

# CrisisWatch

A monthly bulletin by the ICG on current and potential conflicts around the world



1 November 2003, N°3

## CrisisWatch:

- **summarises** briefly developments during the previous month in some 70 situations of current or potential conflict, listed alphabetically by region, providing references and links to more detailed information sources (all references mentioned are hyperlinked in the electronic version of this bulletin);
- **assesses** whether the overall situation in each case has, during the previous month, significantly deteriorated, significantly improved, or on balance remained more or less unchanged;
- **alerts** readers to situations where, in the coming month, there is a particular risk of new or significantly escalated conflict, or a particular conflict resolution opportunity (noting that in some instances there may in fact be both); and
- **summarises** ICG reports and briefing papers that have been published in the last month.

*CrisisWatch* is compiled by ICG's Brussels Research Unit, drawing on multiple sources including the resources of our more than 90 staff members across five continents, who already report on some 40 of the situations listed here. Comments and suggestions as to how the bulletin might be improved (addressed to [crisiswatch@crisisweb.org](mailto:crisiswatch@crisisweb.org)) would be much appreciated.

## October 2003 Trends



### Deteriorated Situations

Azerbaijan (p.8)      Israel/Occupied Territories (p.10)  
 Bolivia (p.9)      Nepal (p.6)  
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### Improved Situations

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### Unchanged Situations

Afghanistan (p.5), Algeria (p.12), Angola (p.3), Central African Republic (p.2), China (internal) (p.6), Corsica (p.9), Cyprus (p.9), Democratic Republic of Congo (p.2), Ecuador (p.9), Egypt (p.12), Georgia (p.8), Guatemala (p.9), Guinea (p.4), Honduras (p.10), India (non-Kashmir) (p.5), Indonesia (p.6), Jordan (p.10), Kashmir (p.5), Kazakhstan (p.4), Kosovo (p.7), Kyrgyzstan (p.4), Lebanon (p.10), Macedonia (p.8), Mauritania (p.4), Moldova (p.8), Morocco (p.12), Myanmar (Burma) (p.7), Nagorno-Karabakh (p.8), Niger (p.4), Nigeria (p.4), Northern Ireland (p.9), Pakistan (p.6), Papua New Guinea (p.7), Peru (p.10), Philippines (p.7), Russia (Chechnya) (p.9), Rwanda (p.2), Serbia (p.8), Sierra Leone (p.4), Somalia (p.3), Spain (Basque region) (p.9), Sri Lanka (p.6), Swaziland (p.3), Taiwan Strait (p.6), Tajikistan (p.4), Turkmenistan (p.5), Uzbekistan (p.5), Venezuela (p.10), Western Sahara (p.12), Yemen (p.11).

## November 2003 Watchlist



### Conflict Risk Alert

Côte d'Ivoire (p.3)      Israel/Occupied Territories (p.10)  
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 Ethiopia/Eritrea (p.2)



### Conflict Resolution Opportunity

Iran (p.11)  
 Sudan (p.3)  
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## The International Crisis Group

is an independent, non-profit, multinational organisation, with over 90 staff members on five continents, working through field-based analysis and high-level advocacy to prevent and resolve deadly conflict. ICG's approach is grounded in field research. Teams of political analysts are located within or close by countries at risk of outbreak, escalation or recurrence of violent conflict. Based on information and assessments from the field, ICG produces regular analytical reports containing practical recommendations targeted at key international decision-takers, and backed up with high level advocacy. ICG is chaired by former Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari, and its President and Chief Executive is former Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans.

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## Africa

### CENTRAL AFRICA

🏠 Burundi In significant breakthrough, largest Hutu rebel group (FDD) signed agreement with government 8 October to implement ceasefire deal reached in December 2002 after decade of civil war killed estimated 300,000 of 6.5 million population. Agreement, requiring integration of armed forces, police and intelligence services, approved by Burundi parliament 22 October. Parties met in Pretoria 28 October to resolve remaining issues. Seven killed 13 October in Burundi's northern suburb in attacks blamed on second largest Hutu rebel group (FNL). Judges returned to work 22 October after 50-day strike. African Union peacekeeping mission in Burundi (AMIB) now at full strength of 3,128 troops.

- "Final' Burundi talks set to begin" BBC, 29 Oct. 2003.
- "Burundi peace in African hands", *Christian Science Monitor*, 22 Oct. 2003.
- "Burundian President says big step taken toward ending 10 year war", CNN, 8 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Africa Briefing, *The Burundi Rebellion and the Ceasefire Negotiations*, 6 Aug. 2002.



ICG Africa Report N°70, *Refugees and Displaced Persons in Burundi – Defusing the Land Time-Bomb*, 7 October 2003. While everyone is hoping for a permanent suspension

of hostilities in Burundi, too little consideration is being given to what will happen when peace is reached and over one million uprooted Burundians rush home. Burundi's refugees and displaced persons have been waiting for the dividends of peace ever since the Arusha agreement was signed on 28 August 2000. The foreseeable disappointment of a large number of refugees who will be unable to recover their property upon return offers ideal political opportunities for those opposed to the peace process and risks destabilising any transition to peace right from the outset.

🏠 Central African Republic Truth and Reconciliation Commission called on President Bozize to enlarge transitional government, allowing for broader consensus in administration and for delay of presidential election from 3rd qtr 2004 to period of Nov 2004-Apr 2005. 480 former soldiers out of 800 who returned from DRC reintegrated into army and public service.

- "Ex-soldiers reintegrated into national army", IRIN, 23 Oct. 2003.
- "Reconciliation commission recommends government shakeup", IRIN, 6 Oct. 2003.
- "Political commission proposes new electoral calendar", IRIN, 3 Oct. 2003.

🏠 Democratic Republic of Congo 65 massacred in town in Ituri province 6 October, of whom 40 were children. Dead predominantly from Hema tribe - Lendu tribe blamed for deaths. UN Mission (MONUC) began deploying more troops into region in attempt to prevent further ethnic bloodshed. At least 16 civilians killed in separate massacre in South Kivu province, eastern DRC, 6 October. UN investigating killings. Amnesty International accused Uganda of continued support for armed groups and economic plunder in Ituri; also claimed Rwanda still

had troops in DRC – denied by Rwanda. UN expert panel reported "illegal exploitation [of resources] remains one of the main sources of funding for groups involved in perpetuating conflict."

- "UN Panel on plunder of resources publishes final report", UN News Centre, 28 Oct. 2003.
- "Kigali dismisses Amnesty report on its presence in Congo", IRIN, 27 Oct. 2003.
- "DRC: Ituri – a need for protection, a thirst for justice", Amnesty International press release, 21 Oct. 2003.
- "UN troops push further into Congo after massacres", Reuters AlertNet, 10 Oct. 2003.
- For background to the conflict in Ituri, see ICG Africa Report N°64, *Congo Crisis: Military Intervention in Ituri*, 13 Jun. 2003.

🏠 Rwanda Ruling party, Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), overwhelmingly won country's first multiparty parliamentary election since 1994 genocide, with 74% of vote. EU observers said 30 September poll marred by "irregularities and fraud" in most provinces. Two-chamber parliament sworn in 10 October. President Kagame asked parliament to establish ombudsman's office to which all government officials will be required to declare assets. Government seeking to demobilise thousands of soldiers.

- "Transforming Rwanda's army", BBC, 22 Oct. 2003.
- "Rwanda's ruling party wins elections", *The Guardian*, 3 Oct. 2003.
- For background to the elections, see ICG Africa Report N°53, *Rwanda at the End of the Transition: A Necessary Political Liberalisation*, 13 Nov. 2002. For background to ICTR, see ICG Africa Report N°69, *The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda: Time for Pragmatism*, 26 Sept. 2003.

🏠 Uganda Rebel group Lords Resistance Army (LRA) clubbed and shot 22 civilians to death in northern trading town 14 October. LRA killed at least another 40 civilians in three other attacks. U.S. providing military assistance to government to fight LRA. Defence minister says Uganda-Sudan cooperation to fight LRA back on track.

- "U.S. aids Uganda against rebels", *The Washington Times*, 24 Oct. 2003.
- "22 killed in Ugandan village attack", *The Guardian*, 15 Oct. 2003.
- For background see IRIN web special report on "Crisis in Northern Uganda", Sept. 2003.

### HORN OF AFRICA

🏠 Ethiopia/Eritrea Border dispute with Eritrea could erupt anytime, said Ethiopia's PM Meles Zenawi 16 October. On 3 October Ethiopia again rejected independent boundary commission decision awarding disputed border village of Badme to Eritrea, shortly after UN Security Council told it to accept. Ethiopia says commission decision could lead to instability and return to war. Eritrea reacted with call for action from international community, describing situation as "explosive". Independent border commission was to begin physically demarcating border in October, but now postponed indefinitely. Eritrea also dismissed claims by Ethiopia it was sponsoring terrorism in latter. UNMEE peacekeeping mission has warned that peace process under severe stress.

- "Horn border marking postponed", BBC, 30 Oct. 2003.

- ["Ethiopia: Interview with Prime Minister Meles Zenawi"](#), IRIN, 29 Oct. 2003.
- ["Eritrea dismisses terror allegations"](#), IRIN, 13 Oct. 2003.
- For background see, ICG Africa Report N°68, [Ethiopia and Eritrea: War or Peace?](#), 24 Sept. 2003.

- ☞ Somalia Peace talks in Kenya splutter on, but many key parties not attending or represented. Talks unlikely to be successful unless these participate. President Hassan, of Transitional National Government (TNG), controlling small area of Mogadishu, previously abandoned talks: now accuses Kenya and Ethiopia of derailing talks. TNG delegate murdered in Nairobi 20 October: motive unknown. One Italian and two British aid workers shot dead in self-declared republic of Somaliland: assailants unknown.
- ["TNG accuses peace mediators of vested interests"](#), IRIN, 27 Oct. 2003.
  - ["10 years later, Somalia still in anarchy"](#), *The Guardian*, 2 Oct. 2003.
  - For background, see ICG Africa Report N°66, [Somaliland: Democratization and Its Discontents](#), 28 Jul. 2003 and ICG Africa Report N°59, [Negotiating a Blueprint for Peace in Somalia](#), 6 Mar. 2003.

- ☞ ☞ Sudan Peace talks going well, with parties committed to signing power sharing agreement by end of 2003. Signs continue to indicate imminent end to one of Africa's longest conflicts, claiming perhaps 2m lives over 20 years. Outstanding issues include power and oil wealth sharing and status of Khartoum. Secretary Powell visited negotiators 22 October, pledging U.S. support for reconstruction once agreement reached. Widespread insecurity continues in Darfur, western Sudan, despite ceasefire, with more than 300,000 internally displaced persons in region. U.S. extended sanctions against Sudan for another year.
- ["Peace in our time"](#), *The Economist*, 23 Oct. 2003.
  - ["Sudan 'committed to December peace deal'"](#), *The Guardian*, 22 Oct. 2003.
  - ["Rising number of displaced in Dafur"](#), IRIN, 23 Oct. 2003.
  - For background, see ICG Africa Report N°65, [Sudan Endgame](#), 7 Jul. 2003.

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

- ☞ Angola UN World Food Programme says Angola has moved from crisis mode to recovery, and that about 3.8m people have returned to their areas of origin.
- ["WFP says Angola moving from crisis to recovery"](#), Reuters AlertNet, 23 Oct. 2003.
  - ["Angola: Web special on Cabinda"](#), IRIN, 14 Oct. 2003.
  - For background see ICG Africa Report N°61, [Angola's Choice: Reform or Regress](#), 7 Apr. 2003.
- ☞ Swaziland House of Assembly elections held 19 October. Elections marked by low voter turnout and boycott by pro-democracy groups. House only has advisory role to King Mswati III. Political parties are banned in Swaziland, and political gatherings prohibited.
- ["Boycotters missed a chance"](#), News24.com, 21 Oct. 2003.
  - ["Trying to be a little bit modern"](#), *The Economist*, 23 Oct. 2003 (subscription).
  - For background, see ["Celebrating 30 oppressive years"](#), *The Economist*, 15 May 2003.

- ☞ Zimbabwe Suppression of dissent continues – scores arrested on 8 and 22 October for protesting deteriorating economic conditions. Inflation now 455% and rising. MDC spokesman charged with trying to overthrow President Mugabe by encouraging general strike. *Daily News* newspaper closed in September, reopened 25 October after court ruled closure illegal, only to be shut down again by government 27 October: directors jailed for two days before bailed. Human Rights Watch issued report accusing government of using food aid as political weapon. Mugabe announced restructure of central bank, utilities and cabinet in effort to improve economic performance. Continued speculation that Mugabe in ill health – denied by government.
- ["Economy sparks overhaul by Mugabe"](#), CNN, 1 Nov. 2003.
  - ["Zimbabwe news chiefs bailed"](#), BBC, 29 Oct. 2003.
  - ["Not Eligible: The Politicization of Food in Zimbabwe"](#), Human Rights Watch report, 24 Oct. 2003.
  - ["Zimbabwe's dismal economy produces glut of human misery"](#), *International Herald Tribune*, 20 Oct. 2003.
  - For background see ICG Africa Briefing, [Decision Time in Zimbabwe](#), 8 Jul. 2003

## WEST AFRICA

- ☞ Burkina Faso Opposition leader Norbert Tiendrebeogo arrested 20 October for alleged coup plot against President Blaise Campaore. 15 others already arrested. All to be tried before military tribunal. Public prosecutor alleges foreign backing for alleged plotters – possibly referring to Côte d'Ivoire.
- ["16 alleged coup plotters to be tried by military court"](#), IRIN, 24 Oct. 2003.
- ☞ ☞ Côte d'Ivoire Further deterioration in political situation. Presidents of Ghana and Nigeria met with President Gbagbo 30 October to discuss stand-off with rebels. Government arrested 11 members of two main opposition parties for alleged plot to assassinate government members. Government also claimed it thwarted plot to kill Roman Catholic cardinal. Army warned rebels holding north of country it would take action unless they returned to program of peace and disarmament. Tens of thousands marched in capital Abidjan 2 October calling on rebels to disarm. Rebel supporters reciprocated with own march in rebel-held northern town of Bouake 4 October. UN Security Council called on all parties to implement fractured peace agreement. French journalist shot dead by police officer - since arrested. Police chief sacked over murder.
- ["Presidents of Nigeria and Ghana see progress to resolve crisis"](#), All Africa.com, 30 Oct. 2003.
  - ["Ivory Coast assassination plot uncovered"](#), *The Washington Times* (UPI), 21 Oct. 2003.
  - ["Ivory Coast's army delivers warning to rebels"](#), Reuters AlertNet, 7 Oct. 2003.
  - ["Ivory Coast rebels see no quick return to government"](#), Reuters AlertNet, 14 Oct. 2003.

- ☞ Guinea Government announced 21 December as date for presidential elections. Ailing President Conte will seek further seven-year term. Conte flew to Cuba for ten days, apparently for medical treatment.
- ["Presidential elections set for 21 Dec."](#), IRIN, 22 Oct. 2003.
  - For background on region, see [ICG report on Liberia](#) below.





Guinea-Bissau New transition government sworn in 3 October to lead until presidential elections in 18 months' time. Members of transitional government chosen by 56-member National Transition Council serving in place of parliament until new parliamentary elections.

- ["Guinea Bissau appoints new government after coup"](#), Reuters AlertNet, 3 Oct. 2003.
- ["Coup Sets Back Democracy in Guinea-Bissau"](#), *The Guardian*, 6 Oct. 2003.

Liberia Businessman Gyude Bryant sworn in as interim president 14 October. He and LURD rebels arguing over composition of transitional government. UN Security Council concerned former President Taylor still trying to exert influence in Liberia from exile in Nigeria. UNMIL peacekeeping mission replaced West African force 1 October: force won't be fully deployed till 2004 – at full strength will number 15,000. Peacekeepers began disarming former government and rebel troops in limited areas. American involvement ended with last U.S. warship leaving coast 1 October. Government and rebel troops still committing atrocities against civilians in countryside.

- ["Chaos, fear still the rule in lawless Liberian countryside"](#), CNN, 30 Oct. 2003.
- ["Bryant backs down over rejected LURD nominees"](#), IRIN, 27 Oct. 2003.
- ["Liberian rebels not ready to give up arms"](#), *The Guardian* (AP), 25 Oct. 2003.
- ["High security as Liberia's new leader sworn in"](#), *The Scotsman*, 15 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Africa Report N°62, [Tackling Liberia: The Eye of the Regional Storm](#), 30 Apr. 2003.

Mauritania Five opposition candidates given permission by Constitutional Court to challenge President Taya in 7 November elections. One candidate is former military leader Mohamed Khouna Ould Haidalla, who was overthrown by Taya in coup 19 years ago.

- ["Mauritania launches presidential race"](#), *The Guardian* (AP), 23 Oct. 2003.
- ["Five cleared to challenge Ould Taya for Presidency"](#), IRIN, 14 Oct. 2003.

Niger Government closed only state-run university after protests by hundreds of students and launched crackdown on independent media, closing down 15 private radio stations and removing editors of two weekly newspapers.

- ["Government closes university following demonstrations"](#), IRIN, 15 Oct. 2003.
- ["Government crackdown on independent media raises international protest"](#), IRIN, 14 Oct. 2003.

Nigeria More than 12 people killed in fresh ethnic violence in Niger delta town of Warri. Nigeria rated as second most corrupt country in world (after Bangladesh) by Transparency International in report released 9 October.

- ["Fresh violence threatens fragile truce in Niger delta"](#), IRIN, 23 Oct. 2003.
- ["Nigeria angry at being rated as second most corrupt"](#), IRIN, 9 Oct. 2003.

Sierra Leone Lawyers for ex-Liberian President Charles Taylor appeared before Special Court 31 October to argue

Taylor immune from prosecution. UNAMSIL Mission continuing its drawdown. First 80 of 800 Bangladeshi peacekeepers relocated to Liberia 8 October.

- ["Taylor appeals war crime charge"](#), BBC, 31 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Africa Report N°67 [Sierra Leone: The State of Security and Governance](#), 2 Sept. 2003.

## Asia / Pacific

### CENTRAL ASIA



ICG Asia Report N°66, [Youth in Central Asia: Losing the New Generation](#), 31 October 2003.

In a world where many people expect progress with each generation, most young people in Central Asia, where around half the population is under 30, are worse off than their parents. They have higher rates of illiteracy, unemployment, poor health, and drug use, and they are more likely to be victims and perpetrators of violence. Frustrated to despair, most dream of simply getting out of their country; instead of a new generation with new ideas coming to power, the best and the brightest are leaving. For those who remain, an increasing number seek solutions in crime or extremism. The Central Asian states must confront grim realities in education and labour opportunities, in cooperation with the international community, if the next generation is to be turned away from such socially destructive alternatives.

Kazakhstan Government continues to bully opposition parties and independent-minded journalists. Recently banned Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan (DCK) not allowed to re-register. Former leader of Republican People's Party of Kazakhstan (RNPK), another opposition party, charged with tax evasion and fined \$225,000. Andrei Doronin, journalist for independent daily *Ekspress-K*, allegedly beaten and told to give up journalism after publishing stories on losses to national budget due to shadow economy.

- ["Kazakhstan: DCK faces oblivion"](#), IWPR, 17 Oct. 2003.
- ["Kazakhstan: Opposition parties continue to face crackdown"](#), RFE/RL, 6 Oct. 2003.

Kyrgyzstan After international pressure, Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society, vocal opposition group, had registration approved on fourth attempt, and government retracted demand that Kyrgyz Committee for Human Rights (KCHR) re-register, but environment for civil society groups remains difficult. Border with Uzbekistan continuing source of tension.

- ["Kyrgyz foreign ministry rejects Uzbek report on border incident"](#), RFE/RL, 17 Oct. 2003.
- ["Kyrgyzstan: Civil society groups face harassment"](#), Human Rights Watch press release, 7 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Asia Report N°59, [Central Asia: Islam and the State](#), 10 Jul. 2003; and ICG Asia Report N°37, [Kyrgyzstan's Political Crisis: An Exit Strategy](#), 20 Aug. 2002.

Tajikistan Russian troops on Tajik-Afghan border seized over ton of illegal drugs 8 October. Year's large poppy harvest in Afghanistan has led to increased trafficking and more seizures. Rumbblings over border responsibility, with top Tajik official

comments that Tajik forces ready and capable of taking over from Russian troops: latter have guarded border since 1993.

- "Tajikistan pressures Kremlin with proposal to guard its own borders", RFE/RL *Central Asia Report* Vol.3 N°34, 10 Oct. 2003.
- "Tajik official says drug seizures demonstrate need for international coalition", RFE/RL, 10 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Asia Report N°59, *Central Asia: Islam and the State*, 10 Jul. 2003 and ICG Asia Report N°51, *Tajikistan: A Roadmap for Development*, 24 Apr. 2003.

➤ Turkmenistan European Parliament adopted resolution condemning human rights abuses, and International Helsinki Federation called on EU states to push for similar condemnation from UN General Assembly. President Niyazov continues to run region's most repressive regime, limiting population's access to information, restricting travel abroad, and stifling dissent.

- "RSF slams government for lack of press freedom", IRIN, 20 Oct. 2003.
- "IHF calls for UN resolution on rights abuses", IRIN, 8 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Asia Report N°44, *Cracks in the Marble: Turkmenistan's Failing Dictatorship*, 17 January 2003.

➤ Uzbekistan Journalist and rights activist Ruslan Sharipov remains in prison on sex charges after court rejected appeal. Trigger-happy Uzbek border guards drawing ire of neighbours Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan after fatal shootings in September and October. Heavy-handedness on part of security services risks further radicalising segments of Muslim population. Little danger of conflict in short term, but continuing repressive policies here, as elsewhere in region, risk future unrest.

- "Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan: Focus on poverty impact in border areas", IRIN, 23 Oct. 2003.
- "Short backs envoy who criticised US", *The Observer*, 19 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Asia Report N°59, *Central Asia: Islam and the State*, 10 Jul. 2003 and ICG Asia Report N°58, *Radical Islam in Central Asia: Responding to Hizb ut-Tahrir*, 30 Jun. 2003.

## SOUTH ASIA

➤ Afghanistan UN Security Council resolution passed 13 October authorising expansion of NATO-led ISAF beyond Kabul. 150 German troops to be deployed to Kunduz by end 2003 and 450 by mid-2004, creating "island of security"; further ISAF "islands" planned. Long-awaited expansion welcome but minimal and insufficient to date. Battles between Afghan commanders in north claimed over 60 lives in first week of October. Ceasefire agreement signed between Gen. Abdul Rashid Dostum and Gen. Atta Mohammad 9 October broken by attack 25 October. Atta and Dostum to be moved to new positions in Kabul. Ambitious program to disarm and reintegrate 100,000 Afghan fighters finally underway. Pilot project commenced 24 October in Kunduz: 1,000 fighters laid down weapons. 11,500-strong coalition force continues to focus on south and east where regrouped Taliban forces target internationals and Afghan police and troops. UN humanitarian operations suspended in several southern provinces due to insecurity. Draft constitution circulated 20 October; initial reaction negative across political spectrum.

- Joint Statement by ICG, Care and International Rescue Committee on [Expansion of ISAF](#), 31 Oct. 2003.

- "Afghan militias cling to power in North", *The Washington Post*, 28 Oct. 2003.
- "Masud shares his views on Constitution and a national agenda for Afghanistan", RFE/RL *Afghanistan Report* Vol. 2, N°37, 23 Oct. 2003.
- "Beyond Kabul", *The Economist*, 16 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see, ICG Asia Report N° 64, *Peacebuilding in Afghanistan*, 29 Sept. 2003; ICG Asia Report N° 65, *Disarmament and Reintegration in Afghanistan*, 30 Sept. 2003.

➤ India (non-Kashmir) Hindu rallies 17 October in Ayodhya demanding construction of temple on site of demolished Babri mosque, flouting official ban. Fear thousands of protestors will reignite Hindu-Muslim violence that killed 3,000 in 1992 and hundreds since. Tensions simmer in north-east where some 30 banned insurgent groups (separatist and communist) operate. Assassination attempt against Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh state, Chandrababu Naidu 1 October. Police blame Maoist rebels, People's War Group (PWG), who issued "death warrant". Bihar state government to hold talks with Naxalite groups including PWG. National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) rebels demanding Naga majority areas of Manipur be integrated into Nagaland state. 13 NSCN members released from jail provoking protests from United Committee of Manipur; "precautionary" curfew imposed (including police shoot-on-sight orders) to prevent violent response. More talks between NSCN and central government planned for November. BrahMos surface-to-surface missile test-fired 29 October.

- "A million mutinies: India's quiet, brutal wars are lost in the din of Kashmir and Hindutva", *Outlook India*, 20 Oct. 2003.
- "Indian police fire tear gas to break up Hindu rally", Reuters AlertNet, 17 Oct. 2003.
- "Bihar ready for talks with Naxals", *The Hindu*, 14 Oct. 2003.

➤ Kashmir In surprise move by India, fresh peace initiative launched 22 October, proposing 12 concrete steps toward Indo-Pak normalisation, including restoration of further transport links (including aviation and reopening of road between Indian and Pakistani-controlled Kashmir) and renewal of sporting ties; but crucially, no discussion on Kashmir itself. Proposal broadly accepted by Pakistan, but disappointment expressed at "piecemeal" approach. Pakistani Foreign Minister Riaz Khokhar proposed four further confidence building measures; technical talks planned for November. India's hard-line Deputy PM, L.K. Advani, offered talks with moderate faction of All Party Hurriyat Conference, (umbrella organisation for Kashmiri separatist groups) yet 35 members of both Hurriyat factions taken into 'preventive detention' for holding procession in Srinagar 27 October. Attempt 17 October by Muslim separatist group, Al-Mansoorian, to assassinate Chief Minister Mufti Mohammed Sayeed provoked nine-hour battle between police and militants. Fighting continues across Line of Control. Government sources estimate 40,000 casualties since 1989; separatists claim more than 80,000.

- "India, Pakistan edge towards deal", CNN, 30 Oct. 2003.
- "Kashmir separatists mull peace offer", BBC, 23 Oct. 2003.
- "Militants attack Mufti's house", *The Tribune*, 17 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Asia Report N°41, *Kashmir: The view from Srinagar*, 21 Nov. 2002.

➤ Maldives After unprecedented anti-government riots rocked capital, Malé, in September, referendum held 16 October

reinstating President Gavoom (sole candidate) for sixth five-year term.

- [“Unopposed Maldives President wins sixth term”](#), *The Guardian*, 20 Oct. 2003.

↩ Nepal Crisis deepening since talks between government and Maoist rebels collapsed 27 August, with more than 1,000 killed since breakdown of ceasefire. No progress made in instituting all-party government or restoring normal democratic process, although some vague discussion of local elections being held within year – unlikely prospect in current security environment. Fighting slowed during nine-day Hindu festival Dashain, (2-11 October), but again intensified; conflict remains bogged down in one of its most lethal periods.

- [“1,000 dead in 60 days in Nepal”](#), BBC, 30 Oct. 2003.
- [“Nepal Maoist rebels move their attacks into cities”](#), *The New York Times*, (subscription) 12 Oct. 2003.



ICG Asia Briefing, [Nepal: Back to the Gun](#), 22 October 2003. The conflict in Nepal appears to be in one of its deadliest phases to date, as both Maoist rebels and government forces engage in a period of muscle-flexing. The breakdown in talks at the end of August and the ensuing violence have obscured the fact that the differences between government, Maoists, and political parties are bridgeable. Despite changing field tactics, an outright military victory by either the Royal Nepalese Army or the Maoists is unrealistic, and there are already indications of what a diplomatic compromise might look like. Now is the time for strong outside pressure on all actors to encourage the groups back toward that compromise.

↩ Pakistan Karachi on high alert after September violence and warnings of terrorist attacks. Prominent Sunni leader Maulana Azam Tariq killed by unknown gunmen in Islamabad 6 October. In response angry mobs rioted, torching cinema and destroying property. Violence flared again in Quetta 10-11 October: rocket and grenade attacks killed two. Government carried out three tests between 3-14 Oct of new missile capable of carrying nuclear warhead. Hunt for militants in northwest continues with little success, leading observers to question seriousness. Government began fencing parts of Afghan border 22 October.

- [“Heightened security following mob violence”](#), IRIN, 7 Oct. 2003.
- [“Musharraf’s half-hearted crackdown”](#), *The Straits Times*, 12 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Asia Report N°49, [Pakistan: The Mullahs and the Military](#), 20 Mar. 2003.

↩ Sri Lanka LTTE (Tamil Tigers) meeting took place in Ireland between 10-15 October to consider government proposal of power-sharing body for north and east – LTTE presented counter-proposal to government 31 October. Document outlines ethnically representative interim assembly for five-year period followed by referendum on new constitution. Preliminary meeting planned for November and formal negotiations to recommence early 2004.

- [“A historic document: LTTE”](#), *The Hindu*, 31 Oct. 2003.
- [“Protest at Sri Lanka peace process”](#), BBC, 24 Oct. 2003.

## NORTH EAST ASIA

↩ China (internal) Dalai Lama said influx of ethnic Chinese into Tibet – spurred by Beijing – leading to “cultural genocide”. Chinese Government following similar policy in northwestern province of Xinjiang: Muslims now less than half population.

- [“Tibet’s hidden tensions”](#), BBC, 15 Oct. 2003.
- [“China’s Uighurs mourn way of life”](#), BBC, 4 Oct. 2003.

↩ ✎ North Korea Net gains after volatile month. Pyongyang announced 2 October it had finished reprocessing 8,000 nuclear fuel rods (producing enough material for several nuclear bombs); said 16 October it would “physically display” its nuclear deterrent; then 20-25 October reportedly test fired short-range naval missiles into Sea of Japan. Cabinet-level talks between North and South Korea ended in deadlock 17 October. Following discussions with Chinese President Hu Jintao on fringes of Bangkok APEC summit and with Japanese, Russian and South Korean leaders earlier, President Bush announced 19 October possibility of written multilateral security guarantee linked to North Korean steps on dismantling nuclear program, though not Senate-approved formal non-aggression pact demanded by Pyongyang. Having dismissed it days earlier as ‘laughable’, North Korea announced 26 October it was ‘ready to consider’ proposal if based on intention to coexist with DPRK; agreed on 30 October during visit of senior Chinese envoy Wu Bangguo to resume six-way talks early 2004.

- [“N Korea ‘to resume nuclear talks’”](#), BBC, 30 Oct. 2003.
- [“Bush says pact with N. Korea possible”](#), *The Washington Post*, 20 Oct. 2003.
- Comment by Charles L. Pritchard, [“Guarantee to bring Kim into line”](#), *Financial Times*, 10 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Asia Report N°61, [North Korea: A Phased Negotiation Strategy](#), 1 Aug. 2003.

↩ Taiwan Strait Talk of independence back on front pages in Taiwan after President Chen Shui-bian called for new constitution in 2006 and right to hold referendums, and gave outspoken interview to *Washington Post*. U.S. officials responded with concern and reaffirmed support for “One China” principle. 100,000 marched in southern Taiwanese city of Kaohsiung in support of president, prompting rebuke from China.

- [“China says Taiwan’s ‘separatist activities’ will not be tolerated”](#), *Voice of America*, 26 Oct. 2003.
- [“Interview with Taiwanese President Chen Shui-bian”](#), *The Washington Post*, 10 Oct. 2003.
- [“The forbidden word”](#), *The Economist*, 2 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Asia Report N°53, [Taiwan Strait I: What’s Left of ‘One China’?](#), 6 Jun. 2003; ICG Asia Report N°54, [Taiwan Strait II: The Risk of War](#), 6 Jun. 2003; and ICG Asia Report N°55, [Taiwan Strait III: The Chance of Peace](#), 6 Jun. 2003.

## SOUTH EAST ASIA

↩ Indonesia Key Bali bomber, Ali Gufon, alias Mukhlis, convicted and sentenced to death 2 October. Abu Rusdan, alias Thoriqudin, man believed to have replaced Abu Bakar Ba’asyir as JI leader, went on trial 29 October. JI regrouping after arrests and reportedly planning new attacks. Violence linked to protests over creation of new district in Mamasa, South Sulawesi 29 September-3 October killed three. After months of relative calm in area of Central Sulawesi near Poso, gunmen attacked



Christian villages 10 October, torching church and 30 homes and killing three. Further attacks later in October killed at least ten more. By end of month, police had killed six of the gunmen including one of suspected masterminds, and arrested 13. Early indications suggest possible links to JI and local jihadist groups. Peace holding in Maluku where Christian-Muslim fighting has claimed at least 5,000 lives since 1999. Members of Papuan provincial parliament threatened to boycott 2004 general elections if plans to divide province go ahead. Military emergency declared in Aceh in mid-May formally ends 19 November but will almost certainly be extended; military operations against separatist Free Aceh Movement (GAM) continue, with access to province almost totally closed to foreigners, including humanitarian workers. GAM negotiators from collapsed peace talks convicted on terrorism and rebellion charges and sentenced to terms ranging from 11-15 years. Two killed in clashes between PDIP (governing party) and Golkar (opposition) supporters in Bali 26 October.

- ["Jakarta to extend Aceh military ops"](#), *The Straits Times*, 30 Oct. 2003.
- ["Kalla links JI to Poso attacks"](#), *The Jakarta Post*, 29 Oct. 2003.
- Comment by Sidney Jones (ICG), ["Facing the enemy within: The Indonesian government must tell the whole truth about organized terror"](#), *Time Asia*, 6 Oct. 2003.
- ["Judging govt solutions to Papuan separatism"](#), *The Jakarta Post*, 2 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Asia Report N°63, ["Jemaah Islamiyah in South East Asia: Damaged but Still Dangerous"](#), 26 Aug. 2003.

➤ Myanmar (Burma) Buddhist-Muslim clashes in Kyaukse including arson attack on mosque 19 October killing nine. ASEAN welcomed "positive development" of government's roadmap. U.S. officials said "no progress at all" and could be none until democratic opposition allowed full role in politics. UK, Japan and UN continue to demand Suu Kyi release and substantive talks with opposition. UN human rights envoy Paulo Pinheiro to commence six-day investigative trip 3 November.

- ["Myanmar clamps down after religious unrest"](#), Reuters AlertNet 31 Oct. 2003.
- ["U.S. rejects Myanmar progress report"](#), *The Washington Times*, 9 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Asia Report N°52, ["Myanmar Backgrounder: Ethnic Minority Politics"](#), 7 May 2003.

➤ Philippines Indonesian Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) member Taufik Rifki arrested 2 October; Philippine police call him key leader. Raid by military in Mindanao 19 October turned up bomb-making materials and instructions, and documents referring to JI, fuelling suspicion of cooperation between Indonesian and local militants (MILF denies links). After escaping jail in July, Indonesian JI leader Fathur Rohman al-Ghozi killed in alleged shoot-out with government troops 13 October. Al-Ghozi given martyr's burial when body returned to Indonesia. Despite July ceasefire, government forces clashed with MILF rebels in Zamboanga 14 October, killing five. Talks underway in Norway between government and communist rebels, New People's Army.

- ["Filipinos Raid Suspected Terror Group"](#), *The Washington Post*, 20 Oct. 2003.
- ["Talks may end one of world's few Marxist rebellions"](#), Reuters AlertNet, 12 Oct. 2003.
- ["Five killed in southern Philippines clash"](#), Agence France Presse, 14 Oct. 2003.

## PACIFIC

- Solomon Islands Security situation stabilising; Australian-led multinational intervention force began drawdown 27 October. Force to be reduced to 100 armed troops and 500 other military staff. Rapid reaction force will remain on high alert in Townsville, Australia, deployable within 24 hours. Leaders of all main rebel groups arrested; 3,700 weapons collected and destroyed.
  - ["Aussie forces head home from Solomons"](#), *Herald Sun*, 28 Oct. 2003.
- Papua New Guinea Australia to deploy administrators, public sector specialists and 200-300 police to address growing lawlessness, as condition of U.S.\$220 million Australian aid program. PNG government unhappy at conditionality of Australian aid but formal agreement expected at December bilateral meeting. PNG government calling for additional assistance with police reform. Draft constitution proposed by Bougainville leaders to resolve final status of semi-autonomous province dubbed "flawed" by PNG Attorney General. Secessionist conflict claimed 20,000 lives between 1988-97. Government to seek extension of Bougainville UN observer mission for additional six months.
  - ["Australian police to patrol Papua New Guinea"](#), ABC News, 14 Oct. 2003.
  - ["PNG: AG in hot water over Bougainville draft constitution"](#), Radio Australia, 24 Oct. 2003.

## Europe

### BALKANS

- Bosnia & Herzegovina High Rep. Paddy Ashdown reported Bosnia's major ethnic groups beginning to cooperate: draft laws on intelligence and indirect tax reform formerly held up by political bickering now await parliamentary endorsement; integration of Serb and Bosniak armies under single national command finally underway. NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson announced 9 October NATO would likely leave Bosnia within 12-18 months. One notable shortcoming is Bosnia's cooperation with ICTY. U.S. State Department's Pierre Richard Prosper said 7 October that NATO Partnership for Peace membership and European integration hinged on Karadzic arrest.
  - ["Ambassador sees end to NATO peacekeeping"](#), *The Guardian*, 9 Oct. 2003.
  - ["Ashdown cites progress"](#), RFE/RL, 9 Oct. 2003.
  - For background, see ICG Balkans Report N°146, ["Bosnia's Nationalist Governments: Paddy Ashdown and the Paradoxes of State Building"](#), 22 Jul. 2003.
- Kosovo Tense and brief first official meeting between Belgrade and representatives of Kosovo's provisional government took place in Vienna 14 October. Each side fielded downsized delegation after Kosovo PM Rexhepi declined to attend, and Belgrade threatened boycott following withdrawal of non-Albanians from Kosovo delegation. Delegations provisionally agreed to establish joint working groups on energy, transport, refugee return, and missing persons to meet from November, but PM Rexhepi yet to commit his government to join. Brief

detention in Slovenia 22 October of Kosovo Protection Corps head General Ceku dismayed Kosovo Albanians – Interpol's acceptance of dubious arrest warrant from Milosevic-era Serbian judge highlighted Kosovo's indeterminate status and its leaders' vulnerability. UN police announced arrest 28 October of five Kosovo Albanians for war crimes.

- ["All Talk, No Action"](#), Transitions Online, 20 Oct. 2003.
- ["Kosovo gun amnesty setback"](#), REF/RL *Balkan Report* Vol. 7 N°35, 16 Oct. 2003.
- ["Still a problem province"](#), *The Economist*, 14 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Balkans report Report N°148, [Two to Tango: An Agenda for the New Kosovo SRSG](#), 3 Sept. 2003.

- Macedonia Ethnic tensions persist. Voluntary disarmament program to commence 1 November. All political parties except Party for Democratic Prosperity have expressed support for program, but Democratic Party of Albanians mayors will not take part in training for scheme. EU military monitoring mission "Concordia" scheduled to wind up 15 Dec. 2003 by which time 200-strong EU police mission "Proxima" will be largely deployed.
- ["Weapons Amnesty in Macedonia"](#), Reality Macedonia, 18 Oct. 2003.



ICG Europe Report N°149, [Macedonia: No Time for Complacency](#), 23 October 2003. Macedonia is not yet the "success story" of the Balkans as it is often portrayed. In fact, it is an underperforming post-conflict country still very much at risk from ethnic tensions, rampant criminality, pervasive corruption, and economic feebleness. A more realistic assessment is necessary for a country that narrowly avoided war in 2001 to secure long-term stability, especially after a string of violent events this year. The Macedonian government needs to ask the European Union to keep its "Concordia" military mission in country beyond the 15 December end date – at least until the EU's "Proxima" police mission is fully established. Without a more concerted effort to implement the Ohrid peace agreement, establish law and order, fight corruption, and stimulate the economy, the relative calm could soon unravel.

- Serbia Political crisis deepening. Government announced presidential elections to be held 16 November – despite failure to change Milosevic-era constitution or election law. Two elections late 2002 failed to pick president due to low voter turnout. Current government lost parliamentary majority; facing no confidence vote early November. Extremist opposition MP Dragan Markovic called for coup d'état 23 October. Anti-government trade union protests broken up by police 29 October. ICTY prosecutor Carla del Ponte revealed 13 October Serbian PM Zivkovic's threat to end cooperation if "certain indictments" issued. Indictment unsealed 20 October accusing four senior police and army officials – Serbia refusing to extradite; wants to try them in domestic court. Massive police demonstration 24 October protesting indictment of police general Sreten Lukic. U.S. Congress considering halting aid to Serbia if Ratko Mladic (indicted in 1995) not handed to ICTY.
- ["Serb opposition deputy calls for coup d'état"](#), Reuters AlertNet, 23 Oct. 2003.
  - ["Serbia acts on Mladic demand"](#), IWPR *Balkan Crisis Report* N°465, 23 Oct. 2003.
  - ["Serbia's shaky government"](#), *The Economist*, 23 Oct. 2003.
  - For background, see ICG Balkans Report N°145, [Serbian Reform Stalls Again](#), 17 Jul. 2003.

## CAUCASUS

- Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, son of retiring president Heidar Aliyev, said to have received 77% of vote in widely-criticised presidential elections. At least three killed and hundreds injured in post-election violence as police attacked supporters of opposition leader Isa Gambar. International observers reported numerous violations, including ballot-stuffing and voter intimidation, and wave of politically motivated arrests.
- ["Azerbaijan's new presidency off to a rough start"](#), IWPR, 24 Oct. 2003.
  - ["OSCE: Free 'political detainees' after Azeri poll"](#), Reuters AlertNet, 22 Oct. 2003.
  - Editorial, ["A 'Strong Performance'?"](#), *The Washington Post*, 22 Oct. 2003.

- Georgia U.S. stepping up pressure on Tbilisi ahead of 2 November parliamentary elections, widely expected to be less than fair. Days after announcement U.S. cutting aid to Georgia, American delegation including Senator John McCain, former Chairman of Joint Chiefs John Shalikashvili, and former Deputy Sec. State Strobe Talbott met with government and opposition officials, saying Georgia's international standing would receive "serious blow" if major election violations. President has rejected calls to postpone election until inaccuracies in voter lists cleared up. Rally 23 October by opposition National Movement in Batumi, capital of Ajara autonomous region, broken up by Ajaran security forces with 70 arrested. Elsewhere, two alleged Georgian gunmen shot dead in breakaway republic of Abkhazia after ambushing car full of Abkhaz officials, killing three. Settlement still nowhere in sight. Talks with unrecognised republic of South Ossetia also stalled.
- ["Falsification fears overshadow Georgian parliamentary election"](#), RFE/RL, 31 Oct. 2003.
  - ["West piles pressure on Georgia"](#), Eurasia Insight (from Transitions Online), 19 Oct. 2003.
  - ["Electoral politics in Georgia may have negative impact on Abkhazia settlement search"](#), Eurasia Insight, 7 Oct. 2003.

- Nagorno-Karabakh OSCE Minsk Group reportedly planning attempt at kickstarting peace talks in wake of Azerbaijan presidential election 15 October, but group's efforts have brought little progress to date.
- ["OSCE Chairman in Office hopes for progress in resolving Karabakh conflict"](#), RFE/RL, 22 Oct. 2003.
  - ["OSCE mediators fail to publicize new Karabakh peace plan"](#), RFE/RL *Caucasus Report* Vol.6 N°34, 4 Oct. 2003.
  - For background, see ["Timeline: Azerbaijan"](#), BBC, (updated 21 Oct. 2003).

## EASTERN EUROPE

- Moldova European Council called on Russia 17 October to remove its military presence from Transdniestria by year's end as promised, but troops look set to stay well into 2004. Reports that mediators' proposal on breakaway region will be presented to parties in coming days.
- ["EU calls on Russia to complete removal of troops from Moldova"](#), RFE/RL, 20 Oct. 2003.
  - For background, see ICG Europe Report N°147, [Moldova: No Quick Fix](#), 12 August 2003.



- Russia (Chechnya) Akhmad Kadyrov, Moscow's hand-picked candidate for Chechen presidency, emerged victorious with reported 81% of 5 October vote. Despite official statements of high voter turnout, election widely seen as farce. Results did nothing to quell violence: according to Russian official, rebels launched 16 attacks against government positions in 24-hour period 18-19 October.
- "Official: eight killed in Chechnya", CNN, 19 Oct. 2003.
  - "Vote for the devil", *The Economist*, 9 Oct. 2003.
  - "Kremlin's choice wins in Chechnya", *The Guardian*, 7 Oct. 2003.

## WESTERN EUROPE/MEDITERRANEAN

- Corsica Sporadic violence continues following failed autonomy referendum and arrests of eight separatists in July. Series of explosions 16-19 October indirectly targeting commercial interests linked to mainland France. Police barracks in southern Corsica hit by rocket 25 October. Corsican National Liberation Front bombed Paris tax office 11 October. 10 October attack on air force barracks in Nice also being investigated for link to Corsican separatists. Visits by French interior minister Nicolas Sarkozy 16 and 30 October urging dialogue; new push to address organised crime link.
- "Five overnight blasts hit Corsica", Reuters, 19 Oct. 2003.
  - For background, see "Corsica defeat leaves Paris empty-handed", *The Washington Times*, 7 July 2003.

- Cyprus Decision by Turkish, Greek and Cypriot governments 15 October to cancel respective annual military exercises; jointly expressed support for plan to de-mine Cyprus. Progress unlikely in UN-led efforts to reunify Cyprus, however, until after December elections in Turkish Cyprus. Diplomatic push for UN-backed peace plan by U.S. ambassador elicited hostile reaction from Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktaş, who described it as "diplomatically unethical, unacceptable, uninvited interference".
- "U.S. pushes confederation to unite Cyprus", *The Washington Times*, 26 Oct. 2003.
  - Tassos Papadopoulos briefing, "The Cyprus Question: Prospects for a Settlement", European Policy Centre, 16 Oct. 2003.

- Northern Ireland After hopes of major breakthrough, peace process frozen again over issue of IRA arms decommissioning. 26 November Northern Ireland Assembly election to go ahead nonetheless. IRA decommissioned significant cache of arms and explosives 22 October, verified by head of ceasefire monitoring commission, retired Canadian Gen. John de Chastelain, but details not made public. Ulster Unionists, disappointed at lack of transparency, have put process "on hold". British PM Blair unable to broker compromise. Concerted engagement by London and Dublin but faith eroding.
- "Go ahead for Ulster poll", *The Guardian*, 29 Oct. 2003.

- Spain (Basque region) Plan to become 'free-associated state' (sovereign state associated with Spain) approved by Basque regional government 24 October causing considerable tension. Plan to be debated by regional parliament 4 November; if approved, to be put to referendum. Dependent legally, however, on 60% approval by national parliament. Spanish Government to challenge in constitutional court. 11 lorries

bombed in Basque border town 12 October, Spanish national day – police blame Basque separatists ETA, who have carried out similar operations in previous years. French and Spanish police arrested 34 for suspected ETA links in joint operation. Government strongly denied ETA accusations of torture – UN envoy Theo van Boven to investigate in coming months.

- "Spain to block Basque plan", BBC, 31 Oct. 2003.
- "34 Basque separatists arrested", *The Washington Times*, 8 Oct. 2003.

## Latin America /Caribbean

### LATIN AMERICA

- Bolivia President Sanchez de Lozada resigned 17 October following huge and increasingly violent protests. Replaced by Vice-President Carlos Mesa. 74 killed in clashes between army and strikers since beginning of protests in September, sparked by plans to export natural gas to U.S. Opposition to gas plan broadened into general hostility to president's free market and coca eradication policies. Thousands march on capital as new president asks for patience.
- "Rural activists back new leader, for now", *The Boston Globe*, 29 Oct. 2003.
  - "An angry people bring down their president", *The Economist*, 20 Oct. 2003.

- Colombia Car bomb killed six and injured 12 on 8 October in central Bogota: FARC blamed. Two mayors slain after secret meeting with FARC, totalling nine mayors assassinated this year. Ceasefire between government and right-wing paramilitary group put in doubt by 13 October deadly clashes. Regional FARC number two leader killed by Colombian army 19 October. In run up to 25 October national referendum and 26 October local elections, at least 30 candidates killed by illegal groups; others intimidated into dropping out. 25 politicians detained as government claims rebel ties. Package of measures failed in referendum due to low voter turnout, and leftist candidate won election as mayor of Bogota, in setback to President Uribe.
- "Poll blows for Colombia president", BBC, 27 Oct. 2003.
  - "Colombia voters choose mayors, governors", *The Guardian* (AP), 26 Oct. 2003.
  - "25 Colombians suspected of rebel ties", *The Guardian* (AP), 21 Oct. 2003.
  - "Six killed in Colombia car bomb", Reuters, 8 Oct. 2003.
  - For background, see ICG Latin America Report N°5, *Colombia: Negotiating with the Paramilitaries*, 16 Sept. 2003 and ICG Latin America Report N°4, *Colombia's Humanitarian Crisis*, 9 Jul. 2003.

- ➤ Ecuador Indigenous party planning civil protest campaign. President Lucio Gutierrez ended alliance with indigenous party in August. State of emergency declared in response to strike and blockades by banana growers, but lifted when strike called off.
- "For Ecuador's Party Of the Indigenous, Back to the Streets", *The Washington Post*, 23 Oct. 2003.
  - "An angry people bring down their president", *The Economist*, 20 Oct. 2003.

- Guatemala Climate of violence and intimidation as November presidential, legislative and local elections

approach. Killing of political candidate 11 October brought to 21 number of candidates killed since beginning of election season. Upsurge of violence linked to candidacy of ex-dictator Rios Montt, allowed to run by July High Court ruling. Four Guatemalan journalists and one human rights activist kidnapped by former paramilitaries; later released.

- "Ex-dictator trails as Guatemala elections looms", Reuters AlertNet, 21 Oct. 2003.
- "Slayings mar campaign trail in Guatemala", *The Guardian* (AP), 11 Oct. 2003.

➤ Honduras Thousands protested against renewal of IMF debt payments 14 October, arguing government paying too high price for renewal.

- "Where teachers rule", *The Economist*, 23 Oct. 2003.
- "Thousands of Hondurans Protest IMF Accord", *The Guardian* (AP), 14 Oct. 2003.

➤ Peru Terrorist group Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) becoming more active, taxing Brazilian loggers and drug traffickers to access Peruvian markets. Ex-President Fujimori, in exile in Japan, announced intent to stand for 2006 presidential elections. Government announced torture charges against Fujimori, adding to charges already laid. New intelligence chief appointed after predecessor resigned in September following allegations of spying on journalists. Anger grows amongst coca farmers as U.S. and Peruvian governments eradicate plant.

- "Peru approves charges against Fujimori", *The Guardian*, 30 Oct. 2003.
- "Peruvian anger over coca plans", BBC, 22 Oct. 2003.
- "Shining Path rebels 'tax' logging in Brazil jungle", Reuters Alertnet, 13 Oct. 2003.

➤ Venezuela Situation tense with clampdown on media. After officials seized broadcasting equipment from opposition TV channel, and grenade attack against state media agency, President Chavez announced TV stations could be shut down due to "destabilization and violence". Chavez facing mounting opposition but resisting calls for referendum. After rejecting opposition petition for referendum last month National Electoral Council has allowed new petition to be sought from 28 Nov. to 1 Dec. Date criticised as too late but accepted by opposition. Referendum therefore possible by end March 2004. Pro-Chavez lawmakers claim U.S. backed anti-Chavez plot.

- "Letting fear flourish", *The Washington Post*, 1 Nov. 2003.
- "Venezuela sets 28 November date for referendum petition", Reuters AlertNet, 17 Oct. 2003.
- "Venezuela's Chavez warns TVs over 'destabilization'", Reuters AlertNet, 16 Oct. 2003.
- "A tragic and dangerous stalemate" *The Economist* (subscription), 12 Oct. 2003.

## Middle East /North Africa

### EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

➤ ➤ Israel/Occupied Territories Major escalation in Arab-Israeli conflict as Israel retaliated for devastating Haifa suicide bombing with first military attack on Syria since 1973 war. Air strike on apparently abandoned training camp

near Damascus, seen as message to Syria that its support for Palestinian militants will no longer be tolerated, raised fears of possible broadening of conflict. Israeli aircraft struck five times in Gaza 20 October, killing 11 and injuring over 100, resulting in criticism – some internal – that attacks were disproportionate. Israeli army chief Lt-Gen Moshe Yaalon said government hardline policies damaging country's interests. Palestinian PM Ahmed Qurei will stay on to form new government after one-month term of emergency cabinet expires at beginning of November. Three Americans killed in Gaza 15 October when bomb exploded on road as U.S. diplomatic convoy drove past. In New York, U.S. vetoed UN Security Council resolution urging Israel to halt construction of security fence in West Bank.

- "Strikes by Israeli aircraft kill at least 11 in Gaza", *The Washington Post*, 21 Oct. 2003.
- "US vetoes UN plea to block Israeli security fence", Reuters AlertNet, 15 Oct. 2003.
- "Palestinian PM 'to stay in power'", BBC, 29 Oct. 2003.
- "Israeli frustration versus Syrian impotence", *The Economist*, 9 Oct. 2003 and "Another Yom Kippur, another conflict", *The Economist*, 10 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Middle East Report N°16, *The Israeli-Palestinian Roadmap: What a Settlement Freeze Means and Why it Matters*, 25 Jul. 2003 and ICG Middle East Report N°14, *A Middle East Roadmap to Where?*, 2 May 2003.

➤ Jordan Jordanian PM Ali Abul-Ragheb resigned after three years in office; replaced by Faisal al-Fayez, who vowed to push ahead with reforms. Three women appointed to new cabinet as King Abdullah moves to change face of government amid calls for country's political modernisation.

- "Jordan appoints new government", BBC, 25 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Middle East Briefing, *Red Alert in Jordan: Recurrent Unrest in Maan*, 19 Feb. 2003



ICG Middle East Briefing *The Challenge of Political Reform: Jordanian Democratisation and Regional Instability*, 8 October 2003. Caught between Iraq to the east and the Israel/Palestine conflict to the west, Jordan, with a fragile

economy and a majority population of Palestinian origin, is in a uniquely precarious situation. The Kingdom has managed to weather the Middle East's recent storms, but the regime's efforts were more successful in purchasing time than in buying lasting domestic peace. Long-term stability in Jordan will best be served not by a continued strong-handed approach but rather by a gradual, carefully managed opening of political space. Such a course is fraught with risks; still, democratisation is necessary as a means of addressing popular discontent over the economic situation and regional developments.

➤ Lebanon Israeli soldier killed 7 October in clash on Lebanese border amid heightened regional tensions after Israeli raid on Syria days earlier. Second exchange of fire 27 October as Hizbollah guerrillas attacked Israeli positions in Shebaa Farms and Israel responded with air strikes.



- "Hizbollah rockets hit Israeli posts", *The Guardian*, 28 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Middle East Briefing, *Hizbollah: Rebel Without a Cause?*, 30 July 2003.

➤ Syria Israeli strike on apparently abandoned training camp near Damascus first direct hostilities between two sides in 30

years. Risk of further escalation as Syria unlikely to satisfy Israeli demands that it stop supporting Palestinian militants. U.S. House of Rep. voted to impose economic and diplomatic sanctions on Damascus as American officials complained Syria taking almost no steps to stem terrorism.

- ["Israeli frustration versus Syrian impotence"](#), *The Economist*, 9 Oct. 2003 and ["Another Yom Kippur, another conflict"](#), *The Economist*, 10 Oct. 2003.
- ["House unit votes for sanctions on Syria"](#), *International Herald Tribune*, 9 Oct. 2003.
- Comment by Flynt L. Leverett, ["America must do more to engage with Syria"](#), *Financial Times*, 9 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Middle East Briefing, ["Hizbollah: Rebel Without a Cause?"](#), 30 July 2003.

## GULF

  Iran After negotiations with foreign ministers of UK, France, and Germany, Iran agreed 21 October to all major IAEA demands regarding nuclear program, including temporary suspension of uranium enrichment, meaning issue now unlikely to be referred to Security Council on passing of 31 October IAEA deadline. But no word on how long suspension of enrichment activities will last. U.S. cautioned that Iran's actions must match words, and that it must sign Additional Protocol of Nuclear Non-proliferation treaty (NPT). Iranian human rights activist Shirin Ebadi won Nobel Peace Prize.

- ["Coming clean or playing for time?"](#), *The Economist*, 23 Oct. 2003.
- ["Analysis: US reserves judgment on Iran"](#), BBC, 21 Oct. 2003.
- ["Iranian activist Shirin Ebadi wins Nobel Peace Prize"](#), *International Herald Tribune* (AP), 10 Oct. 2003.
- For background to the nuclear non-proliferation regime, see Mohamed ElBaradei, ["Towards a safer world"](#), *The Economist* (subscription), 16 Oct. 2003 and the [Iran Country Resource page](#) of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.



ICG Middle East Report N°18 [Dealing with Iran's Nuclear Program](#), 27 October 2003. Last week's agreement between Iran and three EU states is a welcome and important step, but the controversy surrounding Tehran's nuclear program is far from over. Given the underlying U.S.-Iranian distrust, and for the agreement to be more than a short-lived reprieve, it now needs to be vigorously followed up and strengthened. The challenge is to use this breathing space to tackle the questions of implementation, the future of Iran's uranium enrichment activities, and Iran's own security concerns. Iran should undertake concrete and verified steps to build international confidence that its nuclear program has peaceful intentions. The international community should then reciprocate by addressing Tehran's legitimate economic and security concerns, including the provision of modern nuclear technology for civilian purposes.



ICG Middle East Briefing, [Iran: Discontent and Disarray](#), 15 October 2003. Shirin Ebadi's Nobel Peace Prize provides a unique opportunity to amplify support for political reform and human rights in Iran. But given urgent regional concerns, there is no serious alternative to engaging Iran on vital security matters, including Iran's own sense of strategic encirclement and nuclear disadvantage. Popular dissatisfaction is growing markedly. Eroding living standards, stalled reform, and...

...restrictions on freedoms have left many Iranians dispirited and disconnected from their rulers. Change will most likely come slowly, from a prolonged internal process in which regime contradictions work themselves out, while the outside world plays at best a supporting role. The first stage might see the rise of conservative pragmatists, eager to maintain the fundamentals of the regime while opening to the West for economic reasons. Such contacts need to be encouraged and expanded and will ultimately help open Iran's political space.



Iraq UN voted unanimously 16 October in favour of U.S.-sponsored resolution authorising multinational, American-led force for Iraq. But resolution unlikely to result in major contributions. Turkey offered up to 10,000 troops, but strong resistance to potential Turkish military presence from Iraqi Kurds. Significant but insufficient cash pledged at Madrid donors conference. Resolution set 15 December deadline for Iraqi Governing Council to lay down timetable for drafting constitution and holding elections. Meanwhile, intense violence continues to plague country, predominantly Sunni triangle. Wave of suicide bombings struck Baghdad Red Cross building and police stations 27 October, first day of Ramadan, killing at least 35 and wounding over 200. Barrage of rockets hit Al-Rashid hotel 26 October, where Deputy Sec. Defense Paul Wolfowitz staying. Hundreds of other attacks kept tensions high throughout month. 131 Coalition soldiers, including 120 Americans, killed by hostile fire since 1 May, declared end of combat operations. National Security Council under Condoleezza Rice reportedly taking increased role in post-war stabilisation effort.

- ["Baghdad, city of bombs"](#), *The Economist*, 30 Oct. 2003.
- ["Suicide attacks kill dozens in Baghdad"](#), *The Washington Post*, 27 Oct. 2003.
- ["Finally, a new UN resolution"](#), *The Economist*, 17 Oct. 2003.
- ["Suicide bombing near hotel kills six Iraqis"](#), CNN, 13 Oct. 2003.
- For background, see ICG Middle East Briefing, [Iraq's Shiites Under Occupation](#), 9 Sept. 2003, and ICG Middle East Report N°17, [Governing Iraq](#), 25 Aug. 2003.



Saudi Arabia Government announced intention to hold municipal council elections within a year. Elections would be first ever for kingdom, and are reportedly initial stage of three-step plan to have elections at city level and ultimately national level over three years. Vote unlikely to include women. Authorities arrested more than 150 people for staging rare protest in Riyadh calling for political reform and announced apprehension of terror suspects planning suicide attacks.

- Comment by Kenneth M. Pollack, ["Saudi Arabia's Big Leap"](#), *The New York Times*, 16 Oct. 2003.
- ["Mass arrests follow Saudi rally"](#), BBC, 15 Oct. 2003.
- ["Saudi Arabia's reform movement: a historical glimpse"](#), *CEIP Arab Reform Bulletin* Vol.1 N°4, Oct. 2003.



Yemen Government continues to walk fine line between supporting U.S. in war on terror and appeasing largely anti-American populace. Authorities say Islamist militants arrests in recent weeks confessed to planning attacks on U.S. and British embassies.

- ["Yemen says militants planned attack on embassies"](#), Reuters AlertNet, 16 Oct. 2003.
- Amnesty International report, [Yemen: The Rule of Law Sidelined in the Name of Security](#), 24 Sep. 2003.



- For background, see ICG Middle East Report N°8, *Yemen: Coping with Terrorism and Violence in a Fragile State*, 8 Jan. 2003.

## NORTH AFRICA

- ↳ Algeria On two-day visit, U.S. Assistant Sec. State William Burns said cooperation with Algeria in war on terror would intensify, and expressed concern over Islamist guerrilla group's pledge of support for al Qaeda. Following reported death of eight soldiers 1 October, Algerian Islamist rebels suspected of killing further three in attack on police patrol 18 October.
  - "U.S.-Algerian 'counter-terrorism' to intensify—Burns", Reuters AlertNet, 25 Oct. 2003.
  - "Algerian rebels kill eight soldiers", Reuters, 1 Oct. 2003
  - For background, see ICG Middle East/North Africa Report N°15, *Algeria: Unrest and Impasse in Kabylia*, 10 Jun. 2003.
- ↳ Egypt Ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) adopted platform of wide-ranging reforms at party conference; to what extent proposals will be implemented remains to be seen. 900 Islamists released from prison, but estimates put number of political prisoners at close to 10,000.
  - "Surgery on hardened arteries", *The Economist*, 2 Oct. 2003.
  - "Egypt's National Democratic Party conference: 'new thinking' or too little too late?" CEIP *Arab Reform Bulletin* Vol.1 N°4, Oct. 2003.
  - For background, see ICG Middle East Briefing, *The Challenge of Political Reform: Egypt After the Iraq War*, 30 September 2003.

- ↳ Morocco King Mohammed VI announced plans to grant new rights to women regarding marriage and divorce. On three-day visit to Morocco, President Chirac praised King's steps towards democratic reform. Man arrested in Spain in connection with Casablanca bombings. U.S. announced plans for substantial increase in financial aid to Morocco for 2004.
  - "Morocco wins boost in U.S. aid for security", Reuters AlertNet, 28 Oct. 2003.
  - "Moroccan King Plans Women's Rights Reform", *The Guardian* (AP), 11 Oct. 2003.
- ↳ Western Sahara At recent congress of Polisario Front, Secretary General Mohamed Abdelaziz reaffirmed support for UN-brokered Baker Plan. In Morocco visit, President Chirac pledged support for country's continued rejection of plan, increasing fears France likely to shield King from Security Council pressure to reach settlement. Kofi Annan issued statement 21 October urging Morocco to accept Plan; reports suggest King looking for solution outside UN framework through talks with Algeria. UN mission (MINURSO) extended to January 2004.
  - "Morocco hints at W.Sahara solution outside U.N.", Reuters AlertNet, 24 Oct. 2003.
  - "Africa's last colony", BBC, 21 Oct. 2003.
  - "Annan urges Morocco to accept peace plan for Western Sahara", UN News Centre, 21 Oct. 2003.

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**Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, 10 October 2003**



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