Heidelberg Institute on International Conflict Research
at the Department of Political Science, University of Heidelberg

Conflict Barometer 2002

Crises · Wars · Coups d’États
Negotiations · Mediations · Peace Settlements

11th Annual Conflict Analysis
The HEIDELBERG INSTITUTE ON INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESEARCH (HIIK) at the DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG is a non-profit registered association. It is dedicated to research, evaluation, and documentation of inner- and interstate political conflicts. HIIK evolved from the research project “KOSIMO” (Conflict Simulation Model) led by Prof. Dr. Frank R. Pfetsch (University of Heidelberg) and financed by the German Research Association in 1991.

**Conflict**

Conflicts are defined here as the clashing of interests (positional differences) on national values and issues (territory, independence, self-determination, autonomy, ideology, power, resources) of some duration and magnitude between at least two parties (states, groups of states, organizations, or organized groups) that are determined to pursue their interests and win their case. At least one party is the organized state.

**Conflict Intensity**

Conflicts of the intensities “latent Conflict” (1) and “Crisis” (2) are carried out predominantly nonviolent, while conflicts of the intensities “severe Crisis” (3) and “War” (4) refer to mainly violent states of conflict. Only the highest intensity level of the year is taken into account.

**Latent Conflict (1)**

The positional differences and the clashing interests in a latent conflict must be articulated as demands or claims. The other party has to be aware of these demands. A conflict can remain latent for long periods of time and get comparatively little public attention. When one party starts pushing for new negotiations, the conflict can intensify for a certain time before it falls back to its latent state.

**Crisis (2)**

A crisis includes tensions that are expressed by means that are below the threshold of violence. Tense relations between the parties can reach a turning-point from where the use of force may become more likely. At this point, many decisions are based on incomplete information and made under time-pressure.

**Severe Crisis (3)**

A severe crisis is defined as a state of high tension between the parties, who either threaten to resort to the use of force or they actually use physical or military force sporadically.

**War**

War is a type of violent conflict characterized by:

a) the fighting of at least two opponents with organized, regular military forces;

b) the fact that the fighting is not sporadic but last for a considerable period of time;

c) the fact that the fighting is intense, that is, it leads to victims and destruction.

**Conflict Issues**

The Conflict Barometer differentiates the following conflict issues:

- Territory, Border
- National Independence, Secession
- Ethnic, religious, regional Autonomy
- Ideology, System
- National Power
- International Power, geostrategic Position
- Resources
- Other

Three disputed issues can be taken into account per conflict.

**Regions of Conflict**

HIIK distinguishes five major geographical, cultural and conflict-relevant regions on the globe: Europe, Africa, the Americas, Asia as well as the Middle East and Maghreb.

The present Conflict Barometer 2002 reflects our current state of research. Therefore, this edition’s data might differ from previous editions.

Editorial Deadline: December 1, 2002
Global Panorama of Conflicts 2002

Global Developments

Throughout the year of 2002, 173 political conflicts are carried out. 13 of those are considered to be wars and 29 to be severe crises. In total, 42 conflicts are carried out predominantly violent. In contrast to these, there are 131 predominantly nonviolent disputes divided into 52 crises and 79 latent conflicts. Every fourth conflict is carried out with the use of violent force.

Eight conflicts are newly taken into account, two of which - Madagascar and India (Gujarat) - are carried out violently. Twelve disputes are considered to be ended.

Compared to the previous year, the total number of violent conflicts remains the same. In spite of this fact, the number of wars increases from twelve to 13. The number of severe crises is reduced from 30 in the year of 2001 to 29. The quantity of latent conflicts increases by 13 %, meaning by nine conflicts. In contrast to this, the number of predominantly nonviolent crises is reduced by 19 %, which means by twelve conflicts, to a total of 52.

Worldwide conflict escalation and de-escalation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change of Intensity</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Escalation by two Levels</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escalation by one Level</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Change</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De-escalation by one Level</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De-escalation by two Levels</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De-escalation by three Levels</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One has to take into account that the total numbers remaining almost the same do not reflect the developments of single conflicts. Overall, 17 conflicts escalate, two of which by two levels of intensity. Ten conflicts resort to the threshold of violence. In contrast to this, 31 political disputes de-escalate, two of which at least by two levels of intensity. In the course of eleven conflicts, considered to be violent in 2001, no more predominantly violent measures are used during the period under review. A prominent example for this is the inner state conflict on national power in Guinea (UDFG), which de-escalates from previous year's intensity of war to the level of a latent conflict.

As in 2001, only one of the 13 wars worldwide is carried out between states, namely the "International War against Terrorism" led by the USA and aimed at defeating the Taleban and the al-Qaida fighters in Afghanistan. In total, six violent interstate conflicts are facing 34 violent inner state conflicts. Out of 63 interstate conflicts 43 remain on a latent level and 14 are considered to be crises. This means that 90 % of the conflicts between states are carried out predominantly or completely without the use of violent force.

Regional Developments

Most violent conflicts - 16 which is one more than in the previous year - are carried out in Africa. More than half of all wars - seven out of 13 - are fought on African soil. In the year of 2002, the conflicts in Angola (Cabinda), in Ethiopia (Ogaden), in the Ivory Coast (RDR, MCPI), in Congo-Brazzaville, and in Somalia (Puntland) resort to the use of violence. Contrasted with those, last year's war in Guinea (UDFG) as well as the severe crises in Nigeria (Niger Delta), in Rwanda (Hutu), in Sierra Leone (RUF), and in the Chad (MDJT) de-escalate to predominantly nonviolent levels of intensity.

As in the previous year, 13 conflicts in Asia are carried out with the use of violent force, even though last year's wars in India (Kashmir) and in Sri Lanka (LTTE)
The countries effected by the conflicts are marked regarding the highest intensity.

World Map: Violent Conflicts 2002

Legend

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N°</th>
<th>Name of Conflict and most important Issue</th>
<th>N°</th>
<th>Name of Conflict and most important Issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Europe - Wars</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Africa - Wars</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Russia (Chechnya) - Secession</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Angola (UNITA) - national Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Russia vs. Georgia - international Power</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Burundi (Hutu) - national Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Angola (UNITA) - national Power</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Congo (RCD) - national Power</td>
</tr>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Burundi (Hutu) - national Power</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ivory Coast (RDR, MPCI) - national Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Congo (RCD) - national Power</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Liberia (LURD) - national Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ivory Coast (RDR, MPCI) - national Power</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sudan (SPLA) - Secession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Liberia (LURD) - national Power</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Uganda (LRA) - national Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sudan (SPLA) - Secession</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Angola (Cabinda) - Secession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Uganda (LRA) - national Power</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Central African Republic - national Power</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Congo-Brazzaville - national Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Angola (Cabinda) - Secession</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ethiopia (Ogaden) - Autonomy</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Central African Republic - national Power</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Madagascar - national Power</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Congo-Brazzaville - national Power</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Nigeria (Christians vs. Muslims) - Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ethiopia (Ogaden) - Autonomy</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Senegal (Casamance) - Autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Madagascar - national Power</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Somalia (SRRC) - national Power</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Nigeria (Christians vs. Muslims) - Other</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Somalia (Puntland) - regional Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Senegal (Casamance) - Autonomy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Americas - Wars</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Somalia (SRRC) - national Power</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Colombia (FARC) - System</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Somalia (Puntland) - regional Power</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Colombia (ELN) - System</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Americas - severe Crises</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Haiti - national Power</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Venezuela - national Power</td>
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<td><strong>Asia - Wars</strong></td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Nepal (Maoists) - System</td>
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<td>Bangladesh vs. India - Border</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>India (Assam) - Autonomy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>India (Kashmir) - Autonomy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>India (Gujarat) - Autonomy</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>India (Tripura) - Autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Indonesia (Aceh) - Secession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Indonesia (Molucca Islands) - Other</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Indonesia (Sulawesi) - Other</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Middle East and Maghreb - Wars</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Myanmar (Karen) - Autonomy</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Pakistan vs. India - Territory</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Philippines (Abu Sayyaf) - Secession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Sri Lanka (LTTE) - Secession</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Middle East and Maghreb - severe Crises</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Afghanistan (Northern Alliance) - national Power</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Afghanistan (Taleban, al-Qaida) vs. USA - Ideology</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Israel (Palestinian Groups) - Territory</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Americas - Wars</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>Algeria (GIA) - System</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Americas - severe Crises</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Iraq vs. USA, UK - International Power</td>
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<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Iraq (Islamists vs. PUK) - regional Power</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Israel (Hezbollah) - Territory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
de-escalate to the intensity of severe crises. In 2002, the quarrels in Indonesia (Sulawesi) and in Myanmar (Karen) resort to violence. In contrast to those, the conflicts in Bangladesh (Opposition), in Indonesia (Kalimantan), and on the Philippines (MNLF) de-escalate, the latter even by two levels of intensity.

Besides six constantly violent conflicts in the Middle East and Maghreb, the severe crisis between Israel and Palestinians escalates to the extent of war, while in last year’s violent conflict between Kurds and the Government in Turkey predominantly nonviolent measures are used in 2002. Throughout the year, no conflict resorts to violence.

In Europe and the Americas the smallest number of violent conflicts is recorded. In Europe, the dispute between Russia and Georgia escalates, while violence is no longer used as a predominant measure in the course of the conflicts in the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia (KLA) and in Spain (Basque Provinces). The conflict in Chechnya remains the only war in Europe. In the Americas, the only war is fought on Colombian soil between the government and FARC. Further violent conflicts exist in Haiti, in Colombia (ELN), and in Venezuela.

### Conflict Issues

Ongoing political conflicts of 2002 are most frequently carried out on the conflict issues of national power, territory, and autonomy. Almost all conflicts concerned with territorial claims, especially found in the Americas and the Middle East and Maghreb, are carried out without the use of violent force. Exceptions from this finding are for example the conflicts between India and Pakistan, between India and Bangladesh as well as the war between Israel and Palestinians. In contrast to territorial conflicts, conflicts on national power, which are especially found in Africa, or on autonomy, especially found in Asia, are carried out predominantly violent.

### Coups d’États

Compared to the previous year, lesser coups d’états and attempted coups d’états occur in 2002. Out of four such events, two take place in Africa and another two in the Americas. On 12/02/01, the military led by Vice Chief of Staff Alam Camará allegedly tries to overthrow the Government of Guinea-Bissau. This results in the

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**Overview: Balance of Conflicts 2002**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Europe</th>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>Americas</th>
<th>Asia</th>
<th>Middle East</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intensity</strong></td>
<td>total</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>ended</td>
<td>total</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>ended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latent</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflicts</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crises</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>severe Crises</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wars</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total nonviolent</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total violent</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
arrest of 29 officers and politicians accused of participating. The attempted putsch carried out by the Patriotic Movement under Guillaume Soro Kigbafori in the Ivory Coast on September 19 is of greater consequence since it triggers a civil war in the country.

The attempted coup d’état in Haiti, allegedly led by a former high-ranked police officer on 12/17/01, results in nationwide riots burning down buildings of the opposition. The already tense political situation in Venezuela escalates after an attempted military coup on April 11 resulting in President Hugo Chavez’s resigning office. Despite of the destabilizing consequences in single cases, coups d’états and attempted coups d’états, after their drastic decline at the beginning of the nineties, remain a rarely used instrument in the course of conflicts.

International Terrorism

Corresponding to our definition of conflict, including the struggle for a national good of two clearly identifiable parties, one of which being the state, terrorist attacks are not separately taken into account. This is especially true for the prominent bomb attempts on Djerba (Tunisia), on Bali (Indonesia), and near Mombassa (Kenya). In these cases, neither commuters nor the goals aimed at become known until the editorial deadline of this publication. In addition, these attacks have been committed against civilian facilities. In those conflicts in which terrorist acts are committed by admitting groups whose goals aim at national values, e.g. national unity, such attacks are considered and taken into account as measures used in the course of conflict, e.g. ETA in Spain, Abu Sayyaf on the Philippines, or several Palestinian groups in Israel.

Instruments of Conflict Resolution

In one quarter of the 173 political conflicts the respective parties to the conflict are negotiating to resolve it.

Negotiations

Of the 43 conflicts in which negotiations have taken place, 19 negotiations lead to an outcome. Three peace treaties are concluded: In Chad, the Government and the MDJT settle the civil war. Peace treaties are signed in Indonesia, in the Molucca Islands and in Aceh respectively. Three negotiations result in lasting ceasefires, all of which in conflicts that have been carried out violently for several years. The civil wars in Angola and in Sri Lanka de-escalate. The ceasefire in Somalia has been concluded only in October; therefore it remains to be seen if it will last. Four ceasefires are concluded and broken during the year. This is the case in the civil wars in the Ivory Coast and in Sudan, and in the conflicts in Colombia (ELN) and the Philippines (MILF). Apart from that, ten agreements can be considered to be successful negotiation outcomes. Overall, most negotiations take place in the regions of Asia and Africa. This is true not only in absolute numbers, but also relatively. In both regions, parties negotiate in almost one third of the conflicts. Worldwide, parties negotiate only in one quarter of the conflicts. The absolute numbers suggest that negotiations take place mostly in nonviolent conflicts. Actually, though, negotiations can be counted in six out of the twelve wars and in 34 per cent of the severe crises, whereas this is the case only in 21 per cent of the nonviolent conflicts.

International Organizations

In 2002, the UN is operating 15 peace keeping operations. Five of them are taking place in Europe (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia [Abkhazia], Yugoslavia [Kosovo], Croatia, and Cyprus) and in the Middle East/Maghreb respectively (Iraq vs. Kuwait, Israel vs. Syria, Israel, Lebanon, and Morocco [Western Sahara]). In Africa, three missions are operated, (Eritrea vs. Ethiopia, DR Congo, and Sierra Leone [RUF]), in Asia only two (Indonesia [East Timor] and India vs. Pakistan). In four cases, UN blue helmets are serving
The weapons embargo against Somalia is going to be enforced more intensively. Apart from the UN, several other international organizations operate peace missions. This is the case for the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Sierra Leone, or for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in Macedonia. New actors are the African Union (AU), which replaces the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in July, and the Economic Community of Central African States (CEMAC), which starts its first mission in the Central African Republic on November 1. The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) maintains eight long-term missions in Skopje, Georgia, Moldavia, Tajikistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, and in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Other OSCE field activities cover Uzbekistan, Chechnya, Albania, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, the Ukraine, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.

**Authoritative Decisions of the ICJ**

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague decides one case in 2002. This ends the conflict on maritime borders between Cameroon and Nigeria, taking into account the interests of Equatorial Guinea. At the same time, however, the conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon continues, because Nigeria does not acknowledge the court’s decision. The border conflict between Niger and Benin is jointly brought before the ICJ.

### Overview: Current UN Peace-Keeping Missions

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

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

The year, 52 blue helmets and blue hats are killed. Altogether, 1,700 soldiers and policemen have been killed serving the UN. The most dangerous missions so far have been UNIFIL (245 casualties since 1978), UNFICYP (170 casualties since 1964), and UNAMISIL (90 casualties since 1999).

At the beginning of 2002, the UN upholds sanctions against eight states. The measures against Libya are partly suspended; those against the Angolan UNITA and against Afghanistan are partly suspended as well, and partly nullified. The sanctions against Iraq, Rwanda, Liberia, and Sierra Leone remain unchanged.

The strongest commitments come from Bangladesh (5,400 troops), Pakistan (4,700 troops), and Nigeria (3,300 troops). Germany has sent 513 servicemen to five missions. Overall, 43,000 soldiers and policemen from 88 countries are on duty for the UN in October 2002. The strongest commitments come from Bangladesh (5,400 troops), Pakistan (4,700 troops), and Nigeria (3,300 troops). Germany has sent 513 servicemen to five missions.
Europe

Compared to the previous year, the total number of conflicts in Europe is decreasing by three. The conflicts in Macedonia and Spain (ETA) de-escalate. This year, the Caucasus is the region with the most conflicts (five in number). Among them are the only violent conflicts in Europe, the inner state war in Russia (Chechnya), which has again received attention in the public due to the hostage-taking in Moscow, as well as the severe crisis between Russia and Georgia (Pankisi Valley). The conflicts in the Balkans remain mostly non-violent due to the presence of international organizations and different agreements. The conflict between Morocco and Spain on the uninhabited Parsley Island in the Mediterranean, during which both sides engage military for a short period of time, can be calmed down by international mediation. Again, autonomy and secession are the most frequent conflict issues in Europe.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Intensity: 1  Change:  Start: 1991
Conflict Parties: Serbs (SDS), Croats (HDZ), and Muslims (SDA), Republika Srpska (RS) vs. Bosniakii
Conflict Issue: Autonomy, other (minorities)

The conflicts between Serbs, Croats, and Muslims and between the two entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) continue to exist. The Republika Srpska (RS) still refuses any cooperation with the Muslim-Croat Federation. Bosnian Croats pursue the objective to split off territories in which they are in a majority in order to create a Third Republic in BiH. In April, the High Representative of the International Community imposes important constitutional reforms by decree in order to reduce the weakness and inefficiency of the central institutions in BiH. In October, the victory in the parliamentary elections confirms the policy of the nationalist parties in both entities. The conflicts concerning refugees and minorities in the Federation as well as in the RS continue to exist.

Cyprus

Intensity: 1  Change:  Start: 1963
Conflict Parties: Northern Cyprus vs. Republic of Cyprus
Conflict Issue: Secession

The UN starts a new effort to end the division of Cyprus in November. It presents a federal constitution excluding the preferential treatment of one ethnic group. The Greek-dominated government of the Republic of Cyprus under President Glafkos Klerides supports this proposal. The representative of the Turkish community in Cyprus, Rauf Denktasch, hesitates to agree in principle because he prefers a Turkish state independent from the Greek part of the island.

France (Corsica)

Intensity: 2  Change:  Start: 1975
Conflict Parties: Corsican nationalists, Corsican terrorist organization (FLNC) vs. Government of France
Conflict Issue: Secession

The reformatory efforts of the French government concerning the partial autonomy of Corsica which started in 2000 fail this year. The so-called "Corsica Act" passed in 2001 after being initiated by the French cabinet of Prime Minister Lionel Jospin has been stopped during the legislation process. In the beginning of January, the Constitutional Council of France declares essential points of the autonomy bill to be unconstitutional. After the presidential and parliamentary elections in June, the newly elected Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin does not mention Corsica particularly in his first government statement, but declares a general policy of decentralization. In May, the Corsican Liberation Front (FNLC) confesses to a bomb attack in Marseille.

Georgia (Abkhazia)

Intensity: 2  Change:  Start: 1989
Conflict Parties: Abkhazian opposition vs. Government of Georgia
Conflict Issue: Ethnic and regional autonomy

The Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia still strives for getting independent from Georgia and joining the Russian Federation. Since the signature of the Moscow Agreement of 1994, the armistice has been supervised by the UN Mission UNOMIG and the CIS peace forces. Both missions are renewed twice this year. Abkhazian President Vladislav Ardzinba suspects Georgia of extending a planned anti-terror-operation to
Abkhazia, since Georgian politicians claim that al-Qaeda fighters stay in the region.\(^{ab}\)

**Hungary - Slovakia (Minority)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Start</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>(\text{Int.}^*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conflict Parties: Hungary vs. Slovakia

Conflict Issue: Other (Hungarian minority in Slovakia)

On January 1, in Hungary a law comes into force which grants privileges to Hungarian minorities living in neighboring countries when they come to their mother country. Slovak Prime Minister Mukulás Dzurinda protests against this law and claims not to apply it to Slovakia. Otherwise, one would take measures to neutralize the effects of the Hungarian law in Slovakia.\(^{ab}\)

**Latvia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>(\text{Int.}^*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conflict Parties: Russian minority vs. Government of Latvia

Conflict Issue: Cultural autonomy
acknowledged that the protection of the Russian speaking minority fulfills European standards. At the beginning of the year, a constitutional amendment establishes Latvian as the working-language in parliament. So far, the electoral law has linked the participation in regional and national elections to the proof of knowledge of the Latvian language. Since the law harms the diplomatic relations between Latvia and Russia, NATO Secretary General George Robertson connects the admission of Latvia to an amendment to this law. In May, the amendment passes parliament. After the parliamentary elections on October 5, the rightist-liberal Einars Repše becomes new head of government. Already in advance, he rejects the party For Human Rights in United Latvia as a coalition partner. The party focusing on the Russian speaking minority gains nearly 19%.

Macedonia (KLA)

Intensity : 2 Change: Start: 1991
Conflict Parties: Militant Albanians vs. Macedonian police units
Conflict Issue: Autonomy, secession

Parliamentary elections in Macedonia bring about a change of government in September. The Democratic Union for Integration participates in the new social democratic cabinet. It is chaired by the former leader of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), Ali Ahmeti. Despite the participation of former rebels in government along with other conflict de-escalating measures, the tensions between Slav and Albanian Macedonians persist. This is indicated by NATO’s extension of its mandate in November.

Morocco - Spain (Parsley Island)

Intensity : 2 Change: new Start: 2002
Conflict Parties: Morocco vs. Spain
Conflict Issue: Territory (Parsley Island)

The status of the small, uninhabited Parsley Island close to the Moroccan coast is controversial. On July 11, twelve Moroccan soldiers and gendarmes occupy the island. Spain considers this as a hostile act violating a treaty on co-operation and friendship from 1991. Morocco explains the occupation as a necessary step against illegal immigration to Spain and drug trafficking. The tensions between the two governments increase as Morocco refuses to withdraw from the island and Spain, as a consequence, sends several warships to the island and withdraws its ambassador from Rabat. On July 17, Spanish soldiers disembark on the island, arrest the Moroccan soldiers and hand them over to Morocco. Spain stations 75 soldiers on the island. Under pressure of the UN, the USA, the EU, and the Arab League, Morocco refrains from sending troops to the island if Spain in return withdraws its troops. On July 20, US Secretary of State Colin Powell mediates in this conflict. Both sides agree upon considering the island as neutral territory without any military presence. Spain withdraws its troops the same day. On September 23, new tensions arise as the Moroccan Foreign Minister Mohamed Benaissa cancels a meeting with his Spanish colleague, Ana Palacio, on the grounds that a Spanish helicopter landed on the island. Spain denies this.

Moldavia (Transdniestria)

Intensity : 1 Change: • Start: 1991
Conflict Parties: Transdniestrian separatists PMR vs. Government of Moldavia
Conflict Issue: Secession

The conflict on independence of the Autonomous Republic of Transdniestria which has been existing for eleven years is not solved yet. A new constitutional draft presented by the Moldavian government in July stipulates a federal structure for Moldavia and its autonomous regions. However, the Transdniestrian leadership insists on the recognition of its independence.

Russia - Georgia

Intensity : 3 Change: • Start: 2001
Conflict Parties: Russia vs. Georgia
Conflict Issue: International power

Because of armed clashes in the Russian breakaway republic Chechnya, which borders Georgia, Chechen rebels have been withdrawing into the Georgian Pankisi valley near the border since the beginning of 2000. Russian combat aircraft repeatedly attack the region in order to hunt down Chechen separatists. In July, the Georgian Foreign Ministry protests against the violation of its airspace. In return, Russia accuses Georgia of not having acted resolutely enough in the Pankisi valley and demands a joint Russian-Georgian operation against the rebels. On August 23, the Russian air force attacks Georgian villages. At least one person is killed, several are wounded. Now the USA protests against the violation of the Georgian sovereignty. Two days later, Georgia moves a 1,000 troop strong force of the Ministry of the Interior, police forces and special units into the region in order to re-establish control over Pankisi. The USA offers Georgia a 64 million US dollar training and equipment program for the army to take action against presumed Al Qaida fighters among Chechen separatists in the valley. The Georgian president Edward Shevardnadze accuses the Russian military of intentionally driving more and more Chechen rebels across the border. Russian President Vladimir Putin reproaches the Georgian authorities for not handing over the rebels. In September, Shevardnadze orders an anti-terror-operation together with US-American forces and - under pressure of the Russian government - with Russian elite troops as well. 40 presumed criminals and rebels are arrested.

Russia - White Russia

Intensity : 1 Change: • Start: 2001
Conflict Parties: Russia vs. White Russia
Conflict Issue: National power

In 1999, former Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his White Russian colleague Alexander Lukashenko have signed a treaty about a Russian - White Russian Union. Meanwhile, the two governments interpret the treaty in different ways. The original agreement provides for the establishment of common institutions. In August however, Russian President Vladimir Putin proposes to extend the constitution of the Russian Federation to White Russia until 2004 - that is before the next presidential elections in Russia - and thereby to affiliate the seven White Russian provinces to the 89 Russian ones. With that, Russia would absorb White Russia.
Alternatively, Putin proposes an association following the model of the EU. Lukashenko categorically rejects both proposals. This development clearly worsened the political relations between the two countries.  

Russia (Chechnya)  

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

In its third year, the second war in Chechnya is far from being resolved. The first negotiation attempts in November 2001 fail. Around the turn of the year, the clashes escalate again. For the first time in two years, a delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe carries out an investigation on human rights in Chechnya. The Chechen separatists, who are fighting for independence from Russia, continue their guerrilla war in the south of the breakaway republic. Since the beginning of the fighting, they use the Georgian border region as a zone for retreat. The Russian army regularly carries out so-called special operations in Chechen villages in order to search for rebels. Reports of the UN and the Council of Europe indicate continuing of human rights violations against civilians during these operations. After a Russian helicopter has been shot down, Russia reacts with retaliatory air strikes against Georgian villages in August and thereby violates the sovereignty of Georgia. Over the year, the public opinion in Russia begins to turn against the war, so that a new negotiation attempt seems to be within reach. But on September 26, Chechen rebels and Russian troops start the heaviest fighting of the year at the Ingushetian-Chechen border. Since January, the Russian appointed administration in Chechnya prepares a constitution draft which turns Chechnya into a "presidential republic" within the Russian Federation. A referendum is planned to be held. Therefore, negotiations on the future status of Chechnya would be impossible. On October 23, about 40 armed men and women occupy a theater in Moscow during a performance and take hostage about 900 persons, audience and staff. The hostage-takers are Chechen separatists who demand an immediate end to the war. Russian security forces assault the building on October 27 using a special type of nerve gas. 100-300 hostages and probably all hostage-takers are killed in October 27 using a special type of nerve gas. The Russian security forces assault the building on October 27 using a special type of nerve gas. 100-300 hostages and probably all hostage-takers are killed in the operation. After that, the Minister of Defense Sergey Ivanov announces specific operations in all parts of Chechnya.  

Slovenia - Croatia  

Intensity: 1  
Change:  
Start: 1991  
Conflict Parties: Slovenia vs. Croatia  
Conflict Issue: Border  

The conflict between Slovenia and Croatia about the sea border in the Gulf of Piran in the Northeast of the Adriatic Sea has been existing since the independence of both republics. In 2001, the conflict intensifies when Croatia's Prime Minister Ivoa Racan has signed an agreement with his Slovenian counterpart that grants Slovenia 80% of the gulf's territory. As a result, the Croatian parliament does not pass the agreement and the readiness of both conflict parties to come to a solution has decreased enormously. During a meeting of the Central European Initiative at the beginning of June 2002, the Croatian President Stipe Mesic and his Slovenian counterpart Milan Kucan do not reach to a settlement of the border conflict. As Slovenia is considered to be a future member of the European Union, its government presses to find a solution. Nevertheless, Slovenia insists on the validity of the agreement which has not been passed yet by the Croatian parliament. As a result, the Croatian Prime Minister Racan proposes to transfer the settlement of the conflict to an international arbitration court.

Spain - United Kingdom  

Intensity: 1  
Change:  
Start: 1954  
Conflict Parties: Spain vs. United Kingdom  
Conflict Issue: Territory (Gibraltar)  

The Spanish and the British governments make progress in their negotiations about the future of the British crown colony Gibraltar. The foreign ministers agree upon a closer co-operation in administrating the colony. In this case, the citizens of Gibraltar would remain British. On March 18, 20,000 citizens of Gibraltar demonstrate for their right of self-determination and against a shared sovereignty of Spain and the UK. British Prime Minister Tony Blair assures that they will have the final decision about the future status of the colony. In May, the negotiations between Spain and the UK reach a deadlock. In a referendum on November 7, 97.57% Gibraltar's population rejects a shared sovereignty with Spain. Spain calls the referendum illegal and irrelevant.

Spain (Basque Provinces)  

Intensity: 2  
Change:  
Start: 1960  
Conflict Parties: ETA, Batasuna (until July 2002) vs. Government of Spain  
Conflict Issue: Secession  

In the conflict on the independence of the Basque Provinces between the Spanish government and the Basque terror organization ETA continues its strategy of attacks in which three persons are killed. The Spanish police arrest several members of the ETA, seize several arms caches, and defuse bombs often supported by the French police. After passing a new party law that allows banning a party supporting terrorism tactically or explicitly on June 5, the Spanish parliament urges the government to submit a proposal banning Batasuna, a party close to the ETA. At the same time Baltasar Garzón, examining magistrate of the National Court of Justice, prohibits the party all political activities and seizes its financial assets. The adherents of Batasuna demonstrate against the ban which results in riots. On September 2, Garzón prohibits demonstrations, publicity, and banners for Batasuna, as well. At the beginning of October the National Court of Justice confirms the interim ban of Batasuna because its co-operation with the ETA was proven. On September 27, the Basque head of government, Juan Ibarretxe, announces to lead the province into independence within the next year. 100,000 persons demonstrate in San Sebastián against this secession plan with the motto "constitution and autonomy status yes, obligatory nationalism no".
### Turkey - Greece

**Intensity:** 1  
**Start:** 1973  
**Conflict Parties:** Turkey vs. Greece  
**Conflict Issue:** Territory/marital borders, resources

Das Verhältnis zwischen der Türkei und Griechenland im Ägäis-Konflikt um Territorium, Seegrenzen und Ressourcen entspannt sich weiterhin. Im Frühjahr treffen sich die beiden Außenminister zu Gesprächen und beraten erstmals über die zentralen Konfliktgegenstände. Athen setzt sich im Hinblick auf die mögliche Nennung eines Datums für den Beginn der EU-Beitrittsverhandlungen mit der Türkei für ein positives Signal an Ankara auf dem EU-Gipfeltreffen im Dezember in Kopenhagen ein. Dies wird auch beim Beseitigen der Vorsitzenden der AKP-Partei Recep Tayip Erdogan in Athen deutlich, dessen Partei bei den Zweischwahlen einen Sieg errungen hat.

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### United Kingdom (Northern Ireland)

**Intensity:** 2  
**Start:** 1968  
**Conflict Parties:** IRA vs. Real IRA vs. Sinn Féin vs. British Government vs. UUP, various paramilitary Protestant groups (UFF vs. UDA)  
**Conflict Issue:** Autonomy (implementation of Good Friday Agreement)

The peace process in Northern Ireland remains fragile with the implementation of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement being its core problem. The third repeal of the Northern Irish semi-autonomy represents a step backwards. On September 15, David Trimble, Protestant Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, previously gives an ultimatum to the Catholic Irish Republican Army (IRA) and to Sinn Féin, its parliamentary representation. Trimble urges the IRA to dissolve itself and Sinn Féin to quit government until October 5. If not, he and his political party would retire from cabinet. By repealing autonomy on October 14, the British government tries to avoid this step. Trimble's retreat would have meant the end of the peace process. There are at least three reasons for these developments. First, IRA's working together with the Colombian rebel organization FARC, which the Protestant parties UUP and DUP regard as breach of the armistice agreement. Secondly, IRA's alleged attempt to spy in the Belfast Parliament and finally the increasing violent clashes between Protestants and Catholics. IRA's previous apologies for inadvertently having hurt people could not prevent the mentioned political developments.

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### Yugoslavia (Kosovo)

**Intensity:** 2  
**Start:** 1989  
**Conflict Parties:** Political parties of ethnic Albanians: LDK, PDK, AAK; Albanian National Army vs. Government of Yugoslavia  
**Conflict Issue:** Secession

The conflict between the Albanian majority and the Yugoslavian federal government about the status of the Kosovo, administrated by the UN mission UNMIK, is going on. In early March, the political stalemate which has existed since last year's elections comes to an end by a coalition agreement between the three major Kosovo Albanian parties. Ibrahim Rugova (LDK) is the new president of the three-party-coalition of the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) and Alliance of the Future of the Kosovo (AAK) with Bajram Rexhepi (PDK) being the Prime Minister. The October elections on municipal level bring a victory of the LDK, despite of a very slim participation rate and a boycott of the Serb minority leave a bad taste to it. Apart from singular assaults on highly ranked members of the LDK the conflict remains basically nonviolent, mainly because of the presence of KFOR troops.

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### Yugoslavia (Montenegro)

**Intensity:** 1  
**Start:** 1997  
**Conflict Parties:** Regional Government of Montenegro vs. Central Government of Yugoslavia  
**Conflict Issue:** Secession

Under pressure of the EU, Serbia, and Montenegro come to an agreement on a constitutional reorganization of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in order to create a loose federation named "Serbia and Montenegro". The necessary constitutional amendments in both republics as well as in the federal government are still due. On the October 20, the victory of the party coalition List for a European Migration in the advanced parliamentary elections confirms the nevertheless disputed policy which is prescribed by the EU. The government in Podgorica does not give up its long-term objective, Montenegro's independence, but postpones the referendum on independence - which was provided for April - for three years.

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### Yugoslavia (Vojvodina)

**Intensity:** 1  
**Start:** 1989  
**Conflict Parties:** Province Government of Vojvodina vs. Central Government of Yugoslavia  
**Conflict Issue:** Autonomy

In the conflict on the status of the Northern Serbian province Vojvodina the concerned parties have approached to a resolution. In January, the federal Yugoslav parliament passes the "omnibus-law" with a narrow majority. This law stipulates a far-reaching re-establishment of Vojvodina's former autonomy status which had been abolished in 1989. The "omnibus law" is considered to be a provisional solution until the adoption of a new Serbian constitution.
As last year, Africa remains the region with the greatest number of violent conflicts. These are inner state disputes mainly located in Western Africa and in the Great Lakes Region. The most significant developments can be noticed in Guinea and the Ivory Coast. In Guinea, the civil war is de-escalating while the conflict in the Ivory Coast escalates to war level. The intensity of many conflicts which are classified here as violent, are de-escalating over the year. The main controversial issues are national power and resources. Many times, it is not possible any more to distinguish between these two. The warring parties often finance themselves through reckless exploitation of natural resources and the civilian population. The latter has to suffer a high degree under the high level of exerted violence. The most successful mediator is the UN. Alongside it, major powers of the region like South Africa and Libya often play an important role. A new international actor is the African Union (AU), which succeeds the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on July 9.

**Angola (Cabinda)**

Intensity: 3  
Change:  
Start: 1982  
Conflict Parties: FLEC/FAC, FLEC Renovada vs. Government of Angola  
Conflict Issue: Secession  
The conflict between the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) and the Angolan army on the secession of the oil-rich region of Cabinda escalates. Twelve combatants are killed in skirmishes in April. On August 21, separatists accuse the government of reinforcing its offensive. In October, the Angolan Government offers negotiations without accepting the separatist’s demands for a referendum on the legal status of Cabinda. On October 18, the army continues its offensive in which civilians are being encroached. FLEC reproaches the Government for having killed at least 100 civilians. Negotiations for a ceasefire fail on October 24. Before, Joao Lourenco, Secretary General of the MPLA, proposes an autonomy status but denies secession. The government continues with the offensive.

**Angola (UNITA)**

Intensity: 4  
Change:  
Start: 1992  
Conflict Parties: UNITA vs. Government of Angola  
Conflict Issue: National power, resources  
The death of rebel leader Jonas Savimbi on February 23 leads to a de-escalation of the conflict on national power and access to resources between the ruling People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the militant National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The Government has started an offensive in December 2001 during which Savimbi is killed in the province of Mexico. The enduring lack of leadership and the UN sanctions, which are drawing financial resources from the UNITA, force UNITA to relent. On April 4, the Angolan army and the UNITA agree on a ceasefire and the return to the 1994 Lusaka Protocol. This includes an equal participation in government, disarmament and demobilization of UNITA, as well as new elections. The implementation of this agreement is being observed by UN Special Representative, Ibrahim Gambari, and the USA, Russia, and Portugal. A united government starts working shortly after. The UN decides to re-establish a mission in Angola (UNMA) from 02/15/03 on. The peace process stays burdened by destroyed infrastructure, large scale spread of mines, a poor humanitarian situation, uncontrolled refugee streams, and the demilitarization of society.

**Burundi (Hutu)**

Intensity: 4  
Change:  
Start: 1993  
Conflict Parties: Hutu rebel groups (PALIPHEU/HUTU-FNL, CNDD-FDD) vs. Government of Burundi  
Conflict Issue: National power  
Since November 2001 a transitional Government is in office in Burundi. It comprises Hutus and Tutsis with an alternating chairmanship. The transitional parliament is composed pro rata as well. The civil war between Government troops and Hutu rebels, however, continues. Talks between envoys of the two major rebel groups, the Forces for the Defense of Democracy (FDD) and the Forces for National Liberation (FNLF), and the Government are being held since February with South African mediation. The UN Security Council urges the rebels to participate actively in the
peace process. Only on August 30, FDD and the transitional Government sign a memorandum of understanding. At the same time, rebels and Government troops are still fighting massive battles. Over the year, hundreds of people are killed. The most severe incident occurs on September 18 when the military kills 183 civilians. Hundreds of thousands of people are on the run. *ps*

**Central African Republic**

*Intensity: 3*  
*Change: •*  
*Start: 1997*

**Conflict Parties:** Opposition (Bozizé) vs. Government CAR, Libya

**Conflict Issue:** National power

In the Central African Republic ex-President André Koldinga is sentenced to death in absentia on August 27. Troops of the Government and of the former chief of military François Bozizé keep fighting in the border region to Chad. Bozizé demands Central Africa’s President Ange-Félix Patassé to resign. He attacks the capital Bangui supported by France and Chad on October 27. Patassé flees at first, but on October 31, he is able to expel the rebels with the help of about 200 Libyan troops and about 1,000 Congolese rebels of the MLC. Libya and France have stationed troops in Central Africa and in Chad respectively to protect their economic interests. On November 22, UN special envoy Lamine Cissé announces the planned deployment of a peace force of the Economic Community of Central African States (CEMAC), which is supported by the USA, the EU, France, and China. The peacekeepers are recruited from Gabon, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Congo-Brazzaville, and Mali. They are to guarantee the protection of Patassé, to reform the army, and to guard the border to Chad. The first military observers have been on duty since November 1. The UN mission BONOCA stays in the country. *pb*

**Central African Republic - Chad**

*Intensity: 2*  
*Change: new Start: 2002*

**Conflict Parties:** Central African Republic vs. Chad

**Conflict Issue:** National power

The conflict between Central Africa and Chad on the reciprocal support of rebels starts with the escape of François Bozizé to Chad at the end of 2001. Central Africa supports Abdoulaye Miskine, former co-leader of the Forces for a Federal Republic (FARF). Several border incidents are increasing tensions. Central Africa and Chad reinforce their troops at the border. A meeting on April 11 between Ange-Félix Patassé and the Chadian President Idriss Déby remains without any results. New incidents occur in early August, again without any direct confrontation of the two regular armies. In September, Chadian rebels also attack several villages after the visit of a joint fact-finding commission of AU and CEMAC. During a CEMAC summit this organization orders the mutual expulsion of the rebel leaders and announces its willingness to send peace troops to the border region on October 2. After Bozizé’s attack on the capital in late October, Miskine is sent into exile to Togo on November 5. *pb*

**Chad**

*Intensity: 2*  
*Change: •*  
*Start: 1998*

**Conflict Parties:** MDJT, CMAP vs. Government of Chad

**Conflict Issue:** National power

The conflict between the Chadian government and the Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (MDJT) of Ex-Prime Minister Youssouf Togoimi escalates. On January 7, the parties sign a Libyan brokered peace treaty. Both parties largely stick to its terms. On February 26, parliament enacts a general amnesty for MDJT rebels. Togoimi dies as a consequence of a landmine accident on September 24. On October 7, rebels launch an assault on a military airfield in the North of the country. *cb*

**Comoros**

*Intensity: 2*  
*Change: •*  
*Start: 1997*

**Conflict Parties:** Regional Governments vs. Government of Comoros on Grande Comore

**Conflict Issue:** Secession

Since the referendum on a new federalist constitution on 12/23/01, the three major islands of Grande Comore, Anjouan, and Mohéli enjoy far-reaching autonomy. In January, Prime Minister Hamadi Madi Bolero and President Azali Assoumani resign. The presidential election takes place on April 14. Both rival candidates are boycotting the election which results in infringements of polling stations. Assoumani declares himself winner on April 15. On June 17, military surrounds government buildings in Grande Comore. Competence controversies between Assoumani and the Prime Minister of Grande Comore, Abdou Soule Elbak, are causing these actions. *ps*

**Congo**

*Intensity: 4*  
*Change: •*  
*Start: 1998*

**Conflict Parties:** Uganda, Rwanda, RCD (-ML-K, -Goma, -N), MLC, Hema, Lendu vs. Government of Congo, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mayi-Mayi, Interahamwe (Hutu)

**Conflict Issue:** National power, international power, resources

Troops from Angola, Zimbabwe, and Namibia are fighting alongside those of President Joseph Kabila in the civil war in the Congo. They control more or less the West of the country and the economically important region of Katanga. They fight against the various factions of the Congolese Collective Movement for Democracy (RCD-Goma, -ML-K, -N), MLC, Hema, Lendu vs. Government of Congo and the Mayi-Mayi rebels in its border region to the Congo. Western companies have economic interests in the Congo and are involved in the financing of various war parties. Apart from that, members of different tribes like the Hema and the Lendu fight each other in Eastern Congo. In February, more than 200 people are killed within these fights. The presence of foreign troops is contradictory to the 1999 Lusaka peace agreement and represents the big-
## Summary: Conflicts in Africa 2002

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<th>Name of Conflict</th>
<th>Conflict Parties</th>
<th>Conflict Issue</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Change</th>
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<td>Other (Border Incidents)</td>
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<td>Secession</td>
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<td>1993</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central African Republic - Chad</td>
<td>Central African Republic vs. Chad</td>
<td>National power</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>new 2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chad (Southern provinces)</td>
<td>CSNPD vs. Government of Chad</td>
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<td>1992</td>
<td>* end 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Comoros</td>
<td>Regional Governments vs. Government of Comoros on Grande Comore</td>
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<td>1997</td>
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<td>Congo-Brazzaville</td>
<td>Ninja and Coccojo Militias, Angola vs. Government of Congo-Brazzaville</td>
<td>National power</td>
<td>1997</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eritrea - Ethiopia *</td>
<td>Eritrea vs. Ethiopia</td>
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<td>1998</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethiopia (Ogaden)</td>
<td>OLF, rebel groups vs. Government of Ethiopia</td>
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<td>Guinea (UDFG)</td>
<td>UDFG, RUF (from Sierra Leone) vs. Government of Guinea</td>
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<td>1999</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guinea-Bissau - Gambia</td>
<td>Guinea-Bissau vs. Gambia</td>
<td>Regionale Macht, nationale Macht</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>new/end 2</td>
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<td>Ivory Coast (RDR, MPCI)</td>
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<td>2000</td>
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<td>Kenya *</td>
<td>Various ethnic groups vs. Government of Kenya; ethnic groups against each other</td>
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<td>1991</td>
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<td>Lesotho (BNP) *</td>
<td>BNP et al. vs. Government of Lesotho (LCD)</td>
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<td>Liberia (LURD)</td>
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<td>Madagascar</td>
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<td>Mali (Tuareg) *</td>
<td>Tuareg nomades vs. Government of Mali</td>
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<td>Mauretania - Senegal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Namibia - Botswana *</td>
<td>Botswana vs. Namibia</td>
<td>Territory/border (Situngu Islands)</td>
<td>1997</td>
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<td>Namibia (Caprivi)</td>
<td>CLA vs. Government of Namibia</td>
<td>Secession (Caprivi/Strip)</td>
<td>1998</td>
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<tr>
<td>Niger - Benin *</td>
<td>Niger vs. Benin</td>
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<td>2001</td>
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<td>1993</td>
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<td>Nigeria - Equatorial Guinea - Cameroon *</td>
<td>Nigeria vs. Equatorial Guinea vs. Cameroon</td>
<td>Territory/border (marital border in the Gulf of Guinea), resources</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>end 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nigeria - Cameroon *</td>
<td>Nigeria vs. Cameroon</td>
<td>Territory (Bakassi Peninsula)</td>
<td>1993</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nigeria (Niger Delta)</td>
<td>Ogoni vs. Government of Nigeria</td>
<td>Resources (Oil)</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Rwanda - Uganda *</td>
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<td>Rwanda (Hutu)</td>
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<td>Senegal (Casamance)</td>
<td>MFDC vs. Government of Senegal</td>
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<td>Sierra Leone (RUF)</td>
<td>RUF vs. Government of Sierra Leone, Kamajor Militia, CDF</td>
<td>National power, resources</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<td>Somalia</td>
<td>SRRC (Coalition of RRA, Aidd et al.), Puntland vs. Transitional Government of Somalia (TNG)</td>
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<td>Somalia (Puntland)</td>
<td>Abdullahi Yussuf vs. Jama Ali Jama</td>
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<td>Somalia (Somaliland)</td>
<td>Government of Somaliland vs. Somalia (Puntland, TNG, SRRC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Africa - Namibia *</td>
<td>South Africa vs. Namibia</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan (SPLA)</td>
<td>SPLA rebels under John Garang, NDA, PNC vs. Government of Sudan</td>
<td>Secession, resources in Southern Sudan, other (religious dominance)</td>
<td>1989</td>
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<td>Swaziland *</td>
<td>Democracy movement, SFTU vs. Government</td>
<td>National power, system</td>
<td>2001</td>
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<td>Tanzania (Zanzibar) *</td>
<td>CUF and other opposition parties vs. Government of Tanzania (CMM)</td>
<td>Regional autonomy (Sansibar)</td>
<td>1993</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda (LRA)</td>
<td>LRA, ADF vs. Government of Uganda</td>
<td>National power</td>
<td>1992</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe (ZANU-PF)</td>
<td>Oppositional parties (MDC, NCA, CFU) vs. Government of Zimbabwe (ZANU-PF)</td>
<td>National power</td>
<td>2000</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* see page 11: Summary: Conflict in Europe 2002
The UN mediated a new round of talks. Rwanda reinforces its troops in December. On January 1, Burundi announces the withdrawal of its troops. On January 15, the peace process makes progress after a meeting of Kabila with several rebel leaders during the summit of the South African Development Community (SADC) in Malawi. Meanwhile, the fighting between various rebel groups in Eastern Congo goes on. On February 25, the Inter Congolese Dialogue (ICD), which has been agreed upon in Lusaka, starts in Sun City, South Africa. Kabila leaves the talks on March 15 after RCD-Goma conquers the city Moliro with Rwandan support. After the UN Security Council demands and achieves the retreat of the rebels, Kabila returns to the negotiations. On April 19, he concludes an agreement with the MLC about its participation in Government. Troops of MLC, Mayi-Mayi, RCD-N and RCD-ML-K are to be integrated into a new army. RCD-Goma rejects this agreement and tries to tie new alliances with political opposition parties. On July 30, Kabila and the Rwandan President Paul Kagame reach an agreement about the disarmament and extradition of the Rwandan rebels in South Africa. In return, Rwanda is to withdraw its troops from Congolese territory. RCD-Goma hinders Kabila in implementing the agreement. Meanwhile, Zimbabwe reduces the number of troops. On August 16, Uganda assents to a complete withdrawal. Rebels of the RCD-N and RCD-ML-K partially fill the vacuum left behind. On October 14, the pro-government militia of the Interhamwe conquers the strategically important city of Uvira. After the RCD-Goma re-conquers the city with support from Rwanda and Burundi it offers negotiations. During battles between RCD-ML-K and RCD-N in November, and in battles between troops of the government and Mayi-Mayi rebels, more than 100 civilians are killed and about 75,000 forced to flee their homes. Meanwhile, the talks in Pretoria between the Government, MLC, RCD-ML-K, RCD-N, and finally also the RCD-Goma on a new political order of the Congo go on. South Africa and the UN are mediating. On June 17, the UN mission MONUC is prolonged. Its goal is to control the 1999 ceasefire and to create a buffer zone in the Eastern Congo, in the border regions to Uganda and Rwanda.

**Congo-Brazzaville**

**Intensity:** 3  
**Change:**  
**Start:** 1997

**Conflict Parties:** Ninja and Cocojo Militias, Angola vs. Government of Congo-Brazzaville

**Conflict Issue:** National power

The process of demilitarization after the civil war in the Congo goes on at first. After negotiations between the militia and President Denis Sassou-Ngesso fail, the militia resists the reintegration program. The rebels start their actions shortly after the re-election of Sassou-Ngesso. On April 3 and 5, the Ninja militia of Pasteur Ntioumi assault civil trains at first and then military sites in the Pool region and in the capital Brazzaville. In the follow-up of the battles about 80,000 people flee. On June 13, the rebels attack the capital, the Government troops, and their Angolan allies and again, 10,000 people have to flee. After 350 Ninjas hand over their weapons in August, President Sassou-Ngesso demands Ntoumi’s abandonment.

**Ethiopia (Ogaden)**

**Intensity:** 3  
**Change:**  
**Start:** 1992

**Conflict Parties:** OLF, rebel groups vs. Government of Ethiopia

**Conflict Issue:** Ethnic, regional autonomy

The Ethiopian Government is capable to mobilize new military resources in its fight against the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) because of the easing of tensions between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The OLF is fighting for ethnic and regional autonomy of the Ogaden. The Government reacts quite aggressively to demonstrations of students in Oromiya, where at least 100 people are killed. In June and September, the OLF responds with bomb attacks. Both conflict parties are fighting in the Western part of the country. Ethiopia accuses Eritrea to train members of the OLF and to support this terrorist group with armament supplies.

**Ghana**

**Intensity:** 2  
**Change:** new  
**Start:** 2002

**Conflict Parties:** Andani vs. Abudu vs. Government of Ghana

**Conflict Issue:** National power

During armed riots between members of the Andani and the Abudu in March, King Ya-Na Yakubu II, chief of both clans, is killed together with 30 other people. Both conflict parties blame each other. The Government imposes the state of emergency and a censorship on the region of Dagomba and installs a fact-finding commission. In September, the UN intervenes to assist the Government with the clarification of facts. The military remains in position because the Government fears a de-stabilization of the country.

**Guinea (UDFG)**

**Intensity:** 1  
**Change:**  
**Start:** 1999

**Conflict Parties:** UDFG, RUF (from Sierra Leone) vs. Government of Guinea

**Conflict Issue:** National power, resources

The peace process in Sierra Leone has positively influenced the war in Guinea between the Government and the rebels of the Union of Democratic Guinean Forces (UDFG). The UDFG rebels are missing the support of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) from Sierra Leone. No fighting has occurred since April last year. Former UDFG members are now fighting together with rests of the RUF alongside Government troops in Liberia.

**Guinea-Bissau**

**Intensity:** 2  
**Change:**  
**Start:** 1998

**Conflict Parties:** Opposition vs. Government of Guinea-Bissau

**Conflict Issue:** National power

On December 3, the President of Guinea-Bissau Kumba Yala orders the arrest of 29 officers and politicians accused of the participation in an alleged coup d’état by vice chief of staff Alam Camará. Camará belongs, like the late civil war opponent of Yala, Ansoumane Mané, to the ethnicity of the Beafada. Another coup attempt is allegedly made on May 20. After several cabinet replacements Yala promises an
amnesty for the suspects on June 12. He offers talks to
the opposition around Prime Minister Alamara Nhasse
on August 29. Beforehand, the UN decides to prolong
its UNOGBIS mission until 12/31/03.

**Guinea-Bissau - Gambia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Start</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conflict Parties:** Guinea-Bissau vs. Gambia

**Conflict Issue:** National power

After two alleged coup attempts, the President of
Guinea-Bissau Kumba Yala on June 11 accuses Gambia of having supported the coup plotters and menaces Gambia with a military invasion. On June 18, the Gambian government of Yayah Jammeh rebuffs the accusations sharply. On July 2, the UN sends James Gbehu as its special envoy. Both Heads of State assure to solve the conflict peacefully. On August 19, Gbehu declares that the conflict has been resolved. Beforehand, three alleged coup plotters were extradited from Gambia to Guinea-Bissau.

**Ivory Coast (RCR, MPCI)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Start</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>↑</td>
<td>2000</td>
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</table>

**Conflict Parties:** RDR, MPCI vs. Government of Ivory Coast

**Conflict Issue:** National power

The internal dispute in the Ivory Coast between
President Laurent Gbagbo’s ruling People’s Front (FPI)
and the Collective Movement of Republicans (RPR) of
Alassane Ouattara escalates because of the violent activ-
ties of the Patriotic Movement (MPCI) led by
Guillaume Soro Kigbafori. On September 19, the
MPCI, which is recruited mainly from the Muslim
inhabited North, undertakes a coup attempt. 300 com-
batants are killed in the subsequent gunfights in the
capital Abidjan and in other cities. The most prominent victim is the ex-head of the military government
Robert Guéï, who is being held responsible by the
Government for the coup. On September 22, the
French army starts to reinforce its presence in order to
protect the 20,000 French citizens. The French evacuate
some people with American support. On September
30, an ECOWAS crisis summit takes place in the
Ghanaian capital Accra and installs a mediation dele-
tation. Contemporaneously, the rebels extend their
control over territory to the North and the West by mar-
tching towards Abidjan. The presence of French troops
keeps them from advancing. On October 17, an ECO-
WAS brokered ceasefire becomes effective. As a result of
these negotiations, new elections are due after six
months at the latest without any discrimination of
minorities. On November 20, President Gbagbo de-
clares his willingness to hold a referendum clearing the
discrimination of the Northern Muslim population if
the rebels agree to demilitarize and to respect the con-
stitution. However, he refuses to resign. After Ouattara’s flight to Gabon on November 28, the cease-
fire is broken in the West by two rebel splinter groups.

**Liberia (LURD)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Conflict Issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>National power, resources</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In December 2001, Lofa County is still the main thea-
ter of the civil war between the Liberian army and the
rebels of the Liberians United for Reconciliation and
Democracy (LURD). On February 8, however, the
rebels launch an offensive which takes them close to
the capital Monrovia. President Charles Taylor decla-
res the state of emergency. The fighting goes on until
mid-July. The UNHCR counts 30,000 refugees be-
tween February and July. On July 12, the LURD de-
clare their readiness for ceasefire talks. The fighting,
however, does not stop immediately. After the situation
gets finally calmer, Taylor lifts the state of emergency
on September 14. The UN initiates an international
contact group for Liberia in New York. Its members
come from the UN, the EU, the AU, ECOWAS, the
USA, the UK, France, Senegal, Nigeria, and Morocco.
The talks of this group are to facilitate a permanent
resolution of the Liberian civil war.

**Madagascar**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Conflict Issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>National power, Separation (18 ethnic groups)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On 12/16/01, presidential elections take place in
Madagascar. The rival candidate Mark Ravalomanana
accuses former President Didier Ratsiraka of fraud.
The president reacts with cordonning off the capital
Antananarivo. Military clashes on the East coast and in
the North result in 60 deaths. On February 22,
Ravalomanana declares himself president. Both con-

cflict parties reject mediation efforts by

**Nigeria (Christians vs. Muslims)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Conflict Issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Other (religion)</td>
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In a retaliatory attack a Hausa-Fulani militia kills at
least 17 Christians in January. Afterwards about 3,000
Hausa-Fulani flee from the city of Jos fearing retali-
ation. In Nasarawa State, 100 people are killed. Over the
year, members of different clans are fighting. Hereby,
traditional enmity is intensified by affiliation to diffe-
rent denominations. The main conflict parties are the
Hausa-Fulani, mostly Muslims and from the North,
and the Yoruba, mostly Christian and from the
Southwest. In February, both ethnic groups engage in
riots and street fights in Lagos for some days. Over
100 people are killed and more than 2,000 are displace-
d. The unrest during the run-up to the “Miss World”
elections in Kaduna on November 16 claims another
100 lives.

**Nigeria (Niger Delta)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Conflict Issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Resources (Oil)</td>
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</table>

The conflict between the Government and the inhabi-
tants of the Niger Delta on the profits from exploita-
tion of the oil resources in that region continues. On
12/10/01, the National Youth Council of the Ogoni
People demands a greater share in the profits. The poor
living conditions are worsened by oil contamination of
the soil. The results are occupations of oil fields and takings of hostages. In April and August respectively, two oil rigs are occupied and workers taken as hostages. Both incidents are solved peacefully through negotiations.\footnote{mb}

Rwanda (Hutu)

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llc}
Intensity & 2 & Change: \\
Conflict Parties: & Hutu (Interhamwe) vs. Government Rwanda (Tutsi) & Start: 1994 \\
Conflict Issue: & Ethnic autonomy, national power & \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The armed conflict between the Government and the Hutu militia of the Interhamwe calms down and shifts to the Congo. The Government wants to accelerate the process of clearing up the 1994 genocide. At the same time, it propagates a national reconciliation policy. In an agreement, the Congo obliges itself to end its support for the Hutu militia and to disarm them. In return Rwanda assures the withdrawal of its forces from the neighboring country. Rwanda continues to be burdened with the ethnic rivalries between Hutu and Tutsi and with the high number of returnees from the Congo.\footnote{mb}

Senegal (Casamance)

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llc}
Intensity & 3 & Change: \\
Conflict Parties: & MFDC vs. Government of Senegal & Start: 1982 \\
Conflict Issue: & Regional and ethnic autonomy & \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The ceasefire which has been signed by various factions of the Movement of the Democratic Forces of the Casamance (MFDC) and the Government of President Abdoulaye Wade in 2001 remains without impacts. The MFDC fights for autonomy of the Casamance region. After the MFDC kills election campaigners during the run-up to local elections in the Casamance, the Government starts two campaigns in May and in late June. About 12,000 people flee to neighboring Guinea-Bissau. Guinea-Bissau reinforces its troops at the border to Senegal, because the fights spill over into its territory. In Bissau, a leading member of the MFDC is arrested, extradited to Senegal, and released again on May 31. In early July and early September the Government offers talks to the MFDC. On October 22 the MFDC announces its readiness to join them.\footnote{pb}

Sierra Leone (RUF)

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llc}
Intensity & 2 & Change: \\
Conflict Parties: & RUF vs. Government of Sierra Leone, Kamajor Militia, CDF & Start: 1991 \\
Conflict Issue: & National power, resources & \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

On January 18 the end of the first two steps of the Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration program (DDR) of the UNAMSIL ends the civil war in Sierra Leone. Over 45,000 fighters of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) lay down their weapons until January. The reintegration part of the program is to enable the pacification of the population. The financial commitments to UNAMSIL, however, are not sufficient to build secure living conditions for every ex-rebel. The civil war in Liberia has impacts on the security conditions as well. Among the refugees coming from there armed rebels are suspected. On May 14 national elections are held in which the newly founded Revolutionary United Front Party (RUF) wants to participate with its arrested leader Foday Sankoh. But after Sankoh has been charged with murder in March and is therefore barred from running, the RUF does not manage to nominate a new candidate. UNAMSIL ends street fights between supporters of the RUF and of the governing parties without bloodshed in May. President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah is re-elected. International observers consider the elections calm and fair.\footnote{mw}

Somalia

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llc}
Intensity & 3 & Change: \\
Conflict Issue: & National power & \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

In the struggle for national supremacy in Somalia, the main conflict parties are heavily engaged in combat over the year. The internationally acknowledged Transitional National Government (TNG) does not manage to gain overall control. Its sphere of influence remains restricted to parts of the capital Mogadishu. The most prominent opponents of the TNG have joined forces in the Somali Reconciliation and Reconstruction Council (SRRC). Some factions, as the United Somali Congress/ Somali Salvation Alliance (USC/ SSA) of Mogadishu or the Marehan clan of Southwest Somalia, divide themselves violently along the line of support for TNG or SRRC respectively. In early February, late March, and April, about 20,000 people flee to Kenya. On April 1, the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) proclaims an autonomous Southwest State. First President becomes RRA leader Mohammed Shaitigudud, who is battling heavily with opposing internal factions. The Southwest State and the likewise autonomous region of Puntland are emphasizing their affiliation to a future federal Somali state. In Mogadishu and the Middle Shabelle region, forces of Regional Governor Mohammed Habib Dhere and of the TNG are fighting heavily time and again. In late May, in the most severe battles the TNG as usually remains victoriously. Ethiopia denies the alleged military support of RRA and Puntland. Altogether, about 600 to 900 people are killed during the fights, among them many civilians. The Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) invokes to a peace conference in Eldoret, Kenya, on October 15. For the first time, all major clans, factions and regions, as well as civil society actors are represented. On October 27, a ceasefire agreement is signed for the duration of the conference. Therein, participants agree in principle on the future federal structure of the state. Opinions are divided on how to proceed further.\footnote{cb}

Somalia (Puntland)

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llc}
Intensity & 3 & Change: \\
Conflict Issue: & Regional power & \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The power struggle in the Northeast autonomous region of Puntland is escalating. Forces of ex-President Abdullahi Yussuf and his successor Jama Ali Jama are fighting heavily in May and August. At least 150 people are killed. Mediation efforts by Ethiopia, Kenya, and local clan elders fail. Yussuf defeats his opponent militarily and again exercises actual power in Puntland. Both parties, however, are participating in
the Eldoret peace conference from October 15 on. Their common goal is a federal Somali state including Puntland.

**Somalia (Somaliland)**

| Intensity: 2 | Change: • | Start: 1991 |
| Conflict Parties: | Government of Somaliland vs. Somalia (Puntland, TNG, SRRC) |
| Conflict Issue: | Secession (Somaliland) |

The self-declared independent Republic of Somaliland is preparing for democratic multiparty elections. In order to implement these elections in the whole country, the Government sends troops into the border regions Sool and Sanaag which are disputed with Puntland. Puntland’s leader Abdullahi Yussuf is not willing to negotiate. All major Somali war factions as well as the international community do not recognize Somaliland’s independence. Somaliland does not participate in the Eldoret peace talks, because it is not considering itself part of Somalia.

**Sudan (SPLA)**

| Intensity: 4 | Change: • | Start: 1989 |
| Conflict Parties: | SPLA rebels under John Garang, NDA, PNC vs. Government of Sudan |
| Conflict Issue: | Secession, resources in Southern Sudan, other (religious dominance) |

The civil war in the Sudan between the Islamist Government and separatist rebels in the South continues with undiminished violence. On January 7, the two rebel groups Sudanese People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) of John Garang and Riek Machar’s Sudanese People’s Defence Forces (SPDF) unite. After mediation by the USA, a temporary ceasefire for the Nuba Mountains is agreed upon. In spite of this agreement, the ceasefire is broken very often and area bombardments are carried out. In the Danforth report the USA declares its commitment to national integrity and against a separation of the South. Oil profits are to be distributed between government and rebels. On June 18, they agree to start negotiations in Machakos, Kenya. On July 20, they sign a protocol on a six-year transition period which is to be followed by a referendum on the separation of the Southern Sudan that is mainly populated by Christians. At the same time, hundreds of people are killed during heavy battles in South Sudan. In October, severe fights are reported from the city of Torit. On November 19, the ceasefire for the Nuba Mountains is prolonged to March 2003. The talks in Machakos are continued. The main arguments are about the distribution of oil profits and the future state’s organization.

**Uganda (LRA)**

| Intensity: 4 | Change: ✈ | Start: 1992 |
| Conflict Parties: | LRA, ADF vs. Government of Uganda |
| Conflict Issue: | National power |

The conflict on national power in Uganda escalates to war level this year. Uganda tries to increase its control in the West through an offensive against the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) and an amnesty for rebels. Sudan and Uganda re-establish diplomatic relations and agree on not supporting the rebel groups reciprocally. Sudan supports the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) and the ADF, Uganda supports the Sudanese People’s Liberation Army (SPLA). Sudan allows the Ugandan army to track down rebels on Sudanese territory. Since May, Uganda has intensified its offensive in the North against the Christian-fundamentalist LRA. In the fights several hundred people are killed, ten thousands are displaced.

**Zimbabwe (ZANU-PF)**

| Intensity: 2 | Change: • | Start: 2000 |
| Conflict Parties: | Oppositional parties (MDC, NCA, CFU) vs. Government of Zimbabwe (ZANU-PF) |
| Conflict Issue: | National power |

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe is re-elected in March. The biggest opposition party Movement for a Democratic Change (MDC), accuses Mugabe of election fraud and demands new elections. The Commonwealth criticizes the elections as well and suspends Zimbabwe’s membership because of intimidation of voters, violence, and manipulation. The EU and the USA impose sanctions. Nevertheless, the Government continues its expropriation policy and, on June 25, orders 2,900 farmers to leave their lands. Freedoms of assembly and of press are further restricted. Agricultural profits drop sharply as a result of this so-called land reform. The EU accuses Mugabe’s party Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) to use food-aid as a lever against the opposition. Two thirds of the population are facing starvation.
The Americas

Once again, the Americas are the least conflict-driven region on the globe. Compared to the previous year, the number of inner- and interstate conflicts is increased by one to a total of 19 political conflicts. No dispute is considered to be ended. The conflict intensities remain unchanged. Exceptions from this finding are the de-escalated conflicts in Mexico (Chiapas) and in Peru (Sendero Luminoso). Besides the violent conflicts between the Government and the guerrilla organizations of the FARC and the ELN, each of which being supported by the paramilitary of the AUC, in Colombia, almost all conflicts in the region are carried out predominantly or completely without the use of violent force. Most of the quarrels are concerned with borders. One attempted coup d'état takes place in Haiti on 12/17/01. In Venezuela, the military overthrows the Government in April, but is superseded by President Hugo Chavez's supporters two days later. Apart from the struggle for power in Venezuela, the dramatic economic crisis in Argentina gets the most public attention. In December 2001, the country faces four different presidents within two weeks of state of emergency.

Argentinia - United Kingdom

Intensity: 1  Change: •  Start: 1982
Conflict Parties: Argentinia vs. United Kingdom
Conflict Issue: Territory (Falkland Islands)

The conflict between Argentina and the United Kingdom about the Falkland Islands/ Islas Malvinas continues. The reintegration of the islands, which were occupied by the UK in 1833 and about which both countries fought a war in 1982, is laid down in Argentina's constitution as a national duty. Nevertheless, the Governments try to improve their bilateral relations. This is also confirmed by the visit of the British Secretary of Defense, Jack Straw, in Argentina in March.

Bolivia - Chile

Intensity: 1  Change: •  Start: 1964
Conflict Parties: Bolivia vs. Chile
Conflict Issue: Territory

The conflict with Chile on Bolivia receiving access to the Pacific Ocean continues. Chile rejects the Bolivian demand referring to 1884 treaties. After losing the war against its neighbor, Bolivia ceded the region around Arica to Chile. Both sides have improved their bilateral relations and Chile has suggested solutions for the conflict. According to these offers, Bolivia would lease a strip of land reaching to the sea which would stay under Chilean sovereignty. Bolivia would be able to earn more revenues by exporting natural gas from a lately discovered large field. In spite of new talks between both sides starting in October 2001, a lasting solution has not been reached yet.

Canada (Québec)

Intensity: 1  Change: •  Start: 1990
Conflict Parties: Québec vs. Canada
Conflict Issue: Secession

The conflict between the Canadian Government and that of the mainly French speaking Province of Québec, seeking independence, continues. After coming close to their goal by receiving a 49.5% share of the vote in the last referendum in 1995, last year's polls show a declining support for the secessionists. Therefore, the province's Government goes in for an active immigration policy, in order to increase Québec's Francophone population. Bernard Landry, the new leader of the separatist Parti Québécois, plans to initiate a new referendum in the nearby future.

Colombia (ELN)

Intensity: 3  Change: •  Start: 1961
Conflict Parties: ELN guerrilla, AUC paramilitary vs. Government of Colombia
Conflict Issue: Ideology/system, national power

In January, the rebel organization of the National Liberation Army (ELN) terminates the truce with the Colombian Government, which was signed in December 2001. The ELN demands to set up a Neutral Zone. In June, the new Colombian Government of President Horacio Serpa Uribe, in its turn, declares that negotiations fail. Uribe disapproves of the concessions and preliminary achievements of his predecessor Pastrana. He strives for a military solution and refuses negotiations. A single attack of the Colombian army kills 19
Ceballos is shot during fights. According to estimates emergency for 90 days. In October, rebel leader ges the formation of a militia and declares the state of FARC launches several terrorist attacks. Uribe arran-gs the deadline until April 7. However, on February 22, troops march into the Neutral Zone supported by the air force. After the presidential elections in May, the FARC agrees to resume peace talks. Since the new president Horacio Serpa Uribe announces in occasion at his inauguration on August 9 that he will lead an uncompromising strategy against the guerrilla, the FARC launches several terrorist attacks. Uribe arrange the formation of a militia and declares the state of emergency for 90 days. In October, rebel leader Ceballos is shot during fights. According to estimates of international observers, the war that continues with undiminished cruelty claims 4,000 lives every year. About 300,000 people become internally displaced persons each year. A solution is out of sight.

**Colombia (FARC)**

Intensity: 4 Change: • Start: 1961
Conflict Parties: FARC guerrilla, AUC paramilitary vs. Government of Colombia
Conflict Issue: System/ideology, national power

The civil war between the Colombian army and the guerrilla organization of the Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia (FARC), which comprises about 17,000 people, escalates because of the conflict about the so-called Neutral Zone. President Andrés Pastrana left this region in the South of Colombia, as big as Switzerland, to the FARC to enable peace negotiations. Because the FARC uses this region as a base for military operations the Government gives an ultimatum in January according to which the FARC has to clear the Neutral Zone within 48 hours or has to propose a substantial peace offer. Otherwise the President threatens to march into the zone. Through interventions by the UN and European ambassadors, the government prolongs the deadline until April 7. However, on February 22, troops march into the Neutral Zone supported by the air force. After the presidential elections in May, the FARC agrees to resume peace talks. Since the new President Horacio Serpa Uribe announces in occasion at his inauguration on August 9 that he will lead an uncompromising strategy against the guerrilla, the FARC launches several terrorist attacks. Uribe arranges the formation of a militia and declares the state of emergency for 90 days. In October, rebel leader Ceballos is shot during fights. According to estimates of international observers, the war that continues with undiminished cruelty claims 4,000 lives every year. About 300,000 people become internally displaced persons each year. A solution is out of sight.

**Guatemala - Belize**

Intensity: 1 Change: • Start: 1991
Conflict Parties: Guatemala vs. Belize
Conflict Issue: Territory

Although Guatemala has recognized Belize according to international law, the Guatemalan Government still claims almost half of Belize's territory.

**Guyana - Surinam**

Intensity: 1 Change: • Start: 2000
Conflict Parties: Guyana vs. Surinam
Conflict Issue: Territory (coastal waters, Courantyne River), resources (oil)

Since the conflict between Guyana and Surinam has escalated temporarily in 2000, both sides have not started any attempts either to solve or to trigger the conflict. But the discovery of oil fields near the estuary of the Courantyne River may increase the escalation potential of the conflict again.

**Haiti**

Intensity: 3 Change: • Start: 2000
Conflict Parties: Opposition vs. Government of Haiti
Conflict Issue: System, national power

The ruling Lavalas Movement of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide most likely manipulated the parliamentary elections in November 2000 and the presidential elections in February 2001. Henceforth, the
Democratic Convergence, an alliance of opposition parties, has refused to take their seats in the senate. A coup d'état by some police-units fails on December 17. Supporters of the Government destroy facilities of the opposition in following riots. Amiot Métayer, one of the supposed leaders and a former supporter of Aristide, is being arrested. Prime Minister Jean-Marie Chérestal resigns on January 1 due to corruption accusations. Yvon Neptune, an intimate of President Aristide, takes over office on March 5. Due to pressure from the Organization of American States (OAS) inquiring the circumstances of the failed coup, the Government signs an agreement in order to establish an OAS mission for the enforcement of democracy. On August 2, supporters of the arrested Métayer free him from prison by force. The liberation leads to renewed violent riots of Aristide's followers, in which Métayer calls for overthrowing the president. On September 9, the OAS ultimately demands the beginning of the democratization process within two months and the preparation of national elections in 2003 together with the opposition. This is necessary in order to lift the ban on financial aid from Western states. On November 4, the aforesaid ultimatum expires without the Government's fulfilment. The partly violent conflict between the Lavalas Party's and the opposition's supporters, therefore, continues.

Mexico (Province Chiapas)

Intensity : 1 Change:  Start: 1994
Conflict Parties: EZLN vs. Government of Mexico
Conflict Issue: Autonomy

In the conflict between the Mexican Government and the Zapatist Army of National Liberation (EZLN), having campaigned for autonomy for the province of Chiapas since 1994, there is no progress recognizable. EZLN units that are still armed withdraw with their leader "Subcomandante Marcos" into a hideout in jungle areas and rarely appear in public. According to an EZLN speaker, two Zapatist commanders are shot by persons unknown.

Nicaragua - Honduras

Intensity : 1 Change:  Start: 1999
Conflict Parties: Nicaragua vs. Honduras
Conflict Issue: Territory (marital borders), resources (fishing, oil, gas)

In 1999, Nicaragua brings the case of fixing its maritime borders with Honduras in the Caribbean Sea before the International Court of Justice (ICJ). After clashes, both countries retreat their troops in 2000 on the ground of an agreement. Following protests of Nicaragua against alleged infringements of this agreement by Honduras, both sides negotiate mediated by the OAS. They sign an agreement on confidence-building measures on March 8. Both countries subsequently put into action military patrols in the disputed areas. The pending law suite has not been decided by the ICJ, yet.

Peru (Sendero Luminoso)

Intensity : 1 Change:  Start: 1980
Conflict Parties: Sendero Luminoso vs. Government of Peru
Conflict Issue: System

The conflict between the Peruvian Government and the guerrilla of the Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) on the political system is still not being considered as finished. Yet, the guerrilla can only strike and attack every once in a while in isolated areas. The other guerrilla group, the Revolutionary Movement Tupac Amaru, is also still operating on a very low level.

Venezuela

Intensity : 3 Change:  Start: 2000
Conflict Parties: Opposition vs. Government of Venezuela
Conflict Issue: National power, system

The conflict between the Venezuelan Government under President Hugo Chavez on the one side and opposition parties, parts of the army and unions on the other side is based on the Government's efforts in implementing a so-called "Bolivarian Revolution" by constitutional amendments and economic reorganization. The economic reform settled by the Government intensifies the conflict at the beginning of this year. Most controversial are decrees which entitle the Government to expropriate large landed property that is not used productively. On April 13, mass demonstrations of opposition parties and oppositional unions cause street riots. While putting down the protests supporters of President Chavez kill more than a dozen demonstrators. Forced by the army command Chavez resigns. It appoints the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Pedro Carmona, president after the coup d'état. After violent clashes, Carmona resigns one day later, whereupon Chavez takes over office again. In July, former US President Jimmy Carter mediates between Chavez and the most important opposition parties without success. The Supreme Court drops the case against four officers who are charged of participating in the coup. Street riots between demonstrators and the police follow. At the beginning of November, round table talks between the government and the opposition are convoked to strive for a solution of the conflict. Due to the fact that the army loyal to Chavez takes over police functions, new disturbances arise in mid-November. This competence has so far rested with the Mayor of Caracas who belongs to the opposition camp.
Asia

The total number of detected conflicts in Asia increases marginally to 54, while the number of violent conflicts remains the same as in the previous year. The only war at the moment is fought in Nepal. Both wars of last year, the Kashmir conflict and the insurgency of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, de-escalate. Three conflicts transgress the threshold from non-violent to violent conduct: those are the ones in Gujarat, the conflict in Indonesia (Sulawesi) and the rebellion of the Karen and other tribes in Myanmar. The number of conflicts in Asia which are conducted at a lower intensity level than during the previous research period is remarkable. Disputes on national power are mostly conducted nonviolently, while those on autonomy or secession show a high proportion of serious crises and wars.

Bangladesh - India

Intensity: 3  
Change: Ÿ  
Start: 1999

Conflict Parties: Bangladesh vs. India
Conflict Issue: Border

In the border conflict between Bangladesh and India several border guards on both sides are killed during illegal border crossings as in previous years. India invites the Government of Bangladesh to discuss options for a resolution in March. Representatives of both countries repeatedly meet during the subsequent months.

Bangladesh (Opposition)

Intensity: 2  
Change:  
Start: 1991

Conflict Parties: Awami League vs. Bangladesh National Party
Conflict Issue: National power

In the conflict between the Awami League (AL) and the Bangladesh National Party (BNP) on national power members of the opposition and their supporters are arrested this year, too. Repeatedly, the opposition initiates country-wide strikes. On June 24, the opposition party reconvenes in parliament for the first time since its parliamentary boycott in October 2001.

Cambodia (FUNCINPEC, SRP)

Intensity: 2  
Change:  
Start: 1979

Conflict Parties: FUNCINPEC, SRP vs. Government of Cambodia
Conflict Issue: National power, ideology/system

The conflict between the Cambodia People's Party (CPP) and the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Co-operative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC) arose after the assumption of power by the acting Prime Minister Hun Sen (CPP) in 1979. The Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) entered the conflict in 1995. Eight murders and several infringements of opposition activists are reported in December 2001 and January. Authorities deny any connection between the increase of violence against members of FUNCINPEC and SRP and the local elections in February.

Cambodia (Khmer Rouge)

Intensity: 1  
Change:  
Start: 1975

Conflict Parties: Khmer Rouge vs. Government of Cambodia
Conflict Issue: National power, ideology/system

The conflict on ideology and national power, which began with the assumption of power by the Khmer Rouge in 1975, can finally be regarded as ended. Meanwhile, the Khmer Rouge fighters, who officially laid down their weapons in 1998, are integrated into the existing political structures. The Cambodian Government and the UN continue their talks about the implementation of an international tribunal in order to sentence former Khmer Rouge members who are responsible for the genocide.
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<td>International power, resources (water), Other (competition)</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore (Jemaah Islamiyah)</td>
<td>Jemaah Islamiyah vs. Government of Singapore</td>
<td>Ideology/system</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka (LTTE)</td>
<td>LTTE vs. Government of Sri Lanka</td>
<td>Secession</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadzhikistan</td>
<td>Islamic rebels vs. Government of Tadzhikistan</td>
<td>System</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA - China</td>
<td>USA vs. China</td>
<td>Other (intelligence aircraft)</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>end</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA, Japan, South Korea - North Korea</td>
<td>USA, Japan, South Korea vs. North Korea</td>
<td>International power, other (disarmament)</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>Islamic movement (IMU) vs. Government of Uzbekistan</td>
<td>System, national power</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam (KKNLF)</td>
<td>KKNLF vs. Government of Vietnam</td>
<td>Secession</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1, 2, 3 see page 9: Summary: Conflicts in Europe 2002
### Conflict Barometer 2002 – Asia

#### China - Taiwan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Issue</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regional power, ideology/system</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the long-standing governing party of Taiwan, Kuomintang (KMT), lost its majority in parliament in 2001 for the first time since 1949, the People’s Republic of China (PRC) rejects first offers by the now leading Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) for dialogue. Although the restrictions concerning trade and visas are relaxed to some extent by both sides, a crisis arises when Taiwan voices plans of putting the addition “Taiwan” into the passports of its residents. The PRC considers this as an act aiming at independence. After discussing on the part of Taiwan an independency referendum, the PRC threatens Taiwan with military action. In addition to this, the PRC also blocks attempts of Taiwan to attain UN membership.

#### China - Taiwan - Brunei et al. (Spratly)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Issue</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Territory, border, regional power, resources</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the conflict between various countries bordering the South China Sea on the territorial status of the Spratly Islands Vietnamese troops fire warning shots at a Philippine military aircraft in August. In November, the ASEAN countries and China sign a declaration which delimits maritime borders.

#### China (Tibet)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Issue</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The exiled Tibetan parliament that resides in India still claims from the Chinese Government autonomy for Tibet. In February, a disputed monument is set up in front of the Dalai Lama’s former winter residence. Tibetans consider this as a provocation. The conflict slightly calms down when China releases three well-known Tibetan political prisoners. In September, a first dialogue between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama.

#### China (Uighurs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Issue</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secession, religious autonomy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The conflict between the secessionist Muslim Uighurs in the Western Chinese border province of Xinjiang and the Government of China continues. In January, China intensifies its campaign against the separatists. In addition, China plans an aggravation of laws with the goal of oppressing the Uighur culture. In March, China stations paramilitary anti-terror units in province capitals and selected areas in the region of Xinjiang. In June, China accuses separatists of having shot a Chinese diplomat.

#### India (Assam)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Issue</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Autonomy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The violent conflict between the Government and rebels of the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) on autonomy rights for the Northeastern Indian state continues. India accuses its neighbors Bangladesh and Bhutan of harboring guerrilla groups. The most wanted member of the autonomy movement, Anup Chetia, is sentenced to a seven-year prison term in Bangladesh on September 24.

#### India (Gujarat)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Issue</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious autonomy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After an alleged attack of Muslim extremists on a train transporting Hindu fundamentalist pilgrims on February 27 claiming 59 casualties, violent unrest breaks out between Hindus and Muslims in the Indian state of Gujarat. In September, Muslim extremists kill more than 30 visitors at a Hindu temple in Gandhinagar and occupy the temple thereafter. Both attackers are killed in the following police action. Violent clashes between religious groups continue until November and claim more than 850 victims. More than 70,000 persons are temporarily accommodated in refugee camps after violent unrest. The opposition Indian National Congress (INC) accuses the Government of Gujarat under Narendra Modi and the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) of failing in fighting religious violence. On November 22, an independent citizens’ committee, chaired by former Supreme Court Justice Krishna Iyer publishes a report accusing the Government of Gujarat of having exacerbated the communal violence.

#### India (Kashmir)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Issue</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious and regional autonomy, secession</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The conflict between various rebel groups and the Indian Government on the political and territorial status of the predominantly Muslim region of Kashmir continues with occasional use of violence. In December 2001, unidentified terrorists, expected to be connected to Kashmiri and Pakistani groups, commit an attack on the Indian Parliament. 14 people are killed. This further strains the relations between India and Pakistan. More than 100 people are killed in attacks of various groups in Kashmir. As in the previous years, there are numerous civilians among the victims. In the run-up to elections to the state assembly of Jammu and Kashmir in September, several attacks are committed which are partly aiming at regional politicians.

#### India (Tripura)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Issue</th>
<th>Intensity</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy, other (illegal immigration of Bengalese settlers)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fighting continues between the National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT), which seeks autonomy for the Northeastern Indian state, and the Government of India. In addition to attacks on state authorities, the
NLFT also commits assaults on Bengali settlers who immigrated from Bangladesh. About 150 people are killed this year.

Indonesia (Aceh)

Intensity: 3  
Change: •  
Start: 1993

Conflict Parties: GAM vs. Government of Indonesia  
Conflict Issue: Secession, resources

The peace negotiations between the Indonesian Government and the Movement Free Aceh (GAM) fail in December 2001. Leaders of the GAM restate their claim for secession of the province in Northern Sumatra. Between January and October, violence increases. Both sides engage in armed conflict almost on a daily basis. Since the starting of the year more than 1,000 persons, for the most part civilians, are killed in the conflict. On November 19, GAM and the Government agree on signing a peace treaty which aims at ending violence immediately and provides for the election of an autonomous government of Aceh from the year 2004 onwards.

Indonesia (Irian Jaya)

Intensity: 4  
Change: •  
Start: 1963

Conflict Parties: OPM vs. Government of Indonesia  
Conflict Issue: Secession, resources

Relations between the Indonesian Government and the Organization Free Papua (OPM) in the province of Irian Jaya, that is rich of raw materials, remain strained. After negotiations with the OPM, Indonesia offers autonomy rights to the province on January 2 and agrees with the change of the area's designation into Western Papua. In September, assumed OPM rebels commit an attempt on employees of a US mining company, which claims three lives, and attack Indonesian troops. As a consequence, the Government reinforces its military presence in Western Papua and withdraws its offer for a regional autonomy status.

Indonesia (Molucca Islands)

Intensity: 3  
Change: •  
Start: 1998

Conflict Parties: Muslims vs. Christians vs. Government of Indonesia  
Conflict Issue: Other (religious dominance), system

After three years of bloody fights between Muslims and Christians on the Indonesian Molucca Islands, representatives of both groups sign a peace agreement on February 12. Already one day after the meeting, several attacks are committed in the capital Ambon with the obvious goal to create new unrest between the religious communities. The peace agreement is seriously jeopardized through a series of attacks on houses and churches in Christian quarters in the city of Soya at the end of April. The Indonesian Government offers financial assistance for the reconstruction of the destroyed quarters and pledges its commitment to internal security on the Molucca Islands. Additionally, leaders of Islamist and Christian groups are put on trial in Indonesia.

Indonesia (East Timor)

Intensity: 1  
Change:  
Start: 1975

Conflict Parties: Government of Indonesia vs. pro-Indonesian Militia vs. UNTAET, Fretilin  
Conflict Issue: Secession

On May 20, after 24 years of Indonesian occupation and subsequent three years of UN transitional administra-
North Korea - South Korea

At the end of June, a South Korean patrol boat is sunk in the South China Sea during a heavy naval battle between the North and South Korean navies. At least 18 seamen are killed. After North Korea expresses its regret, negotiations about the construction of first traffic links between both states become possible. In September, the construction phase starts. This North-South-connection is of a high symbolic value since wide minefields and no-go-areas have prevented cross-border traffic so far. An unprecedented meeting of around 100 families from both countries as well as the participation of more than 3,000 South Koreans in the North Korean Arirang celebrations are considered as signals for an improved relationship between the two neighboring countries. There are reports of another military incident at sea in November. No information has been released on possible fatalities.

Myanmar (NLD)

Due to strong international pressure, the opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi of the National League for Democracy (NLD) is released from house arrest, which has lasted since September 2000. Myanmar’s military junta releases far more than 100 out of 1,000 political prisoners. This seems to point to an easing of tensions. However, arrests of students and opposition members continue after Suu Kyi’s release. The NLD offers the initiation of serious talks about democratisation but this is rejected by the junta.

Nepal - Bhutan

The conflict between Nepal and Bhutan on the return of Bhutanese refugees of Nepali origin from Eastern Nepal to Bhutan remains without major changes. At the end of 2001, various verification missions are set up by the EU as well as joint working groups by Nepal and Bhutan, which are unable to visit all refugee camps. Their findings remain unpublicized up to now. Representatives of the refugees have asked Nepal’s Government to request aid and mediation from India.

Nepal (Maoists)

The violent conflict between the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN Maoist), which demands the constitution of a Maoist state, and the Nepalese Government headed by King Gyanendra, escalates to a civil war. The king proclaims a state of emergency on 11/26/01 and thereby enables an intervention of the military. In May, 250 MQM supporters are arrested in connection with a strike initiated by MQM. In July, the military Junta releases far more than 100 out of 1,000 political prisoners. This seems to point to an easing of tensions. However, arrests of students and opposition members continue after Suu Kyi’s release. The NLD offers the initiation of serious talks about democratisation but this is rejected by the junta.

Nepal - South Korea

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Pakistan - India

The conflict between India and Pakistan on the territorial status of Kashmir remains one of the most acute conflicts in Asia. Following a terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament in December 2001 in which India also implicates Pakistani authorities, India severs all diplomatic relations with Pakistan on 12/21/01. Both sides move about one million troops to both sides of the border. As in previous years, there are several skirmishes between armed forces claiming numerous civilian casualties. The Foreign Ministers of the UK and the US visit the region on several occasions between July and September in order to offer mediation in the conflict. India starts a partial withdrawal of troops in mid-October.

Pakistan (Karachi)

The conflict between the party representing the Urdu-speaking population of the province of Sindh in Southern Pakistan, the United National Movement (MQM), and the governments of the province as well as of Pakistan, continues. Several attacks are committed. In May, 250 MQM supporters are arrested in connection with a strike initiated by MQM. In July, the Pakistani Government moves more than 40,000 troops to Karachi in the run-up to provincial elections in Sindh in order to subdue possible outbreaks of violence. 30 members of the Haqiqi, a splinter faction of the MQM, are arrested at the express request of the main MQM in November.

Philippines (Abu Sayyaf)

In its fight against the Islamist guerrilla Abu Sayyaf, the Philippine Government starts a six-month offensive supported by the USA on January 31. This is countered several heavy terrorist attacks by the rebels. After the conclusion of this operation, in which Philippines soldiers and 700 US advisors and training officers are involved, government representatives report a substantial weakening of the rebels on July 7.
On June 21, an army commander announces the assumed death of Abu Sabaya, one of the most important leaders of Abu Sayyaf. In the Southern Philippine city of General Santos 15 people are killed by bombings, which are ascribed to the terrorist organization. In October, 20 people are killed and hundreds are injured in several bomb attacks in public places and shopping centers. The Government accuses the Abu Sayyaf among others of being involved in these attempts.

**Philippines (MILF)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity: 2</th>
<th>Change: •</th>
<th>Start: 1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Parties: MILF vs. Government of Philippines</td>
<td>Conflict Issue: Secession, system/ideology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite the ceasefire treaty of August 2001, exchanges of fire occur between Government troops and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), which pursues the secession of the predominantly Muslim island of Mindanao in the South. In February, both sides agree upon an investigation commission composed pro rata. Following a wave of terrorist attacks on public facilities on the Philippines in April and October, the Government accuses MILF of involvement in the attacks.

**Sri Lanka (LTTE)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity: 3</th>
<th>Change: †</th>
<th>Start: 1948</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Parties: LTTE vs. Government of Sri Lanka</td>
<td>Conflict Issue: Secession</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The situation in Sri Lanka de-escalates significantly. The United National Party (UNP) wins the December 2001 parliamentary elections ahead of President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga's governing People's Alliance (PA) and forms a coalition with the Sri Lankan Muslim Congress (SLMC). The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Government agree upon a temporary ceasefire in December 2001, which is extended indefinitely on February 22. The Government accepts Norway as a mediator and lifts sanctions, while the LTTE announces its readiness to compromise and to refrain from assassinations. Despite repeated infringements of the ceasefire agreement by the LTTE and occasional skirmishes with the army, the rebels' prohibition is repealed in order to facilitate peace talks taking place in Thailand in September. The rebels' disarmament and the refugees' repatriation, of whom 214,000 have returned up to now, are negotiated. The Muslims fear their marginalization in the peace process, which causes a crisis within the coalition. In spite of several violent incidents between the population's three major groups, the Singhalese, Tamils, and Muslims, a second peace conference is held in October. In November, the prime minister and the chief negotiator of the LTTE meet at an international donors' conference. The prospects for peace appear to have improved for the coming year.

**USA, Japan, South Korea - North Korea**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity: 2</th>
<th>Change: •</th>
<th>Start: 1998</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Parties: USA, Japan, South Korea vs. North Korea</td>
<td>Conflict Issue: International power, other (disarmament)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

USA, Japan, and South Korea criticize North Korea in increasingly strong terms because of the secret continuation of its nuclear weapons program. North Korea admits not having stopped its nuclear program and possessing biological weapons. This contradicts the requirements of the 1994 agreement. The Korean Energy Development Organization (KEDO) financed by the USA, the EU, Japan, and South Korea announces to stop the supply of oil, which North Korea urgently requires. On November 11, South Korea threatens with the resumption of its rocket test program and urges the USA to enter a mutual non-aggression pact.

**Vietnam (KKNLF)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity: 1</th>
<th>Change: new</th>
<th>Start: 2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Parties: KKNLF vs. Government of Vietnam</td>
<td>Conflict Issue: Secession</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A new conflict emerges with the formation of the Kampuchea Krom National Liberation Front (KKNLF) by US resident Sang Tach in June. The KKNLF aims at a secession of an area of 70,000 square kilometers, its population being composed of 80% ethnic Khmer, from Vietnam. The KKNLF calls the area near the Mekong delta Kampuchea Krom. Sang Tach states that the KKNLF intends to achieve its aims primarily through nonviolent means.
Middle East and Maghreb

Compared to the previous year, the number of monitored conflicts in the region of the Middle East and Maghreb is slightly smaller. Despite the fact that there is one violent conflict less in the region since the dispute between Kurdish groups and the Government in Turkey de-escalates to the intensity of a mainly nonviolent crisis, the number of wars has increased. In addition to two wars already having been fought on Afghan soil in 2001, the violent conflict between Israel and Palestinians further escalates to the intensity of war. Even though the USA intensifies its threats towards Iraq in the existing violent crisis, no extensive military operation outside of the no-fly zones established in 1991 is carried out by the USA and the United Kingdom, yet. In total, two conflicts escalate. The intensity of three out of 28 conflicts declines. The inner state conflict in Yemen is considered to be ended because the original conflict constellation does not correspond to the actual conflict situation in the country. Violent conflicts in the region are predominantly concerned with the issue of ideology/system. Disputes on resources and territory are carried out predominantly nonviolent. Overall, conflicts in the region evolve from opposing interests in the issues of territory, ideology/system, and resources.

Afghanistan (Northern Alliance)

Intensity: 4  Change:  Beginn: 1993
Conflict Parties: Taleban vs. Northern Alliance
Conflict Issue: National power, ideology

The conflict between the Northern Alliance and the Taleban on national power in Afghanistan has undergone a fundamental change in 2002 since the Taleban as the de facto ruling faction have been replaced by the new Government under Pashtun leader Hamid Karzai. The Taleban, which are predominantly Pashtuns themselves, have controlled over 90% of the country since 1998. On 12/20/01, the UN decides to deploy the international peacekeeping force ISAF of 4,500 to 5,000 troops under British command in and around Kabul. The force consists of troops from 19 Western European countries. The Northern Alliance, made up mainly of ethnic minorities as the Tajiks, Uzbeks and the Shiitic Hazara, fights together with the USA and its Western allies against the Taleban in the first half of the year. Since the middle of the year, the year, clashes between rival warlords on the one hand and between local commanders and the central Government on the other hand on new and old issues arise. These commanders repeatedly fight in skirmishes, as on January 29/30 near the city of Gardez and on May 1 near the city of Mazar-e-Sharif. UN convoys are frequently raided. The authority of the new Afghan Government, in which factions of various ethnic groups are represented, is threatened by some warlords who do not want to lose their local influence. On November 9, for the first time US forces intervene alongside government forces in inner-Afghan clashes. The situation in Kabul escalates temporarily on the April 5, when Afghan officials arrest more than 300 persons, who are accused of planning a coup d'état. On April 18, the former Afghan King, Sahir Shah, returns as a private person after 29 years of exile. From June 12 to 17, the Great Council (Loya Jirga) and its 1,600 delegates discuss the future Government of Afghanistan. The Head of the Interim Government, Karzai, is elected by the majority of delegates as the new Afghan president until 2004. The election is overshadowed by the struggle between rival Afghan clans for influence in Karzai's cabinet. There, the Northern Alliance is the most powerful faction. The ministry of defense as well as the ministry of foreign affairs is given to the Northern Alliance. The Government is challenged with many tasks, notably the reconstruction of the wartorn country and the resolution of inner-Afghan conflicts. The need for that is emphasized by two incidents: On July 6, the Afghan Vice President Hadshi Abdul Kadir and one person from his staff are shot. On September 5, President Karzai is wounded in an attempt. A few hours earlier, ten persons have been killed in a bomb blast. The near future of Afghanistan will depend on the capability of the Government to restore political stability and civil order.

Afghanistan (Al-Qaida, Taleban) - USA

Intensity: 4  Change:  Beginn: 1996
Conflict Parties: Al-Qaida, Taleban vs. USA, UK, Germany, France, Northern Alliance
Conflict Issue: Ideology, other (Bin Laden)

The war of the USA and its allies against the ruling Taleban in Afghanistan for the extradition of the suspected terrorist Osama Bin Laden, who is held...
responsible for the attacks on the World Trade Centre on 9/11/01 and the Pentagon in Washington D.C., de-

escalates throughout the year. Together with its allies, among them the United Kingdom, France, and

Germany, as well as Afghan anti-Taliban forces, predominantly the Northern Alliance, the USA drives the

enemy forces out of major cities until the middle of the year. In December 2001, the US air force massively

attacks the Taleban fortress of Tora Bora in Eastern

Afghanistan where Bin Laden and his Second-in-

Command, Mullah Mohammed Omar, are supposed to

be hiding. In the second half of the year, allied forces

continuously try to root out the last pockets of resist-

ance in the impassable hills near the Pakistan border.

However, the whereabouts of the two leaders is still

unknown. Approximately 3,700 civilians have been

killed by US attacks between October 2001 and

January.

Algeria (Berbers)

Intesity: 2  Change: •  Start: 1992

Conflict Issue: Other (cultural rights)

The conflict between ethnic Berbers and the Algerian

Government is still going on, despite the Berber lan-

guage Tamazight is being officially recognized as a

national language. The Berbers demand the expansion

of their cultural rights. Almost every day, there are

clashes between demonstrators and the police. At the

end of April, about 100,000 people demonstrate


Summary: Conflicts in Middle East and Maghreb 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Conflict</th>
<th>Conflict Parties</th>
<th>Conflict Issue</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Int.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan (Northern Alliance)</td>
<td>Taleban vs. Northern Alliance</td>
<td>National power, ideology</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan (al-Qaida, Taleban - USA)</td>
<td>Al-Qaida, Taleban vs. USA, UK, Germany, France, Northern Alliance</td>
<td>Ideology, other (bin Laden)</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria (Berbers)</td>
<td>Berbers vs. Government of Algeria</td>
<td>Other (cultural rights)</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria (GIA)</td>
<td>FIS, GIA, AIS, GSPC vs. Government of Algeria</td>
<td>System, religious autonomy</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenia - Azerbaijan *</td>
<td>Armenia vs. Azerbaijan</td>
<td>Territory, regional autonomy</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain (Shiite Muslims) *</td>
<td>Government of Bahrain vs. Shiites Muslims</td>
<td>National power</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Caspian Sea”</td>
<td>Armenia vs. Azerbaijan vs. Georgia vs. Iran vs. Kazachstan vs. Russia vs. Turkey vs. Turkmenistan</td>
<td>Maritime borders, resources (oil, gas), international power</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt - Sudan *</td>
<td>Egypt vs. Sudan</td>
<td>Territory (border), resources</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq - Iran</td>
<td>Iraq vs. Iran</td>
<td>Ideology/system, territory, other (prisoners of war, reparations)</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq - Israel *</td>
<td>Iraq vs. Israel</td>
<td>Ideology, other</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq - Kuwait *</td>
<td>Iraq vs. Kuwait</td>
<td>International power, territory (islands in the Gulf), resources (Oil)</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq - USA, UK</td>
<td>Iraq vs. USA, United Kingdom</td>
<td>International power, other (no-fly zones, disarmament)</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Asnar al-Islam, Islamic Unity Movement vs. PUK</td>
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against the government and remind of the "Black Spring", the bloody riots one year ago. Protesting against the repressions in the Kabylie region, the Coordination of Traditional Tribes (Aarch), the Socialist Forces Front (FFS), and the Rally of Culture and Democracy (RCD) call for a boycott of the national and local elections at the beginning of October and a three-day general strike at the end of May. Only 1.85% of the Berber voters participate in the elections. Because of clashes between demonstrators and the police accompanying the elections the majority of the polling-stations cannot be opened. Early in August, the government amnesties Berbers who have been arrested in riots in the Kabylie.

Algeria (GIA)

Intensity: 3 Change: • Start: 1992
Conflict Parties: FIS, GIA, AIS, GSPC vs. Government of Algeria
Conflict Issue: System, religious autonomy

The conflict between the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC) and the Algerian Government continues on the same level of intensity. These militant organizations fight for an Islamic state and sabotage President Abdelaziz Bouteflika's peace-plan. In February, the police kill Antar Zoubi, the leader of the GIA South of Algier. At the end of June, his successor, Rachid Abou Tewab, announces the continuation of the fight. At the beginning of July, the 40th anniversary of independence is accompanied by a new wave of violence. In different villages like Larbaa 49 people are killed and 100 are injured by several assaults committed by the GIA and the GSPC. Related to this, the GIA announces a summer of violence. Early in August, the illegal Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) reforms in a secret place. The FIS underlines its will to continue to play a significant role in overcoming violence, suppression, and social pauperization in Algeria.

Caspian Sea

Intensity: 2 Change: • Start: 1993
Conflict Parties: Armenia vs. Azerbaijan vs. Georgia vs. Iran vs. Kazakhstan vs. Russia vs. Turkey vs. Turkmenistan
Conflict Issue: Maritime borders, resources (oil, gas), international power

The conflict between the border states of the Caspian Sea, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Iran, Russia, and Turkmenistan, on the utilization of the deposits of crude oil and natural gas according to international law is still going on. At a meeting at the end of April in the Turkmenistan capital Ashgabat, the conflict parties cannot agree on the legal status of the largest inland water of the world. Thereupon, the Russian President Vladimir Putin aspires bilateral agreements with the states neighboring the Caspian Sea concerning the maritime borders. The transport routes of crude oil and natural gas to the markets in Europe and Asia are also controversial. Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Iran, and Turkey claim the pipelines to be run through their territories. In September, the construction work on an oil pipeline has officially been launched. Its route runs from the Azerbaijani capital Baku to the Turkish Mediterranean port of Ceyhan via Georgia avoiding Russian and Iranian territory.

Egypt

Intensity: 2 Change: • Start: 1997
Conflict Parties: Gaamal-at-Islamiya, Ichwan Muslimin, Islamic Jihad, al-Waad group vs. Government of Egypt
Conflict Issue: Religious autonomy, ideology

The conflict between the Egyptian Government and Islamic extremists, who want to establish an Islamic state in Egypt, further de-escalates. During the past five years, the Islamists have not committed any terrorist attacks. The leadership of the Islamist group Gaamal-at-Islamiya that the government holds responsible for the attack of November 1997 in Luxor with 58 fatalities, gives account of the renunciation of violence in January. In June, their leader, Karam Zohdi, apologizes for violent acts conducted in the past. In September, 51 Islamic militants, who are considered to belong to the newly established al-Waad-group, are sentenced to up to 15 years of imprisonment. They are charged for giving financial aid to a militant group that has allegedly planned to assassinate Egyptian President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak. In November, a trial starts against 94 suspected Islamists, who are accused of founding an illegal group that has intended to violently overthrow the government.

Iraq - Iran

Intensity: 2 Change: • Start: 1980
Conflict Parties: Iraq vs. Iran
Conflict Issue: Ideology/system, territory, other (prisoners of war, reparations)

In the last couple of years, Iraq and Iran have improved their relationship concerning the conflict that has begun in 1980. In the period under review, both sides mutually release prisoners of the Persian Gulf War (1980-88). On January 28 and on October 28, Iraq's Foreign Minister, Naji Sabri, visits Teheran where he meets with his Iranian colleague Kamal Charras. Nevertheless, the substantial questions of mutually supporting oppositional movements, the remaining prisoners of war, the border issue, the outstanding reparation payments, and the return of combat aircraft cannot be solved. Iraq accuses Iran of repeatedly violating the border while Iran charges his neighbor with supporting the exiled oppositional People's Mujaheddin in building up 17 military camps along the border. Along with that, Iranian officials blame the Iraqi military for starting huge fires which are reported to be burning large areas of the former marshland on the border between the two countries. Iranian sources speculate that this is done in order to expel oppositional Shiite fighters.

Iraq - USA, United Kingdom

Intensity: 3 Change: • Start: 1991
Conflict Parties: Iraq vs. USA, UK
Conflict Issue: International power, other (no-fly zones, disarmament)

In the conflict concerning the no-fly zones, established for the protection of the Kurds in the North and the Shia Muslims in the South of the country without UN mandate in 1991, US-American and British combat aircraft continue air patrols during which they regularly attack Iraqi military facilities. US forces justify these bombardments, of which 50 have become known, with the destruction of anti-aircraft sites and...
the defense against Iraqi fire from the ground. The Iraqi military on the other hand repeatedly claims civilian victims and the destruction of civilian facilities. Last year, the USA has begun indirectly threatening the Iraqi Government with massive military action if it did not accept the return of the international arms inspection team that has been denied access to the country since 1998. The US administration intensifies this threat starting with the State of the Union Address of US President George W. Bush in which he includes Iraq along with Iran and North Korea in a so-called “axis of evil” on January 29. He thereby intends to link international networks of terror with states striving for weapons of mass destruction. This is followed by signaling the readiness for unilateral engagement as well as for the removal of Saddam Hussein’s regime.

On February 4, following a proposal of Secretary General of the Arab League, Amr Mohamed Mousa, Saddam Hussein offers his willingness to unconditional negotiations to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. This results in three meetings between Iraqi Foreign Minister, Naji Sabri, and Annan in New York on March 7, May 13 and July 4/5. These talks fail because of Iraq’s precondition concerning the sanctions implemented in 1990 which are held responsible for the economic decay and the impoverishment of the population. On November 7, the UN Security Council agrees upon a tougher resolution on Iraq. Confronted with this resolution that gives Baghdad one week to accept or to reject it, Saddam Hussein gives in on November 13. In this context, an advance team of 25 weapons inspectors led by the Swedish diplomat Hans Blix and the Head of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Mohammed al-Baradai, arrives in Iraq’s capital on November 18. On November 25, the actual inspections led by the Australian Bill Jolley begin. The first report is expected to be issued in 02/21/03. These groups have lacked support by the Kurdish population.

According to the new regulation, Kurdish people are allowed to vote even in the North of the country that is not under Baghdad’s control. Faraj, who is supposed to be Ansar al-Islam’s leader, is arrested at the Amsterdam airport on September 14. The agreements also refer to an exchange of prisoners of war and unrestricted travel between the groups’ territories.

Iraq (Asnar al-Islam, Islamic Unity Movement vs. PUK)

Intensity: 3 Change: • Start: 2001
Conflict Parties: Asnar al-Islam, Islamic Unity Movement vs. PUK
Conflict Issue: Regional power, ideology/system

Islamic fundamentalists have been trying to expand their influence in Northern Iraq for several years. But these groups have lacked support by the Kurdish population. They have been financially supported by Iran in building up mosques and establishing their own social system. Through uniting the Kurdish Hamas and the Tahwid to the group of Tahwid Islamic Front in July 2001, they have increased their influence. On 09/21/01, the so-called Second Soran-Union joined the Tahwid Islamic Front building the even more militant organization of Jund al-Islam (Army of Islam). Jund al-Islam prohibits civilians living in regions under its control to have contact with secular parties such as the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and commits terrorist attacks against politicians of other Kurdish groups. The Islamic Unity Movement of Kurdistan (IUMK), which strives to establish a strict Islamic regime in Iraqi Kurdistan, has been repeatedly fighting with the PUK in Eastern Kurdistan since September 2001. In the beginning of 2002, Iran mediates a ceasefire between the PUK and Jund al-Islam. Jund al-Islam therefore renames itself to Ansar al-Islam (Helper of Islam). Today, Ansar al-Islam consists of more than 750 fighters. In its bases such as the Kurdish villages of al-Talweera and Biyara it has established a regime after the model of the Afghan Taleban prohibiting television and music. Mullah Krekar alias Najmuddin Faraj, who is supposed to be Ansar al-Islam's leader, is arrested at the Amsterdam airport on September 14.

Iraq (Iraqi Kurdistan)

Intensity: 2 Change: • Start: 1991
Conflict Issue: Autonomy, resources (water)

British and US-American combat aircraft still preserve the status quo in the autonomous region of Iraqi Kurdistan that was established in 1991 and is still not recognized by the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Concerning possible US military action to oust the regime in Baghdad, Massud Barzani’s Democratic Party of Kurdistan (DPK) works out a draft constitution in July, which refers to a federal republic of Iraq consisting of an Arab region in Central and Southern Iraq and a Kurdish region in the North. In September, the reigning Baath Party intensifies the expulsion of members of the Kurdish and Turkmen's minorities in the oil-rich region around the Iraqi cities of Mosul and Kirkuk that are still controlled by Saddam's troops. Their landed properties are given to Arabs from Central Iraq to consolidate the regime’s influence. Prior to the plebiscite on further seven years of presidency held in mid-October, Saddam Hussein expands the electoral rights of the Kurdish population. According to the new regulation, Kurdish people are allowed to vote even in the North of the country that is not under Baghdad's control.

Iraq (PUK vs. DPK)

Intensity: 1 Change: • Start: 1992
Conflict Issue: Regional power

The conflict between the two big Kurdish political parties of the Patriot Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (DPK) which was carried out violently in 1994 has become stabilized after the ceasefire agreement negotiated in Washington in 1998. Nevertheless, both groups still control two different regions in Northern Iraq. So far, the promise for unity could not have been realized. On October 2, DPK’s Chairman Massud Barzani and PUK’s Chairman Jalal Talabani agree upon the reimplementation of a common parliament which meets for the first time after six years in the city of Erbil on October 4. The agreements also refer to an exchange of prisoners of war and unrestricted travel between the groups’ territories.
Iran (People's Mujahedeen)

Intensity: 2  Change: •  Start: 1992
Conflict Parties: People's Mujahedeen based in Iraq vs. Government of Iran
Conflict Issue: National power, ideology/system (aut. socialism of Islamic character)

Compared to the previous year, the conflict between the oppositional movement of the People's Mujahedeen standing up for an authoritarian socialism of Islamic character and the ruling Iranian regime of the Mullahs is marked by fewer violent incidents. Nevertheless, the People's Mujahedeen take responsibility for a bomb attack against barracks in Teheran on May 18/19 that was supposedly meant to be the revenge for several arrests by the Iranian authorities. The Mujahedeen's main basis is located in Iraq that is blamed by Iran for supporting them.

Israel (Hezbollah)

Intensity: 3  Change: •  Start: 1982
Conflict Parties: Israel vs. Hezbollah based in Lebanon
Conflict Issue: Territory (Shebaa Farms)

In spite of the withdrawal of the Israeli army from Southern Lebanon in May 2000 and the dissolution of the pro-Israeli South Lebanese Army (SLA), the conflict between Israel and the Hezbollah is still going on. The latter operates from Lebanon and is supported by Syria and by Iran. Above all, the territorial affiliation of the ten square kilometers large Shebaa Farms on the border between Israel, Lebanon, and Syria is controversial. Against the background of the escalation in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Hezbollah attacks several Israeli army outposts in the Shebaa Farms with missiles on April 2 and 5. In response, the Israeli army retaliates against Hezbollah positions. In an exchange of small arms fire between Hezbollah fighters and Israeli soldiers near the Israeli-Lebanese border on April 7 seven persons are wounded. Israel reacts to missile bombardments by the Hezbollah on April 9/10 with renewed air raids onto positions of Hezbollah in Southern Lebanon and moves additional reservists to the border. In the year under review, Hezbollah fighters and Israeli soldiers repeatedly fought.

Israel (Palestinian groups)

Intensity: 4  Change: •  Start: 1948
Conflict Parties: Palestinian Authority, al-Aqsa, Islamic Jihad, Fatah, Hamas vs. Government of Israel
Conflict Issue: Territory, autonomy

The conflict between Israel and Palestinian groups such as the al-Aqsa Brigades, the Hamas, the Islamic Jihad, and the Fatah Movement on an independent Palestinian state escalates to war. In comparison to 2001, the terrorist attacks against Israeli people rise again, while the strategy of the Israeli army is focused on retaliation on an even more massive scale. These measures include the selected attacks on Palestinian terror groups and the liquidation of their suspected leaders as well as the occupation of cities in the Palestinian autonomous territories. In the course of these actions which Israel declares to be anti-terrorist, Israeli units and Palestinians fight. These fights claim numerous casualties, especially from the Palestinians. Since the start of the second Intifada in 2000, about 1,500 Palestinians and over 600 Israelis have been killed. The international community not only condemns the violence executed by both sides but also criticizes the systematic demolition and destruction of the Palestinian infrastructure by the Israeli army, such as the Gaza airport financed by the EU.

Israel takes a bomb blast on the March 8 claiming 18 lives as justification for the largest military operation since 20 years during which 20,000 troops occupy large areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip on March 12. About 60 Palestinians are killed in the heavy fights. The UN Security Council passes a resolution proposed by the USA on March 13 demanding an independent Palestinian state for the first time. In May, Palestinian leader, Yassir Arafat, accepts the US demands concerning reforms within the National Palestinian Authority and elections. From April 4 to 18, the Israeli army starts a new offensive in the West Bank which particularly effects the refugee settlement near the city of Djenin. The UN Security Council passes resolution 1405 demanding the constitution of an independent commission in order to investigate the alleged atrocities against civilians by Israeli troops. On May 11, over 60,000 Israelis demonstrate for the withdrawal of the army out of the autonomous territories. This is the largest Israeli demonstration since the beginning of the second Intifada. On October 16, US President George W. Bush presents a possible schedule for a final peace to Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. The three-stage plan envisages among other points the retreat of the Israeli army out of the occupied territories, the end of the government's settlement policy, the implementation of announced reforms of the Palestinian National Authority, and an end to the overall violence until mid 2003. For 2004, the creation of a Palestinian transitional state is planned. Its status is to be clarified in a final peace accord in 2006. This peace plan, as other proposals by the EU and several states, is not realized because violence continues. On October 30, the governing coalition of Sharon's Likud and the Labour Party breaks up due to a controversy on budgeting the settlement policy in the occupied territories. Sharon announces new elections for January 2003 and appoints new ministers. Among them are the hard liners Benjamin Netanyahu as Foreign Minister and Shaul Mofatz, former chief of army staff, as Defense Minister. In case, Likud wins the elections 2003, one cannot expect a fundamental change in Israeli policy towards the Palestinians.

Israel - Lebanon

Intensity: 2  Change: •  Start: 1948
Conflict Parties: Israel vs. Lebanon
Conflict Issue: Other, border, resources (water)

In the conflict between Israel and Lebanon the tensions have increased since September because of an announcement of the Lebanese Government to divert water from the Wazzani River to irrigate villages in Southern Lebanon. The water of Wazzani River serves as fresh water supply for Israel, that is why Israel considers this plan to be a casus belli. In spite of several international mediation attempts by the UN, the EU, and the USA the water pumping station starts working in mid-October. The Lebanese Government announces further water withdrawals.
Israel - Syria

Intensity: 2  
Change: •  
Start: 1967

Conflict Parties: Israel vs. Syria  
Conflict Issue: Territory (Golan Heights), maritime border, resources (water)

The conflict between Israel and Syria remains unsolved. Above all, the territorial affiliation of the Israel occupied Golan Heights is controversial. Syria persists in their return as precondition for peace negotiations with Israel. In January, the Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah suggests a peace treaty between the Arab states and Israel. This proposal contains among other points the return of the Golan Heights occupied in 1967 by Israel to make possible Israel's recognition by the Arab states. The Arab states and Israel support this, but so far there are no direct negotiations that could lead to a realization of that scheme.

Morocco (Western Sahara)

Intensity: 2  
Change: •  
Start: 1976

Conflict Parties: POLISARIO vs. Government of Morocco  
Conflict Issue: National independence, resources

The Saharan Independence Movement POLISARIO and the Moroccan Government still cannot come to terms about the future of Western Sahara. At the end of February, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan proposes a division of Western Sahara. Neither a UN proposal on organizing a referendum on Western Sahara's segregation from Morocco nor the plan to grant extensive autonomy to it has led to a conflict solution. The Moroccan Government rejects the partition plan and persists in incorporating Western Sahara as an autonomous region into the Moroccan state. POLISARIO threatens with war despite amnestying 115 Moroccan prisoners of war at the beginning of January. At the beginning of August the UN extends its mission MINURSO until 01/31/03. Until then, UN special envoy James Baker is expected to work out a new political solution.

Turkey (PKK)

Intensity: 2  
Change: ▼  
Start: 1979

Conflict Parties: PKK vs. Government of Turkey  
Conflict Issue: Secession

The conflict between the banned Kurdish Labour Party (PKK) and the Turkish Government further de-escalates. PKK declares the armed struggle for an independent Kurdish state to be ended after 15 years. On a party congress from April 4 to 10 in Northern Iraq, the Kurdish delegates follow a proposal made by the 1999 arrested Kurdish leader Abdullah Ocalan. According to this, the PKK is replaced by a legitimate organization committee, the so-called Congress for Freedom and Democracy in Kurdistan (Kadek). In addition the delegates decide to rename the armed wing of the PKK into People Defense Units, which are to act only in self-defense. Kadek strives for the nonviolent support and cross-linking with other Kurdish parties and mass organizations in the five countries where Kurdish minorities live, such as Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Armenia.
Databank KOSIMO

The HEIDELBERG INSTITUTE ON INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESEARCH works in this publication with evaluations of its databank KOMSIMO (Conflict Simulation Model), which records all violent and nonviolent inner- and interstate political conflicts worldwide between 1945 and today. Each conflict is coded with 28 variables.

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Imprint

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