

**HEIDELBERG INSTITUTE ON  
INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESEARCH**

at the Department of Political Science, University of Heidelberg

# **CONFLICT BAROMETER 2004**

**Crises · Wars · Coups d'État  
Negotiations · Mediations · Peace Settlements**

**13th ANNUAL CONFLICT ANALYSIS  
revised edition**



# HIIK

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

## Conflict

We define conflicts 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 cases.

## 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 preliminary stage to violent force. This includes for example verbal pressure, threatening explicitly 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 sporadic 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               | A war is a type of violent conflict in which violent force is used with a certain continuity in an organized and systematic way. The conflict parties exercise extensive measures, depending on the situation. The extent of destruction is massive and of long duration. |

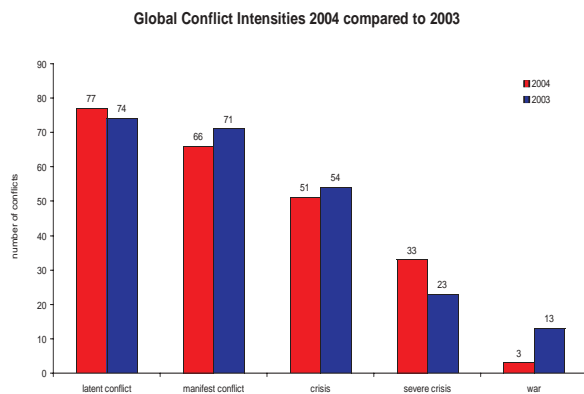
The present Conflict Barometer 2004 reflects our current state of research.  
Therefore, this edition's data might differ from previous editions.

Editorial Deadline: December 1, 2004

# Global Conflict Panorama 2004

## Global Development

There are 230 political conflicts in 2004. Three of these are wars and 33 are severe crises. From this follows that a total of 36 conflicts are carried out with a massive amount of violence. 51 conflicts are levelled as crises, meaning violence is used only occasionally. In contrast, there are 143 non-violent conflicts, that can be broken down into 66 manifest and 77 latent conflicts.



Compared to last year, the number of conflicts carried out on the highest intensity level has decreased significantly from 13 to three wars, whereas the number of severe crises has increased by ten, from 23 to 33. Despite the striking decrease of wars, the total number of conflicts on the two highest intensity levels has not changed, remaining 36. The number of crises representing conflicts of medium intensity has decreased by three, from 54 in 2003 to 51 in 2004. The number of conflicts on the two non-violent intensity levels has decreased by one, from 145 to 143 conflicts. Manifest conflicts have been reduced from 71 to 66. The number of latent conflicts has risen from 74 in 2003 to 77 in 2004.

In total, the number of conflicts has dropped from 235 to 230, meaning that five disputes less have been observed. Because on the one hand 13 conflicts can be considered to have ended in 2003 and on the other hand eight conflicts are new in 2004. These are set as follows: in Europe, two conflicts have ended in 2003, one conflict is new in 2004; eight have ended and two are new in Africa; one has ended and three are new in Asia and Oceania; in the Middle East and Maghreb, two have ended and two are new. Out of the eight new conflicts, five start on the two highest intensity levels: Ethiopia (Anyuak - Nuer), China (Hui), Sri Lanka (LTTE-East - LTTE), Iraq (al-Sadr group) and Iraq (insurgents). The three others are carried out on a level of low violence: Ukraine (opposition), Equatorial-Guinea (coup plotters) and Kazakhstan (opposition). Only one conflict is considered to have ended in 2004, al-

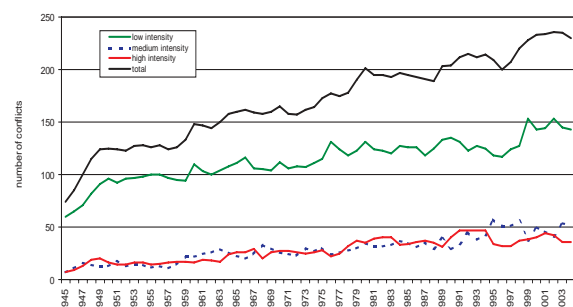
though it has not been resolved, but transformed due to a change in the conflict constellation. With the handing over of power to an interim government in Iraq on June 28, the US-led coalition troops have no longer been considered direct actors but supporters of the new Iraqi authorities, despite the fact that they still exert an enormous amount of influence in the country.

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 below also presents the total number of conflicts observed. As shown by the progressive graph, this total number of annually observed conflicts has more or less continuously risen from 74 in 1945 to 230 in 2004. The gradual rise in the total number of conflicts is striking. Nevertheless, the following phases of increase have been intercepted by phases of marginal decreases in the number of conflicts: Between 1945 and 1950 from 74 to 125, between 1952 and 1954 from 123 to 128, between 1957 and 1960 from 124 to 148, between 1963 and 1966 from 150 to 162, between 1973 and 1980 from 162 to 201, between 1989 and 1992 from 203 to 215, and finally the present phase that started with 220 conflicts in 1998 and was up to 235 in 2003. Considering this, the decrease of conflicts during the period under review, is an interruption of an enduring trend over the past six years.

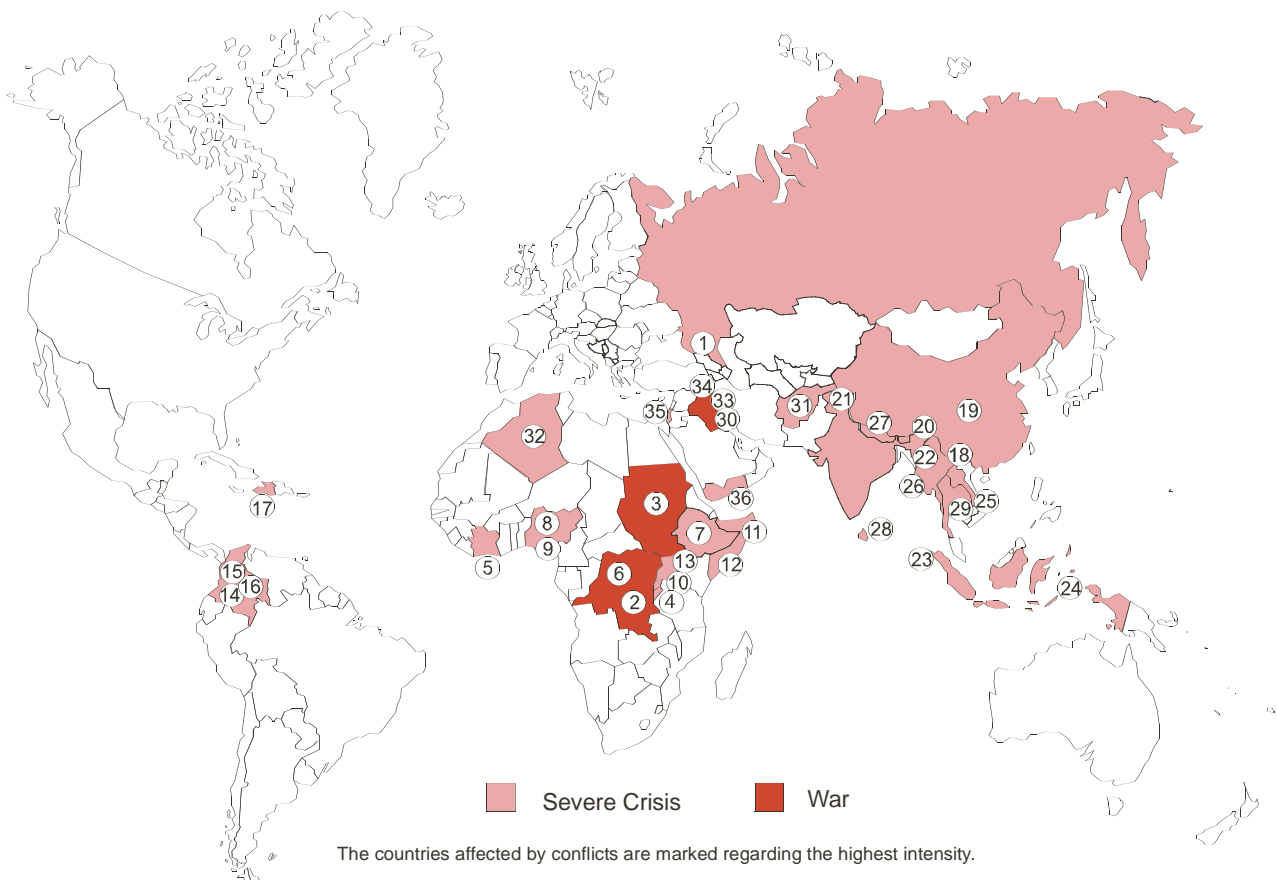
A closer look at the single intensity groups shows the progressive graph for the conflicts of low intensity closest to the one for the total number of conflicts. The proximity continuously narrows, though, the two progressive graphs cumulatively diverging.

When looking at the progressive graph of the high intensity conflicts, a continuous and for the most part regular increase leaps to the eye, from seven in 1945 to 36 in 2004. Exceptions being the three phases of high escalations: 1945 to 1949 from seven to 20, 1976 to 1979 from 22 to 37 and 1989 to 1991, the period that saw the collapse of the Soviet Union, from 31 to 47 marking the over all peak of high intensity conflicts.

Ongoing Global Conflicts of low, medium and high Intensity  
1945 to 2004



## Worldmap: Violent Conflicts of High Intensity 2004



### Legend

| No.                             | Name of Conflict and most important Conflict Item       | No.  | Name of Conflict and most important Conflict Item               |
|---------------------------------|---|--|---|
| <b>Europe - severe crises</b>   |   | <b>Asia and Oceania - severe crises</b>        |   |
| 1                               | Russia (Chechnya) - secession                           | 18   | Bhutan (Indian separatist rebels) - territory                   |
| <b>Africa - wars</b>            |   | 19   | China (Hui) - other   |
| 2                               | DR Congo (Rebels) - national power, resources           | 20   | India (Assam) - secession, resources                            |
| 3                               | Sudan (SLM/A - JEM) - regional predominance             | 21   | India (Kashmir) - secession                                     |
| <b>Africa - severe crises</b>   |   | 22   | India (Nagaland) - secession, regional predominance             |
| 4                               | Burundi (Hutu) - national power                         | 23   | Indonesia (Aceh) - secession, resources                         |
| 5                               | Côte d'Ivoire (Rebels) - national power                 | 24   | Indonesia (Moluccans) - regional predominance                   |
| 6                               | DR Congo (Hema - Lendu) - regional predominance         | 25   | Laos (LCMD, CIDL) - ideology / system, autonomy, national power |
| 7                               | Ethiopia (Anyuak - Nuer) - regional predominance        | 26   | Myanmar (minorities) - secession                                |
| 8                               | Nigeria (Christians - Muslims) - ideology / system      | 27   | Nepal (Maoist rebels) - ideology / system, national power       |
| 9                               | Nigeria (Nigerdelta - Ijaw) - resources                 | 28   | Sri Lanka (LTTE-East - LTTE) - regional predominance            |
| 10                              | Rwanda (Hutu) - national power                          | 29   | Thailand (Southern Border Provinces) - secession                |
| 11                              | Somalia (Somaliland) - secession                        | <b>Middle East and Maghreb - wars</b>          |   |
| 12                              | Somalia (various groups) - national power               | 30   | Iraq (insurgents) - national power, ideology / system           |
| 13                              | Uganda (LRA) - national power                           | <b>Middle East and Maghreb - severe crises</b> |   |
| <b>Americas - severe crises</b> |   | 31   | Afghanistan (Taleban) - regional predominance, national power   |
| 14                              | Colombia (ELN) - national power, ideology / system      | 32   | Algeria (Islamist groups) - national power, ideology / system   |
| 15                              | Colombia (FARC) - national power, ideology / system     | 33   | Iraq (al-Sadr group) - ideology / system                        |
| 16                              | Colombia (paramilitias) - regional predominance, system | 34   | Iraq (CPA - resistance groups) - ideology / system, resources   |
| 17                              | Haiti (opposition) - national power                     | 35   | Israel (Palestinians) - autonomy, ideology / system, resources  |
|                                 |   | 36   | Yemen (Islamists) - national power                              |

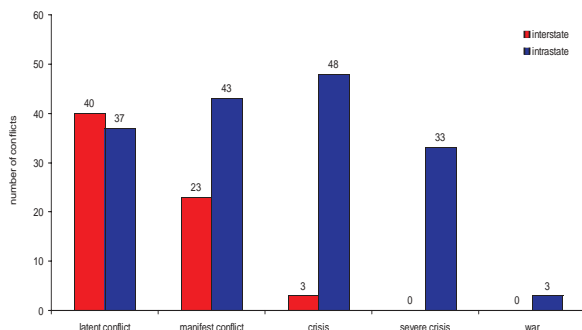
There were phases of clear de-escalation: between 1949 and 1951 from 20 to 14, between 1992 and 1996 from 47 to 32. Between 1994 and 1995, the most significant decrease within one year occurred with the number of high intensity conflicts dropping from 47 to 34. The number of high intensity conflicts has increased considerably from 32 in 1997 to 44 in 2001. This number had decreased by eight to 36 in 2003, remaining the same in 2004.

Comparing the progressive graphs of high and medium intensity conflicts, a diametrical trend is notable in the rise and fall of the curves. When the number of high intensity conflicts increases, there is a decline in medium intensity conflicts or crises respectively. The most significant occurrence of this development is shown between 1994 and 1995 when the numbers of high intensity conflicts sank from 47 to 34 while the number of medium intensity conflicts was increased by 15 from 42 to 57.

### Analysis intrastate - interstate

This year, a total number of 164 internal and of 66 interstate conflicts has been carried out. None of the three wars has taken place between states, all of them being intrastate. Each of the 33 severe crises have been waged within states. This represents a most remarkable

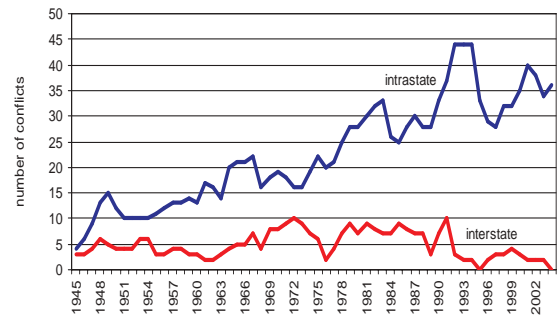
Number of intra- and interstate Conflicts 2004 by Intensity Level



finding, none of the conflicts of high intensity being interstate disputes. After all, in only three interstate conflicts violence has occasionally been used by the opposing parties (Ethiopia - Eritrea, Nepal - Bhutan, Russia - Georgia). On the intensity level of manifest conflicts, with 43 to 23, the number of internal conflicts has also been considerably higher than that of international conflicts. It is only with the latent conflicts that interstate conflicts outweigh those within states by three.

For the long-term trend analysis, the two high intensity levels severe 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: 4 - 1949: 15), in the mid-Sixties

Ongoing intra- and interstate Conflicts of high Intensity  
1945 to 2004

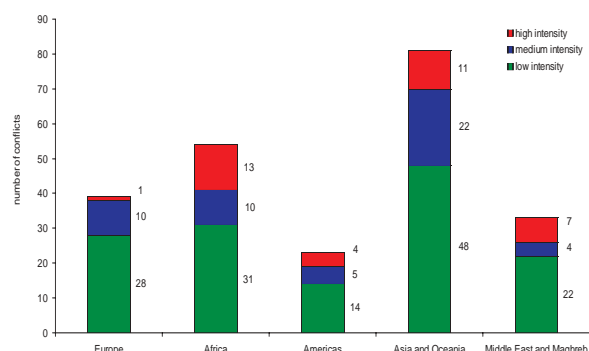


(1963: 14 - 1967: 22), between the late Seventies and the early Eighties (1976: 20 - 1983: 33), between the late Eighties and the early Nineties (1989: 28 - 1992: 44) and between the late Nineties and 2001 (1997: 28 - 2001: 40). After dropping to 34 highly violent conflicts within states in 2003, these number has increased again by two in 2004. In contrast, the graph of interstate conflicts of high intensity is far more regular. Here, it is the increase in the late Seventies (1976: 2 - 1979: 9) and the sharp rise in the late Eighties and early Nineties (1989: 3 - 1991: 10) that stand out before all. The period from 1991 until 1994 is also substantial. While the number of interstate severe crises and wars dramatically decreases (1991: 10 - 1995: 0), the number of intrastate high intensity conflicts keeps rising (1991: 37 - 1992: 44).

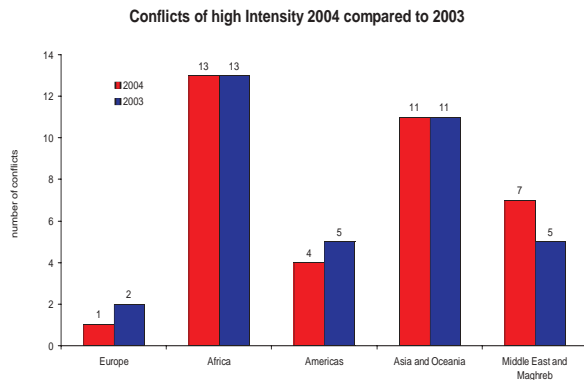
### Regional Development

In 2004 as in earlier years, with 13 most high intensity conflicts have been fought out in Sub-Saharan-Africa, followed by Asia and Oceania with eleven. It is remarkable that there have been no wars in the latter region this year. With a total of 81 out of 230 most - almost a third of all - conflicts are located in Asia and Oceania. The region also has the highest number of medium and low intensity conflicts by far. Regarding crises, Asia and Oceania is followed by Africa with less than half of the number. Africa has the second most conflicts of low intensity, followed by Europe. Remarkable is the finding that although Europe has the lowest number of high intensity conflicts, it still is the region which is third in terms of the total number of conflicts. While the Americas are the region with the

Distribution of all Conflicts 2004 by Region and Intensity Group



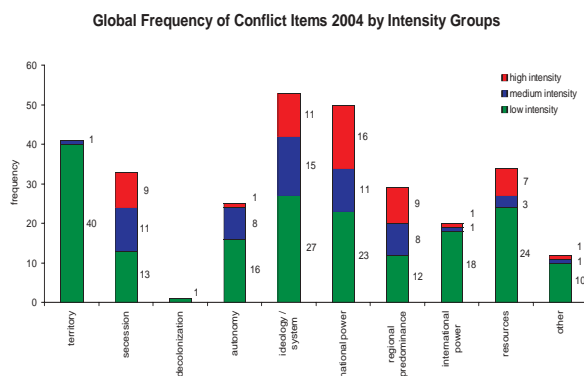
least total number of conflicts, the Middle East and Maghreb has the highest proportion of high intensity conflicts per state.



A comparison of high intensity conflicts in 2003 and 2004 brings a diverse result for each region. In the Middle East and Maghreb, the sizeable increase of high intensity conflicts by two is most striking. This development refers to two new conflicts [Iraq (al-Sadr group) and Iraq (insurgents)] and one escalated conflict [Yemen (Islamic Jihad)] in the Middle East and Maghreb. While the number of highly violent conflicts has remained the same in Africa and in Asia and Oceania, it has decreased by one each in Europe and the Americas due to one deescalated conflict each [Serbia and Montenegro (Kosovo) and Guatemala (PAC)].

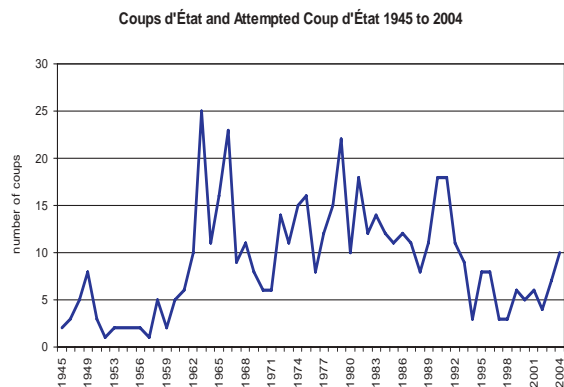
## Conflict Items

Most conflicts in 2004 have been caused by ideological differences or have been fought in order to change the political system respectively. The second most frequent item disputed has been the struggle for national power. Half of the conflicts over ideology / system and over national power are carried out with the use of violence, albeit oftentimes only occasionally. Territorial claims, an interstate item, are usually disputed without violence, whereas more than half of the conflicts over secession and regional predominance within a state are carried out violently. One has to keep in mind that there can often be observed a mixing of conflict items, especially when it comes to resources.



## Coups d'État

In 2004, ten alleged or really attempted coups have occurred, eight of these in Africa, two in the Middle East and Maghreb. None of the coups has been successful. In Guinea, a planned coup by members of the armed forces was allegedly discovered and spoiled in December 2003. Another coup attempt allegedly took place in April. On April 6, a coup plot by foreign mercenaries was discovered and spoiled in Equatorial Guinea. In Congo, members of the presidential guard tried twice to remove Joseph Kabila from power. They did so on March 29 and on June 11. In Sudan, the government blamed Hasan al-Tourabi to have attempted a coup twice this year, the first time in March, the second time in September. On April 15, the Nigerian government claimed to have spoiled an attempted coup by members of the army. The Ghanaian government claimed to have spoiled a coup on November 8. Mauritania's government declared that it had foiled two alleged coup attempts against President Maouiya Ould Taya in August and September.



## Dynamics within Individual Conflicts

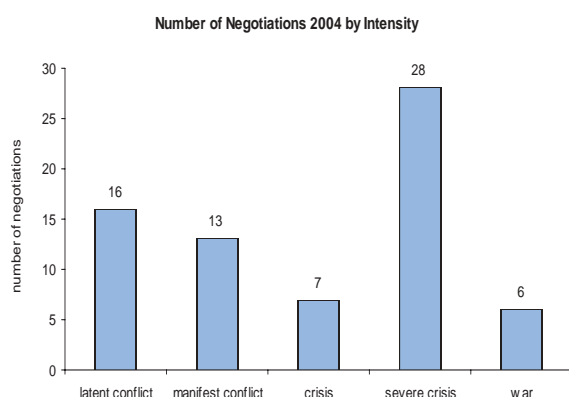
Compared to last year, the total numbers of conflicts at the different intensity levels has changed only marginally. This cannot be said for the developments within individual conflicts, though. A total of 25 conflicts has escalated, six out of these by two intensity levels and 19 by one level. There are eight new high intensity conflicts in 2004, six 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 41 deescalated conflicts, 19 have been carried out without violence in 2004.

| Change of Intensity           | Number |
|-------------------------------|--------|
| Escalation by four Levels     | 0      |
| Escalation by three Levels    | 0      |
| Escalation by two Levels      | 6      |
| Escalation by one Level       | 19     |
| No Change                     | 156    |
| De-escalation by one Level    | 31     |
| De-escalation by two Levels   | 10     |
| De-escalation by three Levels | 0      |
| De-escalation by four Levels  | 0      |

## Measures of Conflict Resolution

### Negotiations

In at least 33 of the 230 current conflicts, talks, negotiations and conferences were conducted at least once this year. Conflict parties were most likely to talk to each other in conflicts at the intensity level of severe crisis. Most negotiations took place in Burundi (Hutu), followed by Libya vs. USA, Great Britain. Although the smallest number of negotiations were held in conflicts of the highest intensity, there have been talks between the conflict parties in all three wars waged in 2004.



### Treaties

A total of 23 treaties or agreements have been signed on the regulation of conflicts; 14 of these in highly violent conflicts. Amongst them are six ceasefires [one in Bhutan (Indian separatists), three in Iraq (al-Sadr

group), one in Nepal (Maoists), and two in Sudan (Darfur - SLA/JEM)]. Four peace agreements were signed [one in Burundi (Hutu), one in Chad (MDJT), one in the DR Congo (Hema - Lendu), one in Sudan (Darfur - SLA/JEM)]. The other agreements mostly contain the regulation of procedures or bring partial solutions.

### International Organizations

By the end of 2004, the United Nations Organization (UNO) has 16 peacekeeping missions. These are three more than the previous year, although three missions had ended in 2003. Three new peacekeeping operations have been established in 2004. On April 4, the UN Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI), a political mission set up to facilitate the peace agreement of January 2003, was replaced by the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI). Due to the unrest in Haiti, the UN established a Stabilization Mission (MINUSTAH) requesting the transfer of authority from the Multinational Interim Force (MIF) in June. On May 21, the UN Operation in Burundi (ONUB) took up its work in order to support the restoration of lasting peace as provided under the Arusha agreement. These developments again reflect the risen efforts the UN is making in Africa. In 2003, the UN provided four missions simultaneously for the first time. In 2004, this number has increased to seven concurrent operations. Therefore, Africa constitutes the region with most UN missions, followed by the Middle East and Maghreb with four peacekeeping activities (MINURSO in Western Sahara, UNDOF in the Golan Heights between Israel and Syria, UNIFIL in Lebanon and UNTSO in Israel). As in the previous year, the UN has three missions in

### Overview: Present UN Peacekeeping Missions

| Mission Acronym                | Name of Mission                                    | Start | Country               |
|--------------------------------|--|-------|-----------------------|
| <b>Europe</b>                  |  |       |                       |
| UNFICYP                        | UN Force in Cyprus                                 | 1964  | Cyprus                |
| UNMIK                          | UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo        | 1999  | Serbia and Montenegro |
| UNOMIG                         | UN Observer Mission to Georgia                     | 1993  | Georgia               |
| <b>Africa</b>                  |  |       |                       |
| ONUB                           | UN Mission for Burundi                             | 2004  | Burundi               |
| UNOCI                          | UN Mission in Côte d'Ivoire <sup>1</sup>           | 2004  | Côte d'Ivoire         |
| UNMIL                          | UN Mission in Liberia                              | 2003  | Liberia               |
| MONUC                          | UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo | 1999  | DR Congo              |
| UNMEE                          | UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea                 | 2000  | Ethiopia - Eritrea    |
| UNAMSIL                        | UN Mission in Sierra Leone                         | 1999  | Sierra Leone          |
| <b>Americas</b>                |  |       |                       |
| MINUSTAH                       | UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti                  | 2004  | Haiti                 |
| <b>Asia and Oceania</b>        |  |       |                       |
| UNMISET                        | UN Mission of Support in East Timor <sup>2</sup>   | 2002  | East Timor            |
| UNMOGIP                        | UN Military Observer Group India and Pakistan      | 1949  | India - Pakistan      |
| <b>Middle East and Maghreb</b> |  |       |                       |
| UNDOF                          | UN Disengagement Observer Force Golan Heights      | 1974  | Syria - Israel        |
| MINURSO                        | UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara    | 1991  | Western Sahara        |
| UNIFIL                         | UN Interim Force in Lebanon                        | 1978  | Lebanon               |
| UNTSO                          | UN Truce Supervisory Organization Middle East      | 1948  | Middle East           |

<sup>1</sup> Successor of UN Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI), a political mission set up on May 13, 2003  
<sup>2</sup> Successor of UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), Start in 1999

Europe (UNFICYP in Cyprus, UNMIK in Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro, and UNOMIG in Abkhazia, Georgia). Despite the fact that Asia and Oceania is the region with the highest total number of conflicts, there are only two active UN missions (UNMISET in Eastern Timor and 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 five cases, UN troops have been assigned to high intensity conflicts, namely in Burundi (Hutu), Côte d'Ivoire (Rebels), the DR Congo (Rebels) and (Hema - Lendu), Haiti (opposition) as well as Israel (Palestinians). Besides, the UN are active in five conflicts of medium intensity, namely in Georgia (Abkhazia), Liberia (LURD, MODEL - Taylor loyalists), Ethiopia - Eritrea, Lebanon (religious groups) as well as in Serbia and Montenegro (Kosovo). In October 2004, a total of 62,790 troops from 103 different countries have been assigned to peacekeeping missions. One year earlier, the UN had 43,000 soldiers from 92 countries assigned. The biggest contingents have been contributed by Bangladesh (8,209 men), Pakistan (8,178 men) and Nigeria (3,590 men). There are 299 Germans active in five missions.

Apart from peacekeeping operations, the UN can also apply measures not involving the use of armed force in order to maintain or restore international peace and security. Sanctions represent such measures. In 2004, the UN is maintaining sanctions against six states (Afghanistan, Iraq, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Somalia). In the case of Iraq, sanctions have been partially lifted, with the exception of prohibitions related to the sale or supply of arms or related material.

Next to the UN, several international organizations maintain peacekeeping missions, e.g. the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Li-

beria 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, e.g. Macedonia and the DR Congo (EU), Burundi (AU) and Haiti (OAS). In 2004, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) maintains a total of seven long-term missions at Skopje in FYROM, in Georgia, Moldova, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia, Kosovo and in Serbia and Montenegro. Furthermore, the OSCE is present through field activities in Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, the Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

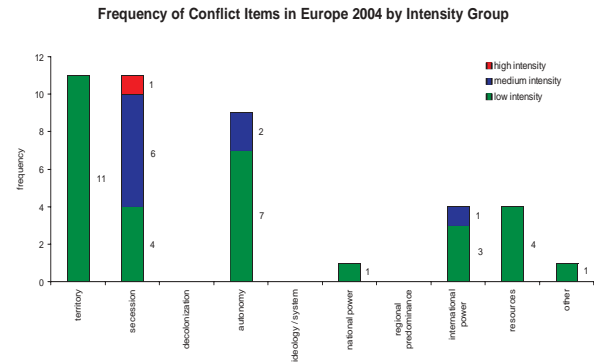
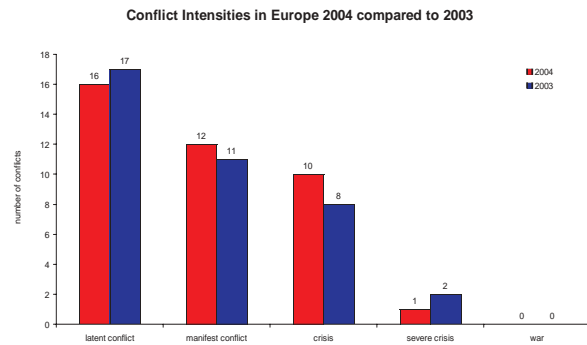
### **Authoritative Decisions by the ICJ**

In 2003 and 2004, a total of 26 cases were pending at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) at The Hague. 25 of these were contentious cases, the other one being an advisory case. The ICJ issued two rulings in 2003. One ended the territorial conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia in favor of Malaysia, the other one was related to 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. In 2004, the court rendered judgements in two cases concerning the territorial dispute between El-Salvador and Nicaragua, and the conflict between Mexico and the US over Avena and other Mexican nationals. The ICJ also gave an advisory opinion in the case concerning the construction of a wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territories by Israel.



# Europe

The total number of monitored conflicts in Europe is 41. One new conflict has arisen with the dispute between Ukrainian opposition and the government over national power. Compared to last year, the number of violent disputes in Europe has increased from eight to eleven. Three conflicts have crossed the threshold of violence: the conflict between ethnic groups in Macedonia, the conflict over the breakaway region of South Ossetia (Georgia) and the autonomy conflict in Ajara (Georgia). The only severe crisis has taken place in Russia (Chechnya), which has again received attention in the public due to the hostage-taking in Beslan. Again, the Caucasus has been the most conflictive region this year. The most frequent conflict items in Europe still are secession, autonomy and territory.



## Armenia - Azerbaijan

|                   |                        |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2                      | Change: | • | Start: | 1985 |
| Conflict Parties: | Armenia vs. Azerbaijan |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | territory              |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the territorial affiliation of Nagorno Karabakh continues. Although the territory is internationally recognized as a legal part of Azerbaijan, Armenian troops occupy the enclave mainly inhabited by Armenians. In June, the foreign ministers of both republics failed to agree on the proceedings in future negotiations. The Armenian government insists on the settlement of all issues in one step and refuses to withdraw its troops from the territory of Nagorno Karabakh. Azerbaijan considers the enclave as an integral part of its territory and demands the withdrawal of Armenian troops as a prerequisite for further negotiations on the status of Nagorno Karabakh. *tw*

## Bosnia and Herzegovina (RS - BCF)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2  | Change: | • | Start: | 1991 |
| Conflict Parties: | Republika Srpska (RS) vs. Bosniak-Croat Federation (BCF) |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | autonomy   |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between the two entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) continues. The High Representative of the international community Paddy Ashdown imposed several laws in order to harmonize legislation in the Bosniak-Croat Federation and Republika Srpska (RS). On March 24, Bosnia's tripartite presidency adopted a reform plan on the size and structure of the country's army that stipulates a single command structure for the armed forces of BiH's two entities. In May, Paddy Ashdown and the OSCE ambassador for BiH urged the RS to cooperate with the UN war crimes tribunal in The Hague, and linked BiH's admission to the NATO Partnership for Peace Programme with the settlement of the war criminals issue. After NATO's decision to exclude BiH from its organization because of

the lack of progress in prosecuting war criminals, Ashdown announced that he would take action against RS. In early July, the High Representative sacked 59 RS officials for failing to arrest war crime fugitives. Again, Ashdown stressed that the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement should be reconsidered and described BiH's ethnic-based administrative organization as an anachronism. *sl*

## Cyprus (Northern Cyprus)

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

The conflict between the Republic of Cyprus and Northern Cyprus missed the chance for reunification of the de facto divided island. On 12/14/03, the pro-reunification opposition parties won the elections in Northern Cyprus. Although former opposition party leader Mehmet Ali Talat became new Prime Minister, President Rauf Denktaş did not change his policy in the reunification issue. After pressure from the US, the EU and Turkey, Denktaş agreed to talks. Between February 10 and 18, the conflict parties decided on a timetable for further negotiations. On March 22, the two conflict parties as well as Turkey and Greece finally accepted a revised UN plan on which a referendum was to be held. On April 24, however, the referendum on reunification failed. While Turkish Cypriots voted in favor of the UN plan, Greek Cypriots refused it. The EU decided to ease the 30-year-old trade embargo on Northern Cyprus. On May 1, only the Republic of Cyprus - without being reunited with the Northern part - joined the EU. In the following months, the EU, the US and Greece proposed plans to end the economic isolation of Northern Cyprus and offered financial support. In July, Greek Cypriot confidence building measures did not improve the relations significantly. *ks*

## Summary: Conflicts in Europe 2004

| Name of Conflict <sup>1</sup>                 | Conflict Parties <sup>2</sup>   | Conflict Item(s)  | Start | Change <sup>3</sup> | Int. <sup>4</sup> |
|---|---|---|-------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Armenia - Azerbaijan                          | Armenia vs. Azerbaijan  | territory   | 1985  | •                   | 2                 |
| Armenia - Azerbaijan - et al. (Caspian Sea) * | Armenia vs. Azerbaijan vs. Georgia vs. Iran vs. Kazakhstan vs. Russia vs. Turkmenistan vs. Turkey   | territory, resources (oil, gas), international power    | 1993  | •                   | 2                 |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina                        | Republika Srpska vs. Bosniak-Croat Federation   | autonomy  | 1991  | •                   | 2                 |
| Cyprus (Northern Cyprus)                      | Northern Cyprus vs. Republic of Cyprus  | secession   | 1963  | •                   | 2                 |
| France (Corsica)                              | Corsican nationalists, FLNC vs. government  | secession   | 1975  | •                   | 3                 |
| Georgia (Abkhazia)                            | Abkhaz separatists vs. government   | secession   | 1989  | •                   | 3                 |
| Georgia (Ajara)                               | Ajarians vs. government   | autonomy  | 1989  | ↗                   | 3                 |
| Georgia (South Ossetia)                       | South-Ossetian separatists vs. government   | secession   | 1989  | ↗                   | 3                 |
| Great Britain - Spain                         | Great Britain vs. Spain   | territory (Gibraltar)                                   | 1954  | •                   | 1                 |
| Great Britain (Northern Ireland)              | Great Britain, Unionist parties (UUP, DUP), loyalist paramilitary forces (UDA/UFF, LVF, Red Hand Defenders, Orange Volunteers) vs. Sinn Féin, IRA | secession   | 1968  | •                   | 3                 |
| Hungary - Romania *                           | Romania vs. Hungary   | 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  | resources   | 1989  | •                   | 1                 |
| Iceland - Norway *                            | Iceland vs. Norway  | resources (fishery)                                     | 1993  | •                   | 1                 |
| Latvia - Russia                               | Latvia vs. Russia   | international power                                     | 1994  | •                   | 2                 |
| Latvia (Russian-speaking minority)            | National Bolshevik Party, Russian-speaking minority vs. Latvia  | autonomy  | 1991  | •                   | 2                 |
| Liechtenstein - Czechia / Slovakia *          | Slovakia vs. Czechia vs. Liechtenstein  | territory   | 1990  | •                   | 1                 |
| Liechtenstein - Germany *                     | Liechtenstein vs. Germany   | other   | 1998  | •                   | 1                 |
| Macedonia (ANA)                               | Albanian National Army (ANA) vs. government   | secession   | 2001  | •                   | 3                 |
| Macedonia (ethnic groups)                     | ethnic groups vs. government  | autonomy  | 1991  | ↗                   | 3                 |
| Moldova (Transdnistria)                       | Transdnistrian separatists vs. Moldova  | secession   | 1991  | •                   | 2                 |
| Romania - Ukraine *                           | Romania vs. Ukraine   | maritime border   | 1991  | •                   | 1                 |
| Romania (Hungarian minority) *                | Hungarian minority vs. government   | autonomy  | 1989  | •                   | 1                 |
| Russia - Belarus                              | Russia vs. Belarus  | international power                                     | 2001  | ↗                   | 2                 |
| Russia - Georgia *                            | Russia vs. Georgia  | international power                                     | 2001  | •                   | 3                 |
| Russia - Norway *                             | Russia vs. Norway   | territory (Barent Sea)                                  | 1947  | •                   | 1                 |
| Russia - Ukraine *                            | Russia vs. Ukraine  | territory (Tuzla island), resources (gas, oil, fishery) | 2003  | ↘                   | 1                 |
| Russia (Chechnya)                             | Chechen Rebels vs. government   | secession   | 1991  | •                   | 4                 |
| Serbia and Montenegro (Hungarian minority) *  | Hungarian minority in Vojvodina vs. government  | autonomy  | 1998  | ↗                   | 2                 |
| Serbia and Montenegro (Kosovo)                | Albanian parties (DPK, LDK) vs. central government  | secession   | 1989  | •                   | 3                 |
| Serbia and Montenegro (Montenegro)            | Montenegrin regional government vs. central government  | secession   | 1997  | •                   | 1                 |
| Serbia and Montenegro (UCPMB) *               | UCPMB vs. government  | secession   | 2000  | •                   | 1                 |
| Slovakia (Hungarian minority) *               | Hungarian Minority vs. government   | autonomy  | 1993  | •                   | 1                 |
| Slovenia - Croatia                            | Slovenia vs. Croatia  | territory (maritime border)                             | 1991  | •                   | 2                 |
| Spain - Morocco (Ceuta and Melilla) *         | Spain vs. Morocco   | territory (Ceuta and Melilla), 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                               | Turkey vs. Greece   | territory (maritime border)                             | 1960  | •                   | 2                 |
| Ukraine (opposition)                          | Our Ukraine opposition bloc vs. government  | national power  | 2004  | NEW                 | 2                 |

1) conflicts marked with \* are without description

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

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

### France (Corsica)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3  | Change: | • | Start: | 1975 |
| Conflict Parties: | Corsican nationalists, Liberation Front of Corsica (FLNC) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | secession  |         |   |        |      |

The relations between the French government and Corsican nationalists remain tense. After the electoral de-

feat of the bourgeois right-wingers at the end of March, a cabinet reshuffle under Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin took place. During their annual meeting in the city of Corte, the nationalists struck a harsher note and the newly founded Corsican People Army urged the French civil servants to immediately leave the island.

New Minister of the Interior Dominique de Villepin reacted with the nomination of a former police officer as new security Prefect for Corsica and ruled out any concessions to the nationalists. The series of attacks continued, causing only property damage. *ah*

### Georgia (Abkhazia)

|                   |                                   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3                                 | Change: | • | Start: | 1989 |
| Conflict Parties: | Abkhaz separatists vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | secession                         |         |   |        |      |

The autonomous Republic of Abkhazia still demands the secession from Georgia. The new Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili considers the reintegration of the de facto independent region into the Georgian state as the key priority. On October 3, a presidential vote was held in Abkhazia in order to underline its claims on independence from Georgia. On October 5, the electoral commission announced that opposition candidate Sergei Bagapsh was leading. His main rival, Russia-backed Prime Minister Raul Khajimba, rejected the results and the election was declared invalid by Abkhazia's Supreme Court. On November 11, supporters of Bagapsh protested against the ruling in order to repeat the election, and stormed the president's office in the regional capital of Sukhumi. One person was shot dead in the tumults. Moscow accused the Abkhaz opposition of attempting to overthrow the pro-Russian government and has threatened to intervene in the crisis. Saakashvili protested against Russia's intervention and dismissed the Abkhazian vote as illegitimate. *ik*

### Georgia (Ajara)

|                   |                         |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3                       | Change: | ↗ | Start: | 1989 |
| Conflict Parties: | Ajarians vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | autonomy                |         |   |        |      |

In the conflict between autonomous region of Ajara and the Georgian government in Tbilisi, tensions ran high after Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili was denied entry to Ajara on March 15. The Georgian government imposed an economic blockade against Ajara and put its forces on alert. In the following months, crowds of people switched loyalty and demonstrated against the ruler Aslan Abashidze who became increasingly isolated in his defiant stand against Georgian President Saakashvili. After Saakashvili had given Abashidze an ultimatum to submit to Tbilisi's rule and to disarm his paramilitary forces, the Ajarian leader imposed the state of emergency. On May 2, his forces blew up three main bridges linking Ajara to the rest of Georgia and dismantled railway lines. On May 3, thousands of people protested against the Abashidze regime. After the police in Batumi had changed sides on May 5, the Ajarian leader resigned and fled to Moscow after two days of street protests. On June 20, Saakashvili's party won a majority in Ajara's elections to its Supreme Council. Two weeks later, a constitutional law on the status of the Autonomous Republic was enacted. *ik*

### Georgia (South Ossetia)

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3   | Change: | ↗ | Start: | 1989 |
| Conflict Parties: | South Ossetian separatists vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | secession                                 |         |   |        |      |

In the conflict between Georgia and its autonomous region of South Ossetia, the Ossets still strive for se-

cession with the aim of joining North Ossetia within the Russian Federation. One of the main policy goals of Georgia's newly elected President Mikhail Saakashvili includes the re-establishment of the central authority. In late May, Tbilisi deployed 400 troops near the South Ossetian border. At the same time, Saakashvili offered a special status to the breakaway region within a federal state. After ten days of heavy confrontations close to violence, the Russian-Georgian joint control commission met for negotiations in Moscow on July 14. Georgia demanded the demilitarization of South Ossetia and a common control of the Rokski tunnel connecting North and South Ossetia. In July and especially in August, repeated combat actions along the border and in Zhinvali took place between Georgian soldiers and South Ossetian separatists, causing dozens of casualties on both sides. A ceasefire has more or less held since August 19. On November 5, a demilitarization agreement was signed at a high level meeting between Georgian Prime Minister Zurab Zhvania and South Ossetian leader Eduard Kokoity. The following withdrawal of forces on both sides was observed by the OSCE. Nevertheless, there has been some exchange of fire. *ik*

### Great Britain - Spain

|                   |                         |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2                       | Change: | • | Start: | 1954 |
| Conflict Parties: | Great Britain vs. Spain |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | territory (Gibraltar)   |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between Spain and Great Britain over Gibraltar continues. In May, new tensions arose as Spain prohibited British vessels coming from Gibraltar from docking at Spanish ports. Celebrating its 300-year anniversary, the population of Gibraltar demonstrated in support of the status quo as a British crown colony. In return, Spain protested against the participation of Defense Minister Geoff Hoon and marine commander Admiral Alan West in the celebrations. In August, the new Spanish ambassador and the British State Secretary for European Affairs Denis McShane agreed on dealing the Gibraltar issue carefully and considerably. *sk*

### Great Britain (Northern Ireland)

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3   | Change: | • | Start: | 1968 |
| Conflict Parties: | Great Britain, Unionist parties (UUP, DUP), loyalist paramilitary forces (UDA/UFF, LVF, Red Hand Defenders, Orange Volunteers) vs. Sinn Féin, IRA |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | secession   |         |   |        |      |

The situation in Northern Ireland has changed very little. The peace process is still at risk while the Northern Irish parliament remains suspended. The major issue of contention among the conflict parties is the decommissioning of the paramilitaries, most prominent the IRA. Hence, in January, the British and the Irish governments installed an independent commission to monitor paramilitary violence. When this body came up with a report accusing leading Sinn Féin members of controlling IRA violence, the party's leadership around Gerry Adams announced, to the surprise of the paramilitaries, that the IRA might disband. In mid-June, the Northern Irish parties met at the Northern Irish parliament to discuss the peace process, without being successful. DUP leader Ian Paisley insisted on a complete disbanding of the IRA. In September, British

Prime Minister Tony Blair and Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern met to discuss the peace process, again with little success. Extremist militant groups on both sides still prove to be intransigent, although a large part of violence originates from inner-party struggles. Most virulent among these is the ongoing feud between various loyalist groups, mainly Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF). Despite Adams meeting US special envoy to Northern Ireland, Mitchell Reiss, and Paisley's travelling to talks in Dublin in autumn, the parties are still in a deadlock position. A continued suspension of the Northern Irish Parliament as a result of the stalemate is likely to endanger devolution as well as the peace process. *mt*

### Latvia - Russia

|                   |                     |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2                   | Change: | • | Start: | 1994 |
| Conflict Parties: | Latvia vs. Russia   |         |   |        |      |
| Item:             | international power |         |   |        |      |

Tensions between Russia and Latvia remain high. After the accession of Latvia to the EU on May 1, Russia tried to influence Latvia's policies towards the Russian-speaking minority in Latvia via EU channels. Russia linked the ratification of the new partnership agreement with the EU to negotiations on the situation of the Russian minority in Latvia. The EU stressed that Latvia complied with the Copenhagen criteria and called upon Russia not to delay the signing of the border agreement with Latvia any longer. *kw*

### Latvia (Russian-speaking minority)

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

The conflict between the Latvian government and the Russian-speaking minority over the issue of autonomy remains unsolved. About 420,000 Russian speakers, mostly ethnic Russians, still live in Latvia as stateless persons. Despite strong protests by members of the Russian-speaking minority, the new education law was implemented in Latvia on September 1. The law makes Latvian the primarily-used language in all Latvian state schools. Only five percent of the minority students responded to the call of the Headquarter for the Defense of Russian-language schools to stay absent from school. In September, the United Congress of the Russian Community in Latvia (OKROL) was founded and officially registered. OKROL's key goals are the introduction of Russian as second official language, the facilitated attainment of citizenship and the right of Russian children to be educated in their native tongue. *kw*

### Liechtenstein - Germany

|                   |                           |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 1                         | Change: | • | Start: | 1998 |
| Conflict Parties: | Liechtenstein vs. Germany |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | other                     |         |   |        |      |

In the conflict between Liechtenstein and Germany, the hearing on the admissibility of Liechtenstein's complaint before the International Court of Justice began on June 14. The conflict over an appropriate compensation for Liechtenstein citizens, who were expropriated after World War II on former Czechoslovakian territory, has existed since 1998. Germany's Federal Constitutional Court decided in January 1998 that pro-

perty of Liechtenstein was included in reparation debts in favor of the Czech Republic, without compensating Liechtenstein nationals. Liechtenstein considers this as a violation of its sovereignty and of the property rights of its citizens. *st*

### Macedonia (Albanian National Army)

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3   | Change: | • | Start: | 2001 |
| Conflict Parties: | Albanian National Army (ANA) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | secession                                   |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between the Albanian National Army (ANA) and the government continues. The ANA demands a Great Albania, which includes Albanian populated regions in Macedonia, Kosovo, southern Serbia and northern Greece. On February 8, a missile attack was launched in Bitola. In June, Idajet Beqiri, one of the ANA leaders, was extradited from Germany to Albania and sentenced to 18 months in prison by a Tirana court for his alleged role in promoting ethnic hatred. *st*

### Macedonia (ethnic groups)

|                   |                              |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|------------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3                            | Change: | ↗ | Start: | 1991 |
| Conflict Parties: | ethnic groups vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | autonomy                     |         |   |        |      |

In the conflict over the status of the Albanian minority in Macedonia, the government aimed at implementing reforms outlined in the 2001 Ohrid Agreement. The Ohrid deal stipulated a redrawing of municipal boundaries in order to strengthen the autonomy of minority Albanians on a regional level. The main opposition party Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization - Democratic Party for Macedonian Unity (VMRO-DPMNE) argued that the plan would give too much power to the Albanian minority. According to the controversial decentralization draft, several predominantly Macedonian municipalities would become a part of mainly Albanian authorities. The territorial reorganization of the country stipulated the strengthening of local authorities. Minorities could seek bilingual status for their municipality if they made up over 20 percent of the local population. On February 20, parliament passed a draft on the decentralization package which was boycotted by several Macedonian municipalities. In July, VMRO called for street protests against the reforms. The protests of an estimated 20,000 Macedonians resulted in violent clashes between ethnic Albanians and opposition supporters. After the failure of a referendum on decentralization as well as a motion of no confidence tabled by the opposition, the government passed the reform package on territorial reorganization of the country. *st*

### Moldova (Transnistria)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2  | Change: | • | Start: | 1991 |
| Conflict Parties: | Transnistrian separatists vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | secession                                |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between Moldova and the breakaway Transnistria region continues. In November 2003, according to a Russian plan, Moldova was to transform into a federation with extensive autonomy rights for Transnistria. The government refused this sugges-

tion. On July 15, Transnistrian authorities closed Moldovan schools. The EU and the US reacted with a renewal of visa sanctions against Transnistria. The Moldovan government imposed economic sanctions in August. Transnistria reacted with a blockade of the railway between Moldova and Transnistria. In September, Moldovan President Vladimir Voronin introduced a new plan to resolve the conflict. *sb*

### Russia - Belarus

|                   |                     |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2                   | Change: | ↗ | Start: | 2001 |
| Conflict Parties: | Russia vs. Belarus  |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | international power |         |   |        |      |

In the dispute over the design of the union between Russia and Belarus, Russia stopped all gas supplies to Belarus early in the year in order to keep up its political influence. Belarus interpreted the Russian step as a compulsory measure to enforce a currency union with Russia. Belarus' President Alexander Lukashenko has not yet agreed to the creation of a currency union with Russia. In February, Russian President Vladimir Putin argued for a strong relationship between Russia and Belarus. Lukashenko accepted Russia's demands in order to mitigate tensions. On August 23, both parties announced the settlement of the dispute. Russia and Belarus renegotiated the conditions for Russian gas supplies, a long-term cooperation and the foundation of a common gas corporation. *sd*

### Russia (Chechnya)

|                   |                               |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4                             | Change: | • | Start: | 1991 |
| Conflict Parties: | Chechen rebels vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | secession                     |         |   |        |      |

The violent conflict in the breakaway republic of Chechnya remains unsolved. In February, Chechen separatists committed a suicide bombing in a Moscow metro train which left more than 39 people dead. Russian troops regularly launched operations on Chechen territory in order to detect separatists. On May 9, Chechnya's Kremlin-backed President Akhmad Kadyrov was killed in a bomb blast during an official ceremony in Grozny. At least 20 people were killed in the bombing. Skirmishes between Chechen rebels and Russian troops in late May left more than 27 people dead. In June, Chechen rebels launched attacks against three police stations and local government buildings in Russia's southern Republic of Ingushetia. More than 50 people were killed during the raids. In July, Chechen rebel leader Shamil Basayev claimed responsibility for the May attack against Kadyrov and issued new threats against Moscow. In August, Russian troops killed at least twelve Chechen rebels near Grozny. On August 25, two Russian airlines carrying 89 passengers crashed after flying out of Moscow airport. Russian security forces blamed Chechen rebels for the bomb blast. On August 29, Moscow-backed Alu Alchanov won the Chechen presidential elections. Chechen separatists denounced the election as a farce. On September 1, a group of at least 30 rebels seized a primary school in the town of Beslan in Russia's Republic of North Ossetia. The hostage-takers demanded the withdrawal of all Russian troops from Chechnya and the release of Chechen rebels detained in Ingushetia. The number of hostages varied between 1,000 and 1,500. After bombs went off inside the school, Russian

troops stormed the building. The hostage crisis ended in a massive bloodshed which left more than 368 people dead, among them 156 children. The Russian Secret Service accused rebel leader Shamil Basayev of masterminding the hostage-taking in Beslan and offered a bounty for information leading to the arrest of Basayev and of former Chechen President Aslan Maskhadov. On September 17, Basayev claimed responsibility for the siege in Beslan and the attacks on two Russian airplanes. In reaction to these incidents, Moscow announced to launch pre-emptive strikes on terrorist bases in any region of the world. In early November, at least 22 Chechen separatists loyal to rebel leader Basayev were killed in skirmishes with Russian soldiers. *vl*

### Serbia and Montenegro (Kosovo)

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensität:       | 3   | Change: | • | Start: | 1989 |
| Conflict Parties: | Albanian parties (DPK, LDK) vs. Serbian regional government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | secession   |         |   |        |      |

In the conflict between Serbia and the Albanian majority in Kosovo over the status of the province, the most violent clashes since the 1999 Kosovo war took place. On March 16, demonstrating Serbs clashed with NATO peacekeeping forces. On March 17, members of the Serbian community were blamed for the deaths of two Albanian children, resulting in a shoot-out between the two ethnic groups in Mitrovica. Intervening KFOR troops and the UN administration were attacked. In Serbia, several mosques were burnt. All over Kosovo, mobs of Albanian demonstrators set fire to Serbian orthodox churches and Serb-owned houses. Altogether, about 50,000 people were involved in the two-day unrest. The situation calmed down after the UN Security Council's demand for the immediate stop of violence, after the reinforcement of KFOR troops and after the arrestment of the suspected masterminds. The local government of Kosovo began to reconstruct destroyed Serb houses and churches and called for reconciliation. The Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica and the Serbian Orthodox Church called for a boycott of the upcoming parliamentary elections. The Serbian President Boris Tadic, the Kosovo government and EU representatives, as well as the US and several international organizations urged the Serbian minority to vote. On October 23, President Ibrahim Rugova's Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) won about 45 percent of the vote. The Serbian minority and Serb refugees from Kosovo largely boycotted the elections. *jc*

### Serbia and Montenegro (Montenegro)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensität:       | 1  | Change: | • | Start: | 1997 |
| Conflict Parties: | Montenegrin regional government vs. central government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | secession  |         |   |        |      |

In the dispute over Montenegro's independence, Montenegrin President Filip Vujanovic has called for the dissolution of Serbia and Montenegro along the Czech-Slovak model. As outlined in the union's constitution, both republics have the right to leave the confederation after a three year period. In March, Vujanovic announced that his government envisaged realizing this option. In early July, the Montenegrin Parliament

voted to adopt a new flag, a new national anthem and a national day. In early September, EU foreign policy envoy Javier Solana announced that Brussels would no longer insist on the economic harmonization of the confederation. For independence supporters, Brussels new twin-track approach is the beginning of a process that will eventually lead to the dissolution of Serbia and Montenegro. *sl*

### Slovenia - Croatia

|                   |                      |             |
|-------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| Intensität: 2     | Change: •            | Start: 1991 |
| Conflict Parties: | Slovenia vs. Croatia |             |
| Conflict Item:    | territory            |             |

The conflict between Slovenia and Croatia over the maritime border in the Gulf of Piran in the Northeast of the Adriatic Sea continues. On June 3, the Croatian Parliament decided to postpone the establishment of an environmental and a fishing zone in the Adriatic for EU member states. When Croatia joins the EU, this act will come into force for EU members after a partnership in fishing agreement is concluded. On September 22, Croatian border guards arrested several Slovenian citizens after a border incident in the disputed area. Among the imprisoned was a Slovenian opposition party leader. Slovenian Prime Minister Anton Rop threatened to block Croatia's way into the EU. After an intervention of the EU, Rop withdrew his statement on September 28. *sb*

### Spain (Basque Provinces)

|                   |                    |             |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Intensität: 3     | Change: •          | Start: 1960 |
| Conflict Parties: | ETA vs. government |             |
| Conflict Item:    | secession          |             |

The conflict between ETA and the Spanish government over the independence of the Basque Provinces persists. After secret negotiations between ETA and the Secretary General of the Republican Left of Catalonia, Josep Lluís Carod-Rovira, ETA declared a regional ceasefire for Catalonia on February 18. On March 11, the government accused ETA of being responsible for the terrorist attacks on several commuter trains in Madrid. ETA rejected these reproaches. The accusation proved false. In the parliamentary elections, the Socialists won with a majority of 42.6 percent. The new Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero announced to continue the fight against terrorism. The Spanish and French police succeeded in arresting a large number of ETA members and confiscating large quantities of arms. In two razzias on October 3 in southwest France and on November 16 in Navarra, 37 ETA members were arrested. Among them was ETA leader Mikel Albizu Iriarte. Despite this, ETA continued its terrorist activities. On November 14, the speaker of the banned separatist party of Batasuna, Arnaldo Otegi, called for negotiations on a new autonomy statute in order to solve the conflict. *sk*

### Turkey - Greece

|                   |                             |             |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| Intensität: 2     | Change: •                   | Start: 1960 |
| Conflict Parties: | Turkey vs. Greece           |             |
| Conflict Item:    | territory (maritime border) |             |

Turkey and Greece maintain their claims for sovereign rights in the Aegean. Numerous border incidents took place, mainly caused by Turkish military jets entering airspace claimed by Greece. In November, the Turkish military leadership nevertheless stressed that there was no hostility in the relations with Greece. In September, both parties agreed to cancel intended military exercises in the Mediterranean. In early May, Turkey argued for a strategic partnership with Greece and a settlement of the Aegean issue. As a countermove, Greece declared its willingness to support Turkey's efforts to become an EU member. *aj*

### Ukraine (opposition)

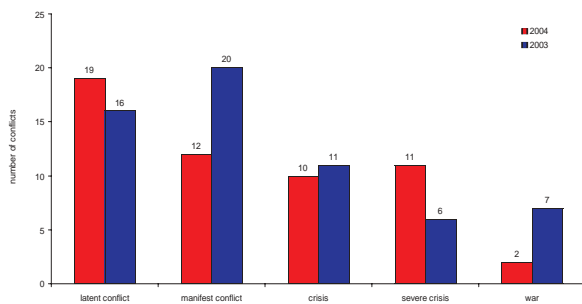
|                   |  |             |
|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Intensität: 2     | Change: NEW                                | Start: 2004 |
| Conflict Parties: | Our Ukraine opposition bloc vs. government |             |
| Conflict Item:    | national power                             |             |

The Ukrainian presidential election resulted in a manifest conflict between the opposition bloc Our Ukraine led by Viktor Yushchenko and his rival Viktor Yanukovich. During the election campaign Yanukovich had been backed by outgoing President Leonid Kuchma and Russian President Vladimir Putin. Being Prime Minister, Yanukovich had also much greater media support. Already the election campaign was called unfair by international observers. Since neither of the two main candidates was able to achieve the absolute majority of votes on October 31, a second round was held on November 21. Although independent surveys saw Yushchenko as the winner, Yanukovich claimed victory. International as well as independent national monitors observed that the poll did not meet democratic standards. As a result of the obvious election fraud, the opposition initiated large protests and mass demonstrations in several cities. Government buildings were occupied in the capital of Kiev. Yushchenko appealed to the national Supreme Court against the poll result and demanded new elections. The rivalry between the two candidates also took on a regional dimension. While Yushchenko is supported by the west and the center of the country, Yanukovich's followers predominantly originate from industrial eastern Ukraine, where the majority of the population are ethnic Russians. The governors of three eastern provinces declared that their provinces would never accept Yushchenko as president and that they would hold a referendum on the autonomy of eastern Ukraine if he became president. In consequence of the ongoing mass protests, leaving President Kuchma for the first time on November 29 also argued for a repetition of the elections. The international community has been trying to conciliate in the conflict. The EU Coordinator for Foreign Affairs, Javier Solana, as well as the Polish and the Lithuanian presidents are currently present in Kiev in order to mediate negotiations between the conflict parties. *kw*

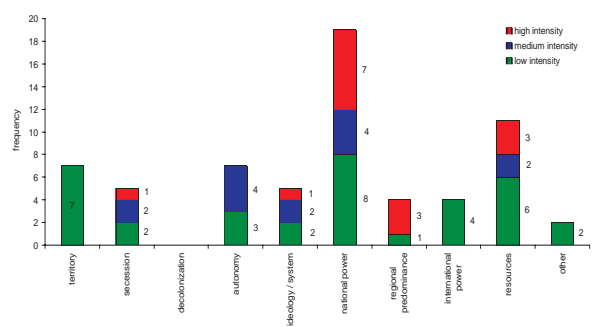
# Africa

Africa remains the region with the most wars and the most conflicts on a high level of violence. In comparison with last year, the number of highly intensive violent conflicts has remained 13. Also, the overall number of conflicts has decreased from 60 to 54. The most significant de-escalations have occurred in the Republic of Central Africa, Sao Tome and Principe, and Kenya. Many conflicts have de-escalated in the course of the year. The widespread proliferation of small arms and cross-border movements of rebel groups have been the main obstacle to further de-escalations. The most obvious escalation has taken place in the conflict over the secessionist region of Somaliland in Somalia. As in previous years, violent conflicts have concentrated on the region of the Great Lakes. The bloodiest conflict has been the one in the region of Darfur in Sudan. Together with the Congolese civil war, this has been the only conflict on the highest intensity level. External pressure and restrictions on the conflict parties to finance themselves have led to a de-escalation of violence in certain conflicts. The main disputed item in Africa has been national power. This has often been interconnected with the issue of easily accessible resources. The majority of casualties in African conflicts have been civilians. The UN has made the most numerous and the most successful mediation attempts. Its single missions have occasionally applied violence in order to carry out their partially robust mandates. Next to the UN, the African Union (AU) has offered its mediation services in many conflicts and has operated several peace missions.

Conflict Intensities in Africa 2004 compared to 2003



Frequency of Conflict Items in Africa 2004 by Intensity Groups



## Angola (Cabinda)

Intensity: 3      Change: ↘      Start: 1975  
 Conflict Parties: Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC), FLEC Armed Forces (FLEC-FAC), FLEC Renewal (FLEC-Renovada), FLEC-Platform, Cabindan Dialogue Forum (CDF) vs. government  
 Conflict Item: secession

The conflict between the Angolan government and the different FLEC rebel groups over the status of the oil-rich province of Cabinda remains unresolved. After government troops had launched a major military operation against FLEC strongholds in Cabinda in 2002/2003, which were accompanied by defections of prominent FLEC members, the military capacities of FLEC decreased considerably. However, there were still single clashes with government troops. In March, FLEC announced to have killed 40 government soldiers, which was denied by the authorities. In September, the FLEC-FAC, led by N'Zita Tiago, and FLEC-Renovada, led by Antonio Bembe, announced they would merge to a new unified FLEC. It was also communicated that this newly created FLEC would team up with groups of Cabindan civil society to establish the CDF. Presently, it remains unclear whether the CDF will be able to reach a unified bargaining position and whether it will be accepted by all Cabindan forces as well as by the authorities as the only legitimate party to negotiate with.

rs

## Botswana (Basarwa)

Intensity: 2      Change: •      Start: 1997  
 Conflict Parties: Basarwa vs. government  
 Conflict Items: resources, ideology / system

Since 1997, the Basarwa or Sans have been gradually expelled out of their ancestral area of the Kalahari Game Reserve by the Botswana government. The conflict is over diamonds and other minerals. The government denies this and justifies its position with the right for development and modernization. About 200 of 2,000 Basarwa are still located in the area. In January 2002, the conflict became manifest as the government cut off the water supply for the Basarwa. The High Court of Botswana is employed with this case. At first, it refused the complaint, but then it proceeded the trial.

ja

## Burundi (Hutu)

Intensity: 4      Change: ↘      Start: 1993  
 Conflict Parties: various Hutu rebel organizations vs. government  
 Conflict Item: national power

Compared to last year, the situation in Burundi's national power conflict has improved. The peace agreement concluded on 11/17/03 between the government and Pierre Nkurunziza's faction of the National Council for the Defense of Democracy - Forces for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD-FDD), the largest rebel organization, was respected. All ceasefire agreements between the government and further rebel groups were also respected. The only rebel group still fighting the government is Agathon Rwas'a's extremist faction of the Party for the Liberation of Hutu People - National Liberation

## Summary: Conflicts in Africa 2004

| Name of Conflict <sup>1</sup>                          | Conflict Parties <sup>2</sup>   | Conflict Item(s)                               | Start | Change <sup>3</sup> | Int. <sup>4</sup> |
|--|---|--|-------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Angola (Cabinda)                                       | FLEC, FLEC-FAC, FLEC-Renovada, FLEC-Platform, CDF vs. government            | secession                                      | 1975  | ↘                   | 3                 |
| Angola (UNITA) *                                       | government vs. UNITA  | national power                                 | 1966  | •                   | 1                 |
| Botswana (Basarwa)                                     | Basarwa vs. government  | ideology / system, resources                   | 1997  | •                   | 2                 |
| Burundi (Hutu)   | various Hutu rebel organizations vs. government                             | national power                                 | 1993  | ↘                   | 4                 |
| Central African Republic (Patassé)                     | Patassé, mutineers vs. government   | national power                                 | 1997  | ↘                   | 3                 |
| Chad (MDJT)  | MDJT vs. government   | national power                                 | 1998  | ↘                   | 2                 |
| Comores (regions) *                                    | regional governments vs. central government                                 | ideology / system                              | 1997  | ↘                   | 1                 |
| Congo-Brazzaville (Ninja militias)                     | CNR, Ninja militias vs. Sassou-Ngesso                                       | autonomy                                       | 1997  | •                   | 3                 |
| Cote d'Ivoire (rebels)                                 | RDR, MPC, MPIGO, FN vs. government  | national power                                 | 1999  | ↘                   | 4                 |
| DR Congo - Rwanda *                                    | DR Congo vs. Rwanda   | international power                            | 2002  | •                   | 2                 |
| DR Congo - Uganda *                                    | DR Congo vs. Uganda   | international power                            | 1999  | •                   | 1                 |
| DR Congo (Hema - Lendu)                                | Hema, UPC, FAPC, PUSIC, RCD-Goma vs. Lendu, FNI, FPDC, RCD-K-ML, government | regional predominance, resources               | 2000  | ↘                   | 4                 |
| Congo (various rebels groups)                          | Mayi-Mayi, Interahamwe, RCD-Goma, RCD-K-ML, RCD-N, MLC vs. government       | national power, resources                      | 1997  | •                   | 5                 |
| Equatorial-Guinea - Gabon*                             | Equatorial-Guinea vs. Gabon   | territory (Corsico Bay)                        | 1970  | •                   | 1                 |
| Equatorial-Guinea (coup plotters)                      | coup plotters vs. government  | national power                                 | 2004  | NEW                 | 2                 |
| Ethiopia - Eritrea                                     | Ethiopia vs. Eritrea  | territory (border)                             | 1998  | ↘                   | 2                 |
| Ethiopia - Somalia *                                   | Ethiopia vs. Somalia  | international power                            | 2003  | •                   | 2                 |
| Ethiopia (Anyuak - Nuer)                               | Anyuak vs. Nuer   | regional predominance                          | 2003  | NEW                 | 4                 |
| Ethiopia (Ogaden) *                                    | Ogaden National Liberation Front vs. government                             | autonomy                                       | 1984  | •                   | 1                 |
| Ethiopia (Oromo) *                                     | Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) vs. government                                 | autonomy                                       | 1974  | •                   | 1                 |
| Guinea-Bissau (opposition)                             | opposition vs. government   | national power                                 | 1998  | ↘                   | 2                 |
| Guinea - DR Congo *                                    | Guinea vs. DR Congo   | other  | 1998  | •                   | 1                 |
| Kenya (Kenyan ethnic groups - Ugandan ethnic groups) * | Kenyan ethnic groups vs. Ugandan ethnic groups                              | resources (pasture land, cattle, relief goods) | 1991  | ↘                   | 1                 |
| Kenya (opposition)                                     | opposition vs. government   | system / ideology                              | 1999  | ↗                   | 3                 |
| Liberia (LURD, MODEL - Taylor loyalists)               | LURD, MODEL vs. Taylor loyalists  | national power                                 | 1999  | ↘                   | 4                 |
| Madagascar (CMMR)                                      | CMMR vs. government   | national power, secession                      | 2001  | ↗                   | 3                 |
| Mauritania - Senegal *                                 | Mauritania vs. Senegal  | resources                                      | 2000  | •                   | 1                 |
| Mauritius - Great Britain *                            | Mauritius vs. Great Britain   | territory                                      | 1980  | •                   | 1                 |
| Namibia (Caprivistripe) *                              | Caprivi Liberation Army vs. government                                      | secession                                      | 1998  | •                   | 1                 |
| Niger - Benin *  | Niger vs. Benin   | territory                                      | 1960  | •                   | 1                 |
| Niger (rebels) *                                       | Toubou rebels, Tuareg, Arab rebels vs. govern-                              | resources, autonomy                            | 1990  | ↗                   | 3                 |
| Nigeria - Cameroon                                     | Nigeria vs. Cameroon  | territory (Bakassi)                            | 1961  | •                   | 1                 |
| Nigeria (Christians - Muslims)                         | Muslims, Hausa-Fulani vs. Christians, Yoruba                                | ideology / system                              | 1960  | ↗                   | 4                 |
| Nigeria (Nigerdelta - Ijaw)                            | Ijaw vs. Itsekiri, government   | resources                                      | 1997  | •                   | 4                 |
| Nigeria (Nigerdelta - Ogoni)*                          | Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People vs. government                | resources, autonomy                            | 1990  | •                   | 2                 |
| Rwanda - Uganda *                                      | Rwanda vs. Uganda   | international power                            | 2000  | •                   | 2                 |
| Rwanda (Hutu)  | Interahamwe, FDLR, ex-FAR vs. government                                    | national power                                 | 2000  | ↗                   | 4                 |
| São Tomé and Príncipe (coup plotters)                  | coup plotters vs. government  | national power, resources                      | 2003  | ↘                   | 1                 |
| Senegal (Casamance)                                    | MFDC vs. government   | autonomy                                       | 1982  | ↘                   | 3                 |
| Sierra Leone (RUF)                                     | RUF, AFRC, CDU vs. government   | national power, resources                      | 1991  | •                   | 2                 |
| Somalia (Somaliland)                                   | Somaliland vs. government, Puntland   | secession                                      | 1991  | ↗                   | 4                 |
| Somalia (various groups)                               | various groups vs. government   | national power                                 | 1980  | •                   | 4                 |
| South Africa - Namibia *                               | South Africa vs. Namibia  | territory                                      | 2000  | •                   | 1                 |
| South Africa (KwaZulu-Natal) *                         | Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) vs. government                                  | regional predominance                          | 1990  | •                   | 1                 |
| Sudan - Uganda *                                       | Sudan vs. Uganda  | other  | 1994  | •                   | 2                 |
| Sudan (SLM/A, JEM)                                     | SLM/A, JEM vs. Janjaweed militia, government                                | regional predominance                          | 2003  | ↗                   | 5                 |
| Sudan (SPLA)   | SPLA vs. government   | resources, autonomy                            | 1989  | ↘                   | 3                 |
| Swaziland - South Africa *                             | Swaziland vs. South Africa  | territory                                      | 1902  | •                   | 1                 |
| Swaziland (opposition)                                 | SFTU, PUDEMO, SWAYOCO, Law Society of Swaziland vs. government              | national power, ideology / system              | 2000  | •                   | 3                 |
| Tanzania (Zanzibar) *                                  | CUF vs. government, CMM   | secession                                      | 1993  | •                   | 1                 |
| Togo (UFC, CDF) *                                      | UFC, CDF vs. government   | national power                                 | 2002  | ↘                   | 1                 |
| Uganda (ADF) *   | Alliance of Democratic Forces vs. government                                | national power                                 | 1987  | ↘                   | 2                 |
| Uganda (LRA)   | LRA vs. government  | national power                                 | 1987  | ↘                   | 4                 |
| Zimbabwe (opposition)                                  | MDC, NCA vs. government   | national power                                 | 2000  | •                   | 3                 |

1) 2) 3) 4) see page 10: Summary: Conflicts in Europe 2004



Forces (Palipehutu-FNL). Sporadic, but intense fighting between Rwasas' rebels and the army continued throughout the year, mainly in Bujumbura Rural province. Due to the fighting, a total of 80,000 people were displaced. Negotiations between the government and Palipehutu-FNL from late January to April had no impact since Palipehutu-FNL did not keep its promise to stop fighting. The presence of the UN mission ONUB, who took over from the African Union's peacekeeping mission (AMIB) on June 1, could only contain the fighting. On August 13, Palipehutu-FNL attacked a refugee camp on the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), killing 160 DR Congolese Tutsi. As a consequence, the whole region was destabilized. Rwanda's Tutsi-dominated government threatened to invade the DRC, as it suspected Rwandan and DR Congolese Hutu rebels of having committed the massacre, supported by the DRC. Burundi's Tutsi-dominated army threatened to attack the DRC, without the government's consent. Therefore, relations were tense between Burundi and the DRC. Because of the alleged participation of DR Congolese rebels, Burundi closed its border to the DRC. As Burundi lifted the border closure, the DRC imposed it on its side.

Nevertheless, the situation in Burundi calmed down remarkably. Several tens of thousands of over 1.2 million internally displaced people and refugees from neighboring countries returned. In May, CNDD-FDD threatened to pull out of the transitional government despite the partial implementation of the power-sharing deal. The new constitution and electoral law, precondition for the national elections, have been in controversy. According to the Arusha peace treaty, the elections were to be held by the end of October. Adherence to the schedule has been prevented so far by ten big Tutsi parties' blockade of the new constitution. Due to this, the elections were postponed until early 2005. Parliament was finally able to pass the new interim constitution on October 20. A referendum on the new constitution is scheduled for November 26. The planned demobilization of all warring factions has been postponed. Some of the former rebel groups have transformed themselves into political parties. On August 8, CNDD-FDD agreed to transform into a political party but has so far failed to implement this. *hlm*

### Central African Republic (Patassé)

|                   |                                   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3                                 | Change: | ↓ | Start: | 1997 |
| Conflict Parties: | Patassé, mutineers vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power                    |         |   |        |      |

In the Central African Republic (CAR), former fighters of President Francois Bozizé conduct raids. They had fought for him against his rival Ange-Felix Patasse over national power until Bozizé came to power in March 2003. Since then, Bozizé has fought his former followers with loyal troops. On March 23, there was a shoot-out between raiders and government forces in the surroundings of the capital Bangui. On March 28, Bozizé disbursed the marauders a symbolic pay. Among them were many mercenaries from Chad. This payment pacified the situation in the CAR. Nevertheless, there were more incidents. During the most massive raid on November 23, 20 people were killed in the north. About 41,000 refugees remained in Chad out of

fear of the insecure situation in the CAR. The demobilization efforts of the Economic and Monetary Community of Central African States (CEMAC) and France showed only slow progress. The main problem remains the circulation of a large number of small weapons. The political transition process to a democratic legitimized government was also slow. Bozizé postponed a referendum on a new constitution several times. Eventually, it was to take place on December 5. Patasse remains in exile in Togo and is so far not allowed to enter the country. *pb*

### Chad (MDJT)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2  | Change: | ↘ | Start: | 1998 |
| Conflict Parties: | Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (MDJT) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power   |         |   |        |      |

The internal power conflict in Chad between the MDJT and the national government came very close to its resolution. The majority of the rebels and the government concluded a peace deal on December 14, 2003. Only a minority faction of the MDJT considers the deal not to be valid for them. *cb*

### Congo-Brazzaville (Ninja militias)

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3   | Change: | • | Start: | 1997 |
| Conflict Parties: | National Resistance Council (CNR), Ninja militias vs. Sassou-Ngesso |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | autonomy  |         |   |        |      |

On January 7, Pasteur Ntoumi, leader of both the CNR and the Ninja militia, demanded an amendment to the peace agreement with the government. The government of Denis Sassou-Ngesso and Ntoumi had signed it on 3/17/03. Ntoumi demanded more of his militia men to be integrated into the army. On March 9, the government refused this. Earlier, it had withdrawn some troops from the contested Pool region, which is home to the Ninja. Pool controls the access of the capital Bangui to the strategically important port of Point Noire. More than 10,000 internally displaced remained in Pool, although no fighting took place. On March 1, both conflict parties signed an agreement of joint security patrols along the vital railway through Pool. In early October, after an attack on a train, the government suspended this agreement. It employed regular troops in order to protect the trains. On October 19, rebels intercepted all train traffic through Pool. Ntoumi claimed not to be behind this. *pb*

### Côte d'Ivoire (rebels)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4  | Change: | ↘ | Start: | 1999 |
| Conflict Parties: | Rally of Republicans (RDR), Movement for Peace and Justice (MPCI), People's Movement of the Great East (MPIGO), New Forces (FN) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power   |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between the Ivorian government of Laurent Gbagbo and the former rebels New Forces (FN) and several opposition parties over national power continues. On March 25/26, security forces killed about 120 opponents during an anti-government protests. In the aftermath of the riots, Gbagbo released three FN members from the cabinet. As an act of protest, other opposition parties resigned from the govern-

ment. During the clashes, partisan pro-government Patriotic Forces (FP) attacked Europeans, especially French citizens and UN facilities. On May 15, a UN report blamed Gbagbo for the clashes and human rights abuses. Due to UN Security Council resolution 1528, the UN mission UNOCI started on April 4. It is supposed to support the disarmament program. During violent clashes within the FN, 22 persons were killed in the northern town of Korhogo on June 21. The contentious issue was the leadership of Guillaume Soros, who is challenged by his opponent Ibrahim Coulibaly, who remains in custody in Paris. Early in August, UN observers discovered a mass grave with 99 bodies in Korhogo. After the mediation of Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS) and UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, cabinet restarted common sessions. When the deadline to disarm the FN elapsed on October 15, they left the government, accusing the president of delaying the planned amendments of citizenship and electoral law. On November 14, Ivorian aircrafts attacked FN strongholds in Bouake and Korhogo as well as French positions in the buffer zone. During these attacks, nine French peacekeepers were killed. After the destruction of Ivorian air force by French forces, 30,000 FP members demonstrated against this measure. 600 people were injured during these riots. After violent attacks and pillaging against Europeans, France and other European nations started to evacuate their citizens. During clashes between the ethnic groups of Bete and Dioula, six persons were killed in the northwest. Under the guidance of South African President Thabo Mbeki, the African Union (AU) started mediating in Pretoria on November 11. As a reaction to the escalation of violence, the UN Security Council imposed a weapons embargo on Côte d'Ivoire. On November 18, Gbagbo emphasized his claims to rearm the rebels by force. *gs*

### DR Congo (various rebel groups)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 5  | Change: | • | Start: | 1997 |
| Conflict Parties: | Mayi-Mayi, Interahamwe, Congolese Rally for Democracy - Goma (RCD-Goma), RCD - Kisangani - Liberation Movement (RCD-K-ML), RCD - North (RCD-N), Congo Liberation Movement (MLC) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | national power, resources  |         |   |        |      |

The situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) de-escalated after a transitional government had been introduced on 4/9/02. Apart from President Joseph Kabila, the leaders of the four most important rebel factions participated in the government. At the start of the year, the disarming of rebel groups or rather their integration into the government army continued, as well as the repatriation of Rwandan and Ugandan rebels. There are still about 330,000 combatants in the east of the DRC. Until March 24, about 10,000 of them were demobilized or repatriated. Despite these efforts, raids of different renegade groups went on, especially in the eastern provinces and in Katanga. On February 24, about 15,000 people fled Katanga after the Mayi-Mayi militia killed more than 100 people. Nevertheless, the pacification of the DRC made some progress. UN's MONUC mission and Belgian aid particularly contributed to this development.

On January 1, MONUC occupied strategically important sites in both Kivu provinces. On March 3, it deployed 3,500 troops to Bukavu. Members of the presidential guard attempted to stage a coup on March 29. On May 27, soldiers led by Jules Mutebusi and Laurent Nkunda fought regular army units. They both belong to the RCD-Goma which took part in the transitional government. The UN mediated a ceasefire and after Nkunda had withdrawn his forces, regular forces entered the town. On June 10, about 1,000 Banyamulenge fled to Burundi fearing Mayi-Mayi attacks. The Banyamulenge are ethnic Tutsi. On June 11, another coup attempt was made by parts of the presidential guard in Kinshasa. Around mid-June, Nkunda seized the city of Kanyola in South Kivu, leaving about 100 people dead. The government and MONUC put Nkunda and Mutebusi under pressure. They deployed more troops to the east. Nevertheless, about 30,000 additional people have been internally displaced until the end of June. After the Hutu militia had committed a massacre on Tutsi refugees in Burundi on August 14, Nkunda threatened to mount further attacks. On August 24, the political leadership of RCD-Goma suspended their participation in the transitional government. By doing so, it endangered the whole peace process. A short while later, it reassumed its work. On September 14, government forces clashed again with Nkunda. At the end of September, different units of former rebels and the regular government clashed as well. On October 4, UN Security Councils renewed the MONUC mandate and expanded the number of troops by 5,900 to 16,700. On October 15, Mayi-Mayi pillaged in Katanga and were pushed away by the army. Mayi-Mayi and other former rebels integrated in the army fought each other. This subsequently resulted in the displacement of about 4,000 more people in November. *pb*

### DR Congo (Hema - Lendu)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4  | Change: | ↘ | Start: | 2000 |
| Conflict Parties: | Hema, Union of Congolese Patriots (UPC), Armed Forces of the Congolese People (FAPC), Party for Unity, Security and Integrity of Congo (PUSIC), Congolese Rally for Democracy - Goma (RCD-Goma) vs. Lendu, Front of Nationalists and Integrationalists (FNI), Forces for Democracy in Congo (FPDC), RCD - Kisangani - Liberation Movement (RCD-K-ML), government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | regional predominance, resources   |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between Hema and Lendu has been violently conducted in the province of Ituri in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) this year. The main issues are still found in regional predominance and easily accessible resources. The intensity of conduct was reduced. This was mainly due to the application of UN mission MONUC's robust mandate. On February 11, UN forensics discovered twelve bodies after an alleged massacre. One day later, a UN investigator was shot dead. On March 3, for the first time ever, a high level Congolese envoy as well as international envoys visited Ituri in order to further the demobilization process. On March 24, about 6,000 internally displaced persons were ready to leave their camps around the province capital of Bunia. On May 14, seven militias signed an agreement to participate in the transition

government. The UPC and the FNI fought in June. Two militia commanders were subsequently imprisoned. Early in July, FNI combatants and those of the FAPC fought each other over several days. The demobilization and reintegration of the overall 15,000 militias in Ituri showed signs of progress. *pb*

### Equatorial-Guinea (coup plotters)

|                   |                              |         |     |        |      |
|-------------------|------------------------------|---------|-----|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2                            | Change: | NEW | Start: | 2004 |
| Conflict Parties: | coup plotters vs. government |         |     |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power               |         |     |        |      |

In March, the tiny but oil-rich state of Equatorial-Guinea witnessed a coup attempt. The motivation for this attempt as well as the identity of its instigators remain unclear. On March 7, Zimbabwean authorities arrested a group of 64 men under the leadership of Simon Mann when their plane made stop in Harare. While the men claimed to be on their way to Congo in order to protect mines, the authorities assumed that the group was on its way to Equatorial Guinea to undertake the coup. On March 9, Equatorial-Guinean authorities arrested a group of 15 and accused them of being the advance party of the conspirators imprisoned two days earlier in Harare. The arrests in Equatorial Guinea were accompanied by the detention and expulsion of 500 people from Cameroon and Ghana. On March 10, President Theodoro Obiang accused the US, British and Spanish secret services, together with the president of government-in-exile, Severo Moto, of having masterminded the coup attempt. The same day, South African Foreign Affairs Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma confirmed the connection between the seized plane in Harare and the coup attempt. On July 19, the trial against the group from Harare was opened, and on October 10, the suspects were convicted of breaking Zimbabwean immigration laws and of attempting to illegally purchase weapons. On August 23, the trial against the alleged conspirators was opened in Equatorial-Guinea, after Zimbabwe had refused to extradite the suspects to Equatorial Guinea. On August 25, South African authorities arrested Mark Thatcher, son of the British ex-Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, to investigate claims that he was involved in orchestrating the coup. *rs*

### Ethiopia - Eritrea

|                   |                         |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2                       | Change: | ↘ | Start: | 1998 |
| Conflict Parties: | Ethiopia vs. Eritrea    |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | Territory (border line) |         |   |        |      |

On September 22, the Commander of the UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE), Rajender Singh, declared that the military situation was stable and that the conflict could be resolved. Furthermore, the Ethiopian and Eritrean governments allowed the UNMEE to maintain direct flights between the capitals Addis Ababa and Asmara. Both countries had fought a war between 1998 and 2000 which had claimed over 70,000 lives. In the Algier Peace Agreement of December 2000, both sides had agreed upon an independent boundary commission to demark the border. Since then, a 25 km security zone has been controlled by

UNMEE. In January, fresh tensions arose from cross-border fire and movements. *pd*

### Ethiopia (Anyuak - Nuer)

|                   |                       |         |     |        |      |
|-------------------|-----------------------|---------|-----|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4                     | Change: | NEW | Start: | 2003 |
| Conflict Parties: | Anyuak vs. Nuer       |         |     |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | regional predominance |         |     |        |      |

In December 2003, 57 people were killed in ethnic clashes in Western Gambella. The clashes were based upon the conflict between the ethnic group of the Anyuak on the one side, and the Nuer and the Ethiopian government on the other side. The Anyuak, representing 27 percent of the population, fear that they might lose land to the Nuer, representing 40 percent of the population. They consider them as Sudanese usurpers of their land. Due to a regional government reform, local administrations have received more power. The Anyuak fear that the Nuer might be the dominant power in the local administration of Western Gambella. On February 9, clashes broke out in the Dimma refugee camp near the Sudanese border claiming 40 lives. The conflict had started with the Anyuak attack on a UN vehicle with government refugee officers. Seven persons had been killed. During the following clashes between Anyuaks and 5,000 soldiers, 57 people were killed, further 50 injured and 400 houses destroyed. The government had intended to build a new refugee camp for Dinka refugees. While in the government's opinion the land for the refugee camp belonged to the Nuer, the Anyuak declared that it was illegally taken by the Nuer. During the clashes between government troops and Anyuak, 5,000 to 15,000 Anyuak fled to Sudan. *pd*

### Guinea-Bissau (opposition)

|                   |                           |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2                         | Change: | ↘ | Start: | 1998 |
| Conflict Parties: | opposition vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power            |         |   |        |      |

The power struggle between the government of Kumba Yala and the opposition continues on the level of a manifest conflict. On April 4, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) emerged as the winner of the elections of March 28. Yala had been disposed by a bloodless coup on September 2003. Henrique Rosawas was appointed transitional president. Yala had been elected in 2000 after a brief but devastating civil war. But his rule had become increasingly erratic and by the time of his overthrow, he had alienated most of his former supporters. On 12/5/03, representatives of Guinea-Bissau's main political parties and the armed forces had set March 28 as date for legislative elections. On March 8, Yala was released from house arrest. *pd*

### Kenya (opposition)

|                   |                           |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3                         | Change: | ↗ | Start: | 1999 |
| Conflict Parties: | opposition vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | ideology / system         |         |   |        |      |

For the first time, the conflict in Kenya over the introduction of a new constitution is carried out with the use of violence. In July, a person was shot and dozens were injured during protests in several cities. President

Mwai Kibaki did not keep his promise made in 2002 to implement a new constitution within 100 days. In April and May, Muslim organizations threatened with mass protests should the special Muslim courts not be respected. *tk*

### Liberia (LURD, MODEL - Taylor loyalists)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4  | Change: | ↘ | Start: | 1999 |
| Conflict Parties: | Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) vs. Taylor loyalists |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power   |         |   |        |      |

The situation in Liberia has calmed down. Nevertheless, fighting between followers of former President Charles Taylor and the two rebel movements LURD and MODEL continued with reduced intensity even after an all-party peace agreement had been concluded on 18/12/03. Minor skirmishes mainly between MODEL and Taylor loyalists did not end before the deployment of UN's UNMIL mission all over the country. Since then, no fighting has occurred between the former warring factions. The first of approximately 500,000 internally displaced persons and 350,000 refugees returned in January. UNMIL began disarming the warring factions on 8/12/03, starting with Taylor's ex-fighters. Some fighters started a riot just the next day, demanding instant payment of a demobilization stipend. These riots claimed nine lives. UNMIL stopped the demobilization program which had restarted on April 15. One of the main reasons for the postponement were UNMIL's security concerns, with the UNMIL not wanting to start the disarmament process before having reached its full strength and being deployed almost all over the country. The second reason was the non-cooperative behavior of the three warring factions whose demands for more government posts had not been met. They stopped the disarmament talks. Finally, these factions succeeded and got 51 of 83 assistant minister posts. Nonetheless, they demanded President Gyude Bryant's dismissal on January 26. Following pressure exerted by UNMIL, they withdrew this demand. On May 17, Taylor loyalists staged another riot demanding instant payment of the demobilization stipend, this time without any consequences. A few former LURD and MODEL combatants refused disarmament. Some have left Liberia to fight as mercenaries. The disarmament program officially ended on October 31, with over 95,000 fighters having been disarmed. On November 3, the three warring factions signed an agreement committing to dissolve their movements' military wings. But despite UNMIL's presence and the demobilization, peace remained elusive, endangered for example by LURD's inner power struggles. These struggles resulted in a fight on August 4. The UN Security Council decided not to lift the diamond and timber sanctions. *hlm*

### Madagascar (CMMR)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3  | Change: | ↗ | Start: | 2001 |
| Conflict Parties: | Committee for the Defence of Truth and Justice (CMMR) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | national power, secession  |         |   |        |      |

The power struggle between the oppositional CMMR and the government under President Marc Ravalomanana continues. On January 2, the president considered releasing the prisoners arrested for the violent clashes in 2002. During a demonstration of 600 reservists on March 4, they demanded further financial support. In 2002, the reservists had supported Ravalomanana. In early June, a reservist injured 32 civilians with a grenade. On June 28, an unidentified assailant injured 40 people with a handgrenade. In July, unknown actors attacked political and economic leaders *gs*

### Niger (rebels)

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3   | Change: | ↗ | Start: | 1990 |
| Conflict Parties: | Toubou rebels, Tuareg nomades, Arab rebels vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | resources, autonomy                                       |         |   |        |      |

The situation in the Tuareg inhabited regions in northern Niger has remained politically calm since the 1997 N'Djamena accord. In October, a new rebel movement consisting of former Tuareg rebels clashed with government troops. *cb*

### Nigeria - Cameroon

|                   |                               |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 1                             | Change: | • | Start: | 1961 |
| Conflict Parties: | Nigeria vs. Cameroon          |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | territory (Bakassi peninsula) |         |   |        |      |

In the conflict on the border between Nigeria and Cameroon, the handover of the oil-rich Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon has still to be settled. On 12/9/03, Nigeria has started to hand over 33 villages which were ceded to Cameroon by a ruling by the International Court of Justice in October 2002. After UN-brokered negotiations in early February, Nigeria agreed to return the Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon on September 15. On February 26, thousands of Nigerian residents of the Bakassi peninsula protested against the agreement. In early September, the Nigerian government announced not to withdraw its troops from Bakassi on the original deadline. A new date for handing over the peninsula has still to be brokered by UN mediators in the dispute. *sl*

### Nigeria (Christians - Muslims)

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4   | Change: | ↗ | Start: | 1960 |
| Conflict Parties: | Muslims, Haussa-Fulani vs. Christians, Yoruba |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | ideology / system                             |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between Christians and Muslims over religious predominance in Nigeria has escalated. In January and February, at least 70 people were killed in attacks launched by Muslim militias in the central Nigerian Plateau State. The intensity of the violent clashes increased in early May, when a retaliatory attack by Christian militants in the town of Yelwa left more than 600 people dead. Nigerian President Olegun Obasanjo put extra police forces to the Plateau State and imposed the state of emergency over the region. In the following months, new violent clashes erupted bet-

ween Christian and Muslim militias. In late September, the armed Islamic group al-Sunna wal Jamma launched attacks on police stations in the Borno State in the east of the country. At least 35 people were killed in clashes between the armed Islamic group and security forces. *sl*

### Nigeria (Nigerdelta - Ijaw)

|                   |                               |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4                             | Change: | • | Start: | 1997 |
| Conflict Parties: | Ijaw vs. Itsekiri, government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | resources                     |         |   |        |      |

The violent conflict between rival ethnic groups in the Niger Delta over oil resources in the region continues. In January, new violent clashes erupted between Ijaw and Itsekiri militias. In April, five foreign oil workers were killed by a militia group. The government deployed extra troops to the region in order to end the violence. In early June, at least 50 people were killed in heavy fighting between government troops and Ijaw militants. On June 16, the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Front led by Moujahid Dokubo-Asari demanded greater autonomy for the Ijaw people and announced an all-out war against the government and international oil companies in the Niger Delta. In August, violent clashes between rival militia groups in the oil town of Port Harcourt left more than 100 people dead. In early September, government troops started a new military offensive against the Ijaw militia. Thousands of people fled from repeated airstrikes by government forces. New violent clashes threaten a truce between Dokubo-Asari and rival militia groups that was brokered by the government in October. *sl*

### Rwanda (Hutu)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4  | Change: | ↗ | Start: | 2000 |
| Conflict Parties: | Interahamwe, Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), Armed Forces of Rwanda (ex-FAR) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power   |         |   |        |      |

The conflict in Rwanda between the government of Paul Kagame and the Hutu militias of the Interahamwe, the FDLR and former members of the ex-FAR was conducted on Rwanda soil without violence. On the territory of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), its forces repeatedly attacked Hutu militias. The DRC still serves as an evasion area for these rebels. They fled to the DRC after the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. On April 27, Congolese forces killed 39 of them. Nevertheless, the rebels resisted the effort by the DRC and the UN's mission in Congo MONUC to repatriate them. Rwanda and the UN put pressure on Congo to do so. On January 20, Rwanda rebels took 3,000 of their own relatives hostage in order to keep them from returning to Rwanda. In November and December 2003, about 1,800 of them were already repatriated. There is still a total of about 9,000 Rwandan rebels in the DRC. On April 22, Rwanda amassed troops on the border to Burundi in anticipation of an attack by rebels who had gone to Burundi. Efforts to repatriate them went on. On August 14, Interahamwe and ex-FAR fighters perpetrated a massacre on DRC Tutsis in Burundi who had fled there previously. They killed about 160 of them. After that, Rwanda threatened the DRC and the rebels with a direct military intervention. On November 22, eleven central African heads of state signed an

agreement on a peace process for the region of the Great Lakes in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. However, no concrete steps were concluded. On November 25, Rwanda repeated its threats towards the DRC and the rebels. The reconciliation process after the genocide in 1994 is still conducted by the ad hoc tribunal in Arusha, Tanzania and the local courts called Gacaca. The official number points at 937,000 casualties. The security situation in Rwanda was destabilized after last year's release of 40,000 prisoners charged with complicity in the genocide. Altogether, there are 85,000 people accused of having participated. Pressure was put upon single witnesses. On January 12, four of them were murdered. *pb*

### São Tomé and Príncipe (coup plotters)

|                   |                              |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|------------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 1                            | Change: | ↓ | Start: | 2003 |
| Conflict Parties: | coup plotters vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | national power, resources    |         |   |        |      |

In July 2003, Fernando Pereira staged a coup against President Fradique de Menezes. De Menezes was visiting Nigeria at that time. Pereira was supported by other members of the army and by the small opposition party of the Christian Democratic Front (CDF). As their motive for overthrowing the government, the coup initiators named the deprived situation of the population not profiting of São Tomé's oil riches - in contrast to the country's small elite. After one week following international pressure, the rebels signed an agreement to transfer power back to the elected government. The agreement included an amnesty for them. No more relevant measures were taken in order to conduct the conflict. *hlm*

### Senegal (Casamance)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3  | Change: | ↘ | Start: | 1982 |
| Conflict Parties: | Movement of the Democratic Forces of the Casamance (MFDC) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | autonomy   |         |   |        |      |

The conflict in the southern Senegalese province of Casamance continues. A Senegalese military convoy was attacked by MFDC rebels in April. Three soldiers were killed and five wounded. The MFDC officially ceased to fight for independence in October 2003. In September, the MFDC leadership changed. Diamacoune Senghor was replaced by the secretary general Jean-Marie Francois Biagui. Senghor had founded the movement twenty years ago. *sb*

### Sierra Leone (RUF)

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2   | Change: | • | Start: | 1991 |
| Conflict Parties: | Revolutionary United Front (RUF), Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), Civil Defense Units (CDU) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | national power, resources   |         |   |        |      |

The peace process after the end of the civil war in Sierra Leone progresses. This can be seen in the repatriation of about 280,000 refugees. The transfer of responsibility for the security of the country on September 24 from the UN mission UNAMSIL to Sierra Leone was another sign. After the transformation of RUF into a political party and the death of its leader Foday Sonkah, the UN-installed special court for Sierra Leone was supposed to cope with most of the aftermath of the civil war. Among the accused is Liberia's Ex-Pre-

sident Charles Taylor who is wanted by a warrant of arrest. Since 11/8/03, Taylor has been in exile in Nigeria. He had supported RUF with financial and military means. In exchange, he had access to the diamond fields in the border region of Sierra Leone and Liberia.

*nk*

### Somalia (Somaliland)

|                   |                                     |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4                                   | Change: | ↑ | Start: | 1991 |
| Conflict Parties: | Somaliland vs. government, Puntland |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | secession                           |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between the self-declared Republic of Somaliland on the one side and Somalia's government and the Somali region of Puntland on the other side reaches a new, violent stage. Both Somaliland and Puntland claim the Sool and Sanaag districts which originally were part of British-Somaliland but are inhabited by clans that are related to those living in Puntland. In December 2003, Puntland troops occupied the city of Las Anod in Sool without meeting resistance from the Somaliland authorities. After diplomatic exchanges, Puntland and Somaliland troops clashed in September and then again very heavily in early November. More than 100 people were killed in the fighting. The election of Puntland President Abdullahi Yussuf to Transitional Federal President of Somalia on October 14 might have accelerated the worsening of the situation.

*cb*

### Somalia (various groups)

|                   |                               |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4                             | Change: | • | Start: | 1980 |
| Conflict Parties: | various groups vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power                |         |   |        |      |

Several Somali warlords continue to struggle for shares of power in Somalia. Heavy clashes between different factions especially occurred in Mogadishu in May, in Bulo Hawa in June, and in Kismayo in September. Up to 300 people were killed in the fighting. The overall security situation in Somalia has slightly improved. The Transitional National Government (TNG), which had been established in 2000, and has lost its two year mandate in 2002, continues to be only one among several factions. It has never been able to secure power in more than some quarters of Mogadishu. The Intergovernmental Authority of Development (IGAD) sponsored a peace conference in Nairobi. The conference overcame several deadlock periods and ended with the inauguration of a new Transitional Federal Parliament on August 22. The parliament is composed of 275 members. The seats are allocated along clan allegiances in order to guarantee a federal structure. On October 14, the parliament elected Abdullahi Yussuf as new Somali President. He is also the president of the semi-autonomous region of Puntland in northeastern Somalia [=> Somalia (Somaliland - Puntland)]. Former TNG president Abdulqassim Salad Hassan was eliminated in the first round of voting with a neglectable amount of votes. On November 3, Yussuf appointed Ali Muhammed Gedi as Prime Minister of the new Transitional Federal Government. The new national Somali institutions are internationally recognized, e.g. by the UN, the African Union and the EU.

*cb*

### Sudan (SLM/A, JEM)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 5  | Change: | ↗ | Start: | 2003 |
| Conflict Parties: | Sudanese Liberation Movement / Army (SLM/A), Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) vs. Janjaweed militia, government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | regional predominance  |         |   |        |      |

The Civil war in Darfur continues. The SLM/A and the Islamist JEM fight against the Sudanese government and the Arab Janjaweed militia, which is supported by the government. The rebels blame the government for racism and economic exploitation of the region. Janjaweed and government troops systematically destroyed villages, with air strikes and land borne attacks. Janjaweed systematically rape, kill and terrorize civilians. Government troops were blamed for taking part in these atrocities. 120,000 people have been killed directly or indirectly in the war so far. 1.8 million civilians have been displaced, 200,000 of them fled to Chad. A ceasefire signed on March 8 was repeatedly broken by both sides. The international community unsuccessfully urged the government to disarm the Janjaweed and to facilitate the access to humanitarian aid. In July, the government and the UN signed a joint communiqué in order to remove obstacles to humanitarian aid and to stop human rights abuses. In the same month, US Congress passed a resolution declaring the situation a genocide. The African Union (AU) sent monitors to Darfur. At the end of July, the UN Security Council passed a resolution including a 30-day ultimatum in order to disarm the Janjaweed militia. Protests against foreign interference took place in Khartoum as a reaction. A new UN resolution called on Sudan to protect civilians and again threatened with sanctions unless there were tangible efforts. Violence increased during September and October. The AU boosted its troop level up to over 300. In early November, the Sudanese army forced internally displaced persons to return from camps in southern Darfur. In early November, UNHCR withdrew. At the same time, the conflict parties signed a series of agreements on security and humanitarian issues. These agreements were broken by the government at the end of November.

*lh*

### Sudan (SPLA)

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3   | Change: | ↘ | Start: | 1989 |
| Conflict Parties: | Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | resources, autonomy                                     |         |   |        |      |

In spite of single combat actions in the region of Western Upper Nile between Sudanese government forces and the SPLA in February and April, peace talks between both conflict parties mediated by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) continued. About 30,000 persons are displaced due to the fighting. While both parties agreed that the southern part would get more autonomy, the major point of controversy, namely the status of the disputed regions Southern Blue Nile, the Nuba Mountains and especially Abyei, remains unsettled. The latter is rich in oil reserves. In addition, security and judicial aspects are part of the negotiations. Since January, the SPLA has demobilized many of its combatants, among them child soldiers. In September, both parties extended the ceasefire agreement, which had been signed in June, to three more months. In October, the Sudanese rebel lea-

der, John Garang de Mabior, said that a final peace deal between the SPLA rebels and the government of Khartoum could be arranged before the end of the year. In fact, the government and representatives of the SPLA signed a peace pledge at a special UN Security Council meeting in Nairobi, Kenya on November 19. Both conflict parties agreed to conclude a comprehensive final peace deal by the end of the year. At the same time, the UN promised humanitarian aid in return for Sudan's signature of a final peace agreement by then. The war in the Darfur region in western Sudan influences the progress of the negotiations between the Sudanese government and SPLA. This war puts pressure on the Sudanese government to end the conflict with SPLA in the south. *de, te*

### Swaziland (opposition)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3  | Change: | • | Start: | 2000 |
| Conflict Parties: | Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions (SFTU), People's United Democratic Movement (PUDEMO), Swaziland Youth Congress (SWAYOCO), Law Society of Swaziland vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | national power, ideology / system  |         |   |        |      |

In Africa's last remaining absolute monarchy the struggle for democracy continues. In July, the police forcefully prevented a meeting of Swaziland's largest political opposition group, the PUDEMO. Six PUDEMO executives were detained and about 20 PUDEMO members were injured. This happened after King Mswati had criticised the SWAYOCO for holding its annual conference in South Africa, since domestic affairs should not be discussed abroad. Swaziland's pro-democracy groups have also dismissed the King's national dialogue as pointless and the event was boycotted by the SWTU and the Law Society of Swaziland. SWAYOCO expects to see a popularly elected democratic government by 2008. In July, PUDEMO started to demand support from other nations of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in its struggle against the repressive kingdom. The National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), an umbrella group of legal, human rights and labour organizations, is challenging the King's proposed new constitution in High Court. *ms*

### Uganda (LRA)

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4   | Change: | ↘ | Start: | 1987 |
| Conflict Parties: | Lord Resistance Army (LRA) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power                            |         |   |        |      |

The LRA led by Joseph Kony was put under pressure by Yoweri Museveni's Ugandan government. The LRA fights for a Christian fundamentalist state. The govern-

ment offered the rebels an amnesty, but excluded the leaders. The Ugandan army conducted a successful campaign against the LRA. This was largely due to the fact that Sudan had signed an agreement with Uganda in 2002. According to this agreement, Uganda was allowed to pursue the LRA into Sudanese territory. On March 3, the Sudanese rebels of the Sudanese Liberation Army (SPLA) fought against the LRA in the south of Sudan. The SPLA was supported by Uganda. On February 5, the LRA killed 213 people in a refugee camp in the district of Lira. This was followed by violent protests against the army, which was accused of not having offered sufficient protection. Five persons were killed by the police during these protests. There is a total of 1,600,000 persons internally displaced in Uganda. Until May, Uganda killed 211 LRA rebels, destroyed a large amount of supply and freed about 270 abductees. The LRA is said to have kidnapped more than 20,000 people, mostly children, during the 18 year long civil war. Most of them were forced into work and sexslavery with extreme brutality, or they were made child soldiers. Following the military success of Uganda, the LRA signed its readiness for talks. On August 17, Museveni rejected this. He declared Kony to be a petty criminal. On August 26, the International Criminal Court sent a team to Uganda in order to investigate alleged crimes by the LRA against humanity. On November 10, the LRA repeated its offer to talks outside of Uganda. Again, Museveni reacted with scepticism. Nevertheless on November 15, Uganda announced an unilateral ceasefire which was prolonged on November 23. The amnesty offer remains and still excludes LRA leaders. *pb*

### Zimbabwe (opposition)

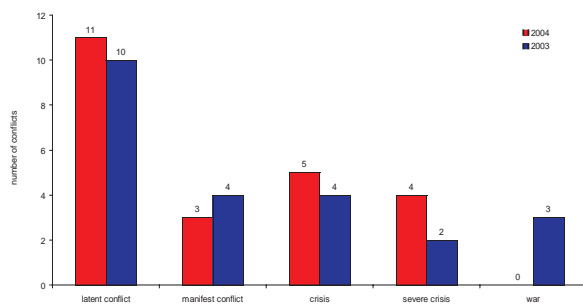
|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3   | Change: | • | Start: | 2000 |
| Conflict Parties: | Movement for a Democratic Change (MDC), National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power  |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between the governing party Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the opposition party MDC continues. In the context of local elections in late March, ZANU-PF members raided MDC offices. The government plans an electoral reform before the upcoming 2005 parliamentary poll. MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai was acquitted of treason charges in November. The opposition was invited to participate in the electoral reform process. The government wanted to introduce a bill banning international rights groups from working in Zimbabwe and cutting foreign funding to local groups. *fl*

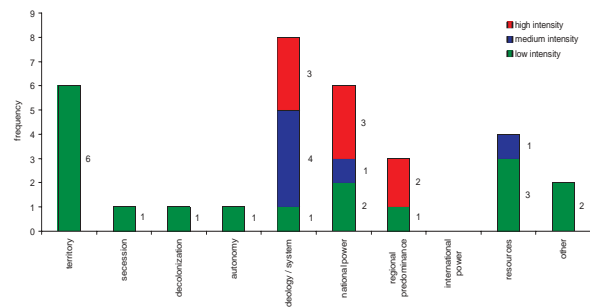
# The Americas

In the region of the Americas, the total number of conflicts remains the same. Compared to 2003, the intensities have remained the same or could be reduced, except for the internal conflict over resources of landless farmers in Brazil and the Piqueteros conflict over the political system in Argentina. The still insecure and tense economic situation in Middle and Latin Americas has been the principal cause for instabilities in several states of the continent. In this context, after last year's violent protests Venezuela, Argentina and the Dominican Republic again demand a government policy aimed at a stronger social balance. The graph of the conflict items shows a high proportion of violent conflicts in the system / ideology column. In Colombia, the internal conflicts has lost momentum since the government has restarted negotiations with all conflict parties - but only with some success due to an insufficient demobilization of the paramilitias. The conflict situation in Haiti remains violent. Until Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide was forced to go to exile in early February, various rebel groups had gained control over great parts of the Haitian territory. All interstate conflicts have still been carried out without violence.

Conflict Intensities in the Americas 2004 compared to 2003



Frequency of Conflict Items in the Americas 2004 by Intensity Groups



## Argentina (Piqueteros)

Intensity: 3 Change: ↗ Start: 2001  
 Conflict Parties: Piqueteros vs. government  
 Conflict Item: ideology / system

The conflict in Argentina between the government and Piqueteros, a group consisting of different unemployed and pensioner movements, over the distribution of common wealth continues. The police repression was still present, several Piqueteros and supporters were tortured and murdered. On June 26 and on July 2, several thousands of people protested in Buenos Aires against the murder of three Piqueteros by the police. On October 4, the inmates of a prison, who had been arrested after the occupation of an oil factory, accused the police of abuse and torture. The protests in the second half of the year were, for the first time, directly aimed at President Nestor Kirchner, who had been respected as reform-oriented by the Piqueteros so far. However, there were changes in the government's policy, which came to meet the demands of the Piqueteros.

*eg*

## Bolivia (MAS)

Intensity: 2 Change: ↘ Start: 1983  
 Conflict Parties: Movement towards Socialism (MAS), Cocaleros, Central Obrera Boliviana vs. government  
 Conflict Item: national Power

The internal conflict in Bolivia between the trade unions, the oppositional party Movement towards Socialism (MAS) and the government continues. One year after the fall of President Sánchez de Lozada, the trade unions insisted on their demands for breaking with neoliberal economic policy and returning existing energy resources into national hands. The government could partly ease the tensions by holding a referendum on the natural gas export strategy in July. But the trade unions denied any legitimacy of the referendum, since the election turnout was low. In October, the parlia-

ment voted for a bill, which stipulated the nationalization of the natural gas. MAS feared a military coup d'état because of the embittered resistance of President Carlo Mesa and entrepreneur circles against the bill.

*mz*

## Brazil (MST)

Intensity: 3 Change: ↗ Start: 1995  
 Conflict Parties: Landless Workers' Movement (MST) vs. government  
 Conflict Item: resources

In the conflict between Brazil's Landless Workers' Movement (MST) and the Brazilian government, clashes took place on November 22. During the occupation of non-cultivable land by the MST, five members were killed. MST claims agricultural land which was allegedly expropriated by the government. An agrar reform has not been realized by the Brazilian government so far. The government was not able to cut a deal with great land owners on the issue because of their power and influence. Since its beginning, the conflict has claimed more than 100 casualties.

*mk*

## Colombia (ELN)

Intensity: 4 Change: ↘ Start: 1961  
 Conflict Parties: National Liberation Army (ELN) vs. government  
 Conflict Items: national power, ideology / system

The conflict between the left-wing rebel organization National Liberation Army (ELN) and the government decreases in intensity. The first half of the year was characterized by ongoing violence, such as bomb attacks and combat action by the ELN. On June 1, for the first time in two years, the ELN took 17 tourists hostage. This hampered the continuation of negotiations formerly agreed upon. With the release of the tourists, negotiations were re-established resulting in a ceasefire agreement on June 4. On July 9, the Colombian government reacted to an ELN offer and accepted Mexi-



## Summary: Conflicts in the Americas 2004

| Name of Conflict <sup>1</sup>   | Conflict Parties <sup>2</sup>                           | Conflict Item(s)   | Start | Change <sup>3</sup> | Int. <sup>4</sup> |
|---------------------------------|---|--|-------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Argentina - Iran *              | Argentina vs. Iran                                      | others (AMIA attack)                                     | 1994  | •                   | 2                 |
| Argentina (Piqueteros)          | Piqueteros, Civic Opposition vs. government             | ideology / system  | 2001  | ↗                   | 3                 |
| Bolivia - Chile, Peru *         | Bolivia vs. Chile, Peru                                 | territory, resources                                     | 1964  | •                   | 1                 |
| Bolivia (MAS)                   | MAS, Cocaleros, Central Obrera Boliviana vs. government | national power   | 1983  | ↘                   | 2                 |
| Brazil (MST)                    | MST vs. government                                      | resources  | 1995  | ↗                   | 3                 |
| Canada (Québec) *               | Regional government of Québec vs. government            | secession  | 1960  | •                   | 1                 |
| Colombia (ELN)                  | ELN vs. government                                      | national power, ideology / system                        | 1961  | ↘                   | 4                 |
| Colombia (FARC)                 | FARC vs. government                                     | regional predominance, ideology / system, national power | 1961  | ↘                   | 4                 |
| Colombia (paramilitias)         | AUC vs. government                                      | regional predominance, ideology / system                 | 1995  | ↘                   | 4                 |
| Colombia - Venezuela *          | Colombia vs. Venezuela                                  | territory (Monjes islands), resources                    | 1932  | •                   | 1                 |
| Dominican Republic (opposition) | opposition vs. government                               | ideology / system  | 2003  | •                   | 3                 |
| Guatemala (PAC)                 | PAC vs. government                                      | national power   | 1962  | ↓                   | 2                 |
| Guyana - Suriname *             | Guyana vs. Suriname                                     | territory, resources                                     | 2000  | •                   | 1                 |
| Haiti (opposition)              | opposition vs. government                               | national power   | 1986  | •                   | 4                 |
| Mexico (Chiapas) *              | EZLN vs. government                                     | regional predominance, other (rights of Indigos)         | 1994  | •                   | 1                 |
| Mexico (Guerrero) *             | EPR vs. government                                      | autonomy   | 1995  | •                   | 1                 |
| Nicaragua - Colombia *          | Nicaragua vs. Colombia                                  | territory  | 1980  | •                   | 1                 |
| Peru (Shining Path)             | Shining Path vs. government                             | ideology / system  | 1980  | •                   | 3                 |
| USA - Cuba *                    | USA vs. Cuba  | ideology / system  | 1995  | ↘                   | 1                 |
| USA - Cuba (Guantanamo)*        | USA vs. Cuba  | territory (Guantanamo)                                   | 1859  | •                   | 1                 |
| USA (Puerto Rico) *             | USA vs. Puerto Rico                                     | independence   | 1943  | •                   | 1                 |
| Venezuela -Guyana *             | Venezuela vs. Guyana                                    | territory (Essequibo Border)                             | 1962  | •                   | 1                 |
| Venezuela (opposition)          | opposition vs. government                               | national power, ideology / system                        | 2000  | •                   | 3                 |

1) 2) 3) 4) see page 10: Summary: Conflicts in Europe 2004

co as mediator in this severe crisis. On November 17, ELN Guerrilleros killed nine policemen in a single raid. *fs*

### Colombia (FARC)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4  | Change: | ↘ | Start: | 1961 |
| Conflict Parties: | Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | regional predominance, ideology / system, national power     |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between Colombia's largest rebel organization Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the government continues. At the beginning of the year, the government launched offensive Patriotic Plan against FARC in the south of the country. 167 rebels were killed, 123 were wounded. On May 6, a commander of the left-wing rebels was sentenced to a prison term of 35 years. Alfonso Cano succeeded Manuel Marulanda as FARC leader. In the course of the year, combat action between rebels and government troops took place. On August 12, FARC rebels conducted a raid on farmers working for right-wing paramilitaries. They killed at least ten of them. Furthermore, bomb attacks and kidnappings were systematically used by FARC. On October 29, President Alvaro Uribe suggested an exchange of 60 prisoners, hostages respectively. Negotiations failed since the government refused to give the rebels a retreat area. This was FARC's preliminary condition for the opening of negotiations. On October 30, Uribe transmitted another negotiation offer to the mediating Swiss government. Switzerland was supposed to deliver this proposition to FARC. On November 1, FARC released

four hostages as a symbolic gesture. A round of negotiations was agreed upon. *fs*

### Colombia (paramilitias)

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4   | Change: | ↘ | Start: | 1995 |
| Conflict Parties: | United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | regional predominance, ideology / system                    |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between the right-wing paramilitary United Self-Defense Forces (AUC) and the government decreased in intensity. The conflict, which started in 1995, is carried out on regional predominance. The paramilitias finance themselves with the production and trafficking of drugs. On April 20, first negotiations between the government and the AUC for the demobilization of 1,300 paramilitias took place. At this time, AUC founder Carlo Castano was murdered by unknown actors. On May 14, an agreement between AUC and the government was signed granting the AUC a zone in which the agreed ceasefire would be supervised. In response, President Alvaro Uribe suspended the warrants of arrest for AUC leaders. On July 1, concrete negotiations took place for the demobilization of parts of the AUC. This second round of negotiations resulted in the creation of a second special zone for the AUC. The government started an offensive against paramilitias other than the AUC. 27 paramilitias were killed and 97 were captured. On November 4, the AUC started the demobilization of part of their armed forces. Yet, this process ran sluggishly. The government aimed at integrating former paramilitias into society. *fs*

### Dominican Republic (opposition)

|                   |                           |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3                         | Change: | • | Start: | 2003 |
| Conflict Parties: | opposition vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | ideology / system         |         |   |        |      |

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) led 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 Efraín Ríos 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. *nis*

### Guatemala (PAC)

|                   |                    |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2                  | Change: | ↓ | Start: | 1962 |
| Conflict Parties: | PAC vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power     |         |   |        |      |

After intense riots in the run-up to last year's elections, no more violence occurred. Former dictator, General Ríos Montt, was grounded on May 14 because of his responsibility for the attempts prior to the 2003 presidential elections. Montt was accused of crimes against humanity during his presidency at the beginning of the 1980s. New President Oscar Berger focused on the refurbishment of the civil war, which had officially ended in 1996. A first trial against former paramilitias charged for crimes against humanity began on October 20. Compensation payments which had been promised to members of the Civil Self-Defense Patrol (PAC) were refused by the constitutional court. As a reaction to the court ruling, PAC declared to take new measures and threatened to seize hydroelectric power stations and to block major roads. On November 16, the UN decided to end its peacekeeping mission MINUGUA by the end of the year. *jh*

### Haiti (opposition)

|                   |                           |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4                         | Change: | • | Start: | 1986 |
| Conflict Parties: | opposition vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power            |         |   |        |      |

The Haitian conflict over national power started with the end of the dictatorial rule by the Duvalier family in 1986. The dispute is marked by assassinations, illegal arrests, kidnappings, riots and violent protests. Proponents and opponents of former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide face each other. Both sides are extremely heterogeneous and factionalized. Aristide's opponents include different opposition groups, various civil organizations as well as rebel groups. On Aristide's side, his party Family Lavalas and the militia Chimera can be found among others. The international community is present in Haiti. In 2004, the UN, CARICOM, OAS, the US and France tried to mediate and to stabilize Haitian society. Early in February, the conflict escalated when rebels took the Northern city of Gonaïve in

order to force Aristide to resign. Within a month, rebel groups gained control of five out of nine Haitian regions. The invasion of the capital of Port-au-Prince made Aristide leave the country on February 29. Fightings in February and in early March left 100 people dead. Thereupon, the UN mission UNMIF remained in the country for another three months. On June 1, it was replaced by the Brazilian-led blue helmet troop MINUSTAH. The fragile interim government under Prime Minister Gérard Latortue commenced his term on March 9. On September 30, violence re-escalated in Gonaïve due to Operation Baghdad of Aristide's Chimera. Furthermore, the opposition rejected the interim government and Aristide's proponents spoke out against new elections. As a result of this dispute, at least 50 people were killed. *jl*

### Peru (Shining Path)

|                   |                             |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3                           | Change: | • | Start: | 1980 |
| Conflict Parties: | Shining Path vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | ideology / system           |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between the Maoist guerrilla Shining Path and the Peruvian government over the political system continued. Shining Path was founded by Abel Guzmán in 1980. Since Guzmán's arrest in 1992, the guerrilla's activities abated. The resumption of his trial on November 5 was accompanied by public protests in favor of severe punishment. Shining Path demanded an amnesty for its arrested members. In order to emphasize these claims, it carried out violent acts and road blockades. There were raids against police stations. Two policemen were killed on June 6. Moreover, the Peruvian police arrested members of the Shining Path accused of being infiltrated into the Peruvian educational system. *jl*

### Venezuela (opposition)

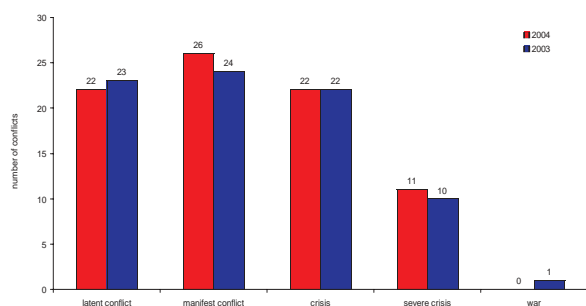
|                   |                                   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3                                 | Change: | • | Start: | 2000 |
| Conflict Parties: | opposition vs. government         |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | national power, ideology / system |         |   |        |      |

The Venezuelan opposition, consisting of trade associations, trade unions and other political groups, demanded a referendum on the presidency of Hugo Chávez. Until the referendum was eventually held in August, violent protests took place in favor of and against Chávez. On 12/19/03, the opposition submitted 3.4 million signatures for the introduction of impeachment proceedings against Chávez. On February 25, the national election commission declared large parts of the signatures invalid. Without these, the implementation of the referendum would have been impossible. On March 2, the commission confirmed the number of given signatures to be sufficient. The same day, clashes between the National Guard and protesters took place in Caracas. On June 6, the election commission decided that Chávez had to face the referendum to be held on August 15. However, Chávez won the popular vote with 58 percent and was confirmed as president. The opposition refused to accept the outcome. Independent election observers of the Jimmy Carter Center and the OAS could not detect any irregularities. *snm*

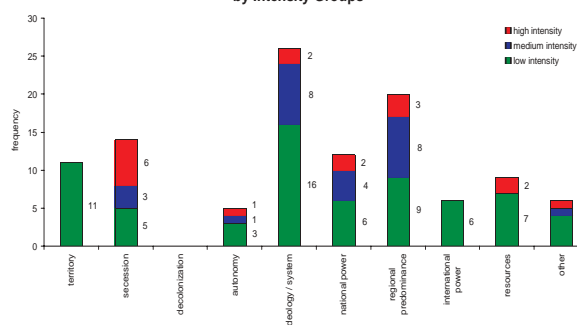
# Asia and Oceania

In 2004, Asia and Oceania has been the region with the most conflicts considering absolute numbers. Of the 81 conflicts taking place in Asia and Oceania, 46 have occurred on a low, 23 on a medium, and twelve on a high intensity level. The most striking aspect of the results is that this year, no war could be observed in the region. The Aceh conflict in Indonesia, which was rated as a war last year, has been a severe crisis this year. While, compared to 2003, the number of crises has remained exactly the same, the amount of latent conflicts has decreased by one, the total sum of manifest conflicts and of severe crises has increased by two and one respectively. The largest part of all current conflicts in Asia and Oceania has been about ideology / system and has been carried out without violence in more than 50 percent of the cases. Another widespread conflict item has been that of regional predominance, followed by secession and territory. Against expectations, conflicts about territory and international power have mostly been carried out without violence this year. The largest part of highly violent conflicts could be found within the group of secession conflicts.

Conflict Intensities in Asia and Oceania 2004 compared to 2003



Frequency of Conflict Items in Asia and Oceania 2004 by Intensity Groups



## Bangladesh (Awami League)

|                   |   |                             |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3 | Change:                     | • | Start: | 1991 |
| Conflict Parties: |   | Awami League vs. government |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    |   | national power              |   |        |      |

After a leader of the oppositional Awami League was murdered on 08/27/03, large-scale strikes and mass protests occurred during the following September. The Awami League proclaimed general strikes in February as well as in early and late April. During these months, protesters repeatedly clashed with the police. More than 5,000 people were arrested. On August 21 and 22, 18 people were killed and about 200 injured in a series of explosions during a rally of the Awami League. The perpetrators of the grenade attacks remain unidentified, even though much points to an Islamist background or to one close to the government. The opposition accuses the government of having Islamist tendencies. As a result of the blasts, country-wide riots broke out on August 22. Rioters set fire on a train. New general strikes brought the country to a standstill on August 24, on 25 and again on 30. *ak, ct*

## Bangladesh (Chittagong Hill Tracts)

|                   |   |  |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|--|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2 | Change:  | • | Start: | 1947 |
| Conflict Parties: |   | tribes in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Shanti Bahini, Parabottya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity vs. government |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    |   | autonomy   |   |        |      |

The conflict between the government of Bangladesh and the tribes in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) had been violently going on for decades until an agreement was reached between the government and the militant Shanti Bahini in 1997. On 12/02/03 as well as from January 19 to January 20, the region was cut off from the rest of the country by the peaceful blocking of the main routes of transportation by the Parabottya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity, being the biggest party in the CHT. The protesters feared that the government of

Bangladesh did not adhere to the peace accord, and pointed out that meanwhile, the police presence in the CHT resembled an occupation force. *ak, ct*

## Bhutan (Indian separatist rebels)

|                   |   |  |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|--|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4 | Change:  | ↑ | Start: | 1992 |
| Conflict Parties: |   | United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB), Kamtapur Liberation Organization (KLO) vs. government |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    |   | regional predominance  |   |        |      |

In December 2003, the government of Bhutan launched an offensive against the East Indian separatist groups of the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) and Kamtapur Liberation Organization (KLO), which had built over 30 training camps in the south at the frontier with India. These groups attack Indian territory and then cross the border back to Bhutan. Throughout several years, India has put pressure on Bhutan to expel these groups from its territory. After several ultimatums with the objective that the rebels voluntarily abandoned the camps, Bhutan attacked the camps on 12/15/03. The military operation was reinforced by India, which closed its borders with Bhutan on 12/16/03 in order to prevent rebels from escaping to East India. The military operation was terminated at the end of December, with over 140 casualties and over 1,000 people injured. Some of the fatalities were civilians. The situation remains tense. *yf*

## Cambodia (CPP - FUNCINPEC, SRP)

|                   |   |  |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|--|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3 | Change:  | • | Start: | 1979 |
| Conflict Parties: |   | Cambodia People's Party (CPP) vs. National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC), Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   |   | national power, ideology / system  |   |        |      |

Since the 2003 parliamentary elections, Cambodia has been ruled by a CPP interim government since SRP

### Summary: Conflicts in Asia and Oceania 2004

| Name of Conflict <sup>1</sup>           | Conflict Parties <sup>2</sup>  | Conflict Item(s)                                 | Start | Change <sup>3</sup> | Int. <sup>4</sup> |
|---|--|--|-------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Bangladesh - India *                    | Bangladesh vs. India   | territory, resources (water)                     | 1971  | ↓                   | 1                 |
| Bangladesh - Myanmar *                  | Bangladesh vs. Myanmar   | resources  | 1991  | •                   | 2                 |
| Bangladesh (Awami League)               | Awami League vs. government  | national power                                   | 1991  | •                   | 3                 |
| Bangladesh (Chittagong Hill Tracts)     | Shanti Bacini, Parabotya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity, tribes in CHT vs. government                     | autonomy   | 1947  | •                   | 2                 |
| Bhutan (Indian separatist rebels)       | ULFA, NDFB, KLO vs. government   | regional predominance                            | 1992  | ↑                   | 4                 |
| Cambodia (CFF) *                        | Cambodia Freedom Fighters vs. government   | national power, ideology / system                | 2000  | •                   | 1                 |
| Cambodia (CPP, FUNCINPEC, SRP)          | CPP vs. FUNCINPEC, SRP   | national power, ideology / system                | 1979  | •                   | 3                 |
| Cambodia (Khmer Rouge) *                | Khmer Rouge vs. government   | national power                                   | 1967  | •                   | 1                 |
| China - India                           | China vs. India  | territory, international power                   | 1947  | •                   | 1                 |
| China - Taiwan                          | China vs. Taiwan   | international power, ideology / system           | 1949  | •                   | 2                 |
| China - Vietnam *                       | China vs. Vietnam  | territory  | 1945  | •                   | 1                 |
| China - Vietnam et al.                  | Brunei vs. China vs. Indonesia vs. Malaysia vs. Philippines vs. Singapore vs. Taiwan vs. Vietnam           | territory (Spratly Islands), resources           | 1945  | •                   | 2                 |
| China (Falun Gong)                      | Falun Gong vs. government  | ideology / system                                | 1999  | •                   | 2                 |
| China (Hong Kong pro-democracy parties) | Hong Kong pro-democracy parties, Civil Human Rights Front vs. government, regional government of Hong Kong | autonomy, ideology / system                      | 1999  | •                   | 2                 |
| China (Hui)                             | Hui vs. government, Han  | other  | 2004  | NEW                 | 4                 |
| China (Tibet)                           | Tibetan government in exile, Tibetan separatists vs. government  | ideology / system, secession                     | 1912  | •                   | 2                 |
| China (Xinjiang) *                      | East Turkestan Islamic Movement vs. government   | ideology / system, secession                     | 1990  | •                   | 3                 |
| East-Timor - Australia                  | East-Timor vs. Australia   | territory, resources                             | 2002  | •                   | 2                 |
| Fiji (ethnic groups) *                  | ethnic Fijians vs. Economic Indian elite   | ideology / system                                | 1987  | •                   | 2                 |
| India (Assam)                           | NDFB, BLTF, ULFA vs. government  | secession, resources                             | 1979  | ↗                   | 4                 |
| India (Ayodhya)                         | Muslims vs. Hindus   | regional predominance                            | 1853  | •                   | 2                 |
| India (Bodos - Santhals) *              | National Democratic Front of Bodoland vs. Santhals   | regional predominance                            | 1954  | •                   | 2                 |
| India (Dimasa - Hmar) *                 | Hmar vs. Dimasa  | regional predominance                            | 1987  | ↓                   | 2                 |
| India (Gujarat) *                       | Muslim minority vs. government, Hindu majority   | regional predominance                            | 1987  | ↘                   | 2                 |
| India (Kashmir)                         | Kashmiri and Pakistani rebels vs. government   | secession  | 1947  | •                   | 4                 |
| India (LTTE) *                          | Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam vs. government  | other  | 1987  | •                   | 1                 |
| India (Nagaland)                        | NSCN, NNC vs. government   | secession, regional predominance                 | 1947  | •                   | 4                 |
| India (Nagas - Kukis) *                 | NSCN vs. Kuki National Front (KNF), government   | regional predominance                            | 1947  | •                   | 2                 |
| India (Naxalites)                       | PWG, MCC vs. government  | ideology / system                                | 1997  | ↘                   | 3                 |
| India (Sikhs) *                         | Sikhs, ADP, KLF vs. government   | religious predominance, autonomy                 | 1929  | •                   | 1                 |
| India (Tripura)                         | ATTF, NSCN, TVF, NLFT, NRTG, Burmese Naga separatists vs. government                                       | secession  | 1980  | ↘                   | 3                 |
| India (ULFA - Biharis, Bengalis)        | ULFA vs. Biharis, Bengalis   | regional predominance                            | 1983  | •                   | 3                 |
| Indonesia (Aceh)                        | GAM vs. government   | secession, resources                             | 1953  | ↘                   | 4                 |
| Indonesia (Jemaah Islamiah)             | Jemaah Islamiah vs. government   | national power                                   | 2002  | •                   | 3                 |
| Indonesia (Kalimantan) *                | Dayaks vs. Madurese  | regional predominance                            | 1997  | •                   | 1                 |
| Indonesia (Moluccans)                   | Laskar Jihad, Muslims vs. Christians   | regional predominance                            | 1998  | •                   | 3                 |
| Indonesia (Papua) *                     | Organization Free Papua vs. government   | secession, resources                             | 1949  | ↓                   | 1                 |
| Indonesia (Reformasi) *                 | Reformasi vs. government   | ideology / system                                | 1997  | •                   | 1                 |
| Indonesia (Sulawesi)                    | Christians vs. Muslims, Laskar Dschihad, JI  | regional predominance                            | 1998  | •                   | 3                 |
| Japan - China *                         | Japan vs. China  | territory (Senkakus/ Diaoyus Islands), resources | 1972  | •                   | 2                 |
| Japan - Russia                          | Japan vs. Russia   | territory (Kuril Islands)                        | 1945  | •                   | 1                 |
| Japan - South Korea *                   | Japan vs. South Korea  | territory (Takeshima/ Tokto Islands)             | 1945  | •                   | 1                 |
| Kazakhstan (opposition)                 | opposition vs. government  | ideology / system                                | 2004  | NEW                 | 1                 |
| Laos (LCMD, CIDL)                       | LCMD, CIDL vs. government  | ideology / system, autonomy, national power      | 1975  | •                   | 4                 |
| Malaysia (ethnic Chinese) *             | ethnic Chinese vs. Malays  | national power                                   | 1946  | •                   | 1                 |
| Malaysia (KMM) *                        | Kumpulan Mujahideen Malaysia vs. government  | ideology / system                                | 1998  | •                   | 2                 |
| Maldives (MDP)                          | MDP vs. government   | ideology / system                                | 1978  | ↑                   | 3                 |
| Myanmar (democratic opposition)         | NLD, NCGUB, ABSDF, ABFSU vs. government  | ideology / system, national power                | 1962  | ↘                   | 2                 |
| Myanmar (minorities)                    | KNU, KNDO, SSA, KIO, KNPP, NMSP, MRA, NNLD vs. government DKBA, UWSA                                       | secession  | 1948  | •                   | 4                 |
| Myanmar (Rohingya)                      | Rohingyas vs. government   | other (suppression of minority)                  | 1948  | •                   | 3                 |
| Nepal - Bhutan                          | Nepal vs. Bhutan   | other (refugees)                                 | 1986  | ↗                   | 2                 |
| Nepal (Maoists)                         | CPN-M vs. government   | ideology / system, national power                | 1990  | •                   | 4                 |
| Nepal (opposition)                      | opposition vs. government  | ideology / system                                | 2002  | ↗                   | 2                 |
| North Korea - South Korea               | North Korea vs. South Korea  | international power, ideology / system           | 1948  | •                   | 2                 |
| North Korea - USA, Japan                | North Korea vs. USA, Japan   | international power, ideology / system           | 1993  | •                   | 1                 |
| Pakistan - India                        | Pakistan vs. India   | territory (Kashmir), international power         | 1947  | ↓                   | 2                 |
| Philippines (Abu Sayyaf)                | Abu Sayyaf vs. government  | secession  | 1991  | •                   | 3                 |
| Philippines (MILF)                      | MILF vs. government  | secession, ideology / system                     | 1977  | ↓                   | 2                 |
| Philippines (NPA, CPP)                  | NPA, CPP vs. government  | ideology / system                                | 1968  | •                   | 3                 |
| Singapore - Malaysia *                  | Singapore vs. Malaysia   | international power, territory                   | 1963  | •                   | 1                 |

| Name of Conflict <sup>1</sup>              | Conflict Parties <sup>2</sup>  | Conflict Item(s)                  | Start | Änd. <sup>3</sup> | Int. <sup>4</sup> |
|--|--|-----------------------------------|-------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Singapore (Jemaah Islamiah) *              | Jemaah Islamiah vs. government   | ideology / system                 | 1999  | •                 | 2                 |
| Singapore (Malays) *                       | Malaysia vs. government  | other                             | 1963  | •                 | 1                 |
| Solomon Islands (IFM - MEF) *              | Isatuba Freedom Movement (IFM) vs. Malaitan Eagle Force (MEF)                        | national power, resources         | 1998  | ↓                 | 1                 |
| Sri Lanka (Jamayathul Ulama - Sufis)       | Jamayathul Ulama vs. Sufis   | regional predominance             | 1978  | ↑                 | 3                 |
| Sri Lanka (LTTE)                           | LTTE vs. government  | autonomy                          | 1976  | •                 | 3                 |
| Sri Lanka (LTTE - EPDP) *                  | LTTE vs. EPDP  | regional predominance             | 1986  | •                 | 3                 |
| Sri Lanka (LTTE - JVP) *                   | LTTE vs. JVP   | secession                         | 1976  | •                 | 1                 |
| Sri Lanka (LTTE - PLOTE)*                  | LTTE vs. PLOTE   | regional predominance             | 1979  | •                 | 2                 |
| Sri Lanka (LTTE-East - LTTEE) *            | LTTE-East vs. LTTE   | regional predominance             | 2004  | NEW               | 4                 |
| Sri Lanka (LTTE, Tamils - SLMC, Muslims) * | LTTE, Tamils vs. SLMC, Muslims   | regional predominance             | 1976  | •                 | 3                 |
| Sri Lanka (religious communities)          | Sinhalese nationalists, conservative Buddhist clergy vs. Muslims, Christians, Tamils | regional predominance             | 1948  | ↗                 | 3                 |
| Sri Lanka (Sinhalese nationalists) *       | Sinhalese nationalists, JHU, conservative Buddhist clergy vs. government             | ideology / system                 | 1948  | ↗                 | 3                 |
| Sri Lanka (SLMC) *                         | SLMC vs. government  | other                             | 1981  | •                 | 1                 |
| Sri Lanka (Upcountry Tamils) *             | Upcountry Tamils vs. government, Sinhalese nationalists                              | regional predominance             | 1948  | ↑                 | 3                 |
| Tajikistan (Islamists) *                   | Islamists vs. government   | ideology / system                 | 1997  | •                 | 3                 |
| Thailand - Cambodia *                      | Thailand vs. Cambodia  | territory, international power    | 1954  | ↘                 | 1                 |
| Thailand (Northern Hill tribes) *          | Northern Hill tribes, Tribal Assembly of Thailand vs. government, ethnic Thais       | regional predominance             | 1955  | •                 | 1                 |
| Thailand (Southern Border Provinces)       | Muslim separatists vs. government  | secession                         | 1785  | ↗                 | 4                 |
| Tonga (HRDM) *                             | HRDM vs. government  | ideology / system, national power | 1970  | •                 | 2                 |
| 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 10: Summary: Conflicts in Europe 2004

and FUNCINPEC have boycotted the forming of a government under Hun Sen. The conflict defused in November 2003, after both parties agreed to negotiations with the CPP. But the assassination of trade union leader Chea Vichea, a government critic and SRP supporter, on January 21, intensified the conflict. Thousands of people protested against the government. The SRP leader Sam Rainsy blamed the government for the murder. In June, the situation improved again to such a degree that the FUNCINPEC and the CPP formed a new government under Hun's lead. Successor to King Norodom Sihanouk, who abdicated in October, became his son Sihanmoni, half-brother of the FUNCINPEC leader, Prince Ranariddh. *ca*

### China - Indien

|                   |                                |             |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| Intensity: 1      | Change: •                      | Start: 1947 |
| Conflict Parties: | China vs. India                |             |
| Conflict Items:   | international power, territory |             |

Relations between China and India continue to improve. They met three times between January and July in order to settle the border conflict. China claims 90,000 sqkm of territory ruled by India in the east of India, India on its part the Aksai Chin, a 38,000 sqkm plateau in the Himalaya in the west. Momentarily, both parties face each other at the ceasefire Line of Actual Control (LAC). *cbo*

### China - Taiwan

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

Concerning the re-election of Taiwan's President Chen Shu-bian on March 20, new diplomatic disagreement

with China occurred. This was due to Chen's threat to link the elections to a referendum on Taiwan's independence. Holding this referendum would have been unacceptable for China. China therefore threatened with invading Taiwan. In the course of the year, the situation calmed down again. Nevertheless, the usual deterrent military manoeuvres took place as before. *hb*

### China - Vietnam - et al.

|                   |  |             |
|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Intensity: 1      | Change: •  | Start: 1945 |
| Conflict Parties: | Brunei vs. China vs. Indonesia vs. Malaysia vs. Philippines vs. Singapore vs. Taiwan vs. Vietnam |             |
| Conflict Items:   | territory (Spratley and Paracel Islands), resources  |             |

The conflict between the littoral states of the South Chinese Sea is about the sovereignty over the Spratly and Paracel Islands. In particular, Vietnam risked the tacit status quo by offering tourist boat tours to the Spratly Islands in spite of protests from China, and by renovating an old airport in the same area. *ct, hb*

### China (Falun Gong)

|                   |                           |             |
|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| Intensity: 2      | Change: •                 | Start: 1999 |
| Conflict Parties: | Falun Gong vs. government |             |
| Conflict Item:    | ideology / system         |             |

The members of the sect Falun Gong, which is banned by the government, are legally pursued. There were no acts of violence. Particularly, Falun Gong followers abroad protested against the acknowledgment of the communist government. *mo*

### China (Hong Kong pro-democracy parties)

|                   |  |             |
|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Intensity: 2      | Change: •  | Start: 1999 |
| Conflict Parties: | Hong Kong pro-democracy parties, Civil Human Rights Front vs. government, regional government of Hong Kong |             |
| Conflict Items:   | autonomy, ideology / system  |             |

On September 10, elections for the Hong Kong legislature took place. In contrast to expectations, the pro-democracy parties were not able to significantly increase their vote share, whereas the pro-Beijing parties hold their majority in the legislative council. In January, April, and July, several mass protests took place, complaining about the Chinese central government's unwillingness to allow direct elections in 2007 and to generally carry out democratic reforms. On July 1 alone, 250,000 to 530,000 democracy supporters protested. China's policy towards Hong Kong was repeatedly and clearly criticized by Great Britain and the US.

*asr, ct*

### China (Hui)

|                   |                         |             |
|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| Intensity: 4      | Change: NEW             | Start: 2004 |
| Conflict Parties: | Hui vs. government, Han |             |
| Conflict Items:   | other                   |             |

Since mid-October, bloody clashes between Han Chinese and the ethnic Hui minority have taken place in the provinces of Henan and Sichuan. The Muslim Hui, who on average have clearly less income than the Han majority, protested against a dam project carried out by the central government. This project means the obligatory resettlement for numerous Hui farmers. In Henan, due to a traffic accident, violent unrest occurred between Hui Chinese and Han Chinese for days, leaving up to 150 dead. The situation between the ethnic groups remains strained. There was repeated unrest quelled by the military and police.

*mo*

### China (Tibet)

|                   |   |             |
|-------------------|---|-------------|
| Intensity: 2      | Change: •   | Start: 1912 |
| Conflict Parties: | Tibetan government in exile, Tibetan separatists vs. government |             |
| Conflict Items:   | ideology / system, secession                                    |             |

In the conflict over Tibet's status, China continued its attempt to diminish the international reputation of the Dalai Lama, spiritual and political leader of Tibet. China put pressure on other states not to welcome him. This pressure was partly successful. The Dalai Lama repeatedly urged a peaceful solution to the conflict. In Tibet, the situation remained peaceful.

*mo*

### East Timor - Australia

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

Regarding the dispute between East Timor and Australia over the maritime border, East Timor broke off negotiations on October 26. East Timor, having become fully independent in May 2002 and being in urgent need for financial resources, claims an oil and gas rich area in the Timor Sea. Furthermore, East Timor demands compensation payments of 3.2 billion US Dollar from Australia for oil produced in the territory claimed by East Timor. In negotiations afore, Australia put into East Timor's prospects profits of only three million US Dollar for one of the oil fields. The contested border had been determined by Indonesia and

Australia before East Timor's independence and is regarded as very advantageous for Australia by international standards.

*nis*

### India (Assam)

|                   |   |             |
|-------------------|---|-------------|
| Intensity: 4      | Change: ↗   | Start: 1979 |
| Conflict Parties: | National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB), Bodo Liberation Tribal Force (BLTF), United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) vs. government |             |
| Conflict Items:   | secession, resources  |             |

Violent clashes repeatedly occurred between secessionist rebels and the Indian army in the conflict over the independence of the gas rich Indian state of Assam. On July 16, ULFA fighters sabotaged a gas pipeline. August and October in particular were characterized by a series of grenade and bomb attacks in Assam. In a blast caused by the NDFB, eleven people died, more than 30 were injured. On November 21, the Union Government offered talks to the NDFB and the government of Assam, but excluded concessions towards the ULFA regarding a separation of Assam.

*ak, ct*

### India (Ayodhya)

|                   |                       |             |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| Intensity: 2      | Change: •             | Start: 1853 |
| Conflict Parties: | Hindus vs. Muslims    |             |
| Conflict Item:    | regional predominance |             |

The conflict between Hindus and Muslims over regional predominance in Ayodhya is dominated by judicial measures. Members of the radical federal Hindu Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and of the extremist federal Hindu organization Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) are being prosecuted for the destruction of the Babri Mosque by Hindu rioters in 1992. The dispute remains free of violence. In January, delegates of the radical federal Hindu Organization Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), whose political arm is the BJP, met with the Muslim organization Gaamat Ulama-e-Hind for clarifying talks.

*cbo*

### India (Kashmir)

|                   |  |             |
|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Intensity: 4      | Change: •  | Start: 1947 |
| Conflict Parties: | Kashmiri and Pakistani rebel groups vs. government |             |
| Conflict Item:    | secession  |             |

The peace negotiations between India and Pakistan carried out in 2004 do not imply a subsequent de-escalation of the inner-Indian conflict between the Indian government and militant separatists in Jammu and Kashmir. Throughout the year, various rebel groups committed attacks in Kashmir on a weekly basis, also killing numerous civilians. In addition, rebels who were crossing the Line of Control from Pakistan to India were shot by Indian border security forces. On January 22, representatives of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) met with the Indian Vice Prime Minister Lal Krishna Advani in Delhi in order to find a solution. The mutual attacks of rebels and armed forces intensified in July during the run-up to the elections in India. On November 16, the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited Jammu and Kashmir and announced the region's partial demilitarization. This plan takes into consideration the withdrawal of the paramilitary forces. In late November, India started withdrawing symbolic numbers of troops.

*yf*

**India (Nagaland)**

|                   |   |             |
|-------------------|---|-------------|
| Intensity: 4      | Change: •   | Start: 1947 |
| Conflict Parties: | National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), Naga National Council (NNC) vs. government |             |
| Conflict Items:   | secession, regional predominance  |             |

The struggle for the enlargement of the territory and the independence of the Indian state of Nagaland still continues. Apart from the unrest in Nagaland itself, the attacks also spread to the neighboring states of Assam and Manipur. The Burmese military attacked NSCN separatists at the Indian-Burmese border in January, killing fifteen Burmese and three NSCN separatists. In September, the Indian government expressed its willingness to hold talks with one of the factions of the NSCN, without stating an exact date. One year ago, the Khaplang Faction of the NSCN had declared a ceasefire. During a series of attacks on major towns in Nagaland and the bordering Assam, 48 people were killed. In early October, 28 people died and more than 100 were injured due to bomb attacks at a railway station and a local meeting point in the town of Dimapur. After the NSCN separatists had agreed upon talks with the Indian government on October 22, Thailand's government invited both conflict parties to hold their talks in Bangkok. *ak*

**India (Naxalites)**

|                   |   |             |
|-------------------|---|-------------|
| Intensity: 3      | Change: ↘   | Start: 1997 |
| Conflict Parties: | People's War Group (PWG), Maist Communist Center (MCC) vs. government ideology / system |             |
| Conflict Items:   | ideology / system   |             |

In the violent conflict between communist rebels known as the Naxalites and Indian authorities, the PWG, active in central India, committed several bomb attacks in April and May. Since June, a ceasefire between the PWG and the government of the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh remained intact. For the first time in 14 years of underground activity, PWG members met in public. The MCC continues its fight in the union state of West Bengal. *cbo*

**India (Tripura)**

|                   |   |             |
|-------------------|---|-------------|
| Intensity: 3      | Change: ↘   | Start: 1980 |
| Conflict Parties: | All-Tripura Tribal Force (ATTF), National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), Tripura Volunteer Force (TVF), National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT), Naga Rebel Tribal Group (NRTG), Burmese Naga separatists vs. government |             |
| Conflict Item:    | secession   |             |

The conflict in the state of Tripura in northeastern India remains unchanged. In January, members of the Indian government and Bengali settlers were killed by separatists. In February, three policemen were killed when their car was attacked by ATTP militants. After talks with the Indian government in April, a faction of the rebel group NLFT declared its willingness to accept a ceasefire. In May, 72 NLFT separatists surrendered to Indian authorities. Regardless of the ceasefire, NLFT separatists tried to disturb the nation-wide parliamentary elections in May. During another attack on a Bengali village, four settlers were killed and six other people were badly injured. *ak*

**India (ULFA - Biharis, Bengalis)**

|                   |   |             |
|-------------------|---|-------------|
| Intensity: 3      | Change: •   | Start: 1983 |
| Conflict Parties: | United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) vs. Biharis, Bengalis |             |
| Conflict Item:    | regional predominance   |             |

In the conflict between the Assamese rebels of the ULFA and Bihari and Bengali immigrants over regional predominance, the Assamese fear to become the minority in the Indian state of Assam. ULFA attacks caused 17,000 Biharis to flee their homes at the end of November 2003. In early June, ten people died in a grenade attack on a Hindi cinema. At the end of June, six people were killed in a bus attack of the ULFA. *ct*

**Indonesia (Aceh)**

|                   |   |             |
|-------------------|---|-------------|
| Intensity: 4      | Change: ↘                               | Start: 1953 |
| Conflict Parties: | Free Aceh Movement (GAM) vs. government |             |
| Conflict Items:   | secession, resources                    |             |

The conflict over secession in the northwest of the Indonesian island of Sumatra remains unsolved. In November 2003, the government extended martial law for the province of Aceh for another six months in order to crush the separatist GAM. The martial law came into effect on 05/19/03 after the failure of negotiations. The conflict cannot, however, still be labelled a war in 2004. According to the military, more than 2,000 people were killed in the campaign. The rebels could be pushed away from major towns and important traffic routes. Ten people were killed and more than 30 injured when a bomb exploded in Aceh on January 1. The rebels denied responsibility for this incident. More than two months after its announcement, the martial law was lifted on May 19 and replaced by a state of civil emergency. Yet, military operations against the rebels went on. Thus, on April 13, 200 people were killed, and eleven more during incidents on September 26. On November 17, the Parliament in Jakarta approved the extension of the state of civil emergency. *ct, lmh*

**Indonesia (Jemaah Islamiah)**

|                   |                                     |             |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| Intensity: 3      | Change: •                           | Start: 2002 |
| Conflict Parties: | Jemaah Islamiah (JI) vs. government |             |
| Conflict Item:    | national power                      |             |

In the conflict with the Islamist group of the JI, Abu Bakar Ba'asyur, a militant cleric, was being re-arrested under suspicion of terrorism in April. The JI have committed several attacks in Indonesia this year. In April, several people were injured in clashes with the police. On September 9, eight people were killed and 180 injured in a car bombing in front of the Australian embassy in Jakarta. In the conflict with the Islamist group of the JI, Abu Bakar Ba'asyur, a militant cleric, was being re-arrested under suspicion of terrorism in April. The JI have committed several attacks in Indonesia this year. In April, several people were injured in clashes with the police. On September 9, eight people were killed and 180 injured in a car bombing in front of the Australian embassy in Jakarta. *lmh*

### Indonesia (Moluccans)

|                   |                                      |             |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| Intensity: 3      | Change: •                            | Start: 1998 |
| Conflict Parties: | Laskar Jihad, Muslims vs. Christians |             |
| Conflict Item:    | regional predominance                |             |

The conflict between Muslims and Christians on the Moluccan Islands continues. On April 26, at least 30 people were killed and 180 injured during fighting between the two religious communities. On May 25, one person was killed and 13 were injured when a bomb exploded in Ambon. Another bomb was found in front of a church. On June 16, one priest was killed and four other people were injured during an attack inside a church. *lmh*

### Indonesia (Sulawesi)

|                   |  |             |
|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Intensity: 3      | Change: •  | Start: 1998 |
| Conflict Parties: | Christians vs. Muslims, Laskar Jihad, Jemaah Islamiah (JI) |             |
| Conflict Item:    | regional predominance                                      |             |

In the conflict between Muslims and Christians over regional predominance on the Indonesian island of Sulawesi, several violent incidents occurred. On April 27, a sniper shot two policemen. On July 20, Muslims attacked a church, and on October 10, 31 houses were damaged during riots. *lmh*

### Japan - Russia

|                   |                           |             |
|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| Intensity: 1      | Change: •                 | Start: 1945 |
| Conflict Parties: | Japan vs. Russia          |             |
| Conflict Item:    | territory (Kuril islands) |             |

In September, Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro restated Japan's claim to the Kuril Islands. On November 14, Russian Foreign minister Sergey Lavrov called for talks and declared his willingness to recognize a Japanese-Soviet 1956 undertaking, which would provide for the return of two of the Kuril Islands to Japan. Japan immediately rejected this proposal. *ct*

### Kazakhstan (opposition)

|                   |                           |             |
|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| Intensity: 1      | Change: NEW               | Start: 2004 |
| Conflict Parties: | opposition vs. government |             |
| Conflict Item:    | ideology / system         |             |

In September 2004, a conflict erupted between the government and the opposition parties of Ak Zhol and Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan. These parties claimed that the results of the parliamentary elections of September 29 were fraudulent. The political parties supporting President Nursultan Nazarbayev won 76 of the 77 parliament seats. The OSCE as well as the speaker of parliament belonging to the president's party Otan, were critical of the election, too. On November 1, Nazarbayev launched a campaign against oligarchs backing the opposition. On November 2, the opposition's only delegate in the lower house, Alikhan Baimenov, resigned. Thus, the first session of parliament took place without the opposition being present. *yf*

### Laos (LCMD, CIDL)

|                   |   |             |
|-------------------|---|-------------|
| Intensity: 4      | Change: •   | Start: 1975 |
| Conflict Parties: | Lao Citizens' Movement for Democracy (LCMD), Committee for Independence and Democracy in Laos (CIDL) vs. government |             |
| Conflict Items:   | ideology / system, autonomy, national power   |             |

The conflict between the government of Laos and regime opponents is still carried out with military and ter-

rorist means. The regime opponents comprise the ethnic group of the Hmong which supported the US during the Laos War in the 1970s, and anti-communist rebels who can be referred to as Royalists. Fighting repeatedly occurred between the militant LCMD and the army throughout the year, as in the years before. The CIDL claimed to have launched bomb attacks in Vientiane and Savannakhet during a ministers' meeting of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) on February 4 and 6. *ct*

### Maldives (MDF)

|                   |  |             |
|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Intensity: 3      | Change: ↑                                      | Start: 1978 |
| Conflict Parties: | Maldives Democratic Party (MDP) vs. government |             |
| Conflict Item:    | system / ideology                              |             |

The conflict on the island state of the Maldives reached a peak, when late in July, President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom imposed the state of emergency after a protest by 5,000 people for more democracy and the release of political prisoners. Four police officers were stabbed and about fifty people arrested. As the protests intensified, the authorities released some of the imprisoned reformists. The president also alleviated the state of emergency regulations. In order to relax the situation, the government restored some of the laws previously removed. Notwithstanding, the protests against the government continue. *ak*

### Myanmar (democratic opposition)

|                   |   |             |
|-------------------|---|-------------|
| Intensity: 2      | Change: ↓   | Start: 1962 |
| Conflict Parties: | National League for Democracy (NLD), National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), All-Burma Students' Democratic Force (ABSDF), All-Burmese Federation of Student Unions (ABFSU) vs. government |             |
| Conflict Items:   | ideology / system, national power   |             |

The conflict between the ruling military government and the democratic opposition over national power and the political system prevails undiminished. The opposition consisting of NLD, NCGUB, ABSDF and ABFSU strives for a democratic parliamentary system. By the end of April, the government released numerous political prisoners and permitted the reopening of some NLD offices. Due to the simultaneous government announcement about their willingness to hold constitutional talks, hopes grew at the end of April that the NLD leader Aung San Suu Kyi, who had been under house arrest since May 2003, might be released. This proved to be wrong. On May 17, the government started talks about a new constitution. In contrast, the military junta still used military force to suppress oppositional protests and arrested many of government opponents. *ca*



## Myanmar (minorities)

|                   |   |             |
|-------------------|---|-------------|
| Intensity: 4      | Change: •   | Start: 1948 |
| Conflict Parties: | Karen National Union (KNU), Karen National Defense Organization (KNDO), Shan State Army (SSA), Kachin Independence Organization (KIO), Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP), New Mon State Party (NMSP), Monland Restoration Army (MRA), Naga Nationalities League for Democracy (NNLD) vs. government, Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA), United Wa State Army (UWSA) |             |
| Conflict Item:    | secession   |             |

The struggle between the Karen rebels of the KNU and the KNDO and the rebels of the Shan minority of the SSA and other smaller rebel groups against the Myanmar military government and its allies, the UWSA and the DKBA persists undiminished. The various groups fight for the independence of their respective areas. The military junta and the KNU agreed on a ceasefire in December 2003 and started peace talks. Despite the ceasefire agreement and continuing talks between the KNU and the government, clashes repeatedly occurred. The military also carried out its annual dry season offensive against minority rebels, weakening several rebel groups such as the KNPP which tried to enter talks with the government. The military still committed encroachments against ethnic minorities on an almost daily basis. In addition to numerous casualties, several thousands of people have been displaced as a result of the conflict. *ca*

## Myanmar (Rohingyas)

|                   |  |             |
|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Intensity: 3      | Change: •  | Start: 1948 |
| Conflict Parties: | Rohingyas, Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO), Arakan Rohingya National Organization (ARNO) vs. government |             |
| Conflict Item:    | other (suppression of minority)  |             |

A conflict between the Muslim minority of the Rohingyas, who mainly live in Arakan state and are represented by the RSO and the ARNO, and the Burmese government over discrimination and suppression has already been existing since Burma's independence in 1948. Just as last year, members of the Myanmar military repeatedly used violent means against the Rohingyas. In late October, within two weeks, about 15,000 Rohingyas fled to neighboring Bangladesh. In total, there are more than 500,000 Rohingya refugees and internally displaced people. *ca*

## Nepal - Bhutan

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

The conflict over the repatriation of Bhutan refugees from Eastern Nepal, who originally came from Nepal, continues. Bhutan interrupted the verification missions on 12/23/03 after refugees living in the Khudunabari camp had harassed Bhutan members of the Joint Verification Team (JVT). The refugees do not accept the JVT results, according to which only 30 percent of the refugees are eligible to return to Bhutan. In March, the president of the Human Rights Council of Bhutan (HRCB), Tek Nath Rizal, visited Brussels and Geneva. He aimed at raising the international community's attention to the situation of the 100,000 refugees. In October, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees and Migration, Arthur Dewey, visited

Nepal, Bhutan and India in order to propose the transfer of the refugees to a third country. The refugees, however, rejected this option. *yf*

## Nepal (Maoists)

|                   |  |             |
|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Intensity: 4      | Change: •  | Start: 1990 |
| Conflict Parties: | Communist Party of Nepal - Maoist (CPN-M) vs. government |             |
| Conflict Items:   | ideology / system, national power                        |             |

The violent conflict between the CPN-M and the government of Nepal continues. The CPN-M aims at establishing a Maoist state. The rebels committed attacks on security forces and the civilian population nearly on a weekly basis after calling off a ceasefire in July 2003. On April 1, the Maoists kidnapped more than 40 policemen, who were released at the end of this month after the mediation of the International Committee of the Red Cross. They called general strikes in February, April, June and September, and threatened business people with the closing of companies and hotels. In the second half of the year, the CPN-M kidnapped workers, students and teachers. In August, the rebels sealed off the capital Kathmandu. On August 20 and September 7, bombs exploded in Kathmandu. Nepal's Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa offered peace talks on September 23. The Maoists, however, declined this offer. On October 15, the rebels proclaimed a ceasefire. The authorities reacted to this preliminary truce by suspending military actions against the Maoists. Fighting resumed on November 1. *yf*

## Nepal (opposition)

|                   |                           |             |
|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| Intensity: 2      | Change: ↗                 | Start: 2002 |
| Conflict Parties: | opposition vs. government |             |
| Conflict Item:    | ideology / system         |             |

The conflict between the government of Nepal of King Gyanendra and the opposition, which aims at the democratization of the country, became manifest. The most important opposition parties are the Nepal Congress, the Communist Party of Nepal - United Marxist Leninist (CPN-UML), Nepal Majdoor Kishan and Samyukta Janamorcha. From April 1 onwards, protests took place in the capital of Kathmandu with the purpose of establishing a democratic system in Nepal. The government reacted by banning public protests on April 8. Massive arrests took place because the opposition ignored the government ban. Former Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba was arrested on April 16. The Supreme Court declared the detention of political activists illegal if the government could not justify them within 72 hours. In order to ease the situation, the government released 29 opposition members on April 26. On May 3, the ban on protests was lifted. On May 7, Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa resigned. The opposition then called a 48-hour general strike. On June 2, Deuba was reappointed Prime Minister. He organized a coalition government with the opposition. New protests against the King and the country's difficult economical situation took place in September. At least twelve people were injured by the police on September 29. *yf*

### North Korea - South Korea

|                   |  |             |
|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Intensity: 2      | Change: •                              | Start: 1948 |
| Conflict Parties: | North Korea vs. South Korea            |             |
| Conflict Items:   | international power, ideology / system |             |

At first, relations between North Korea and South Korea seemed to improve considerably in 2004. Several talks at cabinet level took place in the first half of the year. Some documents concerning the coordination of joint activities were signed. An historic event was the agreement of June 15, in which both states declared their willingness to cease spreading propaganda. The second half of the year was overshadowed by a large-scale wave of North Korean refugees to China. In addition, South Korea admitted its 20 year research into the production of nuclear weapons. In late November, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) published a report stating that the South Korean program regarding the enrichment of plutonium was extended far more than presumed. Thereupon, the US distanced itself from its ally. The relations between North Korea and South Korea cooled down. In November, South Korea fired several warning shots on North Korean vessels. *je*

### North Korea - USA, Japan

|                   |  |             |
|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Intensity: 1      | Change: •                              | Start: 1993 |
| Conflict Parties: | North Korea vs. USA, Japan             |             |
| Conflict Items:   | international power, ideology / system |             |

In the conflict over nuclear armament control between North Korea on the one side and the US and Japan on the other, North Korea clearly signalled its readiness for talks at the beginning of the year. This was appreciated by the US. The preparations for a new round of the so-called six nations talks were accompanied by offers from North Korea for nuclear disarmament. The relations with the US seemed to ease up, and the US offered North Korea humanitarian aid. *je*

### Pakistan - India

|                   |  |             |
|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Intensity: 2      | Change: ↓                                | Start: 1947 |
| Conflict Parties: | Pakistan vs. India                       |             |
| Conflict Items:   | territory (Kashmir), international power |             |

India and Pakistan approached each other in order to solve the conflict over the Kashmir region. After Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf had declared a ceasefire at the Line of Control (LOC) in December 2003, peace negotiations were resumed in January 2004. The bilateral relations had been interrupted in December 2001, when the Indian government blamed Pakistan for the attacks on the Delhi Parliament. D tente measures were taken by resuming consular relations, exchanging prisoners of the 1999 Kargil War, and reopening communication channels and routes of transportation. The Nuclear Test Memorandum of 2001 was extended. Despite the peace negotiations missile tests were carried out in 2004. In November, Musharraf delivered new proposals in order to find a peaceful solution. Musharraf considered the establishment of a fixed border at the LOC not feasible. Instead, he pled for one of three options consisting of a demilitarized and autonomous Kashmir, Kashmir under joint Indian and Pakistani sovereignty or the separation of the region with the Kashmir Valley under UN administration. India reacted cautiously to these proposals.

Nevertheless, 3,000 Indian soldiers were withdrawn from the region on November 16. *yf*

### Philippines (Abu Sayyaf)

|                   |                           |             |
|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| Intensity: 3      | Change: •                 | Start: 1991 |
| Conflict Parties: | Abu Sayyaf vs. government |             |
| Conflict Item:    | secession                 |             |

The AS still fights in the southern Philippines for the establishment of an Islamist state. A bomb attempt failed in March, and six AS fighters were killed in a gun-fight in April. However, no large military operations occurred. *cbr*

### Philippines (MILF)

|                   |   |             |
|-------------------|---|-------------|
| Intensity: 2      | Change: ↓   | Start: 1977 |
| Conflict Parties: | Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) vs. government |             |
| Conflict Items:   | secession, ideology / system                        |             |

The ceasefire between the MILF and the Philippine government declared on 07/18/03 is still intact. This is the longest lasting ceasefire since the beginning of the insurrection in 1977. The MILF has been weakened by massive military operations of the Philippine army in 2002 and 2003, backed by US support, and the death of the MILF leader, Sheikh Salamat Hashim, in July 2003 emphasized this. Radical MILF supporters left to join the Abu Sayyaf. Nevertheless, new reports suspected active links of the MILF to the Indonesian Jemaah Islamiah. *cbr*

### Sri Lanka (Jamayathul Ulama - Sufis)

|                   |                            |             |
|-------------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| Intensity: 3      | Change: ↑                  | Start: 1978 |
| Conflict Parties: | Jamayathul Ulama vs. Sufis |             |
| Conflict Item:    | regional predominance      |             |

The conflict between the two Muslim religious communities of the Jamayathul Ulama and the Sufis in Kattankudi in the south to Batticaloa over regional predominance began towards the end of the 1970s. Violent riots broke out on November 1, when a hand grenade was thrown into a mosque during evening prayer. Ten people died in the fighting. Talks between the religious communities mediated by the Sri Lankan police remain unsuccessful for the time being. *ct*

### Sri Lanka (LTTE)

|                   |  |             |
|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Intensity: 3      | Change: •  | Start: 1976 |
| Conflict Parties: | Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) vs. government |             |
| Conflict Item:    | autonomy   |             |

In the conflict between the government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) the situation remains in a stalemate. The conflict parties more or less comply with the ceasefire agreement signed in early 2002. In the meantime, the LTTE had dropped its claim of national independence in favor of autonomy within Sri Lanka. After the peace negotiations had touched the core issues of the rebels' disarmament and the repatriation of refugees and internally displaced people, talks were suspended on 04/21/03. Since then, Norway above all with its Sri Lankan Monitoring Mission (SLMM) and mediating attempts of high-ranking government representatives, as well as Japan as the speaker of the international donors with their financial incentives linked to negotiation success have tried to promote the peace process again. The initiation of renewed cooperation between Sri Lanka and

India has not become a landmark for the solution of the conflict so far. The confrontation between the nation's president, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, distinguished by a strong constitutional and political position, from the People's Alliance (PA) and Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe from the United National Party (UNP) turned out to be a particular strain. This intra-governmental stalemate situation vanished after the president had dissolved parliament on February 7. The president's party was the winner of the April elections. The LTTE's political arm, the Tamil National Alliance (TNA), is now represented with ten percent of the seats in parliament. The minority government under Prime Minister Mahinda Rajapakse recognized the LTTE as the sole representatives of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, yet at the same time trying to take advantage of the strong tensions within the LTTE. In the end of July, the Norwegian mediators did not express an optimistic opinion about the prospects of the peace process. In October, an LTTE delegation toured across Europe for four weeks for diplomatic purposes. On October 4, the LTTE rejected the National Advisory Council for Peace and Reconciliation established by the president, as well as new government proposals for an interim administration two weeks later. *ct*

### Sri Lanka (LTTE-East - LTTE)

|                   |  |         |     |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|-----|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4  | Change: | NEW | Start: | 2004 |
| Conflict Parties: | Karuna faction (LTTE-East) vs. Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) |         |     |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | regional predominance  |         |     |        |      |

In early March, a part of the LTTE under the lead of the Commander of the East, Colonel Karuna, splintered off the LTTE mainstream under Vilupillai Prabhakaran. Mediation attempts of the Roman Catholic Church remained fruitless with heavy fighting between the factions raging from April 9 to April 12 as a result. The Karuna Faction was defeated by the LTTE. Yet, the guerilla fighting with terrorist means continues. Meanwhile, the LTTE splinter group has evidently received the Sri Lankan army's support. During the entire period under review, the UN constantly pointed to the recruiting of child soldiers, a practise continued by both, the LTTE and the Karuna Faction. *ct*

### Sri Lanka (LTTE, Tamils - SLMC, Muslims)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3  | Change: | • | Start: | 1976 |
| Conflict Parties: | Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), Tamils vs. Sri Lankan Muslim Congress (SLMC), Muslims |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | regional predominance  |         |   |        |      |

In Mannar in northern Sri Lanka, a curfew was imposed on October 1 after a crowd had set fire on offices of the LTTE. This confrontation was a reaction to the killing of a Muslim man the day before. *ct*

### Sri Lanka (religious communities)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3  | Change: | ↗ | Start: | 1948 |
| Conflict Parties: | Sinhalese nationalists, conservative Buddhist clergy vs. Muslims, Christians, Tamils |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | regional predominance  |         |   |        |      |

On 12/29/03, a hall of the Jehovah's Witness group and a church were damaged by Buddhists in Puvakpitiya. In Mattegoda, a group of 20 people destroyed statues and bibles in a church and threatened its workers on January 26. Church members reported posters blaming

them for their alleged support for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). *ct*

### Thailand (Souther Border Provinces)

|                   |                                   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4                                 | Change: | ↗ | Start: | 1785 |
| Conflict Parties: | Muslim separatists vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | secession                         |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between Muslim separatists and Thailand's government escalated. An umbrella organization not directly involved in the conflict, the United Front for the Independence of Pattani (Bersatu), has offered its talking services to the government. The dispute escalated when an army weapons depot was raided on January 4. Until the beginning of February and then again since the end of March, in rapid succession the rebels launched numerous bomb attacks on police facilities, but also on schools, bars, and Buddhist temples. The government primarily reacted with military means. Thus on April 28, about 100 suspected Islamists were killed. After the government and Bersatu had held talks at the end of May, the situation calmed down for a while. Autumn saw a second phase of escalation. Since August 20, several powerful bomb explosions occurred within a few days, followed by attacks on police officers. On October 25, Muslim mass protests took place. Afterwards, 78 people died in police custody. On November 12 and 13, rebels again ignited several bombs in public spaces. The government's dealing with the conflict has been repeatedly criticized by the Royal House of Thailand. On November 6, Prime Minister Thaksin Chinnawat declared that he still ruled out negotiations. *ct*

### Uzbekistan (IMU)

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3   | Change: | • | Start: | 1997 |
| Conflict Parties: | Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | ideology / system, national power                   |         |   |        |      |

In the conflict between IMU and the government in Uzbekistan, the pan-Islamist IMU aims at the establishment of an Islamist state. In March and April, IMU committed bomb attacks in public squares in Tashkent and Bukhara. On July 30, three simultaneous bomb blasts hit the US and Israeli embassies and a ministerial office in Tashkent. The IMU's size is estimated to comprise several thousand fighters. Despite substantial US and Russian financial support for the Uzbek government for the war on terror, the IMU was able to increase its activities. The bombings have been the heaviest since 2001. *ct*

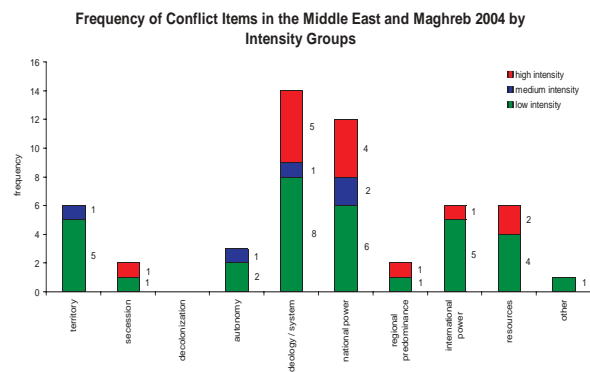
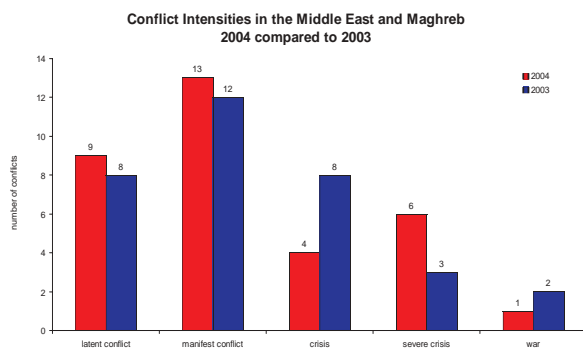
### Vietnam (KKNLF)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2  | Change: | • | Start: | 2002 |
| Conflict Parties: | Kampuchea National Liberation Front (KKNLF) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | secession, ideology / system                               |         |   |        |      |

During the course of the year, the KKNLF has not actively pursued its fight for the secession of a part of Vietnam called Kampuchea Krom, proclaimed in June 2002. In January, a letter by the UNHCR confirmed that about 100 KKNLF members had been arrested in November 2003. However, the majority of the arrested were released shortly after their apprehension. Four alleged KKNLF leading members are still waiting for their trial to come. *sg*

# Middle East and Maghreb

In comparison with the previous year, the number of observed conflicts in the region of the Middle East and Maghreb remains at a constant level of 33. Most frequently, conflicts have been carried out over political system and national power. With the transfer of sovereignty from the US-led Coalition Provisional Authority to the Iraqi interim government, the conflict between the US-led coalition troops against resistance forces has transformed into two subsequent conflicts. On the one hand, there is now a new power struggle between the al-Sadr group and the Iraqi interim government over the political system and regional predominance. On the other hand, the former conflict has been carried out between the latter and insurgents over national power and political system. In 2004, this confrontation has been the only one with the intensity of a war. Moreover, the Middle East and Maghreb records six conflicts on the level of a severe crisis. The cases with the use of violence have slightly been reduced from 12 to 11 within one year. An increase in non-violent disputes from 20 to 22 within a year can be reported. 25 conflicts remain on the same level of intensity. Two conflicts have escalated this year. The dispute between the Sunni-dominated government of Bahrain and opposing Shiites over national power has increased. In addition, the power struggle between Yemeni government and Islamists has intensified. However, there has been a de-escalation in five cases: The situation has improved between Iraq and Israel, Iraq and Kuwait, Syria and Israel as well as between the Mauritanian government and alleged putschists. Before the conflict between US coalition troops against the former Iraqi regime and evolving resistance forces finally came to an end, there had also been a de-escalation of violence.



## Afghanistan (Taleban)

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

The conflict between the government of President Hamid Karzai and the former leading Taleban over regional predominance continues unabated. The Taleban relied more and more on terrorist means such as suicide attacks and taking hostages. An increase in the frequency of those attacks can be observed during conferences like the Great Council (Loya Jirga) and right before presidential elections in October. Taleban and former Mujahideen groups like Gulbudin Hekmatyar's Hezb-e-Islami launched these attacks. The country is de facto divided. Karzai's government firmly controls a radius of 100 km around the capital of Kabul, supported by the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). Regions beyond this zone of stability are resistant to this control. The allied troops pursued a combined strategy in order to secure and expand the regional predominance of the central government. While the main task of ISAF regional reconstruction teams, like those of the German army in Kunduz, is to create security and stability, the task of the US troops is different. They conducted several large-scale military operations against alleged Taleban and al-Qaeda forces during the course of the year. In December 2003, more than 2,000 US troops stormed the city of Khost in the east of Afghanistan during the Operation Avalanche. Another large-scale operation to fight the Taleban and al-Qaeda forces was Operation Mountain Storm in March,

which was undertaken by US troops and supported by Pakistan. The position of the central government was strengthened by the dismissal of the regional ruler Ismail Khan. He ruled the western Afghan city of Herat and was dismissed in August right before the presidential elections. Additional US and NATO troops were dispatched to Afghanistan in order to safeguard these elections. In October, there were about 15,500 US troops and an additional number of 7,500 NATO troops in the country. Parliamentary elections were postponed since the security of all newly created democratic parties could not be guaranteed. They are now to take place in spring 2005. As early as in October, the first democratic presidential elections took place since the end of the war. A total of 16 candidates ran for presidency. Despite a number of protests, the acting President Karzai won the election. *sir*

## Algeria (Islamist groups)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4  | Change: | • | Start: | 1989 |
| Conflict Parties: | Armed Islamic Group (GIA), Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC), Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), Houmat Daawa Salafiya (HDS) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | national power, ideology / system  |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between Islamist groups and the Algerian government over the orientation of the political system continues. Former President Abdelaziz Bouteflika was re-elected on April 8. He won a majority of 83 percent. The election was boycotted by the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC). Protests accusing the government of election fraud were suppressed by the

## Summary: Conflicts in Middle East and Maghreb 2004

| Name of Conflict <sup>1</sup>        | Conflict Parties <sup>2</sup>  | Conflict Item(s)  | Start | Change <sup>3</sup> | Int. <sup>4</sup> |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|-------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Afghanistan (Taleban)                | Taleban vs. transitional government  | reg. predominance, national power   | 1994  | •                   | 4                 |
| Algeria (Islamist groups)            | GIA, GSPC, FIS, HDS vs. government   | national power, ideology / system   | 1989  | •                   | 4                 |
| Algeria (Kabylia)                    | CIADC, RCD, FFS vs. government   | autonomy, ideology / system   | 1989  | •                   | 2                 |
| Bahrein (Shi'it opposition)          | Sheik Ali Salman, Hezbollah Bahrain, Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain, Sheik Abdal Amir al-Dschamri, Bahraini Shia Muslims vs. government | national power  | 1975  | ↗                   | 2                 |
| Egypt (Islamist groups)              | Muslim Brotherhood, Gaamat-al-Islamiya, al-Waad, al-Jihad vs. government   | national power, ideology / system   | 1997  | •                   | 2                 |
| Egypt - Sudan *                      | Egypt vs. Sudan  | territory, resources (oil)  | 1958  | •                   | 1                 |
| Iraq - Iran                          | Iraq vs. Iran  | international power, ideology / system  | 1969  | •                   | 2                 |
| Iraq - Israel *                      | Iraq vs. Israel  | international power, ideology / system  | 1948  | ↘                   | 1                 |
| Iraq - Kuwait                        | Iraq vs. Kuwait  | territory, resources, other (reparations)   | 1961  | ↘                   | 1                 |
| Iraq (al-Sadr group)                 | al-Sadr group vs. interim government   | ideology / system   | 2004  | NEW                 | 4                 |
| Iraq (insurgents)                    | insurgents vs. interim government  | national power, ideology / system   | 2004  | NEW                 | 5                 |
| Iraq (PUK - DPK) *                   | Patriotic Union of Kurdistan vs. Democratic Union of Kurdistan   | regional predominance, ideology / system  | 1979  | •                   | 1                 |
| Iraq (restistance forces - CPA, IGC) | Iraqi resistance forces vs. CPA, IGC   | international power (disarmament), ideology / system, resources (protection of oil springs) | 1990  | ↘ END               | 4                 |
| Iran - USA                           | USA vs. Iran   | international power (armament control), ideology / system                                   | 1979  | •                   | 2                 |
| Iran - UAE *                         | Iran vs. United Arab Emirates  | territory (islands in the Persian Gulf)   | 1971  | •                   | 1                 |
| Iran (Kurds) *                       | Democratic Party of Kurdistan vs. government   | autonomy  | 1979  | •                   | 1                 |
| Iran (People's Mujahideen)           | People's Mujahideen vs. government   | national power, ideology / system   | 1965  | •                   | 2                 |
| Iran (reformists - conservatives)    | reformists, students vs. conservatives   | national power, ideology / system   | 1993  | •                   | 2                 |
| Israel - Jordan (Westbank) *         | Israel vs. Jordan  | territory (Westbank)  | 1967  | •                   | 1                 |
| Israel (Hezbollah)                   | Hezbollah vs. Israel   | territory (Shebah farms)  | 1982  | •                   | 3                 |
| Israel (Palestinian groups)          | PLO, Palestinian Authority, Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah, Hamas vs. Israel   | secession, ideology / system, resources   | 1948  | •                   | 4                 |
| Jordan - Israel *                    | Jordan vs. Israel  | resources (water)   | 1995  | •                   | 1                 |
| Lebanon - Israel *                   | Lebanon, Hezbollah vs. Israel  | resources (water)   | 1978  | •                   | 1                 |
| Lebanon (religious groups)           | religious groups vs. government  | national power  | 1975  | •                   | 3                 |
| Libya - USA, Great Britain           | Libya vs. USA, Great Britain   | international power (disarmament)   | 1964  | •                   | 2                 |
| Mauritania (putschists)              | putschists vs. government  | national power  | 2003  | ↘                   | 2                 |
| Morocco (Western Sahara)             | Frente POLISARIO vs. government  | secession   | 1976  | •                   | 2                 |
| Saudi Arabia (Islamists)             | Islamists vs. government   | national power, ideology / system   | 1990  | •                   | 3                 |
| Saudi Arabia (reformists)            | reformists vs. government  | national power  | 2003  | •                   | 2                 |
| Syria - Israel                       | Syria vs. Israel   | territory   | 1967  | ↘                   | 2                 |
| Syria - USA                          | USA vs. Syria  | international power (disarmament)   | 2003  | •                   | 2                 |
| Turkey (Kurds)                       | Kurds vs. government   | autonomy  | 1920  | •                   | 3                 |
| Yemen (Islamist Groups)              | Islamic Jihad, al-Shabab al-Mu'men, Army of Aden-Abyan vs. government  | national power  | 1994  | ↗                   | 4                 |

1) 2) 3) 4) see page 10: Summary: Conflicts in Europe 2004

police. The GSPC declared war on atheists and foreigners within Algeria, after having mounted a terrorist attack killing ten soldiers and injuring 42 people on June 4. The situation worsened after the execution of GSPC leader Nabil Sarahoui and several other members on June 20. Permission to form a political party was granted to another Islamist group, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS). In October, the FIS announced to cooperate with the government in order to establish democracy and reconciliation. However, the FIS continued criticizing the reform on family and women law. On July 2, all foreign correspondents were ordered to leave the country as a consequence of the media reform, which aimed at preventing any sort of criticism of the government. The main publisher of the newspaper *Le Matin* was imprisoned for illegal money transfer, and on August 8, six other newspapers were suspended due to their reporting on financial corruption.

*bhu*

### Algeria (Kabylia)

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2   | Change: | • | Start: | 1989 |
| Conflict Parties: | Coalition of Village and Tribal Elders (CIADC), Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD), Front of Socialist Forces (FFS) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | autonomy, ideology / system   |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between the Berbers, represented by the Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD), the Coalition of Village and Tribal Elders (CIADC) and the Front of Socialist Forces (FFS), and the Algerian government continues without violence. The ethnic minority demands the acknowledgement of their culture and the Berber language, Tamazight, as their official language. Further on, they try to achieve financial aid for the victims of the police actions in 2001 and a program to diminish unemployment which is increasingly high in the Berber areas region. They refused to vote in the presidential elections on April 8. The turnout at the election was 14 percent. In February, negotiations between the Berbers and the government failed because of the language issue. President Abdelaziz Bouteflika

promised to pursue national reconciliation when beginning his second term in office. *bhu*

### Bahrain (Shiite opposition)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2  | Change: | ↗ | Start: | 1975 |
| Conflict Parties: | Bahraini Shia Muslims, Hezbollah Bahrain, Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain, Sheikh Ali Salman, Sheikh Abdal Amir al-Dschamri vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power   |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between the opposing Shiites and the Sunni-dominated government over national power continues. Sheikh Hamad bin Isa al-Khalifa who had declared himself king extended his rights by amending the constitution on 2/14/02. These amendments weakened the possibilities of the opposition gaining himself a larger basis of national power. On May 21, censorship was imposed on all opposing websites of the Bahraini Shia Muslims (BSM) which caused strong protests. These protests were suppressed by police forces. Further confrontations occurred after human rights activist Abdul Hadi al-Khawaja was arrested, accusing the government of abuse of power. Over a thousand demonstrators were dispersed by the police. The Bahraini Human Rights Center was closed. *bhu*

### Egypt (Islamist groups)

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

The manifest conflict between the Egyptian government and the Islamist groups Muslim Brotherhood, Gaamat-al-Islamiya, al-Waad and al-Jihad remains unchanged. In May, the police arrested 54 activists of the Muslim Brotherhood in Alexandria and Kafr al-Sheikh, as part of a continuing governmental crackdown on the group including the prohibition of websites and the freezing of assets. They were charged for transporting members to conflict areas like Iraq, Chechnya and Palestine to allegedly receive military training. After nine days in custody, Zuheiri, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, died. In June, a parliamentary delegation visited the Torah prison where Zuheiri was held, and confirmed claims about torture and the absence of assistance. In July, seven men were arrested on suspicion of belonging to a banned Muslim militant group. They allegedly belonged to al-Takfir Wal-Higra, an offshoot of al-Jihad. *nm*

### Iraq - Iran

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2                                      | Change: | • | Start: | 1969 |
| Conflict Parties: | Iraq vs. Iran                          |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | international power, ideology / system |         |   |        |      |

Against the background of the fighting between Shiite extremists and Iraqi security forces as well as US-led coalition troops [=> Iraq (al-Sadr group)] in April and August, tensions between Iraq and Iran increased. In August, Iraqi Interim Minister of Defence Hasem Shalaa accused Iran of supplying the Shiite insurgents with weapons and of infiltrating the country with enemies of Iraq. Furthermore, Iraqi security forces arrested more than 1,000 Iranian citizens throughout the year who had been charged with spying and sabotaging. Iran's reaction to this situation was relatively moderate. However, it ordered the Iraqi ambassador to

hold talks on the recent anti-Iranian statements by Iraqi politicians. *pj*

### Iraq - Kuwait

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 1   | Change: | ↘ | Start: | 1961 |
| Conflict Parties: | Iraq vs. Kuwait                                 |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | territory, resources (oil), other (reparations) |         |   |        |      |

There were no new disputes in the latent conflict between Iraq and Kuwait about the claim of ownership of oil fields on Kuwaiti territories. Kuwait initiated diplomatic relations to Iraq on June 29, after the fall of the Iraqi regime, the arrest of former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and the setting-up of a new interim government. On July 26, Iraq's Prime Minister Ijad Allawi visited Kuwait and several other Arabian countries in order to promote political relations. *ho*

### Iraq (al-Sadr group)

|                   |                                      |         |     |        |      |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|-----|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4                                    | Change: | NEW | Start: | 2004 |
| Conflict Parties: | al-Sadr group vs. interim government |         |     |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | ideology / system                    |         |     |        |      |

After the April riots of the Shiite group of the radical cleric Moqtada al-Sadr against the occupation forces in several cities, bloody fights with security forces broke out once again in and around Najaf after the handing over of sovereignty [Iraq (resistance forces - CPA, IGC)]. Al-Sadr's aim is to build up a fundamentalist theocracy in Iraq. On August 5, al-Sadr's Mehdi Army, a several thousand men strong militia allegedly built up for the protection of the sanctuaries in July 2003, attacked a police station and thereby broke the ceasefire agreed upon in June. As US troops intervened in order to protect the city, 16 people were killed, including a US soldier. More than 50 people were injured. The riots spread to Baghdad, Amara, Basra, Kut and Nasiriya. With the authorization of interim Prime Minister Ijad Alawi, US, British and Italian troops started an offensive including airstrikes and heavy artillery against the insurgents. Contrary to an agreement reached between the Iraqi national conference and al-Sadr on August 8, the latter did not disband his militia. The heavy fighting continued for three weeks, causing more than 500 casualties, until Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani was able to mediate a peace deal concerning Najaf in the night of August 26. Sadr's followers and the US troops started withdrawing from the city, leaving the protection of the sanctuaries to Iraqi security forces. Nevertheless, sporadic fighting has continued elsewhere since then. Further negotiations have failed so far due to the refusal of Sadr's followers to disarm and due to their demand for the complete withdrawal of US troops from the Baghdad suburb Sadr City. *pj*

### Iraq (insurgents)

|                   |                                   |         |     |        |      |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|-----|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 5                                 | Change: | NEW | Start: | 2004 |
| Conflict Parties: | insurgents vs. interim government |         |     |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | national power, ideology / system |         |     |        |      |

With the transfer of sovereignty from the US-led Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) to the Iraqi interim government on June 28, the latter was directly confronted with a conflict with insurgents over power and orientation of the political system. The interim government was supported by the coalition forces of the previous war, which still conducted a significant influence. The conflict was carried out with the intensity of a

war. Characteristic for this warfare were terrorist attempts, missile attacks, shootings, kidnappings, and murders committed by the predominantly Sunni rebels on a daily basis, as well as several military operations on the part of the interim government supported by the US-led coalition forces. In early October, more than 2,000 Iraqi and 1,000 to 3,000 US troops started an offensive against Samarra in northern Iraq where up to 2,000 fighters were assumed to have built up a basis for attacks throughout the country. About 125 insurgents were killed, 88 were arrested. In early November, interim Prime Minister Ijad Alawi authorized Operation Morning Dawn against the Sunni resistance stronghold of Falluja. Within one week of fighting, 22 US troops, five Iraqi security forces and about 1,000 insurgents were killed. Since the beginning of the major offensive, more than 1,400 others had been arrested. At least 400 of them were released by the end of November. While the fighting in Falluja abated, the rebel activities spread to the north of the country. The objective of providing stability for the upcoming elections scheduled for 1/30/05 could not be reached within the envisaged period. *pj*

### Iraq (resistance forces - CPA, IGC)

|                   |   |  |     |        |      |
|-------------------|---|--|-----|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4 | Change:  | END | Start: | 1990 |
| Conflict Parties: |   | resistance forces vs. Provisional Coalition Authority (CPA), Iraqi Governing Council (IGC) |     |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   |   | international power (disarmament), ideology / system, resources (oil)                      |     |        |      |

The war in 2003 between US-led coalition troops and Iraq has transformed due to the fall of the Iraqi regime and the installation of the US-led Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in April 2003. The conflict was carried out between various groups of resistance and the de facto occupying forces with the intensity of a severe crisis. The coalition forces have not succeeded in finding weapons of mass destruction, which had been declared the official *casus belli* by the US. The reconstruction and the establishment of a new political order was obstructed by the ongoing violence. Whereas at first the insurgents' attacks were mainly aimed at the coalition troops, Iraqis cooperating with them and international humanitarian institutions were increasingly targeted. Especially the kidnapping of foreigners working in Iraq increased, oftentimes resulting in the murder of the hostage. The hostage takers usually demanded the withdrawal of troops but also a ransom. In the beginning, violent resistance was primarily conducted by Sunni groups who had been privileged under the former regime despite their demographic minority, as well as by former security forces of the dissolved Iraqi army and police. Early in April, the situation also escalated during Shiite demonstrations in Najaf initiated by radical cleric Moqtada al-Sadr. The riots of his Mehdi Army spread to other cities and continued until the mediation of a ceasefire by Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, the highest Shiite authority in Iraq [=> Iraq (al-Sadr group)]. On 6/28/04, the CPA handed over sovereignty to the appointed Iraqi interim government, marking the end of this conflict constellation [=> Iraq (resistance forces)]. *pj*

### Iran - USA

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

The conflict between the US and Iran on its alleged nuclear weapons programme continues. The diplomatic actions and the tone turned rougher. In January, the head of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) told Iran to continue cooperation over inspections of its nuclear industry or face serious consequences. After a short stop of inspections in March, Iran allowed the resumption of inspections and declared to intensify its co-operation with the IAEA inspectors. In contrast, Iran announced that it would not end parts of its nuclear programme in June. Due to the increasing pressure, Iran also threatened to end cooperation with the IAEA, France, Great Britain and Germany. At the end of July, Iran restarted the building of centrifuges which, according to the US, can be used to produce uranium for military purposes. As a reaction, on September 2, US Secretary of State Colin Powell asked the UN to impose sanctions on Iran. On September 16, the US reached an agreement with France, Great Britain and Germany on a draft UN resolution calling for Iran to end its uranium enrichment programme. The text said the IAEA was supposed to decide on November 25 whether to take further action against Iran. *rd*

### Iran (People's Mujahideen)

|                   |   |                                    |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|------------------------------------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2 | Change:                            | • | Start: | 1965 |
| Conflict Parties: |   | People's Mujahideen vs. government |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   |   | national power, ideology / system  |   |        |      |

The manifest conflict between the government and the oppositional People's Mujahideen over national power in Iran continues. The People's Mujahideen used to operate from Iraqi territory. Due to the US invasion in Iraq, the People's Mujahideen, who fight for an authoritarian socialism in Iran, no longer had the infrastructure to continue their fight against Iran in a coordinated way. In December 2003, the new Iraqi government announced to expel all members of the People's Mujahideen by the end of 2004. *rd*

### Iran (reformists - conservatives)

|                   |   |  |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|--|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2 | Change:                                | • | Start: | 1993 |
| Conflict Parties: |   | reformists, students vs. conservatives |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   |   | national power, ideology / system      |   |        |      |

The dispute between the conservative judicative represented by Head of State, Ayatollah Sayed Ali Khamenei, and the reformers around Head of Government, Sayed Mohammed Khatami, remains a manifest conflict. In its ruling on January 11, the Guardian Council disqualified 3,600 of about 8,000 candidates for the parliamentary elections on February 20. 80 of the disqualified were representatives with a seat in the current parliament. After an appeal of the parliament and Khatami, the Guardian Council reinstated about a third of the candidates. Nonetheless, 114 representatives resigned their seats on February 2, as a sign of discontent with the overall situation. On February 3, Khamenei declared that elections would not be postponed. This resulted in student demonstrations against the religious leaders one week later. The demonstrators also called for a boycott of the elections. The conservatives won the election and now hold a

two third majority of the 290 seats in parliament, whereas the reformers were reduced to a number of less than 50 seats. On July 31, Hashem Aghajari, a leading Iranian dissident, was released from prison. In 2002, Aghajari, had been sentenced to death after urging people not to blindly follow their religious leaders. *rd*

### 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, the latter being financially and logistically supported by Syria and Iran, continues. There were sporadic clashes between the Hezbollah and the Israeli army along the Israeli-Lebanese border. The disputed area known as the Shebah farms, was claimed by the Hezbollah in favor of Lebanon. Israel kept the disputed area under control as part of the occupied Golan Heights. At the end of January, the bodies of 59 guerrillas - mainly from Hezbollah - were returned to Lebanon by Israel. Hezbollah released an Israeli and returned the bodies of three Israeli soldiers killed in Lebanon. Germany had mediated in the three-year long process. On March 22, Hezbollah fighters fired rockets and mortar rounds on Israeli troops in the area of the Shebah farms. At least one Israeli soldier was killed in a three-day-clash along the border on May 7. On June 20, Israeli aircrafts attacked an outpost used by Hezbollah militants in southern Lebanon and from which missiles had been shot at northern Israel. Two Israeli soldiers and a Hezbollah fighter died in an exchange of fire across the Lebanese border on July 20. A day earlier, a car bomb in Beirut had killed Hezbollah member, Ghalib Awali. The Hezbollah accused Israel of having killed Awali. At the beginning of September, Hezbollah rejected a UN resolution calling for the dismantling of the organization. On November 7, Hezbollah launched a reconnaissance drone over Israeli territory for the first time. *hl*

### Israel (Palestinian groups)

|                   |  |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|--|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 4  | Change: | • | Start: | 1948 |
| Conflict Parties: | Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), Palestinian Authority, Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah, Hamas vs. Israel |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | secession, ideology / system, resources  |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between Israel and the Palestine Authority over the establishment of a sovereign Palestine State continues. In the center of this dispute are the assaults of radical Palestine groups, like Hamas or al-Aqsa, as well as Israeli reprisals. Israeli troops regularly invaded the occupied territories and fought against militant Palestinians. During the offensive Rainbow, Israeli forces killed 51 Palestinians, among them 12 civilians. The army destroyed up to 120 houses. The US and the UN criticized these measures and demanded the withdrawal of troops. At the end of September, the Israeli army launched its biggest offensive into Gaza, Operation Days of Penitence, since the outbreak of the second intifada. The aim was to stop militants from firing Qassam-rockets at Israeli towns. About 137 Palestinians and two Israeli soldiers were allegedly killed - including 30 civilians. Up to 2,000 troops, backed by 200 tanks and armoured vehicles, took part in the 17-

day operation against the Jabaliya refugee camp and the town of Beith Hanoun. At least 90 houses were destroyed making up to 700 Palestinians homeless. The second part of Israel's strategy was the ongoing liquidation of leaders of militant organizations, especially the Hamas. On March 22, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, spiritual head of the Hamas, and seven other people were killed in an Israeli air strike. Tens of thousands of Palestinians demonstrated against this assassination. The death of the Sheikh spread outrage particularly in the Arab world, and was also condemned by the European Union and the UN. On April 18, the Israeli army killed the new head of Hamas, Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi, and two of his bodyguards. Despite efforts by Egypt and others to adopt UN Security Council resolutions condemning these acts, the US vetoed these attempts. The militant Palestinians used terrorist attacks in order to fight Israel and to hamper the peace process as before. On August 31, 16 people died in two suicide bombings on Israeli buses in the city of Beersheba. Hamas claimed responsibility and regarded the attack as a revenge for the killing of Sheikh Yassin in March.

The peace process that was installed by formulating a roadmap to peace in 2003 had stalled so far. At the end of December 2003, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon introduced his alternative to the road map. It provided for the withdrawal of all Israeli settlements and troops out of Gaza. On August 18, Sharon authorized the construction of 1,000 settler homes in the West Bank. By separating Gaza and the West Bank from Israel and from Israeli settlements, Sharon hoped to gain a better security situation for Israel by stopping infiltrators. On July 9, the International Court of Justice ruled that Israel's West Bank barrier was illegal and that construction of it should be stopped immediately. On July 21, the UN General Assembly demanded the dismantling of the barrier. Israel rejected this and was supported by the US. The Palestinians dismissed Sharon's disengagement plan fearing it might produce accomplished facts, especially in the West Bank. After the support of the plan by the US in April and controversies within the Israeli cabinet, the parliament adopted this plan on October 26.

The death of Yassir Arafat on November 11 is seen by Israel and the US as a chance to revive the peace process. Since the beginning of the conflict in 2000 until mid-September, over 3,200 people have been killed. About 2,780 of the victims were Palestinians. *hl*

### Lebanon (religious groups)

|                   |                                 |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3                               | Change: | • | Start: | 1975 |
| Conflict Parties: | religious groups vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power                  |         |   |        |      |

The conflict in Lebanon over political power showed new dynamics with regard to the issue of Syrian influence on Lebanese policy. The sparking event for the increasing public tensions was the proposition of a three-year extension of President Emile Lahoud's term of office, which was to end after six years in 2004. Syria exerted massive political pressure in favor of this plan since Lahoud is said to be a strong representative of Syrian interests. It was not only the Maronite church, the most prominent opponent to Syria's influence, but also the Sunni Prime Minister Rafik Hariri and three Druse ministers who opposed the unconstitu-



tional extension. Furthermore, the US and France criticized Syria's political and military domination of Lebanon. On September 4 and on October 19, both countries adopted two UN Security Council resolutions demanding Lebanon's liberation from all foreign influence. As expected, Syria rejected these claims but withdrew some further 3,000 of its estimated 20,000 troops present in Lebanon. Finally, the Lebanese Parliament agreed to extend the presidential term on September 4. As a consequence, the Druse ministers resigned. Hariri declared himself not to be willing to take part in forming a new government. On October 21, Lahoud nominated Omar Karamah as the new Prime Minister, who instantly formed a new government which was exclusively made up of pro-Syrian ministers. Meanwhile, unknown actors tried to assassinate one of the former ministers who had resigned on October 2.

Tensions between single religious-political groups caused an outbreak of violent clashes. In the largest Palestinian refugee camp Ein al-Hilweh, assassins of the Islamist group Osbat al-Anzar killed members of the Palestinian organization Fatah on August 29. The reason for this was, that Osbat al-Anzar accused the Fatah of being responsible for killing the former leader of the Osbat al-Anzar faction Osbat al-Nour. On October 3, the rival Shiite groups Amal and Hezbollah clashed in southern Lebanon. *es*

### Libya - USA, Great Britain

|                   |                                   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2                                 | Change: | • | Start: | 1964 |
| Conflict Parties: | Libya vs. USA, Great Britain      |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | international power (disarmament) |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between Libya, Great Britain and the US over arms control de-escalated since 12/19/03. Revolution Leader Muammar Gadhafi admitted that Libya had been seeking weapons of mass destruction. Simultaneously, he announced the dismantling of such weapons and allowed international arms controls. On March 25, British Prime Minister Tony Blair visited Gadhafi. On April 23, the US lifted parts of its sanctions against Libya apart from some referring to terrorism. The US formally took up diplomatic relations with Libya on June 28. The US abolished the trade embargo on Libya on September 20. On September 29, Libya began with the disbursement of the compensations for the German victims of the 1986 bombing in Berlin. On October 11, the European Union lifted sanctions against Libya, including the weapons embargo. On the same day, Libya arrested 17 members of the al-Qaeda network. On October 28, Libya extradited a terrorist to Algeria. *sus*

### Mauritania (putschists)

|                   |                           |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2                         | Change: | ↘ | Start: | 2003 |
| Conflict Parties: | putschists vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | national power            |         |   |        |      |

The circumstances of the 2003 coup d'état remain unsolved. Mauritania's Government announced that it had foiled two fresh coup attempts against President Maaouiya Ould Taya in August and September. The putschists allegedly planned to attack key positions in the country, like the airport and military headquarters. A large number of arms were confiscated and several military officers were arrested. They were alleged to be

linked with the coup plotters of last year's uprising. Apart from Islamic fundamentalists, the government also accused Libya and Burkina Faso of being involved. They denied this. The arrested military officers were reported to be followers of Saleh Ould Hanenna, the alleged mastermind of last year's and this year's coup attempts. Hanenna was arrested by end of September. *sb*

### Morocco (Western Sahara)

|                   |   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|---|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 2   | Change: | • | Start: | 1976 |
| Conflict Parties: | Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Río de Oro (POLISARIO) vs. government |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Item:    | secession   |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Río de Oro (POLISARIO) and the Moroccan King over the Western Sahara continues. The UN Secretary General's Personal Envoy to Western Sahara, James Baker, resigned on June 14, because of the continued rejection by Morocco to hold a UN organized referendum since 1991. On June 22, the POLISARIO released 100 Moroccan prisoners of war. As a consequence, Morocco authorized relatives to visit the rebels. 800 people participated in this program. Between September 3 and 13, the new UN Envoy Alvaro de Soto was holding first informal talks. After the decision of the UN Security Council on October 28, the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) was prolonged up to 4/20/05. On November 9, Morocco invited the ruling President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, to mediate. *gs*

### Saudi Arabia (Islamists)

|                   |                                   |         |   |        |      |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|---|--------|------|
| Intensity:        | 3                                 | Change: | • | Start: | 1990 |
| Conflict Parties: | Islamists vs. government          |         |   |        |      |
| Conflict Items:   | national power, ideology / system |         |   |        |      |

The conflict between Islamists and the Royal House in Saudi Arabia remains on a level of a crisis. The militant Islamists, who are alleged of being supported by al-Qaeda, attacked Westerners and tried to destabilize the regime, which many people see as corrupt and unwilling to reform the country. The ongoing US presence in Iraq and in Saudi Arabia itself further added to the frustration of many Saudis. On June 12, al-Qaeda militants killed an US citizen in the capital city of Riyadh. Six days later, a US hostage was decapitated in Riyadh. In June, King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz offered terror suspects a limited amnesty, provided they surrendered within a month. At the end, only a few suspects turned themselves in to Saudi authorities. On June 28, a top militant, Abdullah al-Rashud, was killed with two others in a shoot-out. Three days later, the Saudi police shot two militants in the capital. On September 5, in the city of Buraidah, seven suspected militants were detained by Saudi security forces. Three more died in a fire fight. At the end of September, a French was killed in Jeddah. On October 12, Saudi security forces killed three suspected militants in a gun battle in Riyadh. More than 100 people were killed in Saudi Arabia, many of them foreign civilians, in a series of attacks linked to al-Qaeda. *hl*

### Saudi Arabia (reformists)

|                   |                           |              |
|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| Intensity: 2      | Change: •                 | Beginn: 2003 |
| Conflict Parties: | reformists vs. government |              |
| Conflict Item:    | national power            |              |

The conflict between the government and parts of the Saudi Arabian people over political reforms remains manifest, although no large protests are reported. In mid-March, authorities arrested five reformist intellectuals. On August 4, Saudi Arabia announced it would hold its first nationwide elections starting in November. This was seen as an important step for reforms that had been demanded by the US. On August 23, a court postponed a trial of three reformists due to protests. These reformists are accused of issuing statements and collecting signatures on petitions calling for change and demanding political reforms. *hl*

### Syria - Israel

|                   |                  |             |
|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Intensity: 2      | Change: ↘        | Start: 1967 |
| Conflict Parties: | Syria vs. Israel |             |
| Conflict Item:    | territory        |             |

The disputed Golan Heights, occupied by Israel since 1967, are the issue at issue of the manifest conflict between Israel and Syria. Israel regards the Heights as strategically important for its security and underlines its claim by building settlements in the disputed area. Syria rejected this. It supported the approach Land-for-Peace, but insisted on the return of all Syrian territory. At the end of December 2003, Israel unveiled a 60 Million Dollar plan to build homes for thousands of new settlers on the Golan. On January 11, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon announced that he would only resume talks with Syria if it stopped supporting terrorism, particularly the Hezbollah. One day later, Syria dismissed an Israeli proposal to invite Syrian President Bashar al-Assad to Jerusalem for peace talks. Syria itself was under pressure by the US who accused it of backing terrorism and threatened Syria with sanctions. On February 2, Syria reiterated its offer for peace talks with Israel. However, talks would not start from scratch as demanded by Israel. On September 5, Syria again stated that it was ready to resume talks with Israel which was rejected by the latter. *hl*

### Syria - USA

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

The conflict between the US and Syria over the latter's alleged support for terrorist groups is still unresolved. On 12/12/03, US President George W. Bush signed a bill threatening Syria with economic and diplomatic sanctions. The US demanded an end to the support of terrorists, a pull out of Lebanon, as well as an end to the acquisition and production of weapons of mass destruction and long-range ballistic missiles. Moreover it wants to prevent terrorists and weapons from entering Iraq. Possible actions included an export ban and the freezing of assets in the US. One day after Bush had signed the bill, Syria called for talks between the two governments. In January, Syria strongly denied allegations that it had been harboring Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. On May 1, the US declared its willingness to impose sanctions on Syria. On May 11, the US finally clamped economic sanctions on Syria. Bush orderd

a freeze on certain Syrian assets in the US and a halt to all US exports apart from relief goods. Two days later, al-Assad announced that he would not bow to the US demand to expel Palestinian militants. On September 11, the US told Syria to leave Lebanon and to end its interference in Lebanese internal affairs. *hl*

### Turkey (Kurds)

|                   |                      |             |
|-------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| Intensity: 3      | Change: •            | Start: 1920 |
| Conflict Parties: | Kurds vs. government |             |
| Conflict Item:    | autonomy             |             |

Since June, the Kurdistan People's Congress (KONGRA-GEL), the successor organization of banned Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), has intensified its violent acts against the Turkish State and announced the end to a fragile ceasefire. KONGRA-GEL's aim was to force Ankara to start political negotiations but the Turkish government refused such efforts. Altogether, more than 100 Kurdish rebels and Turkish soldiers died in fightings and assassinations. On the other side, the European Union welcomed the release of Leyla Zana, former Kurdish parliamentarian and human rights activist who had been imprisoned for ten years. Furthermore, Kurdish programs have been broadcasted via official Turkish radio and television stations since summer. Kurds were also allowed to attend Kurdish language schools. Six Kurdish language schools were licenced in Turkey in the beginning of October. *aj*

### Yemen (Islamists)

|                   |   |             |
|-------------------|---|-------------|
| Intensity: 4      | Change: ↗   | Start: 1994 |
| Conflict Parties: | Islamic Jihad, Army of Aden-Abyan, al-Shabab al-Mu'men vs. government |             |
| Conflict Item:    | national power  |             |

The crisis in Yemen between the national government and Islamic armed groups escalated to a severe crisis. On June 18, Yemeni troops launched an offensive against the al-Shabab al-Mu'men under Sheikh Hussein Badr al-Deen al-Houthi in the northern province of Saada. Al-Houthi, a former parliamentarian, was accused of setting up unlicensed religious centers creating an armed group and of staging violent anti-US protests. Mediations failed in July and the clashes went on until August 11, when the government announced the end of the military operations. During the clashes, the Yemeni army used heavy weapons. Despite the official announcement, the major military offensive against al-Houthi went on causing more and more casualties, including civilians. Due to the military superiority of Yemeni troops, the estimated 3,000 armed followers of al-Houthi adopted guerrilla tactics. On September 9, the government announced the killing of al-Houthi and the victory over the rebellion. Rough estimations indicated that the number of casualties exceeded 1,000, combatants as well as civilians. *rd*

# Databank COSIMO 2.0

In its databank Cosimo, HIIK records information on political conflicts between 1945 and today. Since 2003, it has been working with a relational databank system, completely reconsidering, updating, and extending the dataset of Cosimo 1.3. At present, Cosimo 2.0 includes information on more than 500 conflicts with over 2,500 phases. By the systematic recording of single conflict measures, the new conceptual design enables a detailed description of the conflict development in violent and non-violent phases. In addition, the databank includes extensive annual structural data on state and non-state actors.

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