of the country, who announces he will continue fighting. Sassou-Ngesso receives open support from Angola: its troops had crossed the border, conquered the oil-centre of Point-Noire and helped taking Brazzaville. Once having done it, they went back to the Cabinda-territory, where they are still being supported by Kabila. Lisouba, on the other hand, is supplied by the Angolan UNITA. On November 3<sup>rd</sup>, Sassou-Ngesso implants a transitory government.

The conflict in **Angola** escalates as a direct reaction on Mobutu's fall in Zaire. The governmental army under Dos Santos and the UNITA Savimbi's, which has lost important logistic bases in Zaire, are involved in fierce fights. The U.N peace plan had been before delayed and the some 7.000 blue-helmets of the UNAVEM had been replaced by 625 U.N.-observers. As a consequence of the military actions in Congo (Brazzaville), the secessionists in **Cabinda/Angola** are weakened, but do not give up the fight. Likewise, as a direct reaction of the changes in Zaire, the situation in the **Central African Republic** aggravates. Many soldiers loyal to Mobutu as well as refugees from Zaire and Rwanda are fleeing into the country. In the capital Bangui mutinous soldiers fight, due to their missing salary, against soldiers of the Patessa government. Under the vigilance of the french and african peace troops already installed in the country the mutineers go back to their barracks.

In the **Sudan civil war** the balance of power that has lasted for several years, moves in 1997 to favour the alliance conformed by the rebel group NDA (from the northern part of the country) and the SPLA-movement led by Garang. After the rebel's military success, supported by **Eritrea, Uganda, Egypt and Kenya**, the government of Sudan strives for reopening the peace-negotiations on October 30<sup>th</sup> in Nairobi under the sponsorship of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD). But, like it had happened already in 1994, the negotiations are broken up on November 11<sup>th</sup>. An earlier intent for negotiation by former U.S.-president Carter had also failed. The incidents on the borderline between **Sudan** and **Uganda** kept on occurring this year. Furthermore, rebel groups of the other side are mutually supported by both sides. The Lords Resistance Army (LRA) supported by Sudan keeps on doing massacres on the Acholi in Northern Uganda.

In the relatively free elections, held on July 20<sup>th</sup> in **Liberia**, Charles Taylor comes off as clear winner and swears in as president on August 3<sup>rd</sup>. The disarmament of the civil war militias and the preparation of the elections are the result of the engagement of the UN and the neighbouring states of Liberia and their peace troops: ECOMOG.

The situation in **Somalia**, once the civil war ended in 1992/1993, is still complex. In July, diverse leaders of the Clans conclude a new peace agreement; nonetheless, the rivalry between the Clans still exists. Neither an ending of the entire violent situation of the country nor a regional or national state consolidation can really be expected.

**Somaliland**, which had declared itself independent, is indeed mostly pacified, but does not find international recognition.

Despite the policy of national compensation and the efforts of the *Truth Commission*, the situation in the **Republic of South Africa** does not normalise. At the beginning of November white farmers are attacked by former ANC and PAC guerrillas in the northern part of the country.

In **Kenya** the ethnic conflicts become acute in the period before the elections; situation that had already happen in the pre electoral period of 1992. The oppression of the opposition changes into riots against the ethnic groups of the Gikuyu, Lhuya and Luo, carried out by the groups Masai and Kalenyi, which also president Moi belongs to. Moi's Kanu-party is apparently taking also part in the planning and execution of the pogroms in the Riftvalley.

On May 25<sup>th</sup>, the military forces led by major Koroma carry out a putsch in **Sierra Leone**. Armed conflicts take place between the ECOMOG peace forces commanded by Nigeria and soldiers of the military junta. At the end of October the insurgents and the representatives of the West-African Economical Community ECOWAS sign up an agreement which should regulate the transfer of power to a civil government on April 1998.

The borderline conflicts between **Cameroon** and **Nigeria** about the **Bakassi-peninsula** still exists. At the end of January rebels supported by Nigeria attack some police stations in the north-western part of Cameroon.

The intents of secession on the **Comoro-Islands** end on August 3<sup>rd</sup> in a proclamation of independence made by the islands Anjouan and Moheli. After an unsuccessful attempt of invasion coming from the island Grande Comoro on September 3<sup>rd</sup>, France starts mediating in the conflict. On October 27<sup>th</sup>, the population of the islands in issue votes with a large majority in favour of the independence, but an international recognition is still out of question.

On **Madagascar**, the population of the northern province, led by ex-president Zafy, tries to reach independence since November.

Referring to the autonomy-conflict between **Senegal** and parts of the region of **Casamance**, the government's policy of deregulation and regionalization has not been too successful in settling the conflict. In Casamance, isolated bloody incidents between the government and armed forces of the separatists can still be observed.

**Ghana** is indeed in a promising situation of economical and democratic consolidation; nonetheless, there still exist ethno-political tension, especially about land-owning rights, that causes violent disputes in the inner part of the country.

| Conflicts in Africa                         | intensity 1997 |
|---|----------------|
| Congo, [ex-Zaire] ( civil war)              | 4: war         |
| Congo, Brazzaville (civil war) <i>[new]</i> | 4: war         |

|  |                              |
|--|------------------------------|
| Sudan (civil war)                                | 4: war                       |
| Sudan // Uganda (frontier)                       | 3: violent crisis            |
| Angola (civil war)                               | 3: violent crisis            |
| Burundi (civil war)                              | 3: violent crisis            |
| Rwanda (civil war)                               | 3: violent crisis            |
| Angola (secession of Cabinda)                    | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Comoro-Islands (secession) <i>[new]</i>          | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Eritrea // Sudan (help for rebels)               | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Ghana (ethnic tensions)                          | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Kenya (disorder)                                 | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Liberia (disorder)                               | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Nigeria // Cameroon (Bakassi-peninsula)          | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Senegal (Casamance)                              | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Sierra Leone (aftermath of civil war)            | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Somalia (aftermath of civil war)                 | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| South-Africa (aftermath of apartheid)            | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Chad (aftermath of civil war)                    | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Central African Republic (disorder) <i>[new]</i> | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Djibouti (Afar)                                  | 1: latent conflict           |
| Eritrea // Djibouti (frontier)                   | 1: latent conflict           |
| Eritrea // Yemen (Haniche-islands)               | 1: latent conflict           |
| Madagascar (secession) <i>[new]</i>              | 1: latent conflict           |
| Mali (Tuaregs)                                   | 1: latent conflict           |
| Niger (Tuaregs)                                  | 1: latent conflict           |
| Nigeria (minorities)                             | 1: latent conflict           |
| Somalia (secession of Somaliland)                | 1: latent conflict           |
| Tanzania (secession of Zanzibar)                 | 1: latent conflict           |

## Asia

The type of conflicts that predominate in Asia are, above all, conflicts about secession and territorial questions. The conflict-levels are often superimposed, which means that claims for religious, ethnical and cultural self-determination are tied together with attempts of secession. The amount of conflicts has not really varied; on the one hand even though three conflicts can be considered as already ended, there are four new conflicts to be added up.

### South Asia

The **Indian subcontinent** has been also in 1997 scenery of a great number of partly violent conflicts. The war in Sri Lanka between the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Eelam) and the governmental troops goes on without experiencing any reduction of violence (victims since June: 750 soldiers, 2500 rebels). The attempts of mediation carried out by Great Britain did not succeed. The government rejected the mediation and sets the disarmament of the LTTE as a previous condition for the talks.

With the intention to suppress the conflicts for autonomy in the Indian **Yamou** and **Cashmere**, a telephone-hotline has been established in May between the leaders of India and Pakistan. Both parts announced during the conversations their will to normalise the relationship between the states. The reciprocal military attack on September 30<sup>th</sup> and October 1<sup>st</sup> led to a new peak in the conflict.

In the capital of the Pakistani province **Karachi**, despite the intensified security measures and the incorporation of the leader of the oppositional MQM (Mohajir Qaumi Movement) into the political process, the number of violent acts and attacks has not decreased.

The settlement of the colonisation conflict between Bengali colonists and resident native groups in **Chittagong**, province of Bangladesh, has not come to any success; the ratification of the contract-draft containing the establishment of councils for the native population is still delayed. The Bangladesh National Party, hostile to India, that strives for the expulsion of 500.000 Bengali colonists out of Bangladesh has threatened the governing Awami League (AL) to establish a violent anti-governmental organisation if they don't solve the insufficient apportionment of water coming from India. The BNP blames the AL for the assassination of several members of the opposition party in 1997.

| Conflicts in Asia and Oceania                | intensity 1997               |
|--|------------------------------|
| <i>South-Asia</i>                            |                              |
| Sri Lanka (Tamils)                           | 4: war                       |
| India (Cashmere)                             | 3: violent crisis            |
| Pakistan (Karachi, Shiites // Sunnites)      | 3: violent crisis            |
| India (Assam)                                | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| India (Khalistan)                            | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Bangladesh (Chittagong)                      | 1: latent conflict           |
| Bangladesh (Farakha) <i>[new]</i>            | 1: latent conflict           |
| Bhutan // Nepal (minorities)                 | 1: latent conflict           |
| <i>East-Asia</i>                             |                              |
| Korea (division)                             | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Tibet (independence)                         | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| China (Uigureans) <i>[new]</i>               | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| China // Taiwan (unification)                | 1: latent conflict           |
| China // Hong Kong <i>[finished]</i>         | 1: latent conflict           |
| China // Russia (frontier) <i>[finished]</i> | 1: latent conflict           |
| China // Vietnam and others (Spratly)        | 1: latent conflict           |
| Japan // Russia (Kuril-islands)              | 1: latent conflict           |
| Japan // South-Korea (Tokto-islands)         | 1: latent conflict           |
| <i>South-East-Asia</i>                       |                              |
| Cambodia (struggle for power) <i>[new]</i>   | 4: war                       |
| Cambodia (Khmer Rouge) <i>[finished]</i>     | 3: violent crisis            |
| Myanmar (Chan, Karen)                        | 3: violent crisis            |
| Philippines (muslims)                        | 3: violent crisis            |
| Indonesia (Aceh)                             | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Indonesia ( West-Iran)                       | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Philippines (communists)                     | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Papua New-Guinea (Bougainville)              | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Indonesia (democratic movement) <i>[new]</i> | 1: latent conflict           |
| Myanmar (democratic movement)                | 1: latent conflict           |

The conflict of minorities between **Bhutan** and **Nepal** continues despite the reestablishment of negotiations about the status and a possible return of the Hindi-Nepalese refugees to Nepal.

The latent conflicts of the year 1996 aggravate in 1997 in **Assam** because of some attacks made by the Bodo-tribe, who has been fighting for an independent state since 1988; in **Punjab (Khalistan)** the violent Sikh-group presents similar demands for independence.

### East-Asia

On the **Korean peninsula** the crisis between the structurally and economically ruined North Korea and the prosperous South Korea still exists despite the tendencies towards a Détente given by the Bangkok-treaty of October 8<sup>th</sup>, the first treaty after 1953 (it should come into force on April 3<sup>rd</sup> 1998 and allow the using of each others air-spaces for civil aviation). The relationship between both states is still burdened by frequent incidents on the border-line.

The **People's Republic of China** continues carrying out its hitherto occupation-policy in Tibet. The conflict between the PR China and Taiwan, based on ideological differences

and power politics, has not presented this year any important incidents and keeps on existing on a latent basis. This can be seen in connection with the peaceful restitution of Hong Kong to the PR China on July 1<sup>st</sup>. In the "Common Declaration" of the PR China and Russia on November 10<sup>th</sup> in Peking, all boundary-conflicts are considered as ended. Borderlines that are not clarified yet should be fixed together. Nonetheless, both sides underline that they have not signed up a treaty. The status of the islands in the Usury-river keeps on being left out, but their common use is agreed.

The conflict between **China, the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, Taiwan, Brunei and Indonesia** concerning property-rights on Spratly and Paracel, two groups of islands rich in petroleum, still exists. Military incidents in international waters between the PR China and the Philippines take place in April and May.

In the conflict between **Japan and Russia** about the Kuril-issue a solution seems to be outlined. On November 2<sup>nd</sup>, prime minister Hashimoto and president Yeltsin announce in Krasnojarsk their will to sign a peace agreement before the year 2000. The Kuril-issue has not been directly mentioned.

**South Korea** makes clear it's claim for the Tokto-island with the construction of a landing-stage. Thereupon the Japanese government protests officially.

The autonomous region of Xinjiang in the north-western part of China is rich in mineral resources and is placed in a strategically important position. With a population of 16 million people, the 8 million Turk-speaking **Uigurians** conform the majority, but they fear that the increasing number of immigrating Han-chinese, meanwhile almost 40 % of the population, could dominate the region. On February 2<sup>nd</sup> serious riots break out, caused by young Uigurians demonstrating in Yining for the independence of their region. The Chinese government prevents an expansion by means of massive use of security forces. On the following days at least 100 Uigurians are executed. In the aftermath of these events bomb-attacks take place in the region and Peking. The Uigurian "Organisation for the Liberty of Turkestan" pleads guilty for those attacks. Iran and the Afghan Taliban supply arms and explosives to the secessionists.

#### South-east Asia

On the Philippines the conflict parties: **the Moor Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)** and the governmental troops sign in July an armistice. On November 14<sup>th</sup> the MILF agrees also on signing an agreement renouncing to the use of arms. Nur Misuari, the founder of the Moor National Liberation Front (MNLF), movement that abandoned the armed fight already in 1996, acts as mediator in the conflict. The second conflict on the **Philippines**, the conflict between the government and the **communist rebels** has not been formally ended yet, but the striking power of the Communists has decreased due to internal problems. President Ramos carries out peace conversations with a part of the Communists.

In Indonesia the Golkar-party obtains the victory in the lower-house elections on May 29<sup>th</sup>. The opposition party PDI was allowed to participate in the elections, but the most prominent opposition-leader Megawati kept being excluded. After the elections the country experiences once again serious riots. As an answer, government and army strengthen their pressure on the democracy-movement.

Conversations in New York concerning East-Timor between Indonesia and Portugal and mediated by the UN in the middle of June have not given any outcome. Despite some unrest, the armed forces (thanks to numerical reinforcement) keeps the situation in East-Timor under control. The conflicts in **Aceh and West-Iran** in Indonesia keep on existing in unchanged intensity due to the violent incidents between ethnic (Aceh) and oppositional (Iran Yaya) groups with the security forces.

The struggle for power in **Cambodia** between the rivaling prime ministers Hun Sen and Prince Ranariddh (FUNCINPEC), both having equal rights to govern, turns into an open and armed conflict by the middle of June. On July 7<sup>th</sup>, Hun Sen removes prince Ranariddh from power. The prince and some members of the royal house, as well as members of the FUNCINPEC, flee abroad. As a reaction on the putsch humanitarian aid, exterior investments and the admission to the ASEAN are stopped. Hun Sen refuses the peace-plan proposed by king Sihanouk and the ASEAN-states. The war between the militia of both parties, reinforced by ancient Khmer-Rouge-warriors is responsible for the escape of some thousands of Cambodians to Thailand. Pol Pot is removed from power by his fight partner Ta Mok, arrested and condemned to life imprisonment in a show trial.

In the **Bougainville**-conflict in **Papua-New Guinea**, plans to employ mercenaries (Sandline Int.) against the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) came up into the public light in March. Australia exerts some pressure to stop the plan, what leads to the rebellion of parts of the military forces of Papua New-Guinea under general Singirok. Singirok is destituted and prime minister Chan has to resign. On July 22<sup>nd</sup> Bill Skate becomes Prime Minister. Thereupon, on October 10<sup>th</sup>, an armistice agreement is signed by the BRA and the government. On October 25<sup>th</sup>, the security forces abolish the seven years lasting blockade of Bougainville. Australia and New Zealand sent peace-troops to supervise the process.

In **Myanmar**, little groups that have split from the MTA (Mong Tai Army) have not given up the fight despite a separate peace agreed between the Council For Peace And Development (formerly SLORC) and 15 ethnic groups. A military offensive carried out by the governmental troops has weakened the KNU and KNLA (Karen) militias. The military government in Myanmar still effectively oppresses the democracy-movement, whose main figure is Aung San Suu Kyi, awarded with the Nobel Peace Prize. On April 22<sup>nd</sup>, the USA announce economical sanctions against Myanmar.

## Near and Middle East

#### Maghreb / Northern Africa

The civil war between the **Islamic fundamentalists** from the GIA and the government of **Algeria**, which has costed between 60.000 and 80.000 lives since 1992, is carried on with even bigger brutality than before. Entire villages are extinguished by means of real mass-executions. The parliamentary elections in June as well as the communal elections in November, from which the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), winner in the 1992 elections, is excluded, confirm the predominance of the party of president Zéroual.

The violent fight of the **Islamic fundamentalists** against **Egypt's** government escalates in November after an attack in Luxor that causes more than 50 deaths among tourists. Also Copts are victims of these terror-attacks.

The conflict between Maraca and the Frente Polisario on the independence of **West-Sahara** continues despite the UN's mediation initiative of James Baker, attempting to get a soon referendum. Nevertheless both parties try to avoid the escalation of the conflict. In September the conflict parties agree on having a referendum in a near future.

The conflict between **Sudan and Egypt** concerning their common eastern borderline is still virulent.

The UN-sanctions, including an air-transit-prohibition, against **Libya**, blamed of supporting of the international terrorism, still exist. Counteracting the pressure exerted by the USA and Great Britain, Libya keeps on refusing to extradite two suspected assassins of the Lockerbie-attack.

#### Eastern-Arabia

The military conflict between the enemy Kurd-parties **PUC** (Patriotic Union of Kurdistan) and **DPC** (Democratic Party of Kurdistan), busts again in October. The PUC, supported by Teheran, blames Turkey, (who has been unsuccessfully mediating in this conflict) of increasingly supporting the DPC by military means: bombarding territory of PUC-militants located in the south of the 36<sup>th</sup> parallel. An armistice mediated by the USA in October is broken after just a couple of days. Iraqi troops have not participated yet officially in the combats.

In May and October, **Turkey** undertakes two major offensives with 50.000 and 15.000 men respectively against the Kurd insurgents of the **PKK** in **Northern Iraq**. Officially Turkey intends to help the DPC, which faces an alliance between the PKK and the PUC. According to statistics, up to 2.500 PKK-warriors must have been killed in the May-fights.

Latent tensions between **Iraq** and the **UN**, concerning the access to military establishment by the inspectors from the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) escalate in November. As a reaction to the expulsion of the US-inspectors, the USA reinforce their air-forces in the Gulf. After a Russian mediation the inspectors return to the country but their access to some installations is still not allowed.

On January 17<sup>th</sup>, the Hebron-agreement between **Israel** and the **Palestinian Autonomy Council** comes into force. The agreement provides the withdrawal of 80% of the Israeli troops out of Hebron. Nonetheless, Israeli security forces and Palestinians have been involved this year in violent fights due to the construction of a Jewish settlement on the Har Homa hill. Israel, furthermore delays the withdrawal of its troops out of parts of the Palestinian Autonomy Regions and limitates the troop-withdrawal on only 9% of the West-Jordan-Land. In this way the peace process paralyses along the year. The US-mediations have not carried out any solution until now.

Israel answers with retaliation the missile-attacks undertaken by the HAMAS from bases in South Lebanon to settlements in Northern Israel.

The negotiations between **Syria and Israel** about the **Golan heights** stay on a deadlock. Syria insists on the formula "land for peace" while Israel is still asking for security guaranties.

The order for assassination of the writer **Salman Rushdie**, given by the Iranian leadership, still exists. In the end of September, the Iranian air-force bombards bases of the oppositional People's Mujahidin in Iraq.

| Conflicts in the Near and Middle East | intensity 1997               |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Maghreb / Northern-Africa</i>      |                              |
| Algeria (islamists // government)     | 3: violent crisis            |
| Egypt (islamists // government)       | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Libya // United States, UNO           | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| West-Sahara (referendum)              | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Sudan // Egypt (frontier)             | 1: latent conflict           |
| <i>Eastern-Arabia</i>                 |                              |
| Iraq (different Kurd-groups)          | 4: war                       |
| Turkey // Kurds (PKK)                 | 4: war                       |
| Iraq (Kurds // government)            | 3: violent crisis            |
| Israel // Lebanon (Hisbollah)         | 3: violent crisis            |
| Israel // Palestinian autonomy areas  | 3: violent crisis            |

|  |                              |
|--|------------------------------|
| Iraq (Shiites)                                       | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Iraq // UNO, USA (armament inspections) <i>[new]</i> | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Iran (opposition)                                    | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Iran (Rushdie)                                       | 1: latent conflict           |
| Iran // Iraq (regional power)                        | 1: latent conflict           |
| Israel // Syria (Golan-highths)                      | 1: latent conflict           |
| Turkey // Russia (Dardanelles)                       | 1: latent conflict           |
| <i>Golf</i>  |                              |
| Bahrain (Moslem opposition)                          | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Bahrain // Qatar (frontier)                          | 1: latent conflict           |
| Iran // United Arabian Emirates (frontier)           | 1: latent conflict           |
| Yemen (inner conflicts)                              | 1: latent conflict           |
| Yemen // Saudi-Arabia (frontier)                     | 1: latent conflict           |
| Qatar // Saudi-Arabia (frontier)                     | 1: latent conflict           |
| Kuwait // Saudi-Arabia (frontier)                    | 1: latent conflict           |
| <i>Central-Asia</i>                                  |                              |
| Afghanistan (civil war)                              | 4: war                       |
| Tadjikistan (regional opposition)                    | 3: violent crisis            |
| Armenia // Azerbaidjan (Karabach)                    | 1: latent conflict           |
| Russia, Iran // United States (Caspian oil)          | 1: latent conflict           |

### Central Asia

The civil war in **Afghanistan** is still marked by the changing success of the conflict-parties. A major offensive of the Taliban-militia, supported by Pakistan and therefore indirectly by the USA fails in May, in the northern part of the country. Still, the Taliban Militia possesses two thirds of such territory at the beginning of May. By the end of July, the opposition-alliance supported by Teheran, containing among others troops of the former prime minister Hekmatyar, the usbekian general Malik and the tadjikian general Massud, succeed in re-establishing the frontiers existing at the beginning of the year. Another Taliban-offensive in September can also be repelled. In **Tadjikistan**, following the armistice of December 1996 mediated by the UN, president Rachmanov and the leader of the tadjikian opposition-parties, Nuri, agree on June 23 on signing a peace-treaty under Russian mediation. This treaty provides among other the installation of a Commission for national reconciliation. In August new fights break out between rivaling militias.

## America

North, Central and South America are, just like in the past years, once again the regions with the less number of conflicts in the world and present a predominant trend towards de-escalation and stabilisation. There have not been any putsches or putsch-attempts this year either. A special attention has received the spectacular hostage drama staged by the Tupac Amaru movement in Peru, the removal of president Bucaram in Ecuador and the escalation at times of the conflict in Columbia.

The war against "Sendero Luminoso" in Peru has come to an end, but still exists on a potential crisis level. The split guerrilla is now only capable of carrying out sporadic actions like bomb attacks or surprise assaults. The return of the refugees and the reconstruction of the old Ayachucho demonstrates the growing normality in the country. That "normality", ratified with the proclamation of the victory against the inflation and terrorism made by president Fujimori loses its ground on December 18<sup>th</sup> 1996 when fourteen men of the "Tupac Amaru" movement (MRTA) occupy the Japanese embassy in Lima and take about 500 guests of a reception as hostages, among them important national and international politicians and diplomats.

This event is the biggest crisis involving hostages that has ever taken place in Latin America. The guerrilla fighters demand the liberation of some 450 comrades, an improvement of the confinement conditions, a change in the economical policy and the removal of the "Japanese Imperialist". The government rejects all these demands and lets the ultimatums expire. In the following weeks a "pull-and-push-game" takes place in which the government is only willing to negotiate about a safe-conduct to leave the country and go to Cuba. The MRTA set successively hostages free. Four month afterwards a special unit conformed by 140 soldiers takes over the residence through a tunnel and rescue the 72 hostages still in the place. All of the fourteen guerrilla fighters, as well as two soldiers and one hostage lose their lives in the process.

In Ecuador demonstrations and a general strike are the result of the dramatical raise of prices made by the government at the beginning of the year. On February 6<sup>th</sup>, the parliament decides to dismiss president Bucaram from office because of "mental incapability". A state of exception is declared and Bucaram has to leave the country. In a referendum on May 25<sup>th</sup> 74% of the voters ratify the dismissal of Bucaram. The crisis comes to an end with the nomination of Fabián Alarcón as president.

| Conflicts in America  | intensity 1997               |
|---|------------------------------|
| Columbia (guerrilla, FARC)                                    | 4: war                       |
| Columbia (guerrilla, ELN)                                     | 3: violent crisis            |
| Peru (take of hostages) <i>[new, finished]</i>                | 3: violent crisis            |
| Equator (destitution of the president) <i>[new, finished]</i> | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Peru (Sendero Luminoso)                                       | 2: mostly non-violent crisis |
| Argentina // Great Britain (Falkland-islands)                 | 1: latent conflict           |
| Bolivia // Chile (access to the sea)                          | 1: latent conflict           |
| Equator // Peru (Amazons)                                     | 1: latent conflict           |
| Guatemala (guerrilla) <i>[finished]</i>                       | 1: latent conflict           |
| Guatemala // Belize (borderline)                              | 1: latent conflict           |
| Haiti (aftermath of intervention) <i>[finished]</i>           | 1: latent conflict           |
| Canada (secession of Quebec)                                  | 1: latent conflict           |
| Canada // USA (salmon-fishing-rights) <i>[new]</i>            | 1: latent conflict           |
| Columbia // Venezuela (Monjes-islands)                        | 1: latent conflict           |
| Mexico (Chiapas, Zapatists)                                   | 1: latent conflict           |
| Mexico (Guerrero, ELN)  | 1: latent conflict           |
| Nicaragua // Columbia (San Andres-island)                     | 1: latent conflict           |
| USA // Cuba (sanctions)                                       | 1: latent conflict           |
| Venezuela // Guyana (Essequibo)                               | 1: latent conflict           |

After the propagandist success in Columbia given by the liberation of 70 imprisoned soldiers, president Samper, pressured by the economy and the public opinion, starts a new peace initiative not only with the two guerrillas still fighting (ELN and FARC) but also with the paramilitary units. The FARC's leadership seems indeed willing to negotiate, but the guerrilla still assaults big military installations and attacks oil-pipelines. The guerrillas finance themselves by means of drug trade, blackmail and kidnapping.

Despite the imprisonment of all the leading figures of the Cali Drug Cartel, the cultivation and trade of drugs has not decreased. Therefore, the USA renews the certification, that the measures taken by the government are insufficient, but they avoid taking any sanctions. President Samper, who could never completely refute the reproach of having financed his electoral campaign with money coming from the drug Mafia, introduces a constitutional amendment in Parliament that allows the extradition of the drug-chiefs to the USA.

The peace-process in Mexico is blocked despite the armistice between the Zapatist National Liberation Army (EZLN) and the governmental army. The government does not seem willing to carry out the agreement from last year. In order to exercise some pressure on the Zapatists the government tolerates attacks by paramilitary forces to adherents of the guerrilla. Since both parties are unwilling to get to a compromise in their positions, an immediate solution of the conflict seems quite improbable. Also the ELN-guerrilla, that acts in the federal state of Guerrero has not been involved in any new actions since the attacks in September 1996.

On December 12<sup>th</sup> 1996 representatives of the government and URNO's officers with the mediation of the UN sign a peace agreement in Guatemala-city that gives an official end to the long-standing conflict (34 years). The guerrilla is dissolved and conforms a political party. The first 155 UN military observers leave the country in May. Despite the effort of the guaranty-states Brazil, Chile, Argentina and USA, the already 150 years old conflict between Ecuador and Peru about the Condor mountains has not found any solution yet.

There still exist borderline-problems between Columbia and Venezuela due to the Monjes-islands; between Nicaragua and Columbia concerning the San-Andres-island and the Guatemala's territorial claims to Belize. Also the claims of Venezuela to Guyana because of the Essequibo-region, the strive of Bolivia for getting access through Chile to the ocean and finally the conflict about the Falkland-islands between Argentina and Great Britain continue existing.

The discussion about the detachment of the French speaking province of Quebec from Canada still exist on a latent basis despite the referendum. The central-government still has not found a modus vivendi.

The permanent conflict between the USA and Cuba remains like before acute. As a consequence of the pressure exercised by the UN and the EU, who declare illegal the Helms-Burton blockade law, president Clinton suspends, on January 16<sup>th</sup> and once again on July 16<sup>th</sup> (each time for 6 month) the execution of the strengthened US-sanctions against Cuba.

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The Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIK) is a non profit registered association devoted to the investigation, documentation and prognosis of domestic and international political conflicts. The association was founded in 1991 by the collaborators of the completed investigation project KOSIMO at the Institute of Political Science of the Heidelberg University.

#### Data bank 'KOSIMO'

KOSIMO is a data bank that has at present 661 violent and non violent global political conflicts that have taking place between 1945 and 1995. Each conflict has been codified with 30 variables. The entire Kosimo will be soon available HIK Internet page .

#### Conflict barometer

The HIK publishes annually in December a conflict barometer. The conflict barometer reproduces the global conflicts based on the elements given by the model of conflict simulation, KOSIMO, designed by Dr. Prof. Frank R Pfetsch. The Conflict barometer is organised around 5 world-regions. It includes all the occurring conflicts in detailed tables and provides a description of the most important conflicts in summarised texts. Moreover, the conflict barometer includes also the global conflict behavioural trends and the measures for conflict settlement taken in the corresponding year. The conflict barometer is distributed free.

#### Files

The HIK maintains an extensive newspapers file for all the conflicts in the world since 1990. Such file is updated regularly with information from german and international newspapers and magazines. Extracts from the file can be obtained if recusted.

#### Applications

The HIK provides journalists, people interested in the subject, researchers, institutes and public institution, with regional or global extracts, statistics and analysis coming from the Kosimo data bank.

#### Publications based on KOSIMO

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## Measures for Conflict Treatment

The peaceful and military measures taken in 1997 to treat conflicts differs from the ones taken in the last years especially in the fact that the attempts to negotiate have come predominantly from the states involved in the conflict or from the Great Powers, rather than from International Organisations. Especially Russia has been striving for a peaceful and consensual solution of its domestic and international conflicts.

Also the attempts of mediation taken by single States have been able to cause some movement in the blocked negotiations of some long-lasting conflicts (North and south Korea, Papua-New Guinea, Georgia/Abcasia). On the other hand several violent attempts to put an end to a conflicts have taken place in East and South Asia.

The few measures taken in 1997 on the African Continent to solve conflicts reflect the lack of effective strategies and decisive engagement to obtain a détente of violent domestic conflicts in either authoritarian governments or in states facing a process of increasing weakness and a dissolution tendency.

Conflicts hat could probably be caused in the future by the destruction of the environment especially in regions with a fragile ecology, deserve the especial attention of the International Organisations.

| Measures taken for the first time in 1997          | black Africa   | America | Asia   | Orient   | total       |
|--|--|---------|--|--|-------------|
| Common agreement (peace agreement, treaties, etc.) | 3<br>Russia // Ukraine ()<br>Russia // Tchechenia (pipeline agreement)<br>Russia//Moldavia//Ukraine (memorandum) |         |  | 4<br>Chine // Russia<br>Japan // Russia<br>Chine // Great Britain (Hong Kong)<br>Bangladesh (Chittagong) | 7           |
| Common agreement (with the help of a third party)  | 1<br>Greece// Turkey (Aegis sea )/OTAN   |         |  | 1<br>Tadjikistan (government // opposition)  | Russia<br>2 |
| Armistice/ withdrawal of troops                    |  |         | 2<br>Papua New-Guinea<br>Philippines (Muslims) | 2<br>Iraq (PDK// UPK)<br>Israel // Palestine   | 4           |
|  |  |         | Papua Nouvelle-Guinea/                         |  |             |

|  |   |                            |   |                  |                                   |  |   |  |  |   |  |                     |                       |
|--|---|----------------------------|---|------------------|-----------------------------------|--|---|--|--|---|--|---------------------|-----------------------|
| New negotiations (/) with the help of a third party.         | 1 | Georgia (Abchasia)/<br>ONU | 3 |                  | 1                                 | Peru/<br>Equator/<br>guarantee<br>states | 2 |  | Australia,<br>New<br>Zealand   | North //<br>south<br>Korea/Unit-<br>ed states |  | Iraq // ONU         | United<br>States<br>8 |
| verdict of the court   |   |                            |   |                  |                                   |  |   |  |  |   |  |                     |                       |
| New negotiations; diplo-<br>matic relations<br>End by threat | 1 | North Ireland              |   |                  |                                   |  |   |  |  | 1   |  | Bahrain //<br>Qatar | 2                     |
| Peace mission  | 1 | Albania<br>(OSCE)          |   |                  |                                   |  |   |  |  |   |  |                     | 1                     |
| De-escalation<br>due to<br>military inter-<br>vention        |   |                            | 1 |                  | Central Africa<br>Rep./<br>France |  |   |  |  |   |  |                     | 1                     |
| Reduction or<br>end o the con-<br>flict with vio-<br>lence.  |   |                            | 2 | Burundi<br>Zaire | 1                                 | Peru<br>(hostages)                       | 4 |  | China (Uigur)<br>Myanmar<br>(Karen)<br>Cambodia<br>(Khmer<br>Rouge)<br>Cambodia<br>(Hun Sen) |   |  |                     | 7                     |





