

**HEIDELBERG INSTITUTE ON
INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESEARCH**

at the Department of Political Science, University of Heidelberg

CONFLICT BAROMETER 2003

Crises · Wars · Coup d'État
Negotiations · Mediations · Peace Settlements

12th ANNUAL CONFLICT ANALYSIS
2nd, revised edition



HIIK

The HEIDELBERG INSTITUTE ON INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESEARCH (HIIK) at the DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG is a non-profit registered association. It is dedicated to research, evaluation, and documentation of inner- and interstate political conflicts. HIIK evolved from the research project “KOSIMO” (Conflict Simulation Model) led by Prof. Dr. Frank R. Pfetsch (University of Heidelberg) and financed by the German Research Association in 1991.

Conflict

Conflicts are defined here as the clashing of interests (positional differences) on national values of some duration and magnitude between at least two parties (organized groups, states, groups of states, organizations) that are determined to pursue their interests and win their case.

Conflict Items

Territory
Secession
Decolonization
Autonomy
System, Ideology
National Power
Regional Predominance
International Power
Resources
Other

Conflict Intensities

State of Violence	Intensity Group	Level of Intensity	Name of Intensity	Definition
non-violent	low	1	Latent Conflict	A positional difference on definable values of national meaning is considered to be a latent conflict if respective demands are articulated by one of the parties and perceived by the other as such.
		2	Manifest Conflict	A manifest conflict includes the use of measures that are located in the forefield of violent force. This concerns for example verbal pressure, threatening publicly with violence, or the imposition of economic sanctions.
violent	medium	3	Crisis	A crisis is a tense situation in which at least one of the parties uses violent force in single incidents.
	high	4	Severe Crisis	A conflict is considered to be a severe crisis if violent force is repeatedly used in an organized way.
		5	War	Wars are a type of violent conflicts in which violent force is used with a certain continuity in an organized and systematic way. The conflict parties apply extensive measures, according to the situation. The amount of destruction is vast and of long duration..

The present Conflict Barometer 2003 reflects our current state of research.
Therefore, this edition's data might differ from previous editions.

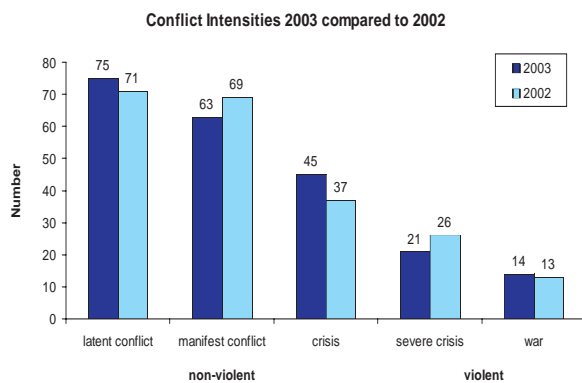
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Global Conflict Panorama 2003

Starting with this edition of the Conflict Barometer, the Heidelberg Institute on International Conflict Research (HIK) enhances its methodology. This change most clearly mirrors in an additional intensity level classifying conflicts with only occasional use of violence. The new intensity level allows a clear differentiation between non-violent and violent conflicts. Further details can be found on page 8 (Methodological Changes in the Conflict Barometer), updated conflict listings at www.konfliktbarometer.de.

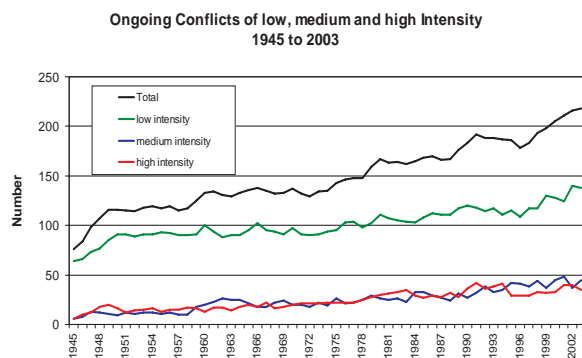
Global Development

There are 218 political conflicts in 2003. 14 of these are wars and 21 are serious crises: a total of 35 conflicts carried out with a massive amount of violence. 45 conflicts are levelled as crises, meaning violence is used only occasionally. In contrast, there



are 138 non-violent conflicts, that can be broken down into 63 manifest and 75 latent conflicts.

Compared to last year, the number of conflicts carried out on the highest intensity level has increased from two to 14, whereas the number of serious crises has decreased by five, from 26 to 21 conflicts. With this development, the total number of conflicts on the two highest intensity levels has dropped from 38 to 35 in 2003. The number of crises increased significantly from 37 conflicts in 2002 to 45 this year. The number



of conflicts on the two non-violent intensity levels changes only marginally. In total, two more conflicts are carried out compared to last year, because on the one hand eight conflicts can be considered to have

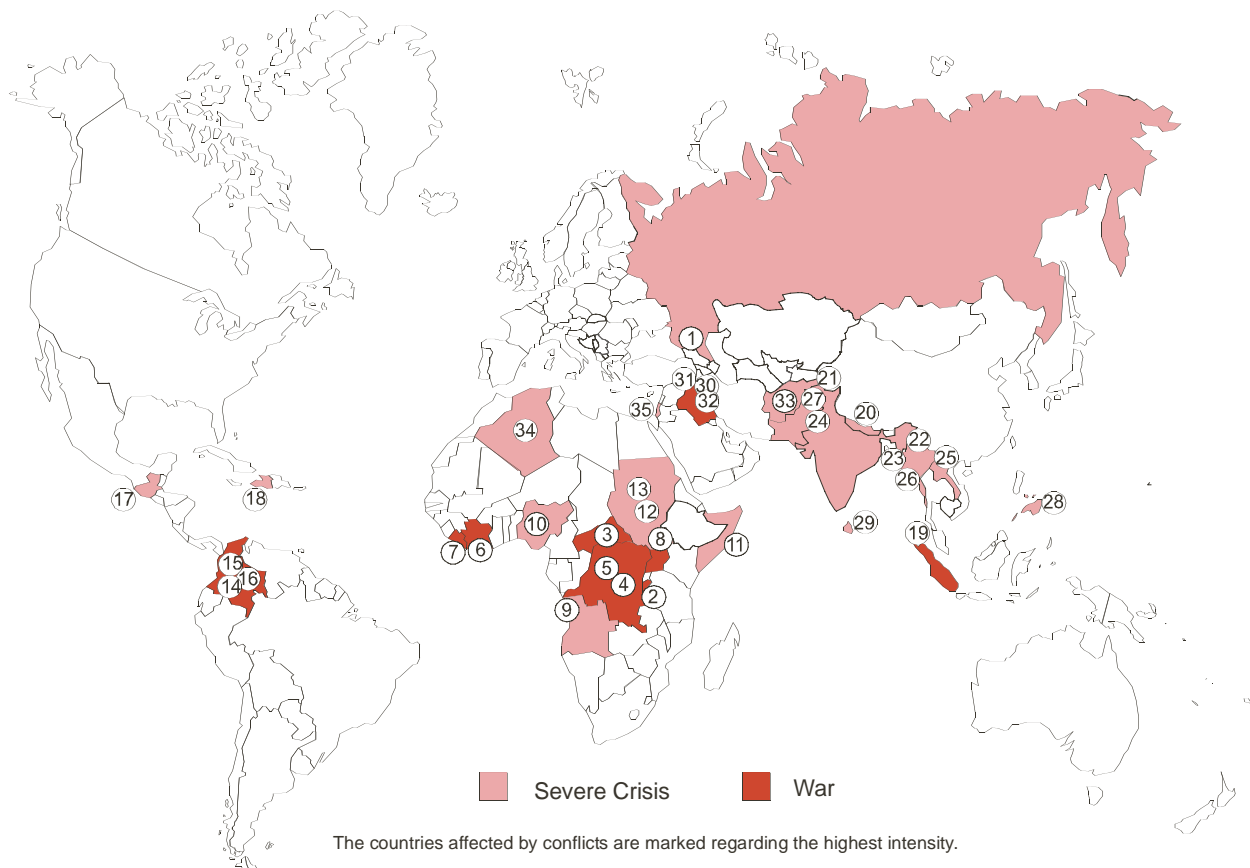
ended in 2002 and on the other hand ten conflicts are new this year. These are set as follows: five in Africa, two each in Europe and in the region of the Middle East and Maghreb, and one in the Americas. Out of these, only the innerstate conflict in Sudan (Darfur/SLA) reaches a violent intensity level, while three others are carried out on a level of low violence and six remain non-violent. Twelve conflicts have ended this year.

In order to facilitate a long-term trend analysis, the five intensity levels are categorized into three groups: the two non-violent levels are summarized as “low intensity”, crises as “medium intensity”, and severe crises and wars as conflicts of “high intensity”. The graph on the left also shows the total number of conflicts observed. As shown by the progressive graph, this total number of annually observed conflicts has continuously risen from 76 in 1945 to 218 in 2003. The gradual rise in the total number of conflicts is especially striking, closely followed by the phases of marginal de- or increases: Phase 1: 1945 to 1949 from 76 to 116, Phase 2: 1958 to 1960 from 117 to 133, Phase 3: 1972 to 1980 from 129 to 167, Phase 4: 1988 to 1991 from 167 to 192 and finally the present phase that started with 178 conflicts in 1996 and is now up to 218. Considering this, the increase of conflicts during the period under review, is but a continuation of a continuous trend over the past seven years.

A closer look at the single intensity groups shows the progressive graph either rising or falling for the conflicts of low intensity, with an exception between 1960 and 1963. During this period the total number of conflicts rises, while that of non-violent conflicts decreases. Another remarkable period is that of 1988 to 1991. In contrast to the sharp rise of the total number of conflicts (from 167 to 192) the number of non-violent conflicts rises only moderately from 111 to 118.

When looking at the progressive graph of the high intensity conflicts, a continuous and for the most part regular increase leaps to the eye. Exceptions being the three phases of high escalations: 1945 to 1949 from six to 20, 1977 to 1983 from 22 to 35 and 1987 to 1991, the period that saw the collapse of the Soviet Union, from 28 to 42. There were phases of clear de-escalation: 1949 to 1951 from 20 to twelve, 1983 to 1985 from 35 to 27, 1991 to 1992 from 42 to 36. Between 1994 and 1995, the most significant decrease

Worldmap: Violent Conflicts of High Intensity 2003



Legend

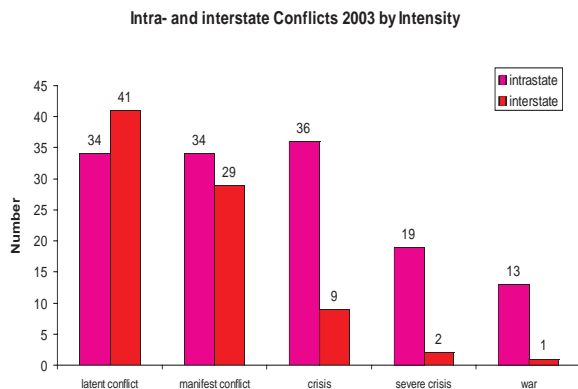
No.	Name of Conflict and most important Conflict Item	No.	Name of Conflict and most important Conflict Item
Europe - severe Crises			
1	Russia (Chechnya) - secession	18	Haiti (Opposition) - national power
Africa - Wars			
2	Burundi (Hutu) - national power	Asia - Wars	
3	Central Africa (Bozisé - Patassé) - national power	19	Indonesia (Aceh) - secession, resources
4	DR Congo (Rebels) - national power, resources	Asia - severe Crises	
5	DR Congo (Hema - Lendu) - regional predominance, resources	20	Nepal (Maoist Rebels) - ideology/ system, national power
6	Côte d'Ivoire (Rebels) - national power	21	India (Kashmir) - religious and regional autonomy, secession
7	Liberia - national power	22	India (Nagaland) - secession
8	Uganda (LRA) - national power	23	India (Tripura) - secession, other (immigration)
Africa - severe Crises			
9	Angola (Cabinda) - secession	24	India - Pakistan (Siachen-Glacier) - territory/ border
10	Nigeria (Nigerdelta - Ijaw) - resources (oil)	25	Laos (Rebels) - ideology/ system, autonomy, national power
11	Somalia (national power) - national power	26	Myanmar (Ethnic Minorities) - regional autonomy
12	Sudan (SPLA) - secession, resources, rel. predominance	27	Pakistan - India (Kashmir) - territory, international power
13	Sudan (Darfur-SLA) - regional predominance	28	Philippines (MILF) - secession, system/ ideology
Americas - Wars			
14	Colombia (ELN) - national power, system	29	Sri Lanka (LTTE) - autonomy
15	Colombia (FARC) - national power, system	Middle East and Maghreb - Wars	
16	Colombia (Paramilitary) - regional predominance	30	Iraq (Islamists - PUK) - regional predominance, system
Americas - severe Crises			
17	Guatemala (FRG) - national power	31	Iraq (Iraqi Kurdistan) - autonomy, resources (oil, water)
		32	Iraq - USA, Great Britain - international power, resources, system
		Middle East and Maghreb - severe Crises	
		33	Afghanistan (Taleban) - regional predominance, national power
		34	Algeria (Islamists) - national power, system
		35	Israel (Palestinian Groups) - autonomy, system, resources

within one year happened with the number of high intensity conflicts dropping from 41 to 29.

The number of high intensity conflicts has increased considerably from 29 in 1997 to 40 in 2001 thereby almost reaching the level of 1994. While the number remained unchanged last year, it decreases by four conflicts to 35 in 2003. There is a notable parallel between the graph of high intensity conflicts and that of medium intensity conflicts “crises” - meaning occasional incidents of violence. They progress on an almost similar level. Since 1995, though, the number of crises has always been higher than that of serious crises and wars with the exception of 2002. A comparable development took place only between 1959 and 1964.

Analysis intrastate - interstate

This year, a total number of 136 internal and 82 international conflicts is carried out. Only one of the 14 wars is between states: the war of the US against Iraq.



The same can also be observed at the level of serious crises with 19 intrastate and only 2 interstate conflicts (India vs. Pakistan [Siachs Glacier] and Pakistan vs. India [Kashmir]). The number of internal conflicts is also considerably higher than that of international conflicts on the intensity levels of crises and manifest conflicts. It is only with the latent conflicts that interstate conflicts outweigh those within states. Consequently, less than ten per cent of all wars and serious crises in 2003 are fought out between states.

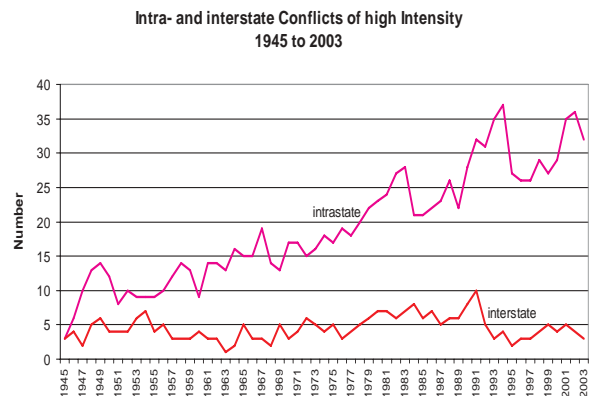
For the long-term trend analysis, the two high intensity levels “serious crisis” and “war” have been summarized into one group. It becomes clear that the predominance of intrastate violent conflicts can be observed from the beginning of the examined period. The progressive graph of intrastate conflicts is continuously rising and shows its biggest deflections at the beginning of the recorded period (1945: 3 - 1948: 13), in the mid-Fifties (1955: 9 - 1958: 14), from the late Seventies until the early Eighties (1977: 18 - 1983: 28), from the late Eighties until the early Nineties (1987: 23 - 1994: 37) and from the late Nineties until

last year (1997: 27 - 2002: 38). For the first time in four years, the number of intrastate high intensity conflicts has dropped by four to a total of 32 conflicts in 2003.

In contrast, the graph of interstate violent conflicts is far more regular. Here, it is the increase in the late Seventies (1976: 3 - 1980: 7) and the sharp rise in the late Eighties and early Nineties (1987: 5 - 1991: 10) that stand out before all. The period from 1991 until 1994 is also substantial. While the number of interstate serious crises and wars dramatically decreases (1991: 10 - 1995: 2), the number of intrastate high intensity conflicts keeps rising (1991: 32 - 1994: 37).

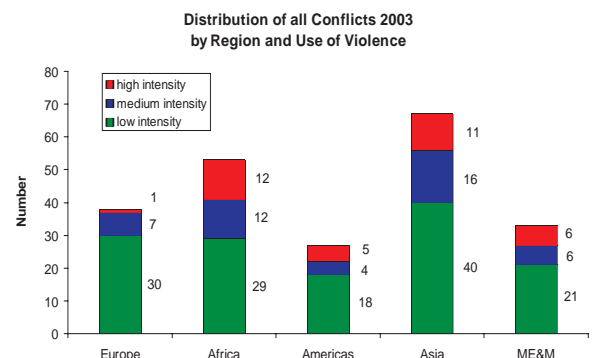
Regional Development

In 2003 as in earlier years, the most highly violent conflicts are fought out in Africa. Second is Asia with eleven high intensity conflicts and highest total of all regions (67 out of 218). In both regions the high amount of medium intensity conflicts stands out. While Europe is mostly spared from medium and high intensity conflicts, the risen amount of violent conflicts

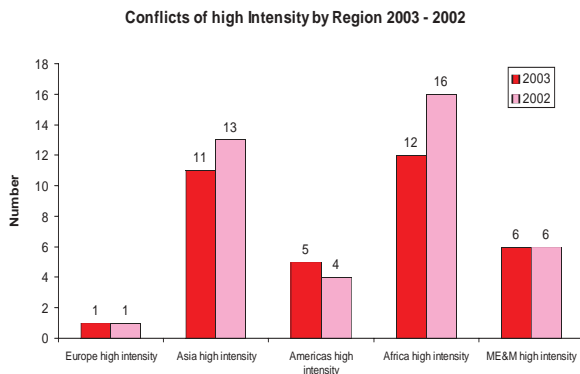


in the Americas and especially the region of the Middle and Maghreb leaps to the eye.

A comparison of high intensity conflicts in 2002 and 2003 brings a diverse result. In Africa, the sizeable decrease of highly violent conflicts is the most striking in 2003. The number of violent conflicts decreases in Asia as well, while it remains constant in Europe with one - the conflict in Chechnya. In the Americas, the number of high intensity conflicts increases by one

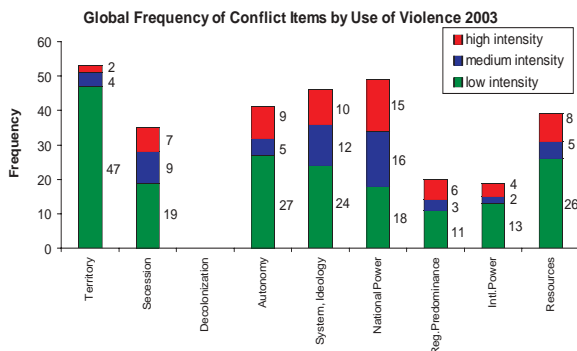


(Guatemala [FRG]), in the region of the Middle East and Maghreb by one (Iraq vs. US, Great Britain and Iraq [Iraqi Kurdistan] escalate while Afghanistan [Taleban, al-Qaeda] vs. US is considered to have ended in 2002).



Conflict Items

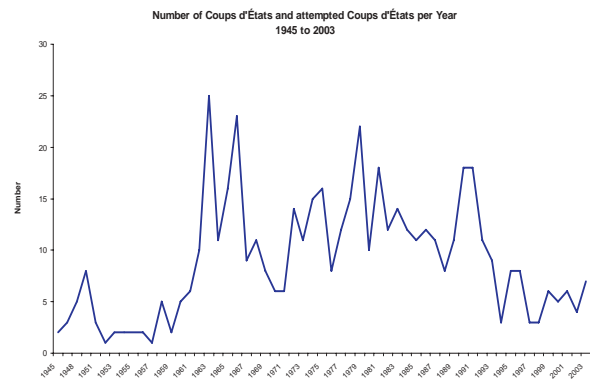
Most conflicts in 2003 are fought out over territorial claims. At the same time, this conflict item also constitutes the one entailing the fewest violent conflicts, closely followed by national power and ideology. The latter also includes conflicts having their basis in religious or ideological differences. There can often be observed a mixing of conflict items, especially when it comes to resources.



Coups d'États

There was a total number of seven coups d'état in 2003: five in Africa as well as one each in Europe and in Asia. On February 9, an attempt to collapse the Comori central government under Azali Assoumani failed. The Central African civil war was decided on March 15 through a putsch-like change of government. Islamist officers tried a coup d'état in Mauritania on June 7. After an attempted putsch in São Tomé and Príncipe on July 16, President Fradique de Meneses was able to resume his political duties only two days later. President Kumba Yala's reign in Guinea Bissau ended on September 14 because of a unbloody putsch by the military under General Verissimo Corrêa Seabra. Bolivian President Sanchez de Lozada flew to the US on October 17. In Georgia, President Eduard

Shevardnadze had to step down from office on November 24.



Dynamics within Individual Conflicts

Compared to last year, the total numbers of conflicts at the different intensity levels has changed only marginally. This cannot be said for the developments within the individual conflicts, though. A total of 31 conflicts has escalated, five out of these by two intensity levels and 26 by one level. There are six new high intensity conflicts in 2003, four of which had already been recorded as crises last year, i.e. the violence has simply intensified. It can be concluded that the crisis intensity level is the most common prelude to predominantly violent conflicts. Of 32 de-

Change of Intensity	Number
Escalation by four Levels	0
Escalation by three Levels	0
Escalation by two Levels	5
Escalation by one Level	26
No Change	155
De-escalation by one Level	25
De-escalation by two Levels	4
De-escalation by three Levels	1
De-escalation by four Levels	1

escalating conflicts, 15 are carried out non-violently this year. The most striking de-escalation happening in the case of Angola (government vs. Unita), where the war has ended after the death of Jonas Savimbi and become but a latent conflict.

Measures of Conflict Resolution

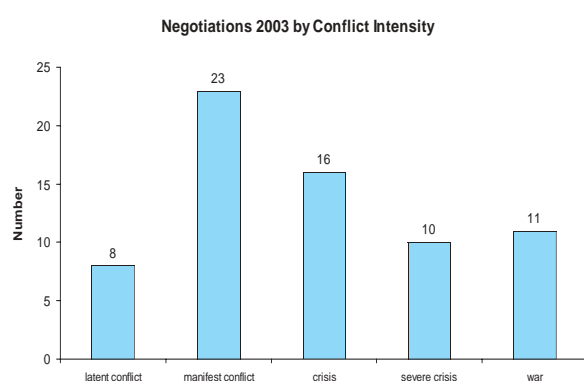
Negotiations

Talks, negotiations and conferences were conducted this year in 68 of the 218 current conflicts. Conflict parties were most likely to talk to each other in conflicts at the intensity level of manifest conflicts. Still there were also meetings between the warring parties in 21 of the 37 highly violent conflicts. Talks

were predominantly held over secession conflicts (19) as well as over territorial conflicts (14).

Treaties

A total of 34 treaties or agreements were signed on the regulation of conflicts; 24 of these in violent conflicts. Amongst them are twelve armistices (one in Congo [civil war], two in the Ivory Coast, one in Somalia [civil war], three in Sudan, two in Nepal [Maoists], and two in Burundi [Hutu]). Seven peace agreements were signed (two in Congo [civil war], one in Congo [Hema - Lendu], one in Congo-Brazzaville, one in the Ivory Coast, one in Liberia, and one in Somalia [Puntland]). Only four of these agreements are honored until the end of the recorded period though (Burundi, Congo-Brazzaville, Somalia [Puntland], Sudan [SPLA]). The other agreements mostly contain the regulation of procedures or bring partial solutions.



International Organizations

By the end of 2003, the United Nations Organization (UNO) has 13 peacekeeping missions. Three missions have ended during the examined period (UNMOP in Croatia, UNMIBH in Bosnia and Herzegovina, UNIKOM in Iraq and Kuwait). On September 19, a new mission begins in Liberia. It reflects the risen efforts the UN is making in Africa where, for the first time, four UN missions are active simultaneously (MONUC in the DR Congo, UNAMSIL in Sierra Leone, UNMIL in Liberia, UNMEE in Ethiopia and Eritrea). There are also four missions in the Middle East and Maghreb (MINURSO in Western Sahara, UNDOF in Israel and Syria, UNTSO in Israel, UNIFIL in Lebanon). Only three missions remain active in Europe (UNOMIG in Georgia [Abchasia], UNMIK in Yugoslavia [Kosovo], UNFICYP in Cyprus) while two missions continue in Asia (UNMISSET in Eastern Timor, UNMOGIP in India and Pakistan). It can be observed that the UN is giving more robust mandates to the Blue Helmets and is increasing its efforts in violent conflicts. In four cases, UN soldiers are assigned to high intensity conflicts, namely in Israel, the DR Congo, Liberia and India [Kashmir]. Besides,

they are active in five conflicts of medium intensity. In October 2003, a total of 43,000 soldiers from 92 countries are assigned to the peacekeeping missions. The biggest contingents come from Pakistan (5,250 men), Bangladesh (4,000 men) and Nigeria (3,300 men). There are 355 Germans active in three missions. In 2003, 39 Blue Helmets and policemen are killed, a total of 1,800 persons have lost their lives in the service of the UN since 1948. The most dangerous UN missions are UNIFIL (247 fatalities since 1978), UNFICYP (170 fatalities since 1964) and UNAMSIL (113 fatalities since 1999).

In September 2003, the UN is maintaining sanctions against six states. The measures against Afghanistan and Iraq are partially put on hold or lifted. Sanctions against Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Somalia remain unchanged.

Next to the UN, several international organizations maintain peacekeeping missions, e.g. the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Liberia and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) on the Balkans and in Afghanistan. Also the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC) is keeping up its first mission in Central Africa. The large regional organizations European Union (EU), African Union (AU) and Organization of American States (OAS) are also taking part in the peacekeeping efforts with their missions to e.g. Macedonia and the DR Congo (EU), Burundi (AU) and Haiti (OAS). In 2003, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) maintains a total of seven long-term missions at Skopje, in Georgia, Moldavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo and in Serbia and Montenegro. Furthermore, the OSCE is present through field activities in Uzbekistan, Albania, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Turkmenistan, the Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Tadjikistan. The assisting forces' mandate for Chechnya was not prolonged after December 31, 2002.

Authoritative Decisions by the ICJ

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) at The Hague issued two rulings in 2003. One ended the territorial conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia in favor of Malaysia. There was also a final ruling in the quarrel between Iran and the US concerning the occupation of Irani oil platforms by the US in 1987 and 1988. The court ruled against the US. Along with Great Britain the latter recalls its charges against Libya concerning the Lockerbie attack. Three new cases are presented to the ICJ. One is the territorial conflict between Malaysia and Singapore, the others are disputes over certain aspects of citizenship between Mexico and the US as well as between the DR Congo and France.

Overview: Present UN Peacekeeping Missions

Mission Acronym	Name of Mission	Start	Country
MINURSO	UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara	1991	Western Sahara
MONUC	UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo	1999	DR Congo
UNAMSIL	UN Mission in Sierra Leone	1999	Sierra Leone
UNDOF	UN Disengagement Observer Force Golan Heights	1974	Syria - Israel
UNFICYP	UN Force in Cyprus	1964	Cyprus
UNIFIL	UN Interim Force in Lebanon	1978	Lebanon
UNIKOM	UN Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission	1991-2003	Iraq - Kuwait
UNMEE	UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea	2000	Ethiopia - Eritrea
UNMIBH	UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina	1995-2002	Bosnia and Herzegovina
UNMIK	UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo	1999	Yugoslavia (Kosovo)
UNMIL	UN Mission in Liberia	2003	Liberia
UNMISSET	UN Mission of Support in East Timor*	2002	East Timor
UNMOGIP	UN Military Observer Group India and Pakistan	1949	India - Pakistan
UNMOP	UN Mission of Observers in Prevlaka	1996-2002	Croatia
UNOMIG	UN Observer Mission to Georgia	1993	Georgia
UNTSO	UN Truce Supervisory Organization Middle East	1948	Middle East

* Successor of UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), Start in 1999

Methodological Changes in the Conflict Barometer

Methodological Approach

The Heidelberg Institute on International Conflict Research (HIIK) bases its research on a qualitative definition of conflict and war. Wars and conflicts of lesser intensity are classified according to the actual amount of violence observed, and not according to the number of fatalities. This approach ensures that even in the case of historical changes in the way conflicts are carried out, the conflict remains recordable and comparable. The characteristics, duration and frequency of the conflict measures implemented are crucial in the classification of conflicts into the different intensity levels. These measures are documented in the KOSIMO database as well as encoded and attributed to the actor in question. Over the past years, the view on international conflicts has shifted considerably. While interstate conflicts were of top-most interest to conflict researchers for years, the much higher number of intra-state conflicts has now pushed to the front. We have enhanced our methodological approach in order to account for the new questions arising from this development.

Widened Definition of Conflict

Due to the fact that many conflicts can be observed in weakened or collapsed states who are unable to intervene with their own troops, the HIIK has enhanced its definition of conflict for the first time since 1991. From now on, conflicts will be recorded even if there

is no state among the conflict parties. The national value of the conflict items remains decisive.

Widened Scale of Intensities

The HIIK has widened its intensity levels in order to be able to better account for peculiarities of violent conflicts as well for the dynamics of escalation and de-escalation: there are now five intensity levels instead of four. In order to allow a more differentiated view on the transition of non-violent to violent conflicts, a medium level has been installed. It captures single or occasional acts of violence like e.g. riots, coups d'états or terrorist attacks. The table below depicts the range of the widened intensity scale by naming exemplary key occurrences for each level. In addition, there is a direct comparison to the former scale.

Widened Conflict Items

Modifications were also made on the part of the conflict items. Instead of formerly three, there can now be recorded an unlimited number of conflict items. The former conflict items of Territory, Secession, Autonomy, Ideology/ System, National Power, International Power and Resources have been further differentiated. E.g. for the category of Resources this means that it can now be clearly recorded which resource (oil, diamonds, water...) is under dispute. The conflict item of Regional Predominance was newly included. It stands for conflicts in which an intrastate group attempts to gain control over a certain area

without the goal of gaining power over the entire state (National Power) or of forming a new state (Secession).

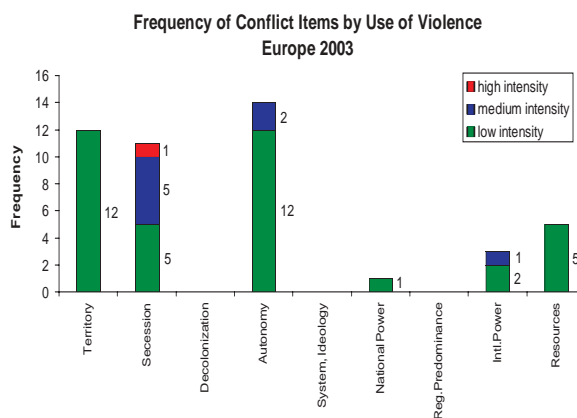
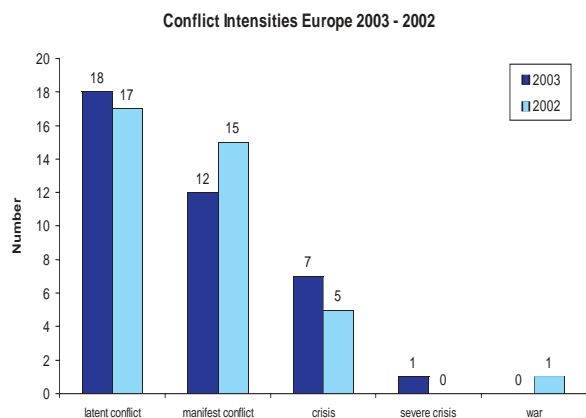
Development of KOSIMO 2.0

In order to increase the number of descriptive variables, to depict the graphs of conflicts more exactly and also to enhance the possibilities of analysis, KOSIMO was transferred into a relational database system. For the future, this will allow us to record an unlimited amount of data concerning conflicts and actors involved. Additions and expansions can be added at any time. By linking e.g. data on conflict dynamics and structural country data comprehensive analyses can be made that allow new insights into decisive factors of conflict dynamics.

		KOSIMO 1.3		KOSIMO 2.0		
	Level of Intensity	Name of Intensity	Key Occurances	Name of Intensity	Key Occurances interstate	Key Occurances intrastate
non-violent	1	<i>Latent Conflict</i>	<i>Positional differences; clashing interests; demands/claims on national values rejected by the opposing side</i>	Latent Conflict	Positional differences; clashing interests; demands/claims on national values rejected by the opposing side	Positional differences; clashing interests; demands/claims on national values rejected by the opposing side
	2	<i>Crisis</i>	<i>Rising tensions; demands/claims connected with threat of force</i>	Manifest Conflict	Demands/claims connected with threat	Demands/claims connected with threat
violent	3	<i>Severe Crisis</i>	<i>Violent force is used sporadically; border skirmishes; short-time violent clashes</i>	Crisis	Border skirmishes, short-time/brief violent clashes	Uprisings, rebellions, revolts, coups d'états, (single) terrorist attacks
	4	<i>War</i>	<i>Systematic use of violent force over a long period of time</i>	Severe Crisis	Regular, organized violent clashes	Regular violent clashes of the conflict parties, but with significant interruptions, guerilla warfare, numerous and continuous terrorist attacks
	5	-	-	War	Systematic use of violent force within a period of time	Civil war, use of all available measures, establishment of war economies

Europe

The total number of monitored conflicts in Europe remains the same with 38 conflicts. Two conflicts are new: the coup d'état against Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze and the dispute on the Black Sea island Tuzla between Russia and Ukraine. The autonomy conflict on the Northern Serbian province of Vojvodina can be considered as having ended with the passing of a new Serbian constitution this year. The number of violent disputes in Europe compared to the previous year marginally increases by eight. The only severe crisis takes place in Russia (Chechnya). Again, the North Caucasus is the most conflictive region this year. The most frequent conflict items in Europe still are autonomy, secession, and territory.



Bosnia and Herzegovina (RS - MCF)

Intensity: 2 Change: • Start: 1991
 Conflict Parties: Serbs (SDS) vs. Croats (HDZ) vs. Muslims (SDA), Republica Srpska (RS) vs. Muslim-Croat Federation (MCF)

Conflict Item: Autonomy (ethnic), Minorities

The conflicts between Serbs, Croats, and Muslims and between the two entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) continue to exist. The efforts of the High Representative (OHR) Paddy Ashdown still concentrate on strengthening BiH's state-level institutions, in which both the Muslim-Croat Federation and the Republica Srpska (RS) are represented. After the discovery of illegal arms exports and a sustained espionage operation by the RS, the OHR curbs the authority of the Bosnian-Serb army. On October 1, Ashdown imposes several laws in order to harmonize legislation in both entities. Only under the pressure of the EU and the NATO, BiH's tripartite presidency agrees on a draft defense law stipulating the creation of a single Bosnian army. Despite last year's constitutional amendments, the efficiency of BiH's central institutions is enormously weakened by the obstruction politics of all ethnic groups. *sl*

Cyprus

Intensität: 2 Change: • Start: 1963
 Conflict Parties: Republic of Cyprus vs. Northern Cyprus
 Conflict Item: Secession

Within the first few months of the reported period, the bilateral relations of the Republic of Cyprus and Northern Cyprus improve. The opening of border crossings means an important step on the way to the solution of secession conflict. On 12/10/02, the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash rejects the revised version of the UN's peace plan for Cyprus. Talks on the margins of the EU summit in Copenhagen are without success. The internal and external pressure on

Denktash increases to accept the UN's plan. Following an UN deadline, regular talks on the level of general secretaries of the foreign ministries start at the end of January. On February 16, the former opposition leader Tassos Papadopoulos wins the Greek Cypriot presidential elections with 51.5 per cent of the votes against the more co-operative former president Glafkos Klerides. He announces that he wants to renegotiate parts of the UN plan. At the end of February, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan meets the Turkish and the Greek government as well as Papadopoulos and Denktash one after another. Annan invites both leaders to come to The Hague and decide on simultaneous referenda on the status of Cyprus. Having the support of Turkey, Denktash officially announces that he will reject the UN plan. On March 10, the talks fail. Without waiting for the Cyprus question to be solved, the 15 EU member states sign the accession treaties for the ten new members on April 16. This means that the Republic of Cyprus will become a full member of the EU in May 2004. On April 21, the Turkish Cypriot Government surprisingly announces that it will open the borders. This takes place four days later. In July, Papadopoulos rejects Denktash's proposal on steps improving the bilateral relations. Instead, on July 14, the Greek Cypriot Parliament ratifies the treaty on the accession to the EU. Thereupon, the Turkish Cypriot Government and Turkey sign a trade agreement on August 8. *ks*

France (Corsica)

Intensity: 3 Change: • Start: 1975
 Conflict Parties: Corsican Nationalists, National Front for the Liberation of Corsica (FLNC) vs. French Government
 Conflict Item: Secession

The concept of decentralization of the French

Summary: Conflicts in Europe 2003

Name of Conflict ¹	Conflict Parties ²	Conflict Item	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Armenia - Azerbaijan *	Armenia vs. Azerbaijan	territory, autonomy	1985	•	1
Bosnia and Herzegovina (RS - MCF)	Serbs (SDS) vs. Croats (HDZ) vs. Muslims (SDA), Republica Srpska (RS) vs. Muslim-Croat Federation (MCF)	autonomy (ethnic), minorities	1991	•	2
"Caspian Sea" *	Armenia vs. Azerbaijan vs. Georgia vs. Iran vs. Kazakhstan vs. Russia vs. Turkey vs. Turkmenistan	maritime border, resources (oil, gas), international power	1993	•	2
Cyprus	Republic of Cyprus vs. Northern Cyprus	secession	1963	•	2
France (Corsica)	Corsican Nationalists, National Front for the Liberation of Corsica (FLNC) vs. Government	secession	1975	•	3
Georgia (Abkhazia)	Government vs. Abkhaz opposition	ethnic and religious autonomy	1989	↗	3
Georgien (Adzharia) *	Adzharian minority vs. government	autonomy	1989	•	1
Georgia (Coup d'état)	Government vs. Opposition	national power	2003	NEW	2
Georgia (South Ossetia) *	South Ossets vs. government	secession	1989	↘	1
Great Britain- Spain (Gibraltar) *	Spain vs. Great Britain	territory (Gibraltar)	1954	•	2
Great Britain (Northern Ireland)	Great Britain, Unionist Parties (UUP vs. DUP) vs. Sinn Féin, IRA vs. extremist loyalist paramilitary forces (UVF, UDA/UFF, LVF, Red Hand Defenders, Orange Volunteers) and respective political supporters vs. extremist republican paramilitary forces (Continuity IRA, Provisional IRA, Real IRA, INLA) and respective political supporters	secession	1968	•	3
Hungary - Romania *	Hungary vs. Romania	autonomy (Hungarian minority in Romania)	1990	↘	1
Hungary - Slovakia (Minority) *	Hungary vs. Slovakia	autonomy (Hungarian minority in Slovakia)	1993	↘	1
Hungary - Slovakia (Resources) *	Hungary vs. Slovakia	ressources	1989	•	1
Iceland - Norway (fishery) *	Iceland vs. Norway	resources	1993	•	1
Latvia - Russia	Latvia vs. Russia	international power	1994	↗	2
Latvia (Russian-speaking minority)	Latvia vs. Russian-speaking minority	autonomy	1991	•	2
Liechtenstein - Chechia, Slovakia *	Liechtenstein vs. Chechia, Slovakia	territory	1990	•	1
Macedonia (Albanian National Army)	Government vs. Albanian National Army (ANA)	secession	2001	↗	3
Macedonia (Albanian Minority)	Government vs. Albanian minority	autonomy	1991	•	2
Moldova (Transnistria)	Transnistrian separatists vs. Government	secession	1991	•	2
Romania - Ukraine	Romania vs. Ukraine	maritime border (Zmyyny, Black Sea, continental shelf), resources (oil, gas)	1991	• END	1
Romania (Hungarian minority) *	Hungarian minority vs. government	autonomy	1989	•	1
Russia vs. Georgia	Russia vs. Georgia	international power	2001	•	3
Russia - Norway (Barent Sea) *	Russia vs. Norway	territory	1947	•	1
Russia - Ukraine	Russia vs. Ukraine	territory (island of Tuzla), resources (gas, oil, fishery)	2003	NEW	2
Russia - Belarus *	Russia vs. Belarus	territory	2001	•	1
Russia (Chechnya)	Chechen rebels vs. government	secession	1991	↘	4
Serbia and Montenegro (Kosovo)	Government vs. political parties of Albanians	secession	1989	•	3
Serbia and Montenegro (Montenegro)	Montenegrin Regional Government vs. Serbian Central Government	secession	1997	•	1
Serbia and Montenegro (UCPMB) *	OCPMB vs. Serbia and Montenegro	secession, autonomy	2000	•	1
Serbia and Montenegro (Vojvodina)	Regional Government of Vojvodina vs. Serbian Government	autonomy	1989	• END	1
Slovakia (Hungarian minority) *	Hungarian minority vs. government	autonomy	1993	•	1
Slovenia - Croatia	Slovenia vs. Croatia	maritime border	1991	•	2
Spain - Morocco (Ceuta and Melilla)	Spain vs. Morocco	territory (Ceuta and Melilla), resources (fishery)	1961	•	1
Spain - Morocco (Parsley Island) *	Spain vs. Morocco	territory (Parsley Island)	2002	↘	1
Spain (Basque Provinces)	ETA vs. government	secession	1960	•	3
Turkey - Greece (Aegean Sea)	Turkey vs. Greece	maritime border	1960	•	2

1) conflicts marked with * are without dicription

2) mentioned are only those conflict parties relevant for the period under revue

3) change of intensity compared to the previous year: ↗ respectively ↗ escalation by one respectively more than one level of intensity; ↘ respectively ↘ de-escalation by one respectively more than one level of intensity; • no change

4) levels of intensity: 5: War; 4: Severe Crisis; 3: Crisis; 2: Manifest Conflict; 1: Latent Conflict

Government for a special status of the Mediterranean island is refused with a bare majority by the Corsican population. In a referendum on July 6, 50.98 per cent vote against the intended fusion of the two districts of the island and more administrative autonomy. In the course of the arrest of the presumed assassin of Corsican prefect Claude Erignac, the security situation on Corsica aggravates again. After the imposition of long-term imprisonment of eight Corsican suspects, the party Corsica Nazione leaves regional parliament in protest on July 11. At the same time, the National Front for the Liberation of Corsica (FLNC) breaks the truce and claims responsibility for numerous recent attacks. More than 200 incidents occur since the beginning of the year. There are no fatalities. *ah*

Georgia (Abkhazia)

Intensity:	3	Change:	↗	Start:	1989
Conflict Parties:	Georgian Government vs. Abkhaz opposition				
Conflict Items:	ethnic and religious autonomy				

The autonomous Republic of Abkhazia still desires to secede from Georgia and to become a part of Russia afterwards. Since 1994, a ceasefire has been observed by the UN mission UNOMIG and the CIS peacekeeping forces. Nevertheless, on 12/27/02, 30 Georgian civilians are arrested during clashes with Abkhazian security forces. In January, at least two Abkhazian civilians are killed and several wounded in clashes with Russian peacekeepers. On March 10, Georgia offers Abkhazia to form a federation with Georgia. This suggestion is strictly rejected by the Abkhaz Prime Minister, Raul Khadjimba. On March 30, Abkhazian separatists conduct an attack on the power supply of Tiflis and neighbouring provinces. At the beginning of June, three UN observers in Abkhazia are taken hostage. After negotiations, they are released. *ik*

Georgia (Coup d'état)

Intensity:	2	Change:	NEW	Start:	2003
Conflict Parties:	Georgian Government vs. Opposition				
Conflict Item:	National Power				

OSCE observers discover strong irregularities during the Georgian parliamentary elections of November 2. The opposition complains that vote fraud helps the parties supporting President Eduard Shevardnadze. On November 3, the election commission publishes the preliminary results pointing at these parties' victory. Thereupon, the opposition calls for protests and demands the president's resignation. After negotiations with the opposition end without success on November 9, and after the election commission confirms the results on November 20, the opposition leaders organize a march on Tiflis. The protests remain non-violent as the security forces do not intervene. After the Chief of the Georgian Security Council, Tedo Japaridze, speculates publicly about vote fraud, events begin to unfold quickly on November 22. During the opening speech of President Shevardnadze in the newly elected parliament, protesters storm and occupy the building. The president flees with his bodyguards and declares a state of emergency. In this power vacuum, Parliamentary Speaker, Nino Burdschanadse, declares herself president until the new elections in 45 days. Russian Foreign Minister, Igor Ivanov, arrives in Tiflis

in order to mediate between the opposition and Shevardnadze who still refuses to resign. As large parts of the army join the protestors, Shevardnadze declares his resignation. *ik*

Great Britain (Northern Ireland)

Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	1968
Conflict Parties:	Great Britain, Unionist Parties (UUP vs. DUP) vs. Sinn Féin, IRA vs. extremist loyalist paramilitary forces (UVF, UDA/UFF, LVF, Red Hand Defenders, Orange Volunteers) and respective political supporters vs. extremist republican paramilitary forces (Continuity IRA, Provisional IRA, Real IRA, INLA) and respective political supporters				
Conflict Item:	Secession				

After the suspension of the Northern Ireland partial autonomy, the peace process stagnates and is still at risk. In January, several loyalist splinter groups break contact with the international decommissioning body. The feud among the Protestant paramilitary groupings continues with several killings until the followers of former Ulster Defence Association (UDA) leader, Johnny Adair, flee to Scotland on February 6. In March, US President George W. Bush pleads for an end of paramilitary violence. Nevertheless, on May 1, British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, postpones the elections for the Northern Irish Regional Assembly which had been scheduled for May 29. The reason for this is the Irish Republican Army's (IRA) still unclear attitude towards violence. During summer, Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) leader, David Trimble, hardly manages to prevent a programmatic shift of his party away from the Good Friday Agreement. In September, however, after a few relatively calm summer months, the major parties enter preliminary negotiations aiming at a restoration of devolution. At the end of October, the international decommissioning body states that the IRA destroyed another part of its weaponry. Reportedly, this third step is the most comprehensive so far. Despite these measures, the Protestant parties remain sceptical and demand more transparency from the IRA concerning its decommissioning. Radical nationalist Sinn Féin expresses its disappointment about this dismissive stance. Regardless of this new threat to the peace process, the British Government calls the elections for November 26. Hostilities between the parties and sporadic assaults against public buildings overshadow campaigning and election day. Despite the successful course of the poll, an immediate reinstatement of the all party government remains uncertain. The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) outnumbers its rival, the UUP, and wins the majority of seats. Similarly on the Catholic side, radical forces are strengthened with Sinn Féin polling most votes. *mt*

Latvia - Russia

Intensity:	2	Change:	↗	Start:	1994
Conflict Parties:	Latvia vs. Russia				
Item:	International Power				

The conflict between Latvia and Russia on the rights of the Russian-speaking minority in Latvia has aggravated. Russia hinders the naturalization process of the often stateless persons by facilitating the obtainment of Russian visa for "non-citizens" living in Latvia. After

the successful Latvian referendum concerning the accession to the EU, Russia complains to the EU that large parts of the Russian-speaking minority are not entitled to vote. On October 14, the Duma passes a resolution in which Latvia is accused of violating human rights and discriminating its ethnic minorities.

kw

Latvia (Russian-speaking minority)

Intensity:	2	Change:	•	Start:	1991
Conflict Parties:	Latvia vs. Russian-speaking minority				
Conflict Item:	autonomy				

This year, the conflict between the Russian-speaking minority in Latvia and the Latvian Government on cultural autonomy, that has been existing since Latvia's independence, reaches a new peak. In September 2004, a new law will come into effect that makes Latvian the general teaching language in all Latvian state schools. Russians, Belarusians, and Ukrainians living in Latvia, who make up approximately 35 per cent of the population, organize numerous demonstrations in order to retain Russian-speaking schools. The biggest demonstration takes place in Riga on May 23, one day before the Grand Prix d'Eurovision.

kw

Macedonia (Albanian National Army)

Intensity:	3	Change:	↗	Start:	2001
Conflict Parties:	Government vs. Albanian National Army (ANA)				
Conflict Item:	Secession				

In the conflict between the Macedonian Government and the Albanian National Army (ANA), the latter rejects the EU brokered 2001 Ohrid Agreement between the Albanian minority and the Government of Macedonia. However, ANA considers the agreement which grants the Albanian population far-reaching autonomy rights to be insufficient and demands the unification of all territories populated by Albanians in Southern Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia and Northern Greece.

During the period under review, the ANA commits several bombings aiming predominantly at buildings or government institutions. In early September, ANA signals readiness for talks. It links the initiation of talks to the preconditions that all imprisoned fighters are released, present fighters are granted pardon and that government troops withdraw from the Albanian settled territories. The government rejects this offer. In early October, the government establishes a 1,000 strong special anti-terror force.

fw

Macedonia (Albanian Minority)

Intensity:	2	Change:	•	Start:	1991
Conflict Parties:	Government vs. Albanian minority				
Conflict Item:	Autonomy				

In the latent autonomy conflict between the Macedonian Government and the Albanian minority, the government which was elected in November 2002 dissolves the Special Police Force of the Ministry of the Interior in late January. On March 1, the EU mission Concordia consisting of 450 light armed soldiers, replaces the NATO operation Allied Harmony. On December 1, Concordia is replaced by the EU police mission Proxima. In March, the government imple-

ments a substantial part of the Ohrid Agreement aiming at the fulfilment of the claims of the Albanian minority. The mainly Albanian speaking University of Tetovo is granted official status on July 17.

fw

Moldova (Transdnistria)

Intensity:	2	Change:	•	Start:	1991
Conflict Parties:	Transdnistrian separatists vs. Government				
Conflict Item:	Secession				

The conflict between the Republic of Moldova and the internationally not recognized Transdnistria Moldovan Republic (PMR) has not been solved, yet. Moldova regards the PMR, which has its own currency and armed forces, as part of the Moldovan Republic. In March, Transdnistria denies the Moldovan President, Vladimir Voronin, and 13 other Moldovan politicians entry. In May, the PMR does not take part in the Moldovan local elections. In spite of repeated agreements with the OSCE to withdraw its forces, Russian armed forces are still stationed in Transdnistria.

kw

Romania - Ukraine

Intensity:	1	Change:	•END	Start:	1991
Conflict Parties:	Romania vs. Ukraine				
Conflict Items:	maritime border (Zmyyny, Black Sea, continental shelf), resources (oil, gas)				

On June 17, Romania and the Ukraine settle their dispute about the Black Sea island of Zmyyny. The conflict has been existing since 1991. In the context of bilateral talks the Ukrainian President, Leonid Kuchma, and his Romanian counterpart, Ion Iliescu, sign a treaty which attributes the membership of the Black Sea island to the Ukraine. The Ukrainian Government says it will not deploy offensive weapons on Zmyyny.

bg

Russia vs. Georgia

Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	2001
Conflict Parties:	Russia vs. Georgia				
Conflict Item:	International Power				

In the conflict between Russia and Georgia on Chechen rebel bases on Georgian territory, an incident near the Pankisi valley on 12/6/02 claims five fatalities among alleged terrorists. At the end of December 2002, the Russia reproaches Georgia not to consequently persecute Chechen rebels. The Georgian Minister for State Security, Vakhtang Kutateladze, accuses Russia of supplying the Chechen franc-tireurs with weapons. Russia protests against repeated US reconnaissance flights along the Russian-Georgian border and plans a law that would economically isolate Georgia as well as tie the breakaway Republics of Abkhazia and South-Ossetia closer to Russia. On May 16, the supreme court of Georgia decides not to extradite the Chechen rebels still in custody. They have been arrested in August 2002 by Georgian security forces because of illegal border crossings and possession of arms. Thereupon, Russia increases the pressure on Georgia. On August 12, Russia threatens a military strike against Chechen fighters on Georgian soil.

ik

Russia - Ukraine

Intensity:	2	Change:	NEW	Start:	2003
Conflict Parties:	Russia vs. Ukraine				
Conflict Items:	Territory (island of Tuzla), resources (gas, oil, fishery)				

On September 19, Russia begins to build a dam which would link the Russian mainland with the island of Tuzla in the Strait of Kerch. The Ukraine regards Tuzla as part of its own territory and demands that Russia immediately stops the construction. It is worried that Russia intends to shift the maritime border in its favor with its claim on Tuzla. The tensions rise as the Ukraine declares a state of alert and sends its troops to the Strait. The US and NATO intervene in the conflict and demand that the parties reach an agreement in bilateral talks. After negotiations, Russian Prime Minister, Mikhail Kasyanov, and his Ukrainian counterpart, Viktor Yanukovich, agree to work out an accord concerning the Kerch Strait on October 24. Russia announces to suspend working on the dam while the Ukraine declares to be willing to remove its border guards. *bg*

Russia (Chechnya)

Intensity:	4	Change:	↘	Start:	1991
Conflict Parties:	Chechen rebels vs. Government of Russia				
Conflict Item:	Secession				

In the conflict about Chechnya, Russia aims at normalizing the relations with the breakaway Caucasus Republic. Since the beginning of 2002, the Moscow-installed Chechen administration prepares a constitution draft which would grant Chechnya the status of a "presidential republic" within the Russian Federation. Russian President Vladimir Putin considers the March 23 referendum on the Chechen constitution draft to be an important step towards the settlement of the conflict. The OSCE and the Council of Europe refuse to send observers arguing that the situation in Chechnya was not conducive to hold a referendum. On March 23, over 70 per cent of the voters take part in the referendum. A majority of 96 per cent approves the new constitution as well as the laws on presidential and parliamentary elections. Chechnya's separatists consider the election poll to be a fraud. They announce violent opposition against the new constitution which defines Chechnya as an integral part of the Russian Federation. After a suicide bombing on headquarters of the Chechen administration in late December 2002, in which 80 people are killed, no serious attacks by Chechen separatists have taken place until midyear. After the referendum on the new constitution, however, they repeatedly commit suicide bombings and attacks against Russian troops. During the heaviest incidents, 61 people are killed in Znamenskoye on May 16. A bomb attack in Iliskhan-Yurt leaves 30 people dead. At the beginning of August, Chechen rebels attack a military hospital in Mozdok, causing 50 fatalities. *vr*

Serbia and Montenegro (Kosovo)

Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	1989
Conflict Parties:	Government of Serbia and Montenegro vs. political parties of Albanians				
Conflict Item:	Secession				

In the conflict of Serbia and Montenegro with the

Albanian majority in Kosovo on the secession of the province, Serbian Prime Minister, Zoran Djindjic, demands a final solution from the UN concerning its future status. The UN rejects the initiative as being too premature. The parties meet for the first bilateral talks since 1999. The Democratic Party of Kosovo (DPK), the strongest faction in the Kosovo parliament, boycotts the negotiations.

Between October 13 and 15, the bilateral talks take place under the mediation of the UN in Vienna. The issues are the repatriation of refugees and questions of energy and transport. The question of the status remains untouched but talks will continue on ministerial level. In the run-up to the talks, several violent encroachments against Serbs take place as well as bombings by the Albanian National Army (ANA). ANA claims the unification of all areas populated by Albanians in Southern Serbia, Kosovo, and Macedonia. *fw*

Serbia and Montenegro (Montenegro)

Intensity:	1	Change:	•	Start:	1991
Conflict Parties:	Montenegrin Regional Government vs. Serbian Central Government				
Conflict Item:	Secession				

In the conflict on the independence of Montenegro, the parliaments of both, Serbia and Montenegro, agree on the reorganization of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into a loose confederation in late January. On February 4, also the Federal Yugoslavian Parliament passes the constitutional amendments in order to create a new union called "Serbia and Montenegro". As outlined in the new constitution, both republics have the option to leave the confederation after a three year period by referendum. In early September, Montenegrin President, Milo Djukanovic, announces again that he envisages to realize this option. With the creation of the union, the resolution of the conflict is postponed. *sl*

Serbia and Montenegro (Vojvodina)

Intensity:	1	Change:	•END	Start:	1989
Conflict Parties:	Regional Government of Vojvodina vs. Serbian Government				
Conflict Item:	Autonomy				

The conflict on the status of the Northern Serbian province of Vojvodina has been settled. In January 2002, the parliament in Belgrade passes the "omnibus-law" stipulating a far-reaching re-establishment of Vojvodina's former autonomy abolished in 1989. The new Serbian constitution from 2/4/03 finally fixes the province's autonomy. *sl*

Slovenia-Croatia

Intensity:	2	Change:	•	Start:	1991
Conflict Parties:	Slovenia vs. Croatia				
Conflict Item:	maritime border				

The borderline in the Gulf of Piran in the Northeast of the Adriatic Sea is still disputed. Despite Croatia's and Slovenia's readiness for bilateral talks, both parties have not yet agreed on a final demarcation of the maritime border. After Croatia announces to set up an Exclusive Economic Zone in the Adriatic on August 1, relations between the two countries worsen. On August 31, Slovenia withdraws its ambassador from Zagreb

and threatens not to support Croatia's accession to the EU in 2007. In September, the EU urges both parties to solve the border dispute by bilateral talks. Croatia drops its plans to establish an Exclusive Economic Zone and, on October 31, proclaims to set up an environmental and fishing zone in the Adriatic. Slovenia protests, worrying about its economic interests in the Adriatic. In early October, the EU criticizes Croatia's unilateral move and urges Prime Minister, Ivica Racan, to start an open dialogue with Slovenia. *sl*

ministers in Athens, Gül, on October 21, declares that tensions between the two states were history now.

ks, mad

Spain - Morocco (Ceuta und Melilla)

Intensität: 1	Change: •	Start: 1961
Conflict Parties:	Spain vs. Morocco	
Conflict Items:	Territory (Ceuta und Melilla), Resources (fishery)	

The conflict between Morocco and Spain on the two Spanish exclaves Ceuta and Melilla continues. In February, the tense diplomatic relations relax, when Morocco temporarily lifts its ban on Spanish boats fishing in its waters in the aftermath of a tanker accident offshore Galicia.

In January, the Spanish Foreign Minister, Ana Palacio, and Moroccan King agree on redispaching the two ambassadors that had been withdrawn in October 2001. In June, the two heads of government, José Maria Aznar and Driss Jettou, confirm the normalization of the relations between the two countries during their first talks since the conflict on Parsley Island. *sk*

Spain (Basque Provinces)

Intensität: 3	Change: •	Start: 1960
Conflict Parties:	ETA vs. Spanish Government	
Conflict Item:	Secession	

In the conflict on independence of the Basque Provinces, the terror organization Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA) continues its armed combat against the Spanish Government. In bomb attacks, four persons are killed and several injured during this year. The Spanish police responds with arrests and confiscations of arms. In October, the Basque Government under Juan José Ibarretxe submits a plan, the so-called "Ibarretxe plan", which envisages the secession of the Basque Provinces from Spain within two steps. First, the Basques shall get further competences in the areas of the judiciary, the police, education, and infrastructure. The Basque population would then decide on the final secession from Spain in a referendum in 2005. The Spanish Government rejects the plan. *sk*

Turkey - Greece (Aegean Sea)

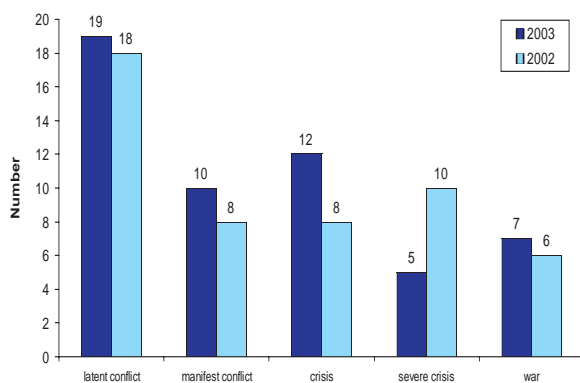
Intensität: 2	Change: •	Start: 1960
Conflict Parties:	Turkey vs. Greece	
Conflict Item:	maritime border	

Turkey and Greece hold up their claims in the conflict concerning sovereign rights in the Aegean Sea. On June 9, a Turkish combat aircraft crosses the way of a Greek airliner leading to disagreements between the two governments. On June 17, Turkey's Foreign Minister, Abdullah Gül, on his visit to Athens suggests the establishment of a Turkish-Greek commission in order to examine the incident. Furthermore, on October 10, both states renounce planned maneuvers in the Mediterranean. After new talks of the foreign

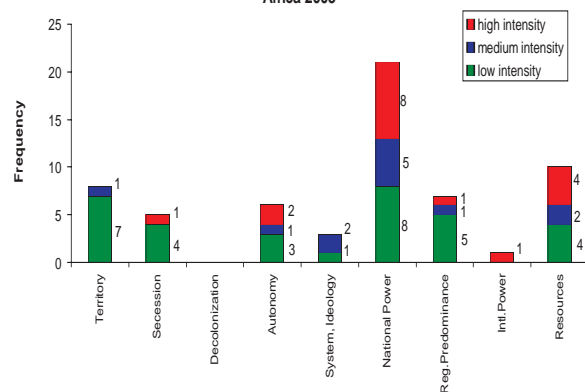
Africa

As last year, Africa remains the region with the most wars. The number of high intensive violent conflicts, however, decreases from 16 to 12. The most significant de-escalation occurs in Angola after the end of the civil war. The violent conflicts concentrate around the Great Lakes region and in Western Africa. Many of the violent conflicts are de-escalating over the year. The wide proliferation of small arms is the main obstacle to a further de-escalation. External pressure leads to a certain conflict tiredness. The conflict parties' possibility to finance themselves by reckless exploitation of the resources and the population is more and more restricted. An effective measure, for instance, is the trade boycott on blood diamonds. The main conflict issues remain Internal Power and Resources. The majority of casualties are civilian. The UN are the most frequent and successful actor when it comes to resolution attempts. They do not hesitate to provide their missions with a more robust mandate than in the past.

Conflict Intensities Africa 2003 - 2002



Frequency of Conflict Items by Use of Violence Africa 2003



Angola (Cabinda)

Intensity:	4	Change:	•	Start:	1975
Conflict Parties:	FLEC, FLEC-FAC, FLEC-Renovada, FLEC-Platform, FDC vs. government				
Conflict Item:	Secession				

The conflict between various rebel groups and the Angolan Government on the future of the oil-rich province of Cabinda remains unsolved. The decisive issues in Cabinda are the ongoing offensive of government troops, exploratory talks between rebel groups and government in Paris and Luanda, the proceeding fragmentation process on the side of the different rebel groups, and the deteriorating humanitarian situation. The offensive launched by the government in October 2002 continues during the winter. In November 2002, near Buco-Zau, government troops capture the headquarters of the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda - Armed Forces of Cabinda (FLEC-FAC). This is followed by operations against the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda - Renewed (FLEC-Renovada) in December. The exploratory talks, started in Paris and Luanda in January 2003, remain without any result until the end of the year. On April 26, the President of FLEC-FAC, N`Zita Tiago, breaks with his "Foreign Minister", Liberal Nuno, after the formation of the Secret Army for the Liberation of Cabinda (ELSC), a new rebel movement, on March 5. In January, the government prevents an UNHCR investigation of alleged encroachments of violations of human rights through Angolan security forces.

rs

Angola (UNITA)

Intensity:	1	Change:	↓	Start:	1975
Conflict Parties:	Government vs. UNITA				
Conflict Items:	national power; resources				

The peace process between the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), started in 2002, continues. The main topics are the demobilization of 90,000 former UNITA soldiers, the return of approximately three out of four million displaced persons as well as the change in the leadership of UNITA.

According to the agreement of 4/4/02, the government opens 41 so-called quartering areas where around 95,000 UNITA soldiers are being registered and demobilized. On June 26, the government announces that the demobilization is finalized and orders the closure of the last camp. UNITA leader Paulo Lukamba "Gato" repeatedly criticizes the living-conditions in these camps as well as the lack of sufficient reintegration programs. UNITA makes efforts to transform itself to a political party. On June 26, the former UNITA diplomat Isaias Samakuva is elected new president of UNITA. In August, UNITA complains that there have been single incidents in which MPLA supporters have damaged party offices of UNITA. Despite the existing tensions, a violent escalation seems highly unlikely. *rs*

Burundi (Hutu)

Intensity:	5	Change:	•	Start:	1993
Conflict Parties:	various Hutu rebel organizations vs. government				
Conflict Item:	national power				

On 12/3/02, the Burundian Government and Pierre

Nkurunziza's faction of the National Council for the Defence of Democracy - Forces for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) sign a ceasefire agreement. All other warring factions join the agreement, except of Agathon Rwasa's faction of the Party for the Liberation of the Hutu people - National Front for Liberation (Palipehutu-FNL). Despite the accord, fighting between government forces and rebels almost constantly continues during the first half of the year. Although Domitien Ndayizeye, a Hutu, is sworn in as new president in accordance with the Arusha Peace Agreement of 2000 on May 1, Rwasa and Nkurunziza jointly attack the capital Bujumbura in early July. While Nkurunziza puts an end to fighting after the assault and starts negotiating about power sharing with the government, Rwasa's Palipehutu-FNL continues fighting the government and attacks Bujumbura again. These opposing positions of the rebel leaders result in clashes of two Hutu rebel groups for the first time on September 8. These clashes are continuing, as is the fighting between Rwasa's Palipehutu-FNL and the government army. Nkurunziza signs a ceasefire and power sharing agreement with the government on October 8 as well as a peace agreement on November 17. On October 20, the peacekeeping forces of the AU in Burundi (AMIB) complete their deployment and start to secure the Arusha peace accord. On November 24, Ndayizeye rearranges his cabinet and Nkurunziza becomes Minister for Good Governance and thus the third-most powerful man in the government. *hlm*

Central African Republic (Bozizé - Patassé)

Intensity:	5	Change:	↗	Start:	1997
Conflict Parties:	Government vs. François Bozizé; government vs. Ange-Felix Patassé				
Conflict Item:	national power				

On 12/5/02, first troops of the Economic and Monetary Community of Central African States (CE-MAC) arrive in the civil war in the Central African Republic in order to protect President Ange-Felix Patassé. They are supposed to replace mainly Libyan troops of the Community of Sahelo-Saharan-States (CEN-SAD). In December, the government achieves several military victories against the rebels lead by François Bozizé. Thereafter, Patassé urges the Congolese rebels of the Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC) to leave the country. They have been allied with Patassé since 2002 and are accused of massive human rights violations by the civilian population. In March, the army and MLC skirmish. After a couple of military successes in spring, Bozizé surprisingly and without much bloodshed takes the capital of Bangui on March 15. The formerly ruling party of Patassé accepts him as new president on March 21, CEMAC does so on March 24. Patassé flees to Togo and unsuccessfully tries to organize an own rebel movement. During the following months, the security situation remains tense because of small arms circulating and brigandy being widespread. French troops which are to evacuate fellow countrymen skirmish with marauders. These groups of bandits consist of former fighters of both sides in the civil war. Disarmament programs of CEMAC and the government make little difference and instead lead, on some occasions, to new shoot outs. CEMAC plans to leave its troops until the end of

the transitional phase. Likewise the UN mission BONUCA stays in the country. *pb*

DR Congo (Rebels)

Intensity:	5	Change:	•	Start:	1996
Conflict Parties:	RCD-Goma, RCD-ML-K, RCD-N, MLC vs. Mayi-Mayi, Interahamwe, Government				
Conflict Items:	national power, resources				

The peace negotiations in the civil war in Congo, which have been held parallel to the fighting since 1999, clearly make progress. Since 1998, about 3.3 million people died in this war. On 12/6/02, President Joseph Kabila and the two largest rebel groups, the Liberation Movement of Congo (MLC) and the Congolese Collective Movement for Democracy (RCD-Goma), conclude an agreement on the latter's participation in government. Prior to the conclusion, the RCD - Liberation Movement - Kisangani (RCD-ML-K) breaks off its participation in the negotiations. The Rwandan rebels of the Mayi-Mayi come out against the agreement. On 12/17/02, the establishment of a transitional government is decided with help from the Inter-Congolese Dialogue (ICD) in Pretoria. It is to exist for two years and to consist of members of all rebel groups. Already on 12/23/02, new fighting erupts between MLC, RCD-North (RCD-N) and RCD-ML-K. In the Kivu Regions, 50,000 people flee. On March 12, the ICD introduces a new draft constitution. On April 2, all conflict parties sign a peace agreement. Kabila is sworn in as transitional president on April 9. RCD-Goma rejects this. In the East of the Congo, RCD-Goma and the Rwandan Hutu rebels of the Interahamwe keep on fighting. RCD-Goma is also fighting against Mayi-Mayi and RCD-ML-K. It suspends the ICD after starting an offensive in Kivu in May. It is supported by Rwanda. Rwanda has supported the RCD-Goma already in the civil war; both fought Rwandan rebels on Congolese territory. The situation in the East only improves after RCD-Goma agrees to a partial withdrawal and RCD-ML-K also fights against the Mayi-Mayi in July. On September 5, the new Congolese army is sworn in. All rebel groups are to be included. Thereupon, RCD-Goma and Mayi-Mayi agree on a ceasefire on October 3, like RCD-Goma and RCD-ML-K did before. On October 16, the Congo demands all Hutu rebels from Rwanda to leave the country. Until November 24, about 3,400 out of 14,000 Interahamwe fighters are demobilized and repatriated. The UN mission MONUC is enlarged to 10,800 troops on July 29. On November 14, it starts to implement a new proactive strategy in order to proceed with its disarmament program with a robust mandate regarding also the situation in Ituri. *pb*

DR Congo (Hema - Lendu)

Intensity:	5	Change:	↗	Start:	2000
Conflict Parties:	Hema (UPC, FAPC, PUSIC), RCD-Goma (Rwanda) vs. Lendu (FNI, FPDC), government, Uganda, RCD-K/ML; EU				
Conflict Items:	national power, resources				

The conflict predominantly between the ethnicities of Hema and Lendu wanes in the Ituri province of the Congo in the beginning of the year. The Hema militias, the Union of Congolese Patriots (UPC), the Party for Unity, Security and Integrity of the Congo

Summary: Conflicts in Africa 2003

Name of Conflict ¹	Conflict Parties ²	Conflict Item	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Angola (Cabinda)	FLEC, FLEC-FAC, FLEC-Renovada, FLEC-Platform, FDC vs. government	secession	1975	•	4
Angola (UNITA)	Government vs. UNITA	national power; resources	1975	↓	1
Burundi (Hutu)	various Hutu rebel organizations vs. government	national power	1993	•	5
Chad (MDJT) *	Chad vs. MDJT	national power	1998	↓ END	1
Central African Republic (Bozizé - Patassé)	Government vs. François Bozizé; government vs. Ange-Felix Patassé	national power	1997	↗	5
Central African Republic - Chad *	Central African Republic (Patassé) vs. Chad	national power	2002	↘ END	2
Comores*	Regional government vs. government of the Comores on Grande Comore	secession	1997	•	2
DR Congo (Rebels)	RCD-Goma, RCD-ML-K, RCD-N, MLC vs. Mayi-Mayi, Interahamwe, Government	national power, resources	1996	•	5
DR Congo (Hema - Lendu)	Hema (UPC, FAPC, PUSIC), RCD-Goma (Rwanda) vs. Lendu (FNI, FPDC), government, Uganda, RCD-K/ML; EU	national power, resources	2000	↗	5
Congo-Brazzaville (Ninja Militias)	Government vs. Ninja militias	national power	1997	↘	3
Cote d'Ivoire (Rebels)	RDR, MPCl, MPIGO, MJP, Forces Nouvelles vs. Government (FPI)	national Power	2000	•	5
Ethiopia - Eritrea	Ethiopia vs. Eritrea	territory (border line)	1998	↑	3
Ethiopia - Somalia *	Ethiopia vs. Somalia	international power	2003	NEW	2
Ethiopia (Ogaden) *	ONLF vs. Ethiopia	autonomy	1984	•	1
Ethiopia (Oromo) *	OLF vs. Government	ethnic, regional autonomy	1974	↓	1
Ghana *	Andani vs. Abudu	regional Predominance	2002	↓	1
Guinea-Bissau (Opposition)	Opposition vs. Government	national power	1998	↗	3
Guinea (UDFG) *	UDFG vs. Government	national power	1999	• END	1
Kenya (Ethnicities), Uganda (Ethnicities)	Pokot, Karamojong, Sabiny, Turkana, Dinka	resources (pasture land, cattle, aid goods)	1991	•	3
Liberia	LURD und MODEL vs. government of Charles Taylor	national power	1998	•	5
Madagascar	Government vs. Committee for the Defence of Truth and Justice (former President Didier Ratsiraka)	national power, secession	2001	↘	2
Mauritania - Senegal *	Mauritania vs. Senegal	resources, territory	2000	•	1
Mauritania (coup d'état)	Government vs. putschists	national power	2003	NEW	3
Mauritius - United Kingdom (Diego Garcia) *	Mauritius vs. United Kingdom	territory (Diego Garcia and Chagosarchipel)	1980	•	1
Namibia - Botswana *	Botswana vs. Namibia	territory, border	1997	• END	1
Namibia (Caprivistripe) *	CLA vs. Government	secession	1998	•	1
Niger - Benin *	Benin vs. Niger	territory	1964	•	1
Nigeria - Cameroon (Bakassi) *	Nigeria vs. Cameroon	territory, resources	1993	•	1
Nigeria (Christians - Muslims)	Muslims, Hausa-Fulani vs. Christians, Yoruba	other (religious predominance)	1993	•	3
Nigeria (Nigerdelta - Ijaw)	Ijaw, Urhobo vs. Itsekiri, government	resources (oil)	1993	↑	4
Nigeria (Nigerdelta - Ogoni)*	Ogoni vs. Government	resources (oil)	1993	↘	1
Rwanda (Hutu)	Government vs. Hutu (Interahamwe, FDLR)	national power, ethnic autonomy	1994	•	3
São Tomé and Príncipe - Nigeria *	São Tomé and Príncipe vs. Nigeria	territory (maritim border), resources (oil)	1994	• END	1
São Tomé and Príncipe (Coup d'etat)	Fernando Pereira vs. Government	national power	2003	NEW	3
Senegal (Casamance)	MFDC vs. Government	regional and ethnic autonomy	1982	•	3
Sierra Leone (RUF) *	RUF vs. Government	national power, resources	1991	•	2
Somalia (national power)	Somalia Transitional National Government et al. vs. SRRC et al.	national power	1980	•	4
Somalia (Puntland)	Abdullahi Yussuf vs. Jama Ali Jama	regional predominance	2001	↘	3
Somalia (Somaliland) *	Somaliland vs. Somalia (TNG, Warlords, Puntland)	secession	1991	•	2
South Africa - Namibia *	South Africa vs. Namibia	border, resources (diamonds)	2000	•	1
South Africa (KwaZulu-Natal) *	Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) vs. Government	regional predominance	1999	•	1
Sudan (SPLA)	SPLA, NDA vs. government	secession, resources in Southern Sudan, other (religious predominance)	1989	↘	4
Sudan (Darfur-SLA)	Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) vs. government, Arab militias	regional predominance	2003	NEW	4
South Africa - Namibia *	South Africa vs. Namibia	border, resources (diamants)	2000	•	1
South Africa (KwaZulu-Natal) *	Inkatha Freiheitspartei (IFP) vs. Government	regional predominance	1999	•	1
Swaziland - South Africa *	Swaziland vs. South Africa	territory	1902	•	1

1) 2) 3) 4) see page 11: Summary: Conflicts in Europe 2003

Name of Conflict ¹	Conflict Parties ²	Conflict Item	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Swaziland (Opposition)	Government (King Mswati III.) vs. SFTU, PUDE-MO, SWAYOCO et al.	system, national power	2000	↗	3
Tanzania (Zanzibar) *	Tanzania , CMM vs. CUF	autonomy, Regional Predominance	1993	•	1
Togo (Opposition)	Government (PPT) vs. opposition (UFC)	national power	2002	NEW	2
Uganda - Rwanda *	Uganda vs. Rwanda	international power, resources	2000	↗	2
Uganda (ADF, PRA, NALU)	Government vs. ADF, PRA, NALU	national power	1992	↘	2
Uganda (LRA)	Government vs. LRA	national power	1992	•	5
Uganda (UNRF II) *	Uganda vs. UNRF II	national power	1979	• END	1
Zimbabwe (Opposition)	MDC, NCA, CFU vs. government (ZANU-PF)	national Power	2000	•	3

1) 2) 3) 4) see page 11: Summary: Conflicts in Europe 2003

(PUSIC), and the Armed Forces of the Congolese People (FAPC), which are all supported by RCD-Goma, are fighting the Lendu militias, the Front of Nationalists and Integrationists (FNI), and the People's Army in the Congo (FRDC), who are supported by the Congolese rebels of the RCD-ML-K. The Congo and Uganda agree upon the withdrawal of Ugandan troops and the establishment of the International Pacification Commission (IPC) on February 17. Violence re-escalates after the Ugandan troops, which exercised at least some kind of control, withdraw. On February 26, the head of the UN mission MONUC is being shot at. About 760 people die in battles in February. Thereupon, Uganda stops its partial withdrawal and re-takes Bunia from the UPC on March 6. The UPC was originally allied with Uganda. On January 6, it allies with RCD-Goma which is supported by the Ugandan rival in the Congo, Rwanda. On March 18, Uganda and UPC sign a ceasefire. The Ugandan troops are replaced by Uruguayan Blue Helmets. This is too much asked of them. In early April, in the most severe incident of the year, 1,000 people are murdered in Drodoro. In May, the tribal militias heavily fight once again and UPC re-takes Bunia. Uganda intervenes again after the battles spill over into its territory. 300 people die and about 50,000 flee. A unanimous ceasefire of May 18 is repeatedly broken. The EU decides to also send a peace mission with UN mandate to Ituri on June 12. The mission is lead by France and is already deployed on June 11. Its mandate is restricted to the city boundaries of Bunia. The UPC declares its willingness to co-operate with the mission. Nevertheless, single members start fire fights with the peace troops. In early July, the first out of up to 350,000 refugees start to return. The peace forces slowly start to disarm the militias. Outside of Bunia, the fighting continues. On September 1, the EU forces hand over Bunia to MONUC, which expands its demobilization operation on Ituri on September 15. These operations are confronted with violent resistance. In October, the militias continue to fight each other. In November, UN troops get involved in several shootouts with PUSIC. The security situation in Ituri is very insecure, which is mainly due to the circulation of small arms and the difficult terrain. *pb*

Congo-Brazzaville (Ninja Militias)

Intensity: 3	Change: ↘	Start: 1997
Conflict Parties:	Government vs. Ninja militias	
Conflict Item:	national power	

The Ninja militias of Pasteur Ntoumi, which fought President Denis Sassou-Nguesso in the Pool region of

the Republic of the Congo until the end of 2002, start negotiations with the government at the beginning of the year. 90,000 people have fled during the fighting. On March 17, the negotiations result in the signing of a peace agreement. On March 27, the parties exchange prisoners in accordance with the agreement. The Ninja are to be demobilized and re-integrated. On April 29, 2,300 out of 14,000 Ninja hand over their arms. In the following months, the reconstruction of the economy and the administration in Pool make progress. On September 1, Parliament passes an amnesty for the Ninja. In October and November, army and Ninja again skirmish, which is due to struggles about relief goods. *pb*

Cote d'Ivoire (Rebels)

Intensity: 5	Change: •	Start: 2000
Conflict Parties:	RDR, MPCI, MPIGO, MJP, Forces Nouvelles vs. Government (FPI)	
Conflict Item:	Internal Power	

The violent power struggle between the ruling Popular Ivorian Front (FPI) of President Laurent Gbagbo and various rebel movements (MPCI, MPIGO, MJP) as well as the political opposition, which escalated in 2002, continues. On 12/06/02, mass graves with 120 dead bodies are discovered in Monko Zohi. Between December 23 and 29, a UN verification mission criticizes the lacking protection of civilians against death squads. During the fighting, the French troops are attacked in the buffer zone between the rebels in the North and the government troops (FANCI) in the South. After unsuccessful mediation efforts of ECOWAS, of the AU and of the former colonial power France, it is finally possible to hold peace talks with all conflict parties in Marcoussis, France from January 17 to 24. These result in the establishment of a reconciliation government, an amnesty for the rebels and the reorganization of the law on citizenship and the election law. On January 27, the talks on the formation of the government start. Gbagbo, who has not taken part in the peace-talks, however, does his best to disturb the implementation of the agreements. The UN mission MINUCI commences on March 14 in order to secure the peace process. During the ongoing fights between government troops and the rebels who are supported by Liberian mercenaries, 42 civilians die on March 22. After the installation of the government of reconciliation on March 26, an assault on a rebel member of the government on June 30 results in a political crisis on how to implement the demobilization program (DDR). On September 23, all government members of the MPCI resign. Despite the mediation attempts by the

International Organization of Francophonie (OIF) between October 1 and 4, by ECOWAS on November 19, and by the French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin on November 21, the future of the DDR and the participation of rebels in the government remains uncertain. *gs*

Ethiopia - Eritrea

Intensity:	3	Change:	↑	Start:	1998
Conflict Parties:	Ethiopia vs. Eritrea				
Conflict Item:	Territory (border line)				

The demarcation process along the Ethiopian-Eritrean border keeps being postponed since July. The final border ruling issued by the Ethiopia Eritrea Boundary Commission (EEBC) on 4/13/02, is not recognized by the Ethiopian authorities. The main dispute is over the contested town of Badme, which the EEBC ruling awards to Eritrea. Eritrea refuses any further negotiations over this matter.

The UN mission UNMEE is still present in the region, securing the 25 km Temporary Security Zone (TSZ) along the two countries' mutual border with a contingent of 4,200 men. Despite that, a border incident in early November leaves one Eritrean soldier dead. The Ethiopian Government denies any responsibility for the border shooting. A few days later, the Military Coordination Commission (MCC) meets in Namibia, where military officials from both sides agree to avoid similar incidents in the future. On November 19, the EEBC holds talks with representatives of both sides in The Hague, in order to find ways of overcoming the impasse. There is no significant movement. *kat*

Guinea-Bissau (Opposition)

Intensity:	3	Change:	↗	Start:	1998
Conflict Parties:	Opposition vs. Government				
Conflict Item:	National power				

The conflict between the government and the opposition in Guinea-Bissau is determined by the desolate economic situation and the unwillingness of President Kumba Yala to call new elections. On February 24, the National Union of Guinean Workers (UNWG) declares a five-day strike. The elections scheduled for February are postponed four times. Preparations for the elections, which are demanded by the opposition and the international community, proceed very slowly. In the meantime, Yala closes the most influential radio station, dismisses his information minister, and orders arrests arbitrarily. On September 14, Yala is deposed by a bloodless military putsch under General Verissimo Correia Seabra. An interim government takes over administrative responsibilities until new elections are being held. The military junta appoints the civilian Henrique Rosa president, and signs a treaty with 22 society groups, who thereafter constitute a national Transition Council. On September 17, Yala, in opposition to these developments, calls for public support for a formation of a National Unity government. *pd*

Kenya (Ethnicities), Uganda (Ethnicities)

Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	1991
Conflict Parties:	Pokot, Karamojong, Sabiny, Turkana, Dinka				
Conflict Item:	Resources (pasture land, cattle, aid goods)				

The disputes on pasture land and aid goods between different tribes in the respective border regions of Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan claim at least 50 lives. Heavy fighting erupts especially in January, April and June. The proliferation of small arms which has taken place since the early 1990s leads to the escalation of violence inexistent, traditional tribe enmities. *cb*

Liberia

Intensity:	5	Change:	•	Start:	1998
Conflict Parties:	LURD und MODEL vs. government of Charles Taylor				
Conflict Item:	national power				

At the beginning of February, heavy fighting between the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and government troops reoccur and go on until the middle of the year. In April a new rebel group called Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) emerges and form a loose alliance with LURD. The rebels are supported by Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire. Together, they control about 80 per cent of the country, when LURD, in June, starts an assault on the capital, Monrovia, forcing the government of Charles Taylor to participate in negotiations chaired by the ECOWAS. A cease-fire accord is signed on June 17. Despite or because constant cease-fire violations by all parties, the negotiations result in President Taylor's resignation on August 11. He goes into exile to Nigeria. In spite of a peace accord signed on August 18 and the deployment of ECOWAS and UN peacekeeping forces, fighting continues till Taylor's successor and former Vice President Moses Blah hands over power to civilian Gyude Bryant on October 14. Bryant's government contains also representatives of the rebels. But as isolated, but heavy clashes between LURD/MODEL and followers of Charles Taylor keep going on, the conflict cannot be considered to be terminated. At the moment, the UN mission UNMIL tries to disarm them and some have surrendered their weapons voluntarily. *hlm*

Madagascar

Intensity:	2	Change:	↘	Start:	2001
Conflict Parties:	Government vs. Committee for the Defence of Truth and Justice (former President Didier Ratsiraka)				
Conflict Items:	national power, secession				

The political situation in Madagascar normalises after the successful confirmation of President Mark Ravalomanana after elections on 12/15/02. The re-admission to AU on July 31 is a result of this de-escalation. However, political tensions erupt into a mass-demonstration by 10,000 members of the Committee for the Defence of Truth and Justice (CMMR) against the government. On August 6, a Madagascan court sentences Former President Didier Ratsiraka, who is staying in exile, to 10 years labour camp. *gs*

Mauritania (Coup d'etat)

Intensity:	3	Change:	NEW	Start:	2003
Conflict Parties:	Government vs. putschists				
Conflict Item:	national power				

On June 7, members of the Mauritanian military attack the presidential palace in Nouakchott. 29 people die in the fighting between the coup plotters and forces loyal to the president. After 24 hours, President Maouiya Ould Taya is in control of the situation again. He accuses Islamic fundamentalists of masterminding the coup. The coup attempt follows a massive crackdown on opposition parties and government critics, among them many Islamic militants. In May 2003, the government inter alia arrests 30 persons. A group of dissidents around the former army general Salah Ould Hanana are widely believed to have been the ringleaders of the coup attempt. Since the coup attempt, more than 150 people have been detained. The suspected ringleaders of the coup have fled the country. *sl*

Nigeria (Christians - Muslims)

Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	1993
Conflict Parties:	Muslims, Hausa-Fulani vs. Christians, Yoruba				
Conflict Item:	Other (religious predominance)				

After the violent clashes surrounding the Miss World beauty contest in November 2002, the President of the Christian Association of Nigeria announces that Christians will in future retaliate for any acts of violence carried out by Muslim militants against their members. In July, at least 15 people die during a retaliatory attack carried out by Christian militias on the Muslim community in city of Numan, in Adamawa state. During the violent clashes, Christian mobs burn mosques in the town and destroy buildings of prominent Muslims. *sl*

Nigeria (Nigerdelta - Ijaw)

Intensity:	4	Change:	↑	Start:	1993
Conflict Parties:	Ijaw, Urhobo vs. Itsekiri, government				
Conflict Item:	resources (oil)				

In February, violence between the ethnic groups of the Ijaw, Itsekiri and Urhobo erupts two months before Nigerians are due to begin voting in general elections. Concerning the drawing of township boundaries, which decide on the shares of oil exploitation profits, both Ijaw and Urhobo perceive the Itsekiri to have been favored by the government. The Ijaw, representing the largest ethnic group in the Niger Delta, demand more benefits from the transnational oil companies and from the government. The violent clashes, mainly between the ethnic groups of the Ijaw and Itsekiri, escalate in March. The Nigerian government deploys more than 1,000 soldiers to the Niger Delta in order to end the violence in the area. In March and July, Ijaw militias occupy offices of oil companies and take employees as hostages. The transnational oil enterprises close most of their facilities in the area and evacuate their staff. The clashes between government troops and Ijaw militias claim over 100 lives. Violence in the Niger Delta is escalating again in August, when more than 100 people are killed in heavy fighting between Ijaw and Itsekiri militias. *sl*

Rwanda (Hutu)

Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	1994
Conflict Parties:	Government vs. Hutu (Interahamwe, FDLR)				
Conflict Items:	national power, ethnic autonomy				

After the withdrawal of 23,000 Rwandan troops from the Congo on 10/05/02, Rwanda intervenes in the Congolese North Kivu region for the very last time on June 12. The Congo promises in exchange for the withdrawal to disarm and repatriate between 15,000 and 20,000 Rwandan rebels in the Congo. On November 17, 103 fighters of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) voluntarily return to Rwanda, among them their leader Paul Rwarakabije. They take part in the reintegration program of the government. The situation in Rwanda is aggravated after 40,000 prisoners, who had been incarcerated in connection with the genocide of 1994, are released. They have not been trailed. The International Court of Justice for Rwanda in Arusha, Tanzania, continues its work and is to end it before 2008. On May 27 a new constitution passes parliament. It is to prevent any single ethnicity from ruling alone in the future. The following presidential campaign tightens the situation because both candidates, the Tutsi President Paul Kagame, and his most prominent contender, Hutu Faustin Twagiramungu, use racial propaganda. *pb*

São Tomé and Príncipe (Coup d'etat)

Intensity:	3	Change:	NEW	Start:	2003
Conflict Parties:	Fernando Pereira vs. government				
Conflict Item:	national power				

On July 16, Major Fernando Pereira, backed by the small opposition party Christian Democrat Front (CDF), seizes power in a coup against President Fradique de Menezes. As reasons for the coup, they name corruption of the government and the grinding poverty of the population. Negotiations on a peaceful solution of the conflict start the next day. Nigeria, Portugal, Brazil, the USA and the AU condemn the coup, and participate partly in the negotiations. On July 23, the insurgents sign an agreement to hand back power to Menezes. *hlm*

Senegal (Casamance)

Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	1982
Conflict Parties:	MFDC vs. government				
Conflict Items:	regional and ethnic autonomy				

Despite efforts to revive the since end of 2002 stalled peace talks from both sides, the Senegalese government and moderate members of the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC), violence continues in the conflict on the autonomy of Casamance. In early January, the Senegalese army launches an operation against Casamance rebels, during which more than 30 people are killed. In early May, at least one Senegalese soldier is killed in an attack by the MFDC. In October, the moderate wing of the MFDC meets with delegates of the government of Abdoulaye Wade. On October 7, MFDC's General Secretary Jean-Marie Biagui declares the end of fighting on Casamance and calls on MFDC fighters to lay down their arms. As the militant arm of the MFDC has boycotted the peace process, these recent peace initiatives may have only few chances to succeed. *sl*

Somalia (national power)

Intensity:	4	Change:	•	Start:	1980
Conflict Parties:	Somalia Transitional National Government et al. vs. SRRC et al.				
Conflict Item:	national power				

The conflict on the re-establishment of a state in Somalia and on the power shares continues. The peace conference, which started in 2002, is moved from Eldoret to Nairobi. The negotiations reach a deadlock in September, when several warlords leave the conference repeatedly. Among them are the President of the Transitional National Government (TNG), Abdulqassim Salad Hassan, Musa Sidi Jallahow, a leading Mogadishu based warlord, and the Juba Valley Alliance (JVA). They all accuse the organizers of the conference and especially Ethiopia, to be solely guided by their own interest. One of the organizers, Djibouti, leaves the conference also for this reason. The chance for a peaceful resolution of this conflict, which has continued in a bloody manner for twenty years now, is decreasing even more.

As all previous ceasefires, the one that has been concluded during the peace conference on 10/ 27/02, is broken. The most severe fighting concentrates in January, June and October around Baidoa, where two factions of the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) cross weapons. The supporters of different Mogadishu warlords fight for power in February, March and June. The Middle Shabelle Region suffers in March and June. Other major crisis areas are Kismayo, where different clans battle each other in May, and the Galgudud Region in November. The peace conference in Nairobi also claims its victims, as at least one delegate is murdered. Over the year, at least 300 people are killed in the fights, Somalia hosts 370.000 IDPs. *cb*

Somalia (Puntland)

Intensity:	3	Change:	↘	Start:	2001
Conflict Parties:	Abdullahi Yussuf vs. Jama Ali Jama				
Conflict Item:	Regional Predominance				

The conflict on the political predominance in the autonomous region of Puntland, North-Eastern Somalia, de-escalates. Three days of heavy fighting around the change of the years claim another 30 lives. But at the same time, they seal the final military defeat of Jama Ali Jama. His temporary flight to Sanaag, which is claimed by both, Puntland and the self-declared Republic of Somaliland, leads to diplomatic tensions between the two governments. On May 17, Jama Ali Jama and President Abdullahi Yussuf sign a peace and power-sharing agreement. Up to now, both parties obey this agreement. *cb*

Sudan (Darfur-SLA)

Intensity:	4	Change:	NEW	Start:	2003
Conflict Parties:	Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) vs. government, Arab militias				
Conflict Item:	regional predominance				

In March, the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) begins to fight against the Sudanese government in Darfur, blaming it for arming Arab nomadic tribes that attacked indigenous farmers in the region. It also accuses the Sudanese government of racial discrimination and economic exploitation of the province.

A first ceasefire agreement is negotiated in September

and later extended until November. The SLA repeatedly accuses the Sudanese security forces of violating the agreement.

Heavy fighting is reported in late November between the SLA and Arab militias. 600,000 people have been displaced in the province since the beginning of the armed conflict. *kat*

Sudan (SPLA)

Intensity:	4	Change:	↘	Start:	1989
Conflict Parties:	SPLA, NDA vs. Regierung				
Conflict Items:	secession, resources in Southern Sudan, other (religious predominance)				

While fighting between the Sudanese government and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) continues in early 2003, since mid-year the struggle for a peace agreement continues under mediation of the Independent Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). The main obstacles are the question of domestic security and the future status of the regions Blue Nile, Abyei and Nuba.

The Nuba-Mountain ceasefire issued to last until March is extended until January 2004, as well as the general ceasefire between the Sudanese government and the SPLA, now valid until November. In how far a possible peace agreement could bring stability to the whole of Sudan remains to be seen. *kat*

Swaziland (Opposition)

Intensity:	3	Change:	↗	Start:	2000
Conflict Parties:	Government (King Mswati III.) vs. SFTU, PUDEMO, SWAYOCO et al.				
Conflict Item:	system, national power				

The conflict on a democratic political system in Africa's last absolute monarchy, Swaziland, escalates. All Supreme Court judges step back on November 29, after King Mswati III. disregards a decision in favor of the parliament. Protests of the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions (SFTU), of the generally banned parties, especially of the People's United Democratic Movement (PUDEMO), and of other civil society actors like the Swaziland Youth Congress (SWAYOCO), continue over the year. In August, police disperse demonstrations and strikes, one person is killed. Against all protest, the King ratifies a new constitution on November 11. It cements the monarchy and to a big extent excludes democratic reform. The further escalation of the conflict seems possible, because PUDEMO and SWAYCO threaten with civil disobedience and violent actions. *cb*

Togo (Opposition)

Intensity:	2	Change:	NEW	Start:	2002
Conflict Parties:	Regierung (PPT) vs. Opposition (UFC)				
Conflict Item:	National power				

The constitutional amendment, which passes on 12/30/02, is criticized by the opposition in Togo and seen as a constitutional coup. The amendment enables President Gnassingbe Eyadema to seek re-elections as often as he wishes. The exclusion of the most popular opposition leader Gilchrist Olympio for presidential elections by the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI) and the Supreme Court ruling of May 7 are controversially discussed. Despite of arrests of journalists and the closure of two broadcasting sta-

tions, international observers do not discredit the election results. On June 1, Eyadema is re-elected as president with 57 per cent. *pd*

Uganda (ADF, PRA, NALU)

Intensity: 2	Change: ↓	Start: 1992
Conflict Parties:	Government vs. ADF, PRA, NALU	
Conflict Item:	National power	

After the withdrawal of its army from the Congo, Uganda stops using violence as a mean against the different rebel groups who are using the Congo as a refuge. On June 10 Uganda reinforces its garrisons at the border, without, however, deploy troops into the Congo. Uganda is afraid that the rebels could use the fighting in the Congo between Hema and Lendu in the Ituri border region to organize an offensive. The most important role in order to prevent Uganda from intervening in the Congo is the Congolese Minister for Regional Cooperation Mbusa Nyamwisi. He is the leader of the Congolese Collective Movement - Liberation Movement - Kisangani (RCD-ML-K) and a close ally of Uganda. On October 29 the son of Idi Amin, Taban, is evicted from his Congolese exile to Uganda. *pb*

Uganda (LRA)

Intensity: 5	Change: •	Start: 1992
Conflict Parties:	Government vs. LRA	
Conflict Item:	National power	

At the beginning of the year the intensity of the conflict between the government of Yoweri Museveni in Uganda and the Lords Resistance Army (LRA) at first wanes. The LRA is fighting for a Christian theocracy. Since March 2002 an agreement between Uganda and Sudan, which allows Uganda to pursue the LRA on Sudanese territory, is in force. It. Sudan was actively supporting the LRA before. The agreement is prolonged until the end of the year. All in all, 15,000 Ugandan troops are stationed in Sudan. Besides the military pressure, Uganda offers the LRA an amnesty, which is accepted mainly by former child soldiers. Until July, 246 out of the last 1,000 out of originally 3,000 LRA fighters accept the amnesty. From June 2002 to June 2003 the LRA abducts about 8,400 children, which adds up to some 20,000 since the start of the conflict. Due to the conflict 850,000 people have become refugees. In March negotiations between an official government delegation and the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) fail when LRA breaks a cease fire. The LRA evades the pressure and, from June on, starts raids outside of Acholi region at the border to Sudan for the first time. In August LRA also attacks villages in the East of Uganda as part of a bigger offensive. In September, the government starts to recruit and train militias like the Karamajong. Originally these were due to undergo a de-armament program, which should tackle the problem of the spreading of small arms. *pb*

Zimbabwe (Opposition)

Intensity: 3	Change: •	Start: 2000
Conflict Parties:	MDC, NCA, CFU vs. government (ZANU-PF)	
Conflict Item:	national Power	

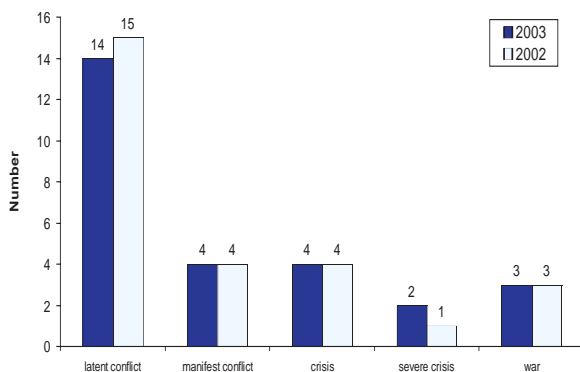
The violent confrontation on internal power between

the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) of President Robert Mugabe and the opposition continues. One person is killed and seven are injured in a fire assault on a ZANU-PF party meeting in Harare. Security forces dissolve violently a demonstration of the largest opposition party, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), on June 2. On October 18 and 23, police arrests representatives of MDC and of the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA). *gs*

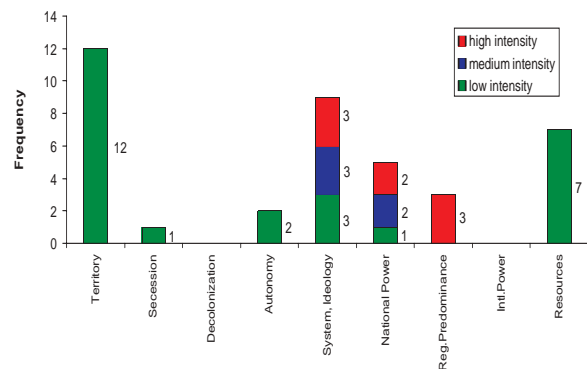
The Americas

In the region of the Americas the total number of conflicts remains the same. The still insecure and tense economic situation in the Middle and Latin Americas seems to be the main source for the instabilities in several states of the continent. In this context, after last year's violent turmoils demonstrators in Bolivia and the Dominican Republic again demand a government policy aimed at a stronger social balance. This is reflected in the graph concerning the conflict items which shows a high proportion of violent conflicts in the system/ideology column. In Guatemala, the riots in the run-up to the elections disturb the instable peace-process. In Haiti, the dispute over President Aristide results in almost daily violence in the streets of the cities. Peru faces the danger of a new escalation of the conflict with members of the rebel organization of the Sendero Luminoso. In the Colombian civil wars, persisting for 40 years, President Uribe does not achieve an easing of the country with his policy aimed at military strength. The interstate conflicts are still carried out without violence.

Conflict Intensities Americas 2003 - 2002



Frequency of Conflict Items by Use of Violence Americas 2003



Bolivia (Opposition)

Intensity:	3	Change:	NEW	Start:	2002
Conflict Parties:	MAS, trade unions, Coca farmer vs. government				
Conflict Item:	national power				

The internal conflict in Bolivia between the government and an informal alliance of opposition parties of leftist orientation, trade unions, and coca farmers worsens in 2003.

At the end of 2002, the government increases taxes and shortens social expenditures in order to decrease the budget deficit, as a response to pressure by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The opposition criticizes the government's policy and calls for strikes and demonstrations. In addition, it demands the just distribution of natural gas profits, that are expected to be realized in 2005.

After the announcement of further increases of taxes, tensions result in bloody riots in the capital of Lapaz on February 12. The largest opposition party Movement to Socialism (MAS) and the Association of the Central Trade Union of Bolivia (COB) declare a general strike, resulting in the resignation of the entire cabinet of President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada. Lozada reinstates a reduced cabinet and presents an alternative tax policy concept.

After Lozada's announcement to join the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA) in 2005 and to decide on the natural gas exports without the population's participation, there are again bloody riots in September. The opposition and the Farmers Union who now call for the resignation of the president declare a general strike. On October 15, the government

agrees to hold a referendum on the natural gas exports and on a constituent assembly.

Nevertheless, the crisis reaches a new climax when Lozada resigns on October 17. He flees to Miami, USA. On the same day, parliament elects Vice President Carlos Mesa successor, who earlier openly distanced himself from the president. Mesa instates a cabinet consisting of non-aligned members and promises to include the population in the decisions on natural gas exports. The United Fieldworkers Union of Bolivia (CSUTCB) declares an immediate 90-day ceasefire. In September, according to official sources, 80 die in bloody clashes. *mz*

Colombia (ELN)

Intensity:	5	Change:	•	Start:	1961
Conflict Parties:	ELN vs. government				
Conflict Items:	national power, system				

In the conflict between the leftist rebel organization National Liberation Army (ELN) and the Colombian Government there is still no solution. This group of approximately 5.000 men comes under pressure by the military operations of the government and the continued battles with various paramilitary organizations. The ELN commits numerous bombings over the course of the year and abducts politicians, industrials and tourists. In June, Colombian President Horacio Uribe offers a partial amnesty to the guerrillas, if they agree to lay down their weapons. The ELN refuses the governments' offer. *dk*

Summary: Conflicts in the Americas 2003

Name of Conflict ¹	Conflict Parties ²	Conflict Item	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Argentina - Chile *	Argentina vs. Chile	border	1902	•	1
Argentina - UK (Falkland-Islands) *	Argentina vs. UK	territory (Falkland Islands)	1833	•	1
Argentina (Opposition) *	Piqueteros vs. government	ideology/ system	2001	⬇️	2
Bolivia - Chile *	Bolivia vs. Chile	territory	1883	•	1
Bolivia - Chile, Peru (ocean access) *	Bolivia vs. Chile, Peru	territory (Bolivia's access to the Pacific)	1964	⬆️	2
Bolivia (Opposition)	MAS, unions, coke farmers vs. government	national power	2002	•	3
Dominican Republic (Opposition) *	Opposition vs. government	system	2003	NEW	3
Guatemala - Belize *	Guatemala vs. Belize	territory	1862	•	1
Guatemala (FRG)	Opposition vs. government FRG	national power	1960	⬆️	4
Guyana - Suriname *	Guyana vs. Suriname	territory, resources	2000	•	1
Haiti (Opposition)	Opposition vs. government	national power	1987	•	4
Canada- USA *	Canada vs. USA	territory, resources	1996	•	1
Canada (Québec) *	Regional government Québec vs. government	secession	1976	•	1
Colombia - Venezuela *	Colombia vs. Venezuela	territory, resources	1932	•	1
Colombia (ELN)	ELN vs. government	national power, system	1961	•	5
Colombia (EPL) *	EPL guerilla vs. government	national power, ideology/ system	1964	•	3
Colombia (FARC)	FARC vs. paramilitary vs. government	national power, system	1961	•	5
Colombia (Paramilitary)	Paramilitary (AUC et al.) vs. government	regional predominance	1995	•	5
Mexico (Chiapas) *	EZLN vs. government	regional predominance, other (rights of the Indians)	1994	•	1
Mexico (Guerrero) *	ELN vs. government	autonomy	1997	•	1
Nicaragua vs. Honduras *	Nicaragua vs. Honduras	territory, resources	1999	•	1
Nicaragua - Colombia *	Nicaragua vs. Colombia	territory	1980	•	1
Peru (Shining Path)	Shining Path vs. government	system	1980	⬆️	3
USA - Cuba *	USA vs. Cuba	system	1959	•	2
USA - Cuba (Guantanamo)*	USA vs. Cuba	territory (Guantanamo)	1898	•	1
Venezuela -Guyana *	Venezuela vs. Guyana	territory	1830	•	1
Venezuela (Opposition)	Opposition vs. government	national power, system	2000	•	3

1) 2) 3) 4) siehe Seite 11: Übersicht: Konflikte in Europa

Colombia (FARC)

Intensity: 5 Change: • Start: 1961
 Conflict Parties: FARC vs. Paramilitary vs. Government
 Conflict Items: national power, system

In the war of the Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia (FARC), comprising about 17,000 men, against the government, the military offensive started by President Horacio Uribe with US support in August 2002 does not result in a pacification of the country. On February 7, the government prolongs a state of emergency being in effect since August. However, this state of emergency is declared unconstitutional by decision of the supreme court at the beginning of May. In order to respond to military pressure, FARC increases the number of terrorist attacks and tries to carry the war which has claimed all in all more than 200,000 fatalities since its beginning, into the cities. Meanwhile, left-winged FARC and several right-winged militia fight fiercely resulting in more than 20,000 people dead in the course of the year. In order to finance their battles, the rebel organization kidnaps several hundred civilians over the course of the year and extorts large amounts of ransom, which contributes to a further destabilization of the country. Uribe, who faces increasing pressure due to high military expenditure even from his own supporters, repeatedly offers negotiations to FARC over the year. These fail, however,

because of the rebels' precondition to include the re-establishment of a demilitarized zone in the talks.

dk, nis

Colombia (Paramilitary)

Intensity: 5 Change: • Start: 1995
 Conflict Parties: United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) vs. Government
 Conflict Item: regional predominance

In the course of his policy which aims at strengthening state authority, Colombia's President Horacio Uribe takes military action to counter the predominance of the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), the 12,000 men strong joint paramilitary groups. These fight the leftist guerrilla groups of the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia (FARC) and are accused of committing massive human rights violations. Since the beginning of the government's offensive in August 2002, more than 2,000 militiamen have been killed. At the beginning of the year, the government offers amnesty to various groups, should they lay down their weapons. The AUC, who is financing itself through raids and banditry, then signals its readiness to conduct negotiations. However, it cannot reach a unanimous position due to internal struggles. On November

25, 850 members of the militia Cacique Nutibara lay down their arms. *dk, nis*

Guatemala (FRG)

Intensity:	4	Change:	↑	Start:	1960
Conflict Parties:	Government (FRG) vs. Opposition				
Conflict Item:	national power				

The aftermath of the civil war terminated in 1996 further affects the current political situation in Guatemala. Due to the government takeover by the Frente Republicano Guatemalteco (FRG) lead by Alfonso Portillo four years ago, both sides commit politically motivated acts of violence. Since the beginning of the presidential election campaign in April, a sharp increase of violence can be observed. According to human rights groups scarcely, 1,400 acts of violence are committed in the first half of the year, among them over 800 murders and attempted murders. The most recent victims are journalists next to members of the opposition and civilians. Ex-dictator General Efraim Rios Montt, who is blamed for the death of thousands of people during the civil war, announces his candidacy for the FRG in summer. This is constitutionally disputed. With the elections held under international supervision on November 9, he clearly loses with about 17 per cent of the votes. Montt accepts the defeat. *jh, fs*

Haiti (Opposition)

Intensity:	4	Change:	•	Start:	1987
Conflict Parties:	Opposition vs. Government				
Conflict Item:	national power				

The conflict between the Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the government party Lavalas and various oppositional groups and parties results in continuous demonstrations, strikes and violent riots. The OAS mission's roadmap for conflict resolution has been essentially ignored by both the government and opposition parties. The plan calls for new elections before the end of 2003. The end of 2002 saw an escalation in anti-government protests over Aristides' alleged corruption, abuse of power and election fraud. Pro-governmental street gangs react to this with violence. On December 22, a group of former soldiers called The Motherless Army (Armada San Maman) occupies the provincial town of Pernal and demands that Aristide should be turned over to them. In the beginning of January, there is a resurgence of mass riots in Port au Prince. Over the year, tensions in Haiti rise due to a back and forth of demonstrations and assassination attempts against the government and its opposition. The OAS and the US who both have been freezing all financial aid repeatedly request the government to bring the situation under control. On September 23, the day the body of opposition leader Amiot Metayer was found, opposition accuses Aristide to be responsible for his death. This results in a series of clashes throughout October and November leaving at least 13 protesters dead. The situation leads to the cancellation of new elections set for November. The elections, however, are the most important condition for the reinstatement of international financial aid to one of the poorest countries of the region. *nis*

Peru (Shining Path)

Intensity:	3	Change:	↗	Start:	1980
Conflict Parties:	Shining Path vs. government				
Conflict Item:	System				

There has been a resurgence of violence in the political conflict between the rebel group Shining Path and Peru's Government. On January 7, under pressure from the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the Peruvian Constitutional Court reverses several convictions by the military courts between 1990 and 2000. Although the life sentence for the founder of the Shining Path, Abimael Guzmán Reynoso, is lifted on March 21, he finds himself back in court on March 25 to face new charges of suspected terrorist activity. On June 12, his supporters call for a peoples' war and intensify their violent measures. An anti-rebel operation on June 27, results in the killing of one soldier and the wounding of two others. On July 10, 50 rebels kill seven soldiers in a surprise attack on an elite commando unit. On August 28, the final report on the Shining Path's human rights violations between 1980 and 2000 is published. Almost 70,000 people were killed in the conflict, for the most part at the hands of the Shining Path. *gs*

Venezuela (Opposition)

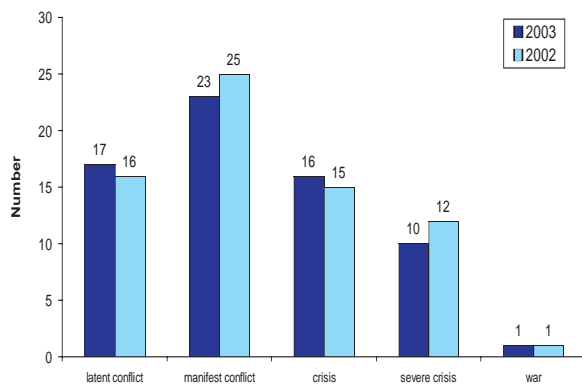
Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	2000
Conflict Parties:	Opposition vs. Government				
Conflict Items:	national power, system				

The opposition of Venezuela consisting of the associations of trade unions and the employers' association Fedecamaras demands the resignation of President Hugo Chavez. This causes street clashes and strikes. On January 22, mediator and the former US President, Jimmy Carter, proposes a referendum, which is to decide about a constitutional amendment in order to shorten the duration of the presidency to four years. The opposition ends the general strike that began in early December and starts collecting signatures for a petition for the conduct of the referendum, on February 3, through pressure of the mediators and because of the dramatically worsened economic situation. The government, strengthened by the failure of the general strike, rejects the referendum on February 4. In May, the conflict parties sign an agreement stating that a referendum is to decide about Chavez' remaining in power. Furthermore, a truth commission in order to investigate last April's coup d'état is to be instated. On August 19, the opposition presents a petition containing 2.5 million signatures and thereby meets the prerequisites for the realization of the referendum. However, this could only be organized by a national election commission which has not been installed by the parliament up to then. On August 20, in Caracas 10,000 opponents of Chavez hold a protest march in order to speed up the referendum's implementation. The election commission, which consists of five persons, rejects the petition on September 19, because the signatures had been collected long before August 19 and therefore were invalid. *dk*

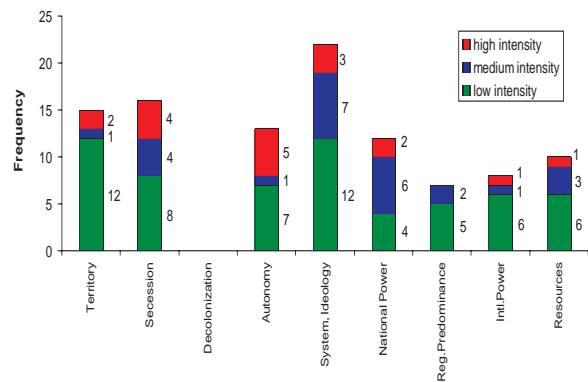
Asia

The total number of the conflicts observed in Asia is 67. The states of this region with the highest degree of conflict participation are first and foremost India and China, followed by Indonesia and the Philippines. More than one half of the conflicts in Asia remain nonviolent. In this year, five disputes cross the threshold of violence: The opposition conflict in Bangladesh, the conflict on Sulawesi in Indonesia, the confrontation between the military government and the democratization movement in Myanmar, the dispute on the Solomon Islands, and the conflict in Uzbekistan. The only war in Asia is carried out in the Indonesian province of Aceh. The past year's war, the Maoist conflict in Nepal, de-escalates about one degree. Remarkable is the fact that the vast majority of conflicts show no alteration of intensity, compared to the preceding year. By far the most peaceless state of the region is India, concerning the number of affecting violent conflicts. Noteworthy is that territorial conflicts as well as disputes on national power generally remain beneath the level of violence.

Conflict Intensities Asia 2003 - 2002



Frequency of Conflict Items by Use of Violence Asia 2003



Bangladesh - India

Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	1971
Conflict Parties:	Bangladesh vs. India				
Conflict Items:	border, resources (water)				

The border conflict between Bangladesh and India continues this year. Again, several military personnel are killed at the border between the two countries at the beginning of 2003. Nevertheless, a bus connection between Delhi and Dhaka is opened. In September, the foreign ministers of both countries meet in order to negotiate the delineation of the common border and the use of 54 rivers. All in all the conflict de-escalates slightly towards the end of the year. *ak*

Bangladesh - Myanmar

Intensity:	2	Change:	•	Start:	1991
Conflict Parties:	Bangladesh vs. Myanmar				
Conflict Item:	Other (refugees repatriation)				

The situation between Bangladesh and Myanmar regarding the conflict about the repatriation of political refugees from Myanmar further de-escalates. After an intervention of the UN, both sides agree on a first round of repatriation of 273,000 refugees to Myanmar. The intensification of economic relations signals an increasing rapprochement of both countries. *ak*

Bangladesh (Opposition)

Intensity:	3	Change:	↗	Start:	1991
Conflict Parties:	AL vs. government				
Conflict Item:	national power				

The conflict on national power between the Awami League (AL) and the ruling Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) escalates. At the beginning of the year, the

release of several opposition politicians from prison brings a temporary de-escalation. In May, however, the AL boycotts a session of parliament. The supreme court sentences several AL members to prison terms. Unidentified assassins commit several attacks on leading AL members. The opposition blames the government for the assassinations and calls for nation-wide strikes on several occasions. AL supporters react with uprisings. *ak*

Cambodia (CPP, FUNCINPEC, SRP)

Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	1979
Conflict Parties:	CPP vs. FUNCINPEC, SRP				
Conflict Items:	Ideology/ system, national power				

Already since the accession to power by the current Cambodian Prime Minister, Hun Sen, in 1979 a conflict has been existing a conflict between the Cambodia People's Party (CPP) and the royalist FUNCINPEC party. In 1995, the Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) enters this conflict. In the run-up to the parliamentary elections, at least four murders of FUNCINPEC and SRP activists, respectively, are committed. On July 27, the election day, a bomb attack against the FUNCINPEC headquarters in Phnom Penh is perpetrated. SRP and FUNCINPEC reproach Hun Sen with election irregularities. Both parties boycott the new parliament's opening ceremony as well as the negotiations for the formation of a new government. Not until the appeal of King Norodom Sihanouk, they declare their readiness for coalition negotiations in the beginning of November. *ca*

Summary: Conflicts in Asia 2003

Name of Conflict ¹	Conflict Parties ²	Conflict Item	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Bangladesh - India	Bangladesh vs. India	border, resources (water)	1971	•	3
Bangladesh - Myanmar	Bangladesh vs. Myanmar	other (repatriation of refugees)	1991	•	2
Bangladesh (Chittagong Hill Tracts)	CHT tribes, SCC, Shanti Bahini, JSS vs. Government	Secession	1947	•	2
Bangladesh (Opposition)	AL vs. Government	national power	1991	↗	3
Cambodia (CFF) *	CFF vs. Government	national power, ideology/ system	2000	↘	1
Cambodia (CPP, FUNCINPEC, SRP)	CPP vs. FUNCINPEC, SRP	ideology/ system, national power	1979	•	3
China - India *	China vs. India	territory (Asai Chin, Ladakh, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh), international power	1947	•	1
China - Philippines *	China vs. Philippines	territory/ border	1971	•	2
China - Taiwan	China vs. Taiwan	international power, ideology/ System, secession	1949	•	2
China - Vietnam (Parcel-Islands) *	China vs. Vietnam	territory/ border, resources	1945	•	1
China - Vietnam et al. (Spratly Islands) *	China vs. Vietnam vs. Japan vs. Philippines vs. Taiwan	territory/ border, resources	1945	•	1
China (Falun Gong) *	Falun Gong vs. government	ideology/ system	1999	•	2
China (Hong Kong)	Hong Kong society vs. Government	autonomy	1999	↗	2
China (Tibet)	Tibetan Government in exile, Tibetans, Tibetan separatists vs. Government	ideologie/ system, secession	1912	↘	2
China (Xinjiang) *	ETIM vs. Government	system/ ideology, secession	1990	•	3
East Timor - Australia	East Timor vs. Australia	territory, resources	2002	•	2
Fiji (National Power) *	Ethnic Fijians vs. Indian Élite	national power	1987	•	2
France - Vanuatu (Matthew and Hunter Islands) *	France vs. Vanuatu	territory/ border	1980	•	1
France (New Caledonia)*	Government vs. FLNKS	secession	1984	•	2
India - Pakistan (Siachen Glacier) *	India vs. Pakistan	territory/ border	1984	•	4
India (Assam)	NDFB, BLTF, ULFA vs. Government	ethnic autonomy	1979	•	3
India (Ayodhya) *	Muslims vs. Hindus	religious predominance	1853	•	3
India (Gujarat)	Muslim minority population vs. Government, Hindu majority population	religious autonomy	2002	•	3
India (Kashmir)	Kashmiri and Pakistani rebel groups vs. Government	religious and regional autonomy, secession	1947	•	4
India (Nagaland) *	NNC vs. Government	secession	1947	•	4
India (Naxalites II) *	PWG, MCC vs. Government	system/ ideology	1997	↘	2
India (Sikhs) *	Sikhs vs. Government	religious predominance, secession	1929	•	1
India (Tripura)	ATTF, BNS, NRG, NLFT, NSCN, TVF vs. Government	secession, other (illegal immigration of Bengali settlers)	1980	•	4
Indonesia (Aceh)	GAM vs. Government	secession, resources	1953	↗	5
Indonesia (Democracy) *	Reformasi vs. Government	ideology/ system	1997	•	1
Indonesia (Jemaah Islamiah)	Jemaah Islamiah vs. Government	national power	2002	• NEW	3
Indonesia (Kalimantan) *	Dayaks vs. Maduresen	ethnic predominance	1997	↘	1
Indonesia (Moluccans)	Laskar Jihad, Maluku Sovereignty vs. Government; Muslims vs. Christians	religious predominance	1998	↘	2
Indonesia (Papua)	OPM vs. Government	secession, resources	1949	•	3
Indonesia (Sulawesi)	Christen vs. Muslime, Laskar Dschihad, Jemaah Islamiah	religious predominance	1998	↗	3
Japan - China (Senkaku/ Diaoyu Islands) *	Japan vs. China	territory/ border, resources	1972	↗	2
Japan - Russia (Kuril Islands) *	Japan vs. Russia	territory	1945	•	1
Japan - South Korea (Takeshima/ Tokto Islands)*	Japan vs. South Korea	territory	1945	•	2
Laos (Rebels)	Rebels vs. Government	ideology/ system, autonomy, national power	1975	↗	4
Malaysia - Indonesia (Border) *	Malaysia vs. Indonesia	territory	1981	• END	1
Malaysia - Indonesia and Philippines (Immigrants) *	Malaysia vs. Indonesia, Philippines	resources, international power	1998	•	2
Malaysia (Democracy, Opposition) *	Reformasi (Barisan Alternatif/ Keidalan) vs. Government	national power	1998	•	1
Malaysia (KMM) *	KMM vs. Government	ideology/ system	2001	•	1
Myanmar (Ethnic Minorities)	KNU, KNDO, SSA vs. Government, DKBA, UWSA	regional autonomy	1948	•	4
Myanmar (NLD)	NLD vs. Government	ideology/ system, national power	1990	↗	3
Myanmar (Rohingya) *	Rohingya vs. Government	autonomy	1948	↘	1
Nepal - Bhutan	Nepal vs. Bhutan	other (refugees)	1986	•	2
Nepal (Maoist Rebels)	CPN-M vs. Government	ideology/ system, national power	1996	↘	4
New Zealand - USA (Nuclear Weapons Policy) *	New Zealand vs. USA	international power (disarmament control)	1984	•	1

Name of Conflict ¹	Conflict Parties ²	Conflict Item	Start	Änd. ³	Int. ⁴
North Korea - South Korea	North Korea vs. South Korea	ideology/ system, international power	1947	•	3
North Korea - USA, South Korea, Japan	North Korea vs. USA, South Korea, Japan	international power (disarmament control), system/ ideology	1993	•	2
Pakistan - India (Kashmir)	Pakistan vs. India	territory, international power	1947	•	4
Pakistan (Balochistan) *	BSO, BFL vs. Government	secession	1920	•	2
Pakistan (Sindh)	MQM vs. Government	autonomy, national power	1977	↘	1
Papua-New Guinea (Bougainville II) *	BRA vs. Government	autonomy	1988	•	1
Philippines (Abu Sayyaf)	Abu Sayyaf vs. Government	secession	1985	↘	3
Philippines (MILF)	MILF vs. Government	secession, ideology/ system	1984	↗	4
Philippines (MNLF) *	MNLF vs. Government	secession	1970	↓ END	2
Philippines (NPA) *	NPA, CPP vs. Government	ideology/ system	1968	↘	2
Solomon Islands (MEF)	Government, IFM vs. MEF	other (implementation of the 2000 treaty), resources	1998	↗	3
Singapore - Malaysia	Singapore vs. Malaysia	international power, territory/ border	1979	•	1
Singapore (Jemaah Islamiah) *	Jemaah Islamiah vs. Government	ideology/ system	1999	•	1
Sri Lanka (LTTE)	LTTE vs. Government	autonomy	1922	•	4
Thailand - Cambodia (Border)	Thailand vs. Cambodia	territory/ border, international power	1954	↗	2
Tajikistan *	Islamic fundamentalist rebels vs. Government	ideology/ system	1990	•	3
Uzbekistan (IMU) *	IMU vs. Government	ideology/ system, national power	1997	↗	3
Vietnam (KKNLF)	KKNLF vs. Government	secession, ideology/ system	2002	•	2

1) 2) 3) 4) see page 11: Summary: Conflicts in Europe 2003

China - India

Intensity: 1	Change: •	Start: 1947
Conflict Parties:	China vs. India	
Conflict Items:	territory (Aksai Chin, Ladakh, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh), international power	

The border conflict between China and India further de-escalates. In China, the Indian Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayeeh, signs an agreement which is designed to positively change the relationship between both countries. In this agreement, India recognizes Tibet as Chinese territory and in return China offers to regard the Kingdom of Sikkim no longer as an independent state. The agreement is controversial in the Indian public. Furthermore, relations are to be stabilized through technological and economic co-operation. The relaxation is underlined by a joint military exercise in Chinese waters. *asr*

China - Taiwan

Intensity: 2	Change: •	Start: 1949
Conflict Parties:	China vs. Taiwan	
Conflict Items:	international power, ideology/ system, secession	

The conflict about the status of Taiwan gains momentum. Both states are admitted to the WTO. Taiwan's status under international law is one of the most important topics in the campaign for next year's presidential elections in Taiwan. After that, hardliners in Beijing threaten with invasion. China anew prevents Taiwan from becoming a member of the UN. *asr*

China (Hong Kong)

Intensity: 2	Change: ↗	Start: 1999
Conflict Parties:	Hong Kong society vs. Government	
Conflict Item:	autonomy	

The conflict between China and parts of the population of the former British crown colony of Hong Kong about autonomy and democratic participation continues. Public debates about a new security law enacted by the Chinese Government widen into a series of

mass demonstrations in Hong Kong. Through this law, the freedom of opinion, of the press, and of religion would be restricted. The city government installed by Beijing withdraws the bill after the protests. A new version announced for September is postponed to an unfixed date. *asr*

China (Tibet)

Intensity: 2	Change: ↘	Start: 1912
Conflict Parties:	Tibetan Government in exile, Tibetans, Tibetan separatists vs. Government	
Conflict Items:	ideology/ system, secession	

In the Tibet conflict, the Chinese central Government continues its legal persecution of separatist activists as well as diplomatic efforts to undermine the Dalai Lama's international popularity, with only partial success, though. The separatists' willingness to use violence remains low. The Dalai Lama pronounces to endeavor in negotiations for Tibet's autonomy within China, but this is controversial in Tibet. If the Tibetan society splits over this issue, and the Dalai Lama's pacifist authority is weakened, the violent potential of the conflict could increase rapidly. *asr*

East Timor - Australia

Intensity: 2	Change: NEW	Start: 2002
Conflict Parties:	East Timor vs. Australia	
Conflict Items:	territory, resources	

In the conflict between East Timor and Australia about the rights to exploit the natural gas and oil resources in the Timor Sea, on March 6 and March 7, respectively, both parties ratify an agreement regulating the distribution of profits between the countries. In this accord, Australia establishes an 80 per cent issue share regarding the gas field "Greater Sunrise". East Timor, still heavily dependent on Australian financial aid despite its independence on 5/20/02, deplors the extraordinarily strong diplomatic pressure exercised by Australia after the ratification of the accord by its Prime Minister, Mari Alkatiri. In the run-up, Australia has

excluded any regulation by the International Court of Justice in The Hague. *nis*

India (Assam)

Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	1979
Conflict Parties:	National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB), Bodoland Liberation Tigers Force (BLTF), United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) vs. Government				
Conflict Item:	ethnic autonomy				

Despite an autonomy accord between the Indian Government and the separatist Bodoland Liberation Tigers Force (BLTF), other separatist groups' attacks against the Bengali-speaking population continue. In April, rebels of the National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) kill four Bengali Muslims. The rebels of the separatist United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) raid villages and trains in neighboring Bihar, killing and injuring a large number of persons. After the Bhutanese Government bans members of both Assamese rebel groups from Bhutan, the Indian Government increases the number of border security personnel in the area. Both groups' supply lines for food and medicine in Bhutan are cut. *ak*

India (Gujarat)

Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	2002
Conflict Parties:	Muslim minority population vs. Government, Hindu majority population				
Conflict Item:	religious autonomy				

During the period of inquiry, groups from within the Hindu and Muslim population attack each other repeatedly. In December 2002, the ruling coalition headed by Chief Minister Narendra Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) wins the state assembly elections, despite accusations of its tacit approval of violent raids by Hindus against Muslims in the aftermath of the attack on a train carrying Hindu pilgrims near Godhra in February 2002. Hindu and Muslim extremists clash on several occasions during the period under investigation. In June, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) accuses the Gujarat State Government of failing to prevent the violence surrounding the Godhra conflict and the elections in December 2002 and of failing to bring to trial the perpetrators of violent acts on both sides. It also alleges a tacit approval of anti-Muslim violence on the part of some organs of the state. After an Indian Supreme Court decision, the state government agrees to urge its authorities to seek a retrial of acquitted Hindu militants in connection with anti-Muslim riots. In November, the Union Government urges the Gujarat Government to increase efforts to resolve the outstanding issues between both groups politically and judicially. *mp*

India (Kashmir)

Intensity:	4	Change:	•	Start:	1947
Conflict Parties:	Kashmiri and Pakistani rebel groups vs. Government				
Conflict Items:	religious and regional autonomy, secession				

Throughout the period of reporting, separatist militant groups in Kashmir continue to commit attacks almost every week, killing a large number of civilians. As in preceding years, Indian security personnel react with repressive measures in the region. An appeal by the

separatist group Hezb-ul-Mujahedin dating from the 12/30/02 to cease attacks is not implemented. The initiative of Indian President, Abdul Kalam, for talks, as well as the appeal by veteran militant leader, Khan Shah Afridi, in June 2003, show no tangible results. In late October, the Indian Government offers negotiations over the future status of Kashmir with the pre-condition of an end to violence. The All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC), an umbrella organization of several separatist groups, responds on November 21 by announcing its willingness for talks and its intention of presenting a roadmap to peace to the public before embarking on negotiations with India and Pakistan. *mp*

India (Tripura)

Intensity:	4	Change:	•	Start:	1980
Conflict Parties:	ATTF, BNS, NRG, NLFT, NSCN, TVF vs. government				
Conflict Items:	secession, other (illegal immigration of Bengali settlers)				

The separatist rebel group National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) and the All-Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF) continue their violent fight against the government in the Northeastern Indian state of Tripura. Following the victory of the leftist coalition parties in the state elections, the militant groups step up their fighting efforts. Separatists repeatedly abduct and thereafter kill a number of high-ranking politicians. Three simultaneous attacks on a village kill more than 32 civilians, and prompt a general strike of the population against the separatists. The government temporarily imposes a curfew. The Chief Minister of Tripura accuses neighboring Bangladesh of harboring the NLFT rebels in the border region. The fighting is estimated to have caused more than 200 fatalities. *ak*

Indonesia (Aceh)

Intensity:	5	Change:	↗	Start:	1953
Conflict Parties:	GAM vs. government				
Conflict Items:	secession, resources				

The secession conflict in the Indonesian province of Aceh escalates. After President Megawati Sukarnoputri imposes the martial law on the province on May 18, the army starts a major offensive with about 40,000 soldiers. With this, the international community regards the negotiation attempts, whose aim was to put the military under civil control until the presidential elections in 2005, to be failed. Since May, several thousands of people have been killed and more than 20,000 are fleeing. With the aggravation of martial law at the beginning of November, which means an extension of military action, the civil war reaches a new climax. *cs*

Indonesia (Jemaah Islamiah)

Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	2002
Conflict Parties:	Government vs. Jemaah Islamiah				
Conflict Item:	national power				

The terrorist group, Jemaah Islamiah, commits several attacks in Indonesia this year. On August 5, 13 people are killed and more than one hundred are injured in a bomb attack on a Western hotel in Jakarta. In February, the trial against the main culprits of the Bali attempt in October 2002 begins. Almost one year after the

attacks, one of them is sentenced to death, others have to face lifelong imprisonment. On October 18, the government enacts anti-terror emergency decrees. *cs*

Indonesia (Moluccans)

Intensity: 2	Change: ↓	Start: 1998
Conflict Parties:	Laskar Jihad, Maluku Sovereignty vs. Government; Muslims vs. Christians	
Konfliktgegenstand:	religious predominance	

The conflict between the Muslims and the Christians continues. At the beginning of the year, a court in Jakarta sentences two leaders of Christian groups to imprisonment because of attacks on Muslim facilities. Otherwise the dispute remains non-violent, however. *cs*

Indonesia (Papua)

Intensity: 3	Change: •	Start: 1949
Conflict Parties:	Government vs. OPM	
Conflict Items:	Secession, resources (mineral resources)	

The secession conflict between the Indonesian Government and the Organization Free Papua (OPM) continues. On July 7, separatists hoist a Papua flag whereupon the army kills one rebel and wounds and arrests others. In August, the government plans to split the province into three parts. This results in riots which do not wane, even after the proposal has been withdrawn. *cs*

Indonesia (Sulawesi)

Intensity: 3	Change: ↗	Start: 1998
Conflict Parties:	Christians vs. Muslims, Laskar Jihad, Jemaah Islamiah	
Conflict Item:	Religious predominance	

In the conflict between Muslims and Christians on the Indonesian island of Sulawesi, in which more than a thousand fatalities occurred between 1999 and 2001, the situation has been rather calm in the last one and a half years. On October 12, the anniversary of the Bali bomb attack, the Jemaah Islamiah kills eight Christians and wounds others. Owing to the enactment of several anti-terror emergency decrees, the Islamic fundamentalist organization, Laskar Jihad, announces its immediate dissolution on October 15, but denies a connection with the Bali attempts. *cs*

Laos (Rebels)

Intensity: 4	Change: ↗	Start: 1975
Conflict Parties:	rebels vs. Government	
Conflict Items:	ideology/ system, autonomy, internal power	

After Laos has witnessed regular bomb attacks already in 2000, armed persons repeatedly attack civilians and government troops. These incidents are an expression of the anti-communist and royalist resistance movement and the connected liberation fight of the indigenous Hmong minority. *cf*

Myanmar (ethnic minorities)

Intensity: 4	Change: •	Start: 1948
Conflict Parties:	KNU, KNDO, SSA vs. government, DKBA, UWSA	
Conflict Item:	regional autonomy	

The fight of the rebels of the Karen National Union (KNU) and the Karen National Defense Organization (KNDO) as well as the rebels of the Shan State Army

(SSA) about regional autonomy against Myanmar's Military Government and the allied militia of the Democratic Buddhist Karen Army (DBKA) and the United Wa State Army (UWSA) persists. At the beginning of the year, Myanmar's army starts its yearly drought season offensive against the rebels' bases near the border to Thailand. Beside this, throughout the year, small skirmishes repeatedly occur. In January, a unilaterally proclaimed ceasefire and an offer by the SSA to negotiate are not taken into account by the military government. On an almost daily basis, the army further on commits encroachments, such as robbery, rape, and murder, against ethnic minorities. All in all, the conflict demands several hundreds of fatalities during the period under review, several thousands of people are displaced. Also, in other regions such as the one of the Mon, rebel groups are active. *ca*

Myanmar (NLD)

Intensity: 3	Change: ↗	Start: 1990
Conflict Parties:	Government vs. NLD	
Conflict Items:	ideology/ system, national power	

The conflict about national power and the political system between the ruling Military Government in Myanmar and the National League for Democracy (NLD), which has won the last free elections in 1990 and thenceforward is barred from exercising government responsibilities, continues. The relaxation that occurred following the release of opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, in 2001 persists at the beginning of the period under review. Yet, the situation aggravates again with an inroad on Suu Kyi. Due to this assault, that is at first designated as a collision between NLD and government supporters, die up to one hundred persons. Suu Kyi and several NLD members are arrested and the NLD offices are closed down almost all over the country. Her state of health and strong international pressure, primarily by the US, lead to the effect that her detention is changed into house arrest. *ca*

Nepal - Bhutan

Intensity: 2	Change: •	Start: 1986
Conflict Parties:	Nepal vs. Bhutan	
Conflict Item:	other (refugees)	

The conflict on the repatriation of refugees in Eastern Nepal continues. These people originate from Bhutan but have Nepali origins. The verification mission launched at the end of 2001 by a joint team from Nepal and Bhutan with support of the EU and the UNHCR publishes its results in 2003. According to the joint team's investigations, approximately 9,000 of the 12,000 refugees living in the Khudunabari camp are allowed to return to Bhutan. Nepal and Bhutan agree on this voluntary return on October 23. Nevertheless, approximately 90,000 refugees are still living in six other camps in East Nepal, where a verification mission has not yet been launched. *yf*

Nepal (Maoist Rebels)

Intensity: 4	Change: ↓	Start: 1996
Conflict Parties:	CPN-M vs. government	
Conflict Items:	ideology/ system, national power	

The violent conflict between the Communist Party of Nepal - Maoist (CPN-M), which aims at establishing a Maoist state in Nepal, and King Gyanendra's

Government continues in the year 2003. A seven-month ceasefire called by Maoist insurgents does not bring any solution to this conflict existing since 1996. After the murder of the head of the armed police force, Krishna Mohan Shrestha, on January 26, the rebels announce a ceasefire in order to resume peace talks with the government. The Maoists want peace negotiations to be preceded by the withdrawal of the army and the release of prisoners. The rebels and the government hold formal peace talks on April 20 and July 17. During the meetings, the rebels demand a roundtable conference, an interim government, a constituent assembly and a deadline for reaching a peace agreement. The government's position is that the Nepalese monarchy's status and the constitution's substance are not negotiable. Meanwhile, the other political parties do not take part in peace talks. They launch a campaign to protest against the King's dismissal of the country's last elected government in October 2002. Consequently, Prime Minister, Lokendra Bahadur Chand, resigns on May 30 and is replaced by Surya Bahadur Thapa. The negotiations between the Maoist insurgents and the government do not bring any solution to the conflict. Although the government releases three Maoist leaders in July, it does not accept drafting a new constitution. On July 27, the rebels announce the ceasefire's end. The government declares the state of emergency. *yf*

North Korea - South Korea

Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	1947
Conflict Parties:	Nordkorea vs. Südkorea				
Conflict Items:	ideology/ system, international power				

Relations between North Korea and South Korea are improving. Several cabinet-level talks take place throughout the year promising mutual approaches concerning the divided peninsula. During 2003 South Korean tourists are allowed to visit the North on selected days for the first time. A historical move is made with the reconnection of the railway between North and South Korea. Despite all efforts, the North Korean nuclear rearmament casts a shadow on their relations. On February 18, North Korea threatens to withdraw from the armistice agreement of 1953 with South Korea. In addition, in the middle of July a shooting takes place near the border but no victims are noted. *je*

North Korea - USA, South Korea, Japan

Intensity:	2	Change:	•	Start:	1993
Conflict Parties:	North Korea vs. USA, South Korea, Japan				
Conflict Items:	International power (disarmament control), system/ ideology				

After it was reported in 2002 that North Korea has not given up its nuclear program, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) passes a resolution on January 6 in order to put pressure on North Korea. In response to this, North Korea immediately steps back from the Non-Proliferation Treaty on January 10 and insists on talks with the US. China, Russia, the US, South Korea, and Japan endeavor a diplomatic conflict solution. According to North Korean sources, the Yongbyon reactor is restarted on February 26. The reactor had been turned off as a concession. After mediations by China, the tensions seem to ease as North Korea signals to join talks with the US in Beijing on April 23.

Yet, the talks end without any progress. On June 9, North Korea threatens to build a nuclear deterrent unless the US gives up its "hostile policy". Only by the end of August, an approach is recognized when the multilateral six-nation talks take place, which also end without progress. On October 2, North Korea claims that it has finished reprocessing enough nuclear fuel rods in order to make nuclear bombs. North Korea shows readiness to continue talks, but only if Japan is excluded. *je*

Pakistan - India (Kashmir)

Intensity:	4	Change:	•	Start:	1947
Conflict Parties:	Pakistan vs. India				
Conflict Items:	territory, international power				

The conflict between India and Pakistan concerning the territorial status of Kashmir continues. Compared to previous years, the number of clashes between security personnel on both sides of the line of control in the Kashmir region decreases. In February, both states temporarily expel diplomats from the respective other country. After offers for talks in February and May from Pakistan and India, respectively, the high commissions of both countries resume their work at the end of May. In June and July, both sides offer talks on improvements in bilateral relations and on Kashmir. In August, after a bomb explosion in Mumbai, India accuses Pakistan of trying to extend its infiltration of India with militants beyond Kashmir. The security forces of both states engage in heavy artillery fighting in September. Four persons are reported dead. In October and November, both sides assure each other of their willingness to consult over the Kashmir issue. On November 25, India and Pakistan declare an unlimited ceasefire along the line of control in Kashmir. India restricts the ceasefire in such a way that it can be applied only vis-à-vis Pakistan but not to militant groups in Jammu and Kashmir. *mp*

Pakistan (Sindh)

Intensity:	1	Change:	↘	Start:	1977
Conflict Parties:	MQM vs. government				
Conflict Items:	autonomy, national power				

On 12/11/02, the Muttahida Qaumi Mahaz (MQM) enters into a coalition government of the Pakistani province of Sindh under the leadership of the Pakistan Muslim League (PML-Q), the ruling party in the central Government of General Pervez Musharraf. This step leads to a de-escalation of the conflict. The MQM hopes that a partial solution to the conflict on the status of the ethnic group of the Mohajirs in Sindh which it represents is achieved. The main political leader of the MQM, Altaf Hussain, nevertheless decides to remain in his self-chosen exile in London, due to fears of possible assassination attempts from rivaling parties in Sindh. *mp*

Philippines (Abu Sayyaf)

Intensity:	3	Change:	↘	Start:	1985
Conflict Parties:	Abu Sayyaf vs. government				
Conflict Item:	Secession				

The about 500 armed members of the organization Abu Sayyaf, which is classified by the US as well as by the Philippine Government as being terrorist and which is suspected to have links to al-Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah, aim at the creation of an Islamic state on the

islands of Mindanao and Sulu. The government is not inclined to negotiate with Abu Sayyaf, that repeatedly takes civilians as hostages, claims high ransom amounts, and does not recoil from killing its hostages. In its attempt to overcome Abu Sayyaf, the Philippine military is supported by US advice and training. In May, Abu Sayyaf engages in skirmishes with government troops, resulting in four rebels and two soldiers being killed. The army also suffers the loss of two soldiers. *slu*

Philippines (MILF)

Intensity:	4	Change:	↗	Start:	1984
Conflict Parties:	MILF vs. government				
Conflict Items:	secession, system/ ideology				

December 2002 and January 2003 saw the killing of several dozens of civilians in subsequent bomb attacks on Mindanao. The Philippine Government suspects the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), a rebel organization that is fighting for the secession of the predominantly Muslim South of the country, behind the attempts. In February, the government launches a military offensive against the rebels involving several thousands of troops. Up to 30,000 civilians flee from the area due to combat action. After bomb attacks unabatedly occur on public buildings in the following months, including a blast at Davao City Airport, the government disrupts the peace talks with the rebels in May and launches air and artillery strikes against the rebels. This causes MILF to declare a ten-day ceasefire. On July 18, the government and MILF sign a ceasefire agreement which is to be followed by peace talks in Malaysia. US President George W. Bush assures his Philippine counterpart, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, being on a state visit to the US during the military offensive, of military support in the fight against terrorist groups on the Philippines. He intends to declare the Philippines to be the most important ally without NATO membership in order to boost and alleviate the military co-operation of both countries. He decides to send troops to the Philippines. *slu*

Solomon Islands (MEF)

Intensity:	3	Change:	↗	Start:	1998
Conflict Parties:	MEF vs. Government, IFM				
Conflict Items:	other (implementation of the treaty of 2000), resources				

Following a delay in the disarmament process, agreed upon by the Government of the Solomon Islands and the rivaling rebel groups Isatabu Freedom Movement (IFM) and Malaita Eagle Force (MEF) in a peace accord in 2000, supporters of both groups commit several attacks on civilians during the first half of the year. In June, Australia offers to establish a peacekeeping force for the Solomon Islands. In July, both the Government and the Parliament of the Solomon Islands accept the Australian offer owing to the worsening security situation. The peacekeepers officially begin their mission on July 24. After consultations with officers of the multinational force, the MEF declares its willingness to disarm. On October 29, the mission of the police and peacekeeping forces is preliminarily declared successful and completed. *mp*

Singapore - Malaysia

Intensity:	1	Change:	•	Start:	1979
Conflict Parties:	Singapore vs. Malaysia				
Conflict Items:	international power, territory/ border				

The border conflict between Singapore and Malaysia originating in 1979 is extended in 1998 to border control and military airspace utilization issues and in 2002 to a conflict about Singapore's land reclamation program and water supply. After no agreement can be achieved, Singapore and Malaysia sign a covenant that takes the dispute on the sovereignty rights over the Pedra Branca/Pulau Batu Puteh, Middle Rocks and South Ledge islands to the International Court of Justice on July 24. On September 5, Malaysia on its part appeals to the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) concerning the land reclamation dispute. On October 8, ITLOS decides that the case is to be pursued by an independent arbitrary body. *ct*

Sri Lanka (LTTE)

Intensity:	4	Change:	•	Start:	1922
Conflict Parties:	LTTE vs. government				
Conflict Item:	Autonomy				

The peace process between the Government of Sri Lanka of Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe of the United National Party (UNP) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), starting with the unlimited ceasefire at the beginning of 2002, stagnates. Owing to the achieved results, 1,000 Sri Lankan refugees and more than 100,000 internally displaced persons have returned so far. Beside the serious issues of the disappearance of persons during the war and the recruitment of child soldiers by the LTTE, the central problem are the High Security Zones established by the army. These zones are not to be dissolved until the LTTE's disarmament. And it is not until then that a major part of the refugees will be able to return. Whereas regarding the conflict item, the LTTE abandoned its secession claim in favor of demanding autonomy in November 2002 already, the conflict parties do not agree on the disarmament issue. Consequently, the official negotiations are suspended indefinitely by the LTTE on April 21. Despite hundreds of incidents, primarily caused by the LTTE, the ceasefire is being observed by both sides. Yet, the relation between the Tamils and the Muslims in the North and East of Sri Lanka and between the LTTE and other Tamil organizations is temporarily violent. The peace process is intended to be stimulated by the financial incentive of 4.5 billion US-Dollars which is laid in prospect by international donors, especially Japan. The Norwegian Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) mediates in the peace process. The SLMM is repeatedly and sharply criticized throughout the year by President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga of the opposition party People's Alliance (PA)/ Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). The president who distinctly speaks against the specific mode of the peace process thereby approaches the position of the opposing Sinhalese nationalists. In November, this is expressed by the transient suspension of parliament, which has been in the offing since the beginning of the year, as well as by the declaration of the state of emergency and the dismissal of three ministers - coinciding with the LTTE's first detailed proposal for power sharing. Whereas the LTTE explicitly declares not to intend to intervene in

this dispute and to be further on committed to the peace process, Wickremesinghe endeavors to arrange a compromise with the president and to fuller integrate her into the peace process. *ct*

Thailand - Cambodia (border)

Intensity: 2	Change: ↗	Start: 1954
Conflict Parties:	Thailand vs. Cambodscha	
Conflict Items:	territory/ border, international power	

On January 29, violent riots against Thai facilities occur in Phnom Penh. The tensions between Thailand and Cambodia regarding their common border can be traced back to the beginning of the fifties. The roots of this conflict are to be found in the preceding centuries. In the past, the course of the conflict was essentially determined through Thailand's apprehension of Vietnamese regional predomination attempts and the Thai support of the Khmer Rouge until the end of the eighties. Thailand's embassy is almost totally destroyed in the riots of 01/29/03, Thai enterprises are attacked. These turmoils are triggered by an alleged comment by a Thai model about the Cambodian national symbol, the Angkor Wat temple district. Thailand's Prime Minister, Thaksin Chinnawat, accuses the Cambodian parties to use anti-foreign propaganda during their campaign for the upcoming parliamentary elections. In the following days, military aircraft fly more than 700 Thai citizens out from the country. Thailand closes its borders to Cambodia and withdraws its ambassador. The tensions between both countries decrease when Thailand opens its borders again in the end of March. This swift detente is supported by Thailand's interest in a speedy normalization of the relations as well as the Cambodian offer of compensation payments. *ca*

Vietnam (KKNLF)

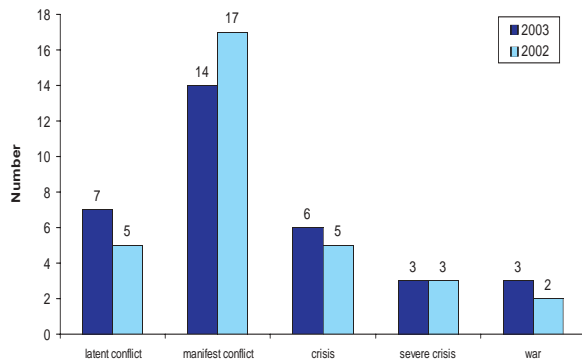
Intensity: 2	Change: •	Start: 2002
Conflict Parties:	KKNLF vs. government	
Conflict Items:	secession, ideology/ system	

Throughout the year, the Kampuchea Krom National Liberation Front (KKNLF) does not actively pursue its fight for the secession of the area called Kampuchea Krom from Vietnam declared in June 2002. In November, about 100 alleged KKNLF members as well as four supposed KKNLF leaders are arrested and the latter are to be trialled. Among the arrested persons are two US citizens who are expelled from Vietnam. *ca*

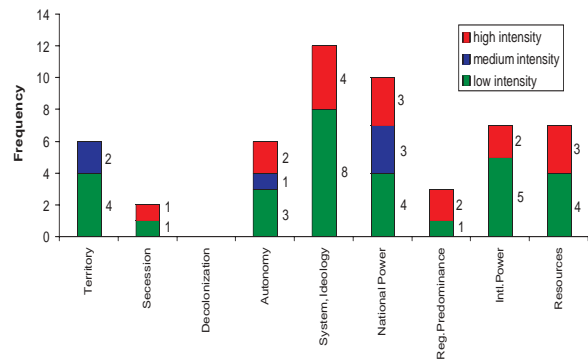
Middle East and Maghreb

Compared to last year, the number of monitored conflicts in the Middle East and Maghreb slightly increases. Instead of 31, this year, 33 disputes are carried out predominantly on the political system and on national power. There are two new conflicts, namely the interstate conflict of the US with Syria on armament control as well as the intrastate conflict on reforms in Saudi Arabia. These two conflicts are carried out without the use of violent force. Overall, the conflict parties use violent means in twelve quarrels, in six of which with high intensity. These contrast with nine violent conflicts respectively with four of high intensity in 2002. The number of non-violent conflicts, however, hardly changes. Nevertheless, the number of manifest conflicts decreases by three while the number of latent conflicts increases by two. Overall, seven conflicts escalate, one of which by two levels of intensity. Four thereby resort to the threshold of violence. In 21 disputes, the mode of conduct remains unchanged, three conflicts de-escalate. All three wars in the region this year are carried out on Iraqi soil. The two inner-Iraqi conflicts out of these escalate in the context of the US-lead military operation Iraqi Freedom. Last year's two wars are not carried out with maximum intensity anymore. The interstate conflict of a US-lead alliance in Afghanistan can be considered to have ended in the previous year due to the fall of the Taleban regime and the installation of an interim government. The further proceeding against scattered followers of the Taleban and the terrorist network of al-Qaeda is considered to be a part of the intrastate Afghanistan conflict. The Middle East conflict between Palestinian groups and Israel's Government is carried out with less massive violent force on the level of a severe crisis in 2003. After the fall of the Iraqi regime and the US-lead Coalition Provisional Authority's establishment of the Iraqi Governing Council, one of the conflict parties ceases to exist, which is why the conflicts of Iraq (Iraqi Kurdistan) and Iraq (Shia muslims) are considered to have ended this year.

Conflict Intensities Middle East and Maghreb 2003 - 2002



Frequency of Conflict Items by Use of Violence Middle East and Maghreb 2003



Afghanistan (Taleban)

Intensity:	4	Change:	•	Start:	1994
Conflict Parties:		transitional government vs. Taleban			
Conflict Items:		regional predominance, national power			

The conflict between the transitional government and the Taleban on regional predominance and national power in the South-Eastern provinces Paktia Kandahar and Khost remains violent. The transitional government of Hamid Karsai, supported and assisted by the ISAF and the International Coalition under the military leadership of the US tries to break the Taleban influence. Heavy fighting occurs between government forces assisted by the international coalition, and the Taleban which have been supported by troops of Gulbuddin Hekmaytar's Hezb-e-Islami since last October. In late January, these fights between government and Hezb-e-Islami troops claim the lives of at least 18 soldiers. On April 4, government troops and the international coalition conduct a joint military action against Taleban fighters near Spin Boldak. On July 8, the Pakistani embassy in Kabul is attacked by demonstrators which leads to diplomatic tensions between the two countries. In August, at least 25 persons are killed when the Taleban attack a convoy of the International Coalition near Spin Boldak. In a large scale, two-week military operation by Afghan troops

against a Taleban stronghold in the province of Zabul in September more than one hundred fighters are killed. In late October, ISAF expands its mandate from Kabul to Kundus. On November 3, the constitution draft is presented which will be discussed by the Loya Jirga. If the council was to accept the constitution, elections are scheduled for next year. *fw*

Algeria (Islamists)

Intensity:	4	Change:	•	Start:	1989
Conflict Parties:		GIA, GSPC, FIS, HDS vs. government			
Conflict Items:		national power, system			

The conflict between the government and multiple islamist groups over the political system remains violent. Throughout the year, the islamists commit numerous attacks responded to by the army with military action, claiming up to 900 fatalities. The military actions of the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) aim mostly at civilians and foreigners, whereas the main targets of the Group of Salafists for Sermon and Battle (GSPC) and the Defenders of the Salafist Teachings (HDS) are members of the security forces and representatives of the government. During March and April the abduction of 33 Western-European Sahara tourists by small commandos of the GSPC attracts the public's attention. On May 13, the Algerian army frees 17 hostages. On July

Summary: Conflicts in the Middle East and Maghreb 2003

Name of Conflict ¹	Conflict Parties ²	Conflict Item	Start	Change ³	Int. ⁴
Afghanistan (Taleban)	transitional government vs. Taleban	regional predominance, national power	1994	•	4
Algeria (Kabylia)	CIADC, RCD, FFS vs. government	autonomy, system	1989	•	2
Algeria (Islamists)	GIA, GSPC, FIS, HDS vs. government	national power, system	1989	•	4
Bahrein (Shi'it opposition) *	Shia Muslims vs. government	national power	1975	•	1
Egypt (Islamist Groups)	Muslim Brotherhood, Gaamat-al-Islamiya, al-Waad vs. government	national power, system	1997	•	2
Egypt - Sudan *	Egypt vs. Sudan	territory, resources	1958	•	1
Iraq - Iran *	Iraq vs. Iran	international power, system, other (prisoners of war, reparations)	1932	•	2
Iraq - Israel *	Iraq vs. Israel	international power, system	1948	•	2
Iraq - Kuwait *	Iraq vs. Kuwait	territory, resources, other (reparations)	1961	•	2
Iraq - USA, UK	Iraq vs. USA, United Kingdom	international power (disarmament, support of international terrorism), resources (protection of oil springs), system	1990	↗	5
Iraq (Ansar al-Islam, IUMK - PUK)	Islamic Unity Movement of Kurdistan, Ansar al-Islam vs. Patriotic Union of Kurdistan	regional predominance, system	2001	↗	5
Iraq (Iraqi Kurdistan)	Iraqi Kurds vs. government	autonomy, resources (water, oil)	1945	↑ END	5
Iraq (PUK - DPK) *	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan vs. Democratic Party of Kurdistan	regional predominance, system	1979	•	1
Iraq (Shia Muslims) *	Iraqi Shia Muslims vs. government	autonomy	1991	• END	2
Iran - USA	USA vs. Iran	international power (armament control), ideology	1979	•	2
Iran - UAE *	Iran vs. United Arab Emirates	territory (islands in the Persian Gulf)	1971	•	1
Iran (Conservatives - Reformists)	Iranian reformists vs. Iranian conservatives	national power, system	1993	•	2
Iran (Kurds) *	government vs. Democratic Party of Kurdistan	autonomy	1979	•	1
Iran (People's Mujahideen)*	People's Mujahideen vs. government	national power, system	1965	↘	2
Israel - Jordan *	Israel vs. Jordan	territory (Westbank)	1967	•	2
Israel (Hezbollah)	Hezbollah vs. Israel	territory (Shebah farms)	1982	•	3
Israel (Palestinian groups)	PLO, Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah, Hamas vs. Israel	autonomy, system, resources	1948	↘	4
Jordan - Israel *	Jordan vs. Israel	resources (water)	1994	•	1
Lebanon (religious groups)	religious groups vs. government	national power	1975	•	3
Lebanon - Israel	Lebanon, Hezbollah vs. Israel	resources (water)	2001	↘	1
Libya - USA, UK	Libya vs. USA, United Kingdom	international power (compensation, disarmament)	1986	•	2
Morocco (Western Sahara)	Frente POLISARIO vs. government	secession	1976	•	2
Saudi Arabia (Islamists)	Islamists vs. government	national power, system	1990	↗	3
Saudi Arabia (Reformists)	reformists vs. government	national power	2003	NEW	2
Syria - Israel	Syria vs. Israel	territory	1967	↗	3
Syria - USA	USA vs. Syria	international power (disarmament)	2003	NEW	2
Turkey (Kurds)	Kurds vs. government	autonomy	1920	↗	3
Yemen (Islamists)	Islamists vs. government	national power	1994	↗	3

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2, the government pardons two prominent members of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), Hassan Madani and Ali Ben Hadj, under the condition to refrain from any political activity in the future. On July 4, Rabban Radja of the government party National Liberation Front (FLN) is assassinated by the GSPC. In early September, the army launches a large scale, six-week military campaign against the GSPC, during which numerous people, most of them GSPC fighters, are killed. *fw*

Algeria (Kabylia)

Intensity: 2	Change: •	Start: 1989
Conflict Parties: CIADC, RCD, FFS vs. government		
Conflict Items: autonomy, system		

The conflict between the Berbers and the government is continuously non-violent. The Berbers, represented

by the Coalition of Village and Tribal Elders (CIADC) and the political parties Front of Socialist Forces (FFS) and Collective Movement for Culture and Democracy (RCD) demand the implementation of a 15 point agenda al Kseur by the government. Their main claims are the recognition of their culture and language, state compensation for the victims of the police actions during the riots of 2001 and a program aiming at the reduction of the high unemployment rate. This rate is particularly high in the main settlement region of the Berbers, the Kabyle.

After arrests related to the boycott of last year's parliamentary election, some of the incarcerated go on hunger strike, causing massive protests. At the beginning of January, the Berbers organize numerous mass demonstrations in Sidi Aich, Tizi Ouzou and Paris and demand the release of the activists.

In spring, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika meets representatives of the CIADC. In early June, several of the activists are released. After last year's recognition of Tamazight, the Berber language, through a constitutional amendment, it is included in the in the official state curriculum and taught in about 200 schools in the Kabyle, from September onwards. *fw*

Egypt (Islamist Groups)

Intensity:	2	Change:	•	Start:	1997
Conflict Parties:	Muslim Brotherhood, Gaamat-al-Islamiya, al-Waad vs. government				
Conflict Items:	national power, system				

The conflict between the Egyptian Government of President Hosni Mubarak and the Muslim Brotherhood, the Gamaat Al-Islamiya and the al-Waad-group, has been carried out non-violently for six years. These groups struggle for the establishment of an Islamic system in Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood, which was founded in 1928 and forbidden in 1984, demands above all the re-establishment of the freedom of assembly. Although the organization is officially forbidden, 17 of 454 seats of parliament are held by members of the Muslim Brotherhood. The Islamist groups have dissociated from using terrorism as means for achieving their political goals a few years ago. Over the year, the Egyptian Government conducts numerous arrests. 14 members of the Muslim Brotherhood are arrested in January. It has to cope with new challenges resulting from big demonstrations in February and March against the impending war against Iraq, that is lead by the US. More demonstrations take place in summer which are against Israeli policy regarding the Palestinians.

Summarized, the manifest conflict on political participation in Egypt does not change substantially. The situation remains non-violent, but there is no permanent solution of the conflict in sight. *sb*

Iraq - USA, UK

Intensity:	5	Change:	↗	Start:	1990
Conflict Parties:	Iraq vs. USA, United Kingdom				
Conflict Items:	international power (disarmament, support of international terrorism), resources (protection of oil springs), system				

The conflict between the US and the United Kingdom on the one hand and Iraq on the other, escalates to a war on March 20 when the Western allies start their military operation. The dispute concerns international power respectively the disarmament of Iraq which is accused of possessing weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and of supporting international terrorism. The US-lead attack aims at a regime-change in Baghdad. After last year's developments, this escalation already evolved despite the efforts made by the international community to avoid a "Third Persian Gulf War". Without a UN mandate and against the declared will of UN veto powers Russia and France, but also of Germany and several other states, especially the US thereby implements action against one element of the so-called "axis of evil". Politically supported by a "coalition of the willing", US President George W. Bush's administration understands operation Iraqi Freedom as a consequent step in the "war on terror" announced after the attacks of September 11, 2001. In only 21 days and with less than 250,000 troops, the allies succeed in defeating the poorly equipped Iraqi forces who

have been weakened by the embargo. They do so by avoiding the expected lossy fight over Baghdad, and in capturing the capital. They therefore consider the Iraqi regime as overthrown on April 9. Until Bush declares the end of the main fighting on May 1, a total of 13,000 Iraqis is estimated dead, among them 4,300 civilians. These Iraqi casualties contrast with 171 allied combatants killed, 115 on the side of the US.

This fast military victory over the Iraqi regime faces a disillusioning political balance, though. The US refuses a resumption of UN weapons inspections, but their team of experts fails to find evidence for the existence of WMD, the official reason for the war. In late November, the US reduces its number of experts searching for WMD and instead sets its priority on the search for insurgents. Several members of the former Iraqi regime are captured. Furthermore, US troops find Saddam Hussein's two sons, Uday and Qusay, in the Northern city of Mosul following a tip-off from an Iraqi source on July 22. The two men are killed in the heavy shooting during the storm on the house. Saddam Hussein himself, though, has not yet been found. Also, the number of US soldiers killed in Iraq is rising continuously. Invincible as the US-lead high-tech army might has been in conquering the country, the more helplessly it has to face daily attacks by insurgents during the occupation in post-war Iraq. These guerrilla and terror tactics cause 118 casualties among US troops until the end of October, more than the previous war did.

Throughout the year, Iraqi anti-occupationists increasingly target US allies. On August 7, 17 people die in an attack with a car bomb in front of the Jordan embassy in Baghdad. On November 12, 19 Italian soldiers and carabinieri as well as nine Iraqis are killed in a suicide attempt in the Southern city of Nasiriya. Two weeks later, rebels shoot mortars at the Italian embassy in Baghdad. In late November, seven Spanish intelligence agents, two Japanese diplomats, one Colombian, two South Koreans and two US soldiers are killed in attacks on November 29 and 30 alone. The US troops respond with one of the fiercest combat operations since May 1 killing 54 Iraqis, injuring 18 and arresting another seven. International facilities, too, are not spared by the insurgents. In this context, Iraqi assassins kill 23 people, one of them being the UN co-ordinator for Iraq, Sergio de Mello, with a car bomb on August 19, as well as two people on September 22. Thereupon, the UN temporarily withdraws their staff from Baghdad. An attack on the headquarters of the International Committee of the Red Cross causes ten casualties on October 27, resulting in the humanitarian organization's withdrawal from Baghdad and Basra on November 8. By the end of the year, the number of casualties rises while the average number of 30 attacks per day remains about the same. After 16 US soldiers are killed when their helicopter is shot down, the US starts several military operations against Iraqi insurgents in mid-November. One of these is operation Iron Hammer that includes air strikes against Baghdad and surrounding areas. The Iraqi resistance responds with multiple missile attacks on two hotels and the Ministry of Oil in Baghdad on November 21. On November 22, at least 18 people die in car bomb attacks on police stations North of the capital. In the opinion of Paul Bremer, the

chief of the US-lead Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) who succeeded Jay Garner in mid-May, recent incidents are characteristic for the insurgents' changed tactics with their actions being increasingly aimed at Iraqis. Confronted with ongoing violence in Iraq, the CPA, being in office since May, and the Iraqi Governing Council (IGC), appointed by the CPA in July, agree on a new schedule on November 15. This provides for the political sovereignty to be handed over to an interim government by the end of June 2004 already. A committee for the elaboration of a new Iraqi constitution is to be elected until March 15, 2005. A nationwide referendum on this new constitution is to be held late in 2005. The country's senior Shia Muslim cleric, Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani, criticizes these plans which do not envisage direct elections by the people, but rather the appointment of the interim government and the constituent assembly by certain bodies. After talks with the Grand Ayatollah on November 27, the head of the IGC, Jalal Talabani, declares that the US timeline might have to be revised.

On November 27, Thanksgiving Day, Bush surprisingly visits his troops in Baghdad and thanks them for their service. *pj*

Iraq (Ansar al-Islam, IUMK - PUK)

Intensity:	5	Change:	↗	Start:	2001
Conflict Parties:	IUMK, Ansar al-Islam vs. PUK				
Conflict Items:	regional predominance, system				

The conflict between Islamist groups and the secular oriented Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) in Northern Iraq, which began in 2001, escalates to a war in the context of a US-lead military campaign against Iraq. The Islamists, who are predominantly organized in the Islamist Unity Movement of Kurdistan (IUMK) and in the group Ansar al-Islam, comprise about 8,000 armed followers. These groups fight for a strict Islamic regime, patterned after the model of the Taliban in Afghanistan, and for regional predominance in the PUK's sphere of control in Iraqi Kurdistan. They already control a ring of about 40 villages in the Northeast of the country. Against the background of the "Third Persian Gulf War", massive clashes take place between the Iraqi army and Kurdish fighters, in which the latter is supported by US troops in their advance against the Ansar al-Islam, too. Thus, the US air force shells positions of the so-called Helpers of Islam, followed by missile attacks on the March 21, in which up to 150 Islamists die. Being increasingly under pressure, the Islamists commit a suicide assault on March 22 on a checkpoint of the PUK and announce further attacks. The US operations prepare the ground for a PUK offensive, which starts on March 28. As far as 10,000 Kurdish fighters join the operation resulting in the capture of several headquarters of the Ansar after a few hours only. About 70 Islamists are killed during the fighting, numerous more retreat into the surrounding mountains. *pj*

Iraq (Iraqi Kurdistan)

Intensity:	5	Change:	↑ END	Start:	1945
Conflict Parties:	Iraqi Kurds vs. government				
Conflict Items:	autonomy, resources (water, oil)				

The conflict on autonomy between the Kurdish ethnic groups in Northern Iraq and the central government in

Baghdad escalates to a war in the context of the "Third Persian Gulf War". After the US-lead coalition has begun with air strikes against the capital, Kurdish Peshmerga clash with Iraqi troops in the North of the country. They are supported by US troops, that have been ferried to Iraqi Kurdistan after Turkey has denied the deployment of US troops on its soil. In the run-up of the war, the Iraqi Kurds have been inert to a co-operation with the US, due to their experience with the Iraqi regime. On 3/16/1988, Saddam Hussein used mustard and nerve gas against the city of Halabja, whereby up to 7,000 Kurds had been killed. In 1991, the Kurds declared a region in Northern Iraq as autonomous. Since the US, the United Kingdom, and France had implemented a no-fly zone after the Second Persian Gulf War, Iraqi Kurdistan de facto lies outside the sphere of influence of the dictator. His rule ends on April 9, 2003, when troops of the coalition march into Baghdad. The fights in the North still continue, though. On April 10, Kurdish fighters, together with US troops, occupy the cities of Kirkuk and Mossul, out of which Iraqi troops retreat one day later without further combat. After the major hostilities are regarded as having ceased on May 1, new clashes erupt 40 kilometers North of Baghdad, when Arabs open fire on Kurds. Nevertheless, with the participation of the leaders of the most important Kurdish parties in the Iraqi Governing Council, Massud Barzani and Jalal Talabani, which was established by the US-administered Provisional Coalition Authority, one can consider the conflict as having been terminated. This is especially true against the background of a still de facto autonomous Kurdish region, that possesses its own administration and infrastructure. *pj*

Iran - USA

Intensity:	2	Change:	•	Start:	1979
Conflict Parties:	USA vs. Iran				
Conflict Items:	international power (armament control), ideology				

In the conflict on Iran's compliance with agreements concerning armament control and its political system, the US, on 12/13/02, accuses Iran of operating two nuclear sites in order to produce plutonium which could be used in nuclear weapons. On February 9, Iran's President, Sayed Mohammed Khatami, admits that uranium is won in the relevant facilities. This, as well as the intention to produce nuclear fuel, will be used for civilian purpose only. Between February and May as well as in mid-July, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) conducts a series of inspections. The head of the IAEA, General Director Mohammed El-Baradei, shows himself impressed by Iran's technical progress. Against this background, El-Baradei demands Iran to sign an additional protocol to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) on March 17. In a report of June 16, the IAEA expresses its concern that Iran has not yet revealed all relevant material and nuclear activities.

Tensions between the US and Iran rise as the Speaker of the White House, Ari Fleischer, does not rule out a military option concerning Iran. Nevertheless, Washington supports a proposal made by the United Kingdom, France and Germany, giving Iran more time to reveal his nuclear programs until the end of October. Furthermore, Iran is to accept unannounced inspec-

tions allowing for in-dept monitoring. On October 9, Teheran negotiates with the IAEA on that issue. Two days later, Iran's Foreign Minister, Kamal Kharrazi, promises "full transparency" to his British, French and German counterparts. A short time later, Iran accepts the discontinuation of the enrichment of uranium and announces the signing of an agreement on more robust inspections. After long negotiations, the US and Europe conclude a compromise, that relaxes the situation. On that basis, the IAEA passes a resolution on November 25, reprimanding Iran for his nuclear program, but no sanctions are implemented. At the beginning of next year, the agency will provide a new report.

pj

Iran (Conservatives - Reformists)

Intensity: 2	Change: •	Start: 1993
Conflict Parties:	Iranian reformists vs. Iranian conservatives	
Conflict Items:	national power, system	

In the power struggle on the restriction of the conservative judiciary of Head of State, Ayatollah Sayed Ali Khamenei, and the reform-oriented forces of Head of Government, Sayed Mohammoud Khatami, in Iran, the latter face several setbacks. In February, the population's disappointment over the stagnating reform process is reflected by the local elections with a voter turnout of only eleven per cent. This contrasts with 64 per cent in 1999. In Teheran, the conservatives gain 14 out of 15 seats. In other major cities, the defeat of the reformists turns out in similar ways. On March 5, parliament passes two laws on the repeal of the Mullah's right to examine election candidates and the president's right to enforce constitutional provisions. Khatami announced this reform on 8/28/02. He also declared that he would not accept a veto by the judiciary when he introduced the draft laws to parliament on 9/2/02. Nevertheless, the conservative Mullahs reject both legislative acts in May, whereupon Khatami, for the first time, considers his resignation. Some days later, the judiciary declares its willingness to give up its prerogative in examining election candidates.

The Mullahs still control the judiciary, the supervision of the legislative branch, the security forces, and the state media. In contrast, the reformists are barely able to implement their reform program. In order to keep their majority in parliament gained in 2000, the largest reformist party, Iran Islamic Participation Front (IIPF), organizes a two-day congress in order to plan their strategy for the forthcoming parliamentary elections on 2/20/04.

pj

Israel (Hezbollah)

Intensity: 3	Change: •	Start: 1982
Conflict Parties:	Hezbollah vs. Israel	
Conflict Item:	territory (Shebah farms)	

The conflict on the level of a crisis between Israel and the Hezbollah, that is financially and logistically supported by Syria and Iran, continues this year. Disputed is an area in the border region between Israel, Syria and Lebanon, known as the Sheba farms, which is claimed by the Hezbollah in favor of Lebanon. Israel keeps the disputed area under control as part of the occupied Golan Heights. Since the withdrawal of the Israeli troops in May 2000, the Hezbollah has sporadically attacked targets in Northern Israel and in the area

near the Sheba farms, whereupon Israel has been retaliating with limited air and artillery strikes. Meanwhile, the US war on terror and the US-lead war against Iraq put the Governments of Syria and Lebanon under enormous political pressure. In a meeting on May 3 between US Secretary of State, Colin Powell, and Syria's President, Bashar al-Assad, the US demands Syria to cease all support for the Hezbollah and other terrorist groups such as Hamas. On May 22, the Israeli navy seizes a ship carrying weapons and ammunition, suspected to be destined for the Hezbollah and terrorist groups in Israel. On November 9, Israel accepts an agreement over an exchange of prisoners with the Hezbollah. This agreement mediated by Germany includes the exchange of a colonel of the reserves who was abducted in 2000 against members of the Hezbollah.

hl

Israel (Palestinian groups)

Intensity: 4	Change: ↘	Start: 1948
Conflict Parties:	PLO, Islamic Jihad (Israel), Hezbollah, Hamas vs. Israel	
Conflict Items:	Autonomy, System, Ressources	

The conflict between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) on the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state de-escalates after its renewed escalation in the year of 2000. While terrorist attacks against civilian facilities by the Palestinian and radical-Islamic side, represented by the Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, increase, the Israeli army carries on with its retaliatory strikes in the occupied territories and its selective elimination of suspected militants and their leaders. As a consequence, 23 Israelis die and over one hundred are injured in a bomb attack committed by militant Palestinians in Tel Aviv on January 5. On August 19, 20 Israelis and on October 4, 19 are killed in two suicide bombings. In reaction to these as to other less devastating attacks, the Israeli Government conduct several single military operations. On March 8, the Israeli army succeeds in killing the suspected Hamas leader, Ibrahim al-Maqadma, and his three bodyguards. On April 3, the Israeli army arrests about 1,000 people during a raid in a Palestinian refugee camp near Tulkarem. On June 12, Israeli forces using gunships kill 18 Palestinians within 24 hours in one of the fiercest strikes, among them suspected members of Hamas. In the context of its military operations, Israel increasingly targets the Palestinian infrastructure. In an extensive military offensive, the Israeli army destroys up to 120 homes and kills eight Palestinians in a refugee camp near Rafah. Besides that, Israeli forces repeatedly attack Palestinian security facilities and destroys them. Furthermore, President Yassir Arafat's headquarters are continuously besieged, de facto placing him under house arrest for already one year. The UN repeatedly criticizes Israel for the use of "excessive force".

In addition to direct military action against suspected terrorists, Israel completely seals off the autonomous territories on various occasions in order to avoid attacks. This causes the Palestinian economy to stagger and provokes further unrest in the occupied territories. In order to permanently seal off the territories and thereby to stop the infiltration by militant Palestinians, Israel builds a security fence in wide areas of the

Westbank on the Palestinian side. This is internationally criticized. On October 21, the UN General Assembly condemns the construction with 144 against four votes, among the latter are the US and Israel. On the diplomatic level, the US is able to mediate talks on several occasions between Israel and Palestinians, but both sides still fail in implementing the agreed measures to de-escalate the conflict. In March, Yassir Arafat fulfills one of the key demands of the US and Europe concerning the democratization of the Palestinian leadership by appointing Mahmud Abbas as the first Palestinian Prime Minister. But Abbas is unable to prevail against Arafat and his base of power. The background for this inner-Palestinian conflict is the struggle for control over the security apparatus, of whom Arafat is in charge of, and that is frequently criticized by Israel for their inefficient and inconsequent control of militants. In a meeting between Israel's Premier Ariel Sharon and Palestinian Prime Minister Abbas, mediated by the USA, on June 4 in Jordan, Abbas accepts the demand for the disarmament of terror groups, while Sharon promises the stop of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. But the radical organisations such as Hamas do not accept a ceasefire, as long as Israel refuses to make further concessions to the Palestinian side. As for now, both Israel and the Palestinian Authority fail to implement the roadmap for peace proposed by the USA. Israel refuses to make further concessions while the security apparatus of President Yassir Arafat lacks the will and/or the ability to stop the militants. The Palestinian Premier Abbas resigns from office on the September 6, after being unable to resolve his quarrels with President Yassir Arafat over the control of the security forces, therefore throwing the Palestinian government into a severe crisis. Though President Yassir Arafat designates a successor, Ahmed Qurei, for the office of prime minister, the crisis is not over, since a new power struggle erupts. On November 12, Qurei introduces his new cabinet, which is approved by the Palestinian Parliament. Still, the control over the security forces belongs to a minister close to President Arafat. Meanwhile, Israel supports the expulsion of Yassir Arafat, since he seems unwilling to stop militant attacks on Israeli targets. The USA veto a resolution in the UN Security Council drafted by Arab states, demanding that the integrity of President Yassir Arafat must not be endangered by Israel. The Israeli army even suggests the liquidation of the Palestinian president. Since its outbreak, the second Intifada has claimed about 2,600 Palestinian and over 900 Israeli fatalities. On November 27, the USA, displeased by Israel's settlement policy and by the construction of the security fence, cut a loan of nine billion US Dollars by 290 million. *hl*

Lebanon (religious groups)

Intensity:	3	Change:	•	Start:	1975
Conflict Parties:	Religious Groups vs. government				
Conflict Item:	national power				

In 2003, the intensity of the conflict about the power situation within Lebanon remains unchanged. The Lebanese government-critics mainly disagree with the Syrian influence in Lebanon's policy. The Syrian government continues the withdrawal of troops started

one year earlier, by ordering the retreat of approx. 4,000 soldiers in February and another 1,000 in July. Yet it maintains its political pressure. On April 15, the Lebanese parliament re-instates the Lebanese Prime Minister, Rafik Hariri, one day after his resignation - but having additional pro-Syrian ministers in his ranks. In this year, the Maronite Church, like other Christian opposition groups demanding real independence from Syria, refrain from protests this year. The battle of Islamists against the Lebanese government continues however. On June 15, the group Ansar Allah launches a missile attack against a broadcasting station owned by the prime minister. *es*

Libya - USA, UK

Intensity:	2	Change:	•	Start:	1986
Conflict Parties:	Lybia vs. USA, Great Britain				
Conflict Item:	international power (compensation, disarmament)				

The parties which are involved in the conflict about the political responsibility for the Lockerbie-attack in 1988, namely Libya on the one hand and the USA and the UK on the other, make clear progress in 2003. Libya declares its intention to take responsibility in April. Each of the 270 families who lost a relative are to receive US-Dollars 10 million as compensation. In August, Libya formally takes responsibility before the UN, which is an essential condition to lift the sanctions that were imposed on Libya in 1986. Libya starts transferring the first installments the same month. The UK demands the lifting of the sanctions by the UN security-council in August as well. France files an objection due to its own demands because of another attack which delays a decision. The UN security-council lifts the sanctions in the beginning of September and Libya pays the last compensation. Only the USA demand substantial changes in the regime. They refer to Libya's bad implementation of human rights and accuse Libya of striving for weapons of mass destruction. *sb*

Morocco (Western Sahara)

Intensity:	2	Change:	•	Start:	1976
Conflict Parties:	Frente POLISARIO vs. government				
Conflict Item:	secession				

The conflict between Morocco and the Saharouan Liberation Front (Frente POLISARIO) over the political territorial status of the Western Sahara remains manifest. The disputed issue remains the holding of a referendum agreed upon by the parties during the ceasefire brokered by the UN in 1991. In January, the POLISARIO sets free 100 Moroccan prisoners of war. After a failed mediation attempt by the special representative of the UN Secretary General, James Baker, in February, the POLISARIO surprisingly agrees upon the initiative in July. The resolution draft determines that the disputed area will be a semi-autonomous province of Morocco for a transitional period of 4 to 5 years. After this period, the referendum which has been aspired since 1991 is to determine whether the Western Sahara will be independent, remain an autonomous province or be part of Morocco. Given the pressure exerted by France and the US in the Security Council, the initial proposal is modified to the effect that Morocco has the right to object during the whole course of the transition period.

*fw***Saudi Arabia (Islamists)**

Intensity:	3	Change:	↗	Start:	1990
Conflict Parties:		Islamists vs. government			
Conflict Items:		national power, system			

The deployment of US troops in Saudi Arabia following the first Gulf War of 1991 has led to tensions between Islamist radicals and the Saudi royal house, which have escalated to a crisis this year under review. The Islamist radicals try to destabilize the Saudi government, that is seen by many people as a corrupt regime. Furthermore, the relations between Saudi Arabia and the USA are to be disrupted and a continuing "Westernization" of the country is to be prevented. In November 1995 already, there had been a bomb assault on a US facility in the Saudi capital Riyadh, in which six Americans died. Due to the fact that the majority of the terrorists of September 11 2001 came from Saudi Arabia, the USA exert more pressure on the gulf state to fight the Islamist radical elements in its society. The US-led gulf war of 2003 against Iraq raises further tensions in the Saudi kingdom, in which 5,000 US military personnel are still stationed. On April 29, the US government decides to withdraw its troops from Saudi Arabia, where yet another 30,000 US-civilians work and live. On May 13, Islamist radicals detonate a bomb outside a compound of foreign workers in the capital with supposed help from al-Qaeda, and kill 29 people. Last but not least, due to the pressure of the USA, the Saudi government intensifies its struggle against the Islamist terrorists. On July 28, Saudi security forces kill eight alleged terrorists, who are suspected of preparing another attack. On November 8, terrorists commit another bomb assault in Riyadh, leaving 17 dead people. This increases the danger of political destabilization of the Saudi government by Islamist radicals. *hl*

Saudi Arabia (Reformists)

Intensity:	2	Change:	NEW	Beginn:	Start
Conflict Parties:		Reformists vs. government			
Conflict Item:		national power			

Persisting economic problems and criticism of the authoritarian governing system lead to a manifest conflict over political reforms on the part of fractions of the people, especially the intellectual elite. Among the most important demands are the freedom of assembly and the freedom of press. On the September 14, after an appeal by the London-based Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia (MIRA), hundreds of people peacefully demonstrate for political reforms in the capital. About 150 of them are arrested for taking part in an illegal gathering and are taken to court. On October 13, the Saudi government announces elections for the local councils within one year. On November 1, up to 500 people gather in Riyadh to demonstrate for political reforms and the release of political prisoners. *hl*

Syria - Israel

Intensity:	3	Change:	↗	Start:	1967
Conflict Parties:		Syria vs. Israel			
Conflict Item:		territory			

The conflict between Syria and Israel further remains unresolved. Main point at issue are the Golan-heights occupied by Israel since 1967. The US attempt to rein-

stall negotiations between both sides fails due to the different positions of both states. While Syria insists to continue negotiations on the basis of UN resolutions and agreements reached between both sides in the discussions broken off in the year 2000, Israel rejects any preconditions. In August, Israel bombards a training camp of the Islamic Jihad on Syrian territory, which causes violent protest on the part of the Syrians. Although Israel justifies this attack with its right of self-defence and at the same time stresses that this attack was not directed against Syria, the clay between both states is intensified. Syria announces that if Israel strikes again it will retaliate. *mad*

Syria - USA

Intensity:	2	Change:	NEW	Start:	2003
Conflict Parties:		USA vs. Syria			
Conflict Item:		international power (disarmament)			

The relations between the United States and Syria increasingly deteriorate in the course of the year. The American President, George W. Bush, accuses Syria of supporting terrorist groups still during the war against Iraq. Furthermore, on April 15, the United States allege that Syria hides members of the fallen Iraqi regime and that it possesses chemical weapons. At the same time, the American President threatens Syria with diplomatic and economic sanctions, if Damascus continues to support terrorist groups and to harbour members of the fallen Iraqi regime. There is an easing of tensions when secretary of state, Colin Powell, visits Damascus on May 3 for discussions with the Syrian president Baschar al-Assad. However, the discussions are terminated without result. On November 12, the American congress imposes the threatened sanctions against Syria, since Syria fails to meet US demands. *mad*

Turkey (Kurds)

Intensity:	3	Change:	↗	Start:	1920
Conflict Parties:		Kurds vs. government			
Conflict Item:		autonomy			

There is no progress towards a resolution of the conflict between Turkey and the Congress for Freedom and Democracy in Kurdistan (Kadec, formerly Kurdish worker's party) over autonomy rights for the Kurdish minority in Turkey in this year also. On March 13, the Turkish constitutional court forbids the country's largest pro-Kurdish party, the Democratic People's Party (Hadep), because of alleged links to rebel-groups. At the same time, the court forbids 46 members of the party to agitate politically for the duration of five years. The European Union criticises this decision. According to the Turkish army, on May 31, Kurdish rebels attack an army post; one soldier dies in this incident. This is the first attack since 1999, when the Kurdish worker's party had proclaimed a one-sided armistice. On July 31, the Turkish parliament passes an amnesty law, which guarantees all Kurdish worker's party /Kadec - members, who did not participate in fighting against the Turkish state, exemption from punishment. Different Kurdish groups, however, reject this law and demand a general amnesty. In September, the arrested chairman of the Kadec, Abdullah Ocalan, proclaims the end of the one sided armistice. He justi-

fies this decision with the fact that Turkey did not meet with Kadek's demands. On September 22 Turkey arrests the former chairman of the pro-Kurdish party Dehap, Tuncer Bakirhan, because he attends a pro-Kurdish festival in Gelsenkirchen, Germany. Tuncer Bakirhan is released the next day. The transformation of Abdullah Ocalan's death sentence into life imprisonment, which was decided on October 3 by the Turkish state security court causes a slide decrease of tensions between both sides. The decision's intention is to meet with the criteria for joining the European Union. *mad*

Yemen (Islamists)

Intensity: 3	Change: ↗	Start: 1994
Conflict Parties:	Islamists vs. government	
Conflict Item:	national power	

The intensity of the conflict between the Yemeni government and the Islamist Jihad about the claim to power increases in this year. On December 28 2002, a member of the Islamist Jihad murders the deputy chairman of the Socialist Party of Yemen (YSP), Jarallah Omar. He had supported an alliance between the YSP and the Reform Party, what would have entailed an attenuation of the Reform Party's radical-Islamist wing. In June and July, the government intensifies its actions against the Islamists, who predominantly hide themselves in the mountainous South of the country. The army attacks a common hiding place of the Islamic Jihad and the army of Aden-Abyan in the South on June 25. At least 10 people die during the battle, in which gunships, tanks and heavy artillery are involved. On July 1, the police arrests four suspects in the South of the country, who surrender only after a firefight. Three further suspects die during the shooting. *mad*

Databank KOSIMO 2.0

HIIK, in its databank Kosimo, records information on political conflicts between 1945 and today. Since 2003, it works with a relational datenbank system, completely reconsidering, updating, and extending the dataset of Kosimo 1.3. At present, Kosimo 2.0 includes information on far more than 500 conflicts with over 2,500 phases. By the systematic recording of single conflict measures, the new conception enables the detailed description of the conflict development in violent and non-violent phases. In addition, the databank includes extensive information on the structure of state and non-state actors, that are recorded per year..

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