

CrisisWatch

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



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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 100 staff members across five continents, who already report on some 40 of the situations listed here. Comments and suggestions can be sent to crisiswatch@icg.org.

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October 2004 Watchlist



Conflict Risk Alert

Afghanistan
Guinea



Conflict Resolution Opportunity

Northern Ireland (UK)

The International Crisis Group

ICG is an independent, non-profit, multinational organisation, with over 100 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.



Africa

CENTRAL AFRICA

- Burundi Unlikely Burundi able to hold elections by 31 October Arusha Agreement deadline. President Ndayizeye summoned extraordinary session of National Assembly and Senate 15-20 September to vote on draft constitution, achieving necessary majority. Members of 10 minority Tutsi parties who refused to sign Pretoria power-sharing agreement in August stayed away and claimed convocation illegal, calling for court ruling. Ndayizeye called 20 October referendum on draft constitution. Although only remaining active Hutu rebel group in Burundi, Forces Nationales de Libération, claimed sole responsibility for 13 August massacre of 160 Congolese Tutsi refugees at Gatumba refugee camp in Burundi, questions still remain about involvement of Congolese forces. UN began implementing plans to transfer refugees further into Burundi; many refused, returning to DR Congo despite violent protests Uvira, DR Congo.
- [“Congo refugees back from Burundi”](#), BBC, 27 Sept. 2004.
 - [“Tutsi parties decry vote for new constitution”](#), IRIN, 21 Sept. 2004.
 - [“U.N. to move Congolese refugees further in Burundi”](#), Reuters, 17 Sept. 2004.
 - [“The Gatumba massacre: War crimes and political agendas”](#), Human Rights Watch briefing paper, 7 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Africa Report N°81, [End of the Transition in Burundi: The Home Stretch](#), 5 July 2004.
- Chad Humanitarian efforts continued to support some 190,000 Darfur refugees in camps eastern Chad. Crisis increasingly destabilising, with concern over camp infiltration by armed groups, risk of cross-border clashes, and tensions over scarce resources between locals and refugees. Zaghawa tribe upset over insufficient protection provided by Chadian President Déby for kin in Darfur. Run-up to year-end referendum on whether Déby can serve third presidential term marked by N'djamena security operations against suspected disloyal soldiers. Chadian officials expressed hope 23 September that world would “share the burden” of Darfur refugees with Chad.
- [“Impoverished Chad asks world to 'share the burden' of Darfur refugees”](#), AFP, 23 Sept. 2004.
 - [“Increasing military tension in Chad”](#), Afrol, 20 Sept. 2004.
- Democratic Republic of Congo UN Security Council agreed 29 September to enlarge UN peacekeeping (MONUC) presence from 10,800 to 16,700; less than 23,900 called for by UN Secretary General. Situation DR Congo remained tense. Troops loyal to Kinshasa transitional government took control of Nyabibwe, Duti and Minova towns South Kivu province 11-12 September; previously held by mutinous Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD) rebels led by General Nkunda. RCD rebels retreated to North Kivu stronghold but fighting continued 19 September around mineral-rich Numbi. Clashes between RCD-Goma and Mai-Mai factions, both supposedly integrated into Congolese army, killed 15 around Walikale mining district, also South Kivu. UN-backed program to disarm 15,000 fighters in Ituri province started Bunia 1 September; few weapons collected. In positive development, DR Congo and Rwanda

agreed 22 September to set up Joint Verification Mechanism (JVM) to monitor common border October.

- [“UN council to send more peacekeepers to Congo”](#), Reuters AlertNet, 29 Sept. 2004.
 - [“Kigali, Kinshasa agree to border verification mechanism”](#), IRIN, 23 Sept. 2004.
 - [“Greed in a time of cholera”](#), *The Independent*, 21 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Africa Report N°84, [Maintaining Momentum in the Congo: The Ituri Problem](#), 26 August 2004.
- Rwanda Tensions on DR Congo/Rwanda border eased somewhat; countries agreed 22 September to set up joint border monitoring. President Kagame indicated 11 September Rwanda could waive death penalty in trials transferred from Arusha-based International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda; Prosecutor Hassan Jallow said August 40 cases could be transferred early 2005. Defendants boycotted proceedings in protest. Government requested Attorney General to investigate parliamentary claims of continuing “genocide ideology” in civil society groups; opposition claim probe excuse for crackdown.
- [“Govt. asks for judicial probe on controversial 'Genocide Ideology' report”](#), *Hirondelle*, 21 Sept. 2004.
 - [“No death penalty for indictees of UN Court, president says”](#), IRIN, 13 Sept. 2004.
 - For background to 2003 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 President Museveni rejected Acholi Religious Leaders' Peace Initiative to end 18-year conflict with Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebels northern Uganda. Museveni continued to seek military victory; army claimed 30 LRA rebels killed in operations southern Sudan 18 September, further 21 killed northern Uganda 28 September. Presidency won Supreme Court reversal of earlier decision nullifying 2000 referendum which prolonged Uganda's one-party rule. Museveni likely to seek constitutional referendum to allow him to stand in 2006 elections for third term.
- [“LRA rebel death toll hits 30, says army”](#), *New Vision*, 23 Sept. 2004.
 - [“Museveni wins referendum appeal”](#), BBC, 2 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Africa Report N°77, [Northern Uganda: Understanding and Solving the Conflict](#), 14 Apr. 2004; and ICG Issues Report N°3, [HIV/AIDS as a Security Issue in Africa: Lessons from Uganda](#), 16 Apr. 2004.
- ### HORN OF AFRICA
- Ethiopia/Eritrea Progress report of UN Secretary General suggested Ethiopia-Eritrea war still possible. While UN mission (UNMEE) commander Major-General Singh expressed optimism for eventual solution, Eritrean government re-imposed restrictions on important UNMEE supply route. UN Security Council renewed UNMEE mandate to 15 March 2005. U.S. military chiefs met with Eritrean President Isaias 9 September to brief him on Horn of Africa anti-terrorism efforts. UN Special Envoy Lloyd Axworthy held talks with Ethiopian PM 28 September.
- [“Security Council extends UNMEE mandate by six months”](#), IRIN, 15 Sept. 2004.
 - [“Progress report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea”](#), UN, 2 Sept. 2004.

- For background see, ICG Africa Report N°68, *Ethiopia and Eritrea: War or Peace?*, 24 Sept. 2003.

☞ Somalia Transitional parliament, inaugurated in Nairobi in August, elected Shariff Hassan Sheikh Adan speaker 15 September. Somali women complained parliament did not respect agreed quota for female members. Parliament delayed election of president until 10 October citing need for further preparation. Africa Union welcomed Somalia's progress towards peace. Meanwhile, despite IGAD regional body warning, General "Morgan" sparked 3-day factional clashes Juba valley near Kismayo, killing 12, forcing 500 to flee to Kenya. Morgan returned to talks 27 September expressing support for peace-process and for parliamentary speaker Adan. Clashes between forces of self-proclaimed autonomous regions of Puntland and Somaliland reported 23 September in disputed Sool region.

- "Somali warlord shrugs off 'spoiler' tag, backs peace", Reuters AlertNet, 27 Sept. 2004.
- "Clashes reported in disputed Sool region", IRIN, 23 Sept. 2004.
- "Somalis lament fresh violence on Peace Day", CNN, 21 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Africa Reports N°79, *Biting the Somali Bullet*, 4 May 2004; and N°66, *Somaliland: Democratisation and Its Discontents*, 28 July 2003.

☞ Sudan No end in sight to crisis in Darfur: U.S. Sec. State Colin Powell termed situation genocide, UN increased displaced persons estimate to 1.8 million. Thirty-day deadline for action passed 30 August without result. UN Special Envoy Jan Pronk described "culture of impunity" to UN Security Council 2 September - observers criticised report citing lack of recommended international action. After drawn-out negotiations Security Council agreed weakened resolution 18 September threatening consideration of possible oil industry sanctions if situation unimproved; requested creation of international commission of inquiry to investigate human rights abuses. Meanwhile, Africa Union-backed Abuja peace talks between Justice and Equality Movement, Sudan Liberation Movement and Khartoum government broke up 17 September; will resume October. Attack on West Kordofan police station outside Darfur killed 8 late September. UN mission to Sudan claimed 30 September "large-scale and systematic" war crimes had occurred and could recur; called for Sudan to accept AU offer of thousands of extra peace monitors. Meanwhile, Khartoum said it averted Islamist opposition coup plot 25 September. President Al-Bashir accused U.S. of funding Darfur rebels. Final talks between government and southern Sudan People's Liberation Army to resume 7 October.

- "UN rights officials talks of war crimes in Darfur", Reuters AlertNet, 30 Sept. 2004.
- "Sudan in the crucible", *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 30 Sept. 2004.
- "Sudan's Kordofan state on alert after raid by Darfur rebels", AFP, 24 Sept. 2004.
- "The crisis in Darfur: This wolf is real, and nobody's listening", *International Herald Tribune*, 21 Sept. 2004.
- Comment by John Prendergast (ICG) "Sudan's killing fields", *The Washington Times*, 7 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Africa Report N°83, *Darfur Deadline: A New International Action Plan*, 23 Aug. 2004.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

☞ Angola Embattled separatist factions in oil-rich Cabinda province agreed merger 8 September. Cabindan separatists hoped step will force substantive negotiations with Luanda. UN began voluntary repatriation program for Angolan refugees with air-lift from Namibia; process to be completed before rainy season makes transport impossible.

- "Cabinda separatists merge to negotiate with government", IRIN, 8 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Africa Report N°61, *Angola's Choice: Reform or Regress*, 7 Apr. 2003.

☞ Zimbabwe Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) opposition figures said Zimbabwe in further breach of Southern African Development Community guidelines agreed August, claiming constituency re-districting commission bias. MDC said breach justified election boycott. Parliamentary elections planned March 2005. Amidst media crackdown and protests against proposed restrictive NGO law, Zimbabwean court dropped charges against directors of *Daily News*, shut down 1 year ago, for lack of evidence.

- "Zimbabwe court drops paper case", BBC, 20 Sept. 2004.
- "Opposition complain over composition of commission", IRIN, 16 Sept. 2004.
- Comment by John Prendergast and Gideon Maltz (ICG), "More food for thought over Zimbabwe", *The European Voice*, 16 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Africa Report N°78, *Zimbabwe: In Search of a New Strategy*, 19 Apr. 2004.



ICG Africa Report N°85, *Blood and Soil: Land, Politics and Conflict Prevention in Zimbabwe and South Africa*, 17 September 2004. For all their differences, one thing Zimbabwe and South Africa

have in common is that land issues, dating back to colonial times and white settler government, are highly emotive, evoking difficult questions of history, race, politics, economic opportunity and international diplomacy. Successfully defusing tensions over land remains central to reducing the risk of conflict in both countries, and boosting their long-term economic prospects. *Blood and Soil* offers a detailed analysis of the different challenges of land reform in both Zimbabwe and South Africa. It provides a balanced assessment of the claims and counterclaims made about who bears responsibility for the current catastrophic situation in Zimbabwe. And it also provides practical policy suggestions for ways forward: identifying the contours of a post-transition land approach in Zimbabwe and a comprehensive agenda for reinvigorating the land reform process in South Africa.

WEST AFRICA

☞ Côte d'Ivoire Situation remained frozen with July "Accra III" deal reforms unimplemented by 30 September deadline; parliament will return to issue 6 October. Forces Nouvelles unlikely to disarm from 15 October as stipulated. Charles Blé Goudé, supporter of President Gbagbo and militia leader, warned French troops to withdraw to barracks by 2 October or face unspecified consequences; demand came after 12 French soldiers arrested for bank robbery 20 September.

- "Ivory Coast fails to meet peace plan deadline", Reuters AlertNet, 28 Sept. 2004.

- ["Ivory Coast militants demand French troop pullback"](#), Reuters AlertNet, 22 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Africa Report N°82, [Côte d'Ivoire: No Peace in Sight](#), 12 July 2004.

- ↪ ↗ Guinea Country chronically unstable, with rising risk of conflict. Prices for petrol and rice continued to rise, having doubled already this year. Growing number of militia groups in Conakry, and reports of recruitment of fighters, including from Liberia, for possible rebellion in Forest region around N'Zerekore and Macenta. Series of student and opposition marches in Conakry against ailing President Lansana Conté, in power since 1984, broken up by police with tear gas.
- ["Taylor loyalist recruits Liberians to fight in Guinea - ex-combatants"](#), IRIN, 22 Sept. 2004.
 - ["University of Faranah closed after soldiers quell student demo"](#), IRIN, 20 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Africa Report N°74, [Guinea: Uncertainties at the End of an Era](#), 19 Dec. 2003.

- ↪ Liberia Disagreement continued over end date for Liberia's disarmament program. UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) opened first disarmament site in Lofa County 8 September at Voinjama. Lofa county stronghold to some 5,000 Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy rebels. UNMIL set up site at Harper 29 September – stronghold for Movement for Democracy in Liberia rebels. UNHCR announced resettlement of IDPs beginning November. UNMIL mandate extended for 1 year by UN Security Council 17 September.
- ["Resettlement of IDPs will start in November"](#), IRIN, 24 Sept. 2004.
 - ["DDRR begins in Voinjama, Lofa County"](#), UNMIL, 9 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Africa Report N°75, [Rebuilding Liberia: Prospects and Perils](#), 30 Jan. 2004.

- ↪ Nigeria Violence worsened around Port Harcourt oil-rich Rivers state. Separatist Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) said government corrupt and warned crackdown on turf wars would result in attacks on oil installations. Some 500 reported killed since August. NDPVF leader Moujahid Dokubo-Asari flew to Abuja 29 September for talks with President Obasanjo; temporary truce 30 September. Neighbouring Delta State tensions between Ijaw and Itsekiri remained high with Ijaw allegations of military harassment. Six killed in Al Sunna wal Jamma Islamic group attack on Borno state police station northeastern Nigeria 20 September; army reported 27 militants killed 24 September. Government delayed handover of parts of oil-rich Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon.
- ["Peace talks to stop Nigeria's oil delta rebellion"](#), Afrol, 29 Sept. 2004.
 - ["Security forces kill 27 'Taliban' militants, says police"](#), IRIN, 24 Sept. 2004.
 - ["Ijaw threaten outbreak of fresh hostilities in Warri"](#), *The Vanguard*, 24 Sept. 2004.
 - ["Amnesty claims up to 500 killed in past month in Nigeria"](#), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 Sept. 2004.

- ↪ Sierra Leone Guinean troops pulled back to border 6 September, ending long-standing Yenga dispute. UN Security Council extended mandate of UN Mission in Sierra Leone to 30 June 2005; presence and tasks to be reduced early 2005. UN handed over security of Freetown to government 23

September. Human Rights Watch warned Special Court for Sierra Leone needed more funds to function fully.

- ["S Leone takes control of Freetown"](#), BBC, 23 Sept. 2004.
- ["Bringing Justice: The special court for Sierra Leone accomplishments, shortcomings, and needed support"](#), Human Rights Watch report, 8 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Africa Report N°67, [Sierra Leone: The State of Security and Governance](#), 2 Sept. 2003.


Asia / Pacific

CENTRAL ASIA

- ↪ Kazakhstan Pro-presidential Otan party won over 60% of vote in 19 September parliamentary elections, described by international observers as flawed.
- ["Dynastic blues"](#), *The Economist*, 23 Sept. 2004.
- ↪ Kyrgyzstan New political bloc, headed by former PM Kurmanbek Bakiyev, formed for 2005 parliamentary and presidential elections. Constitutional Court rejected request by opposition to rule on legality of President Akayev running for yet another term: Akayev supporters have launched campaign for him to stay on. Local elections set for 10 October.
- ["New political bloc formed in Kyrgyzstan"](#), RFE/RL, 22 Sept. 2004.
 - ["Kyrgyzstan: President again?"](#), IWPR, 1 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Asia Report N°81, [Political Transition in Kyrgyzstan: Problems and Prospects](#), 11 Aug. 2004.
- ↪ Tajikistan Concerns remain over political and press freedom: leader of sidelined opposition Tarraqiyyot party charged with insulting President Rakhmonov, while media groups continue to complain of harassment from authorities.
- ["Tajikistan: Stemming the heroin tide"](#), IRIN, 13 Sept. 2004.
 - ["Odd goings-on at Tajik party"](#), IWPR, 3 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Asia Briefing, [Tajikistan's Politics: Confrontation or Consolidation?](#), 19 May 2004.
- ↪ Turkmenistan U.S. State Department report on religious freedom failed to designate Turkmenistan as country of particular concern (CPC) despite latter's strict control over all aspects of religion in Turkmen society.
- ["Turkmenistan: Concern over religious freedom continues"](#), IRIN, 21 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Asia Report N°44, [Cracks in the Marble: Turkmenistan's Failing Dictatorship](#), 17 Jan. 2003.
- ↪ Uzbekistan Authorities shut down Internews - international NGO supporting independent media - for 6 months, dealing further blow to already weak press ahead of December parliamentary elections. Trials continued of religious extremists suspected in violence that shook Tashkent and Bukhara March-April 2004.
- ["Tashkent facing drug onslaught as regional heroin production booms"](#), IRIN, 28 Sept. 2004.
 - ["Uzbekistan: Internews 'victim of media purge'"](#), IWPR, 14 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Asia Reports N°76, [The Failure of Reform in Uzbekistan: Ways Forward for the International Community](#), 11 Mar. 2004; and N°72, *Is*

[Radical Islam Inevitable in Central Asia? Priorities for Engagement](#), 22 Dec. 2003.

SOUTH ASIA

➡  Afghanistan Security concerns deepened in run-up to 9 October presidential election. President Karzai forced to abandon first election rally outside Kabul 16 September after rocket attack on his helicopter in Gardez; Vice President Shahrani escaped assassination attempt 20 September. U.S. announced additional deployment of up to 1,000 troops for election security 22 September, bringing total to approx. 19,000. President Karzai sacked powerful Herat governor Ismail Khan 11 September, prompting violent demonstrations that killed 7 and destroyed UN and aid agency offices. Attacks in southern Zabul province included beheading of 5 local officials 15 September and 3 Afghan soldiers 20 September; 28-30 September incidents killed 19 Afghan soldiers. U.S./Afghan operations continued in southern Kandahar province: 21 militants reportedly killed 12 September; 3 U.S. soldiers died 20 September in clashes in Paktika and Paktia provinces.

- ["Afghanistan: Warlords threaten integrity of election"](#), Human Rights Watch report, 29 Sept. 2004.
- ["Preparing for Afghan elections"](#), *Deutsche Welle*, 26 Sept. 2004.
- ["Herat: A prelude to the end of warlordism?"](#), RFE/RL, 24 Sept. 2004.
- ["Poll campaign kicks off in Afghanistan amid violence"](#), Dawn, 7 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Asia Briefing, [Elections and Security in Afghanistan](#), 30 Mar. 2004.

➡ Bangladesh Anti-government protests continued in wake of 21 August grenade attack on opposition Awami League (AL) rally. Opposition movement for national unity gained momentum with 23 September peaceful Dhaka protests. At least 2,000 reportedly arrested since September 22 ahead of 3 October AL rally; High Court passed injunction against mass arrests 29 September. PM Khaleda Zia's coalition government accused by opposition of incompetence and support for Islamic extremists.

- ["Halt called to Bangladesh arrests"](#), BBC, 29 Sept. 2004.
- ["Sheikh Hasina receives death threat"](#), South Asia Monitor, 16 Sept. 2004.
- ["Unite on one point to oust government"](#), *The Daily Star*, 9 Sept. 2004.

➡ India (non-Kashmir) Protests continued in north eastern Manipur state against Armed Forces Special Powers Act; 16-day blockade launched 20 September. Congress party government in Andhra Pradesh offered to hold unconditional talks 2 October with leftist People's War Group. President Abdul Kalam repealed controversial Prevention of Terrorism Act 22 September (which gave security forces powers to arrest, interrogate and detain suspects for 30 days without court appearance). India increased diplomatic pressure on Bangladesh to shut down anti-Indian militant camps. First meeting between PM Manmohan Singh and Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf took place 24 September.

- ["A deadlock in Manipur"](#), *Frontline (The Hindu)*, 25 Sept. 2004.
- ["New law gives humane touch to anti-terror operations"](#), South Asia Monitor, 22 Sept. 2004.

➡ Kashmir Indian PM Manmohan Singh and Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf met for first time on sidelines of UN General Assembly in New York 24 September. Both leaders pledged commitment to dialogue. Foreign ministers previously met New Delhi 5-6 September; claimed modest progress, mainly on normalisation process. Major obstacles remain - Pakistan's insistence on time frame for resolving dispute, India's insistence Pakistan do more to stop cross-border infiltration of militants. Violent clashes continued, including incidents 18 September that killed 18.

- ["Historic' S Asia meeting hailed"](#), BBC, 24 Sept. 2004.
- ["Indian, Pakistani leaders to meet in New York"](#), VOA, 23 Sept. 2004.
- ["On Kashmir, hot air and trial balloons"](#), Asia Times Online, 23 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Asia Reports N°s 68, 69, and 70 [Kashmir: The View From Islamabad](#); [The View From New Delhi](#); and [Learning from the Past](#), 4 Dec. 2003; and N°79 [India/Pakistan Relations and Kashmir: Steps toward Peace](#), 24 June 2004.

➡ Maldives Under pressure for democratic reform, President Gayoom relinquished key defence and finance portfolios 1 September; move met with scepticism from Maldivian Democratic Party. EU resolution 16 September called for release of pro-democracy protesters, end to state of emergency, halt of non-humanitarian aid and travel ban on Maldivian government.

- ["Maldivian dissidents welcome EU sanctions move, Gayoom denies torture"](#), South Asia Monitor (AFP), 16 Sept. 2004.
- ["Maldives leader names ministers"](#), BBC, 1 Sept. 2004.

➡ Nepal Maoists placed tough conditions for talks in response to offer from PM Sher Bahadur Deuba. High Level Peace Talks Committee ended discussions 29 September without decision on way forward. Maoists called general strike 28-29 September in protest at killing of 2 senior leaders. Deuba met Indian counterpart PM Manmohan Singh 9 September seeking further support against insurgency, received promises of military supplies. Five-day Kathmandu curfew lifted 6 September after anti-Muslim protests against killing of 12 Nepalese by Islamic militants in Iraq - at least 2 killed, over 50 injured in clashes with riot police. All Nepal Federation of Trade Unions, responsible for August hotel bombings, withdrew threat of further violence after government agreed to free 2 jailed leaders and provide information about 22 others union claimed as missing. U.S. Kathmandu information centre bombed 10 September prompting withdrawal of Peace Corps.

- ["Meeting of peace talks committee inconclusive"](#), Kantipur Online, 29 Sept. 2004.
- ["Nepal Maoists reject talks plea"](#), BBC, 24 Sept. 2004.
- ["Anti-monarchy protests in Nepal"](#), CNN, 22 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Asia Briefing, [Nepal: Dangerous Plans for Village Militias](#), 17 Feb. 2004.

➡ Pakistan Operations intensified in South Waziristan tribal region where security forces reportedly killed 70 al-Qaeda-linked militants in 9, 13 September attacks; alleged heavy civilian casualties, human rights abuses by army. Security forces killed Amjad Farooqi 26 September, said to have plotted President Pervez Musharraf assassination attempts and involved in killing of U.S. journalist Daniel Pearl. Nation divided over Musharraf's position as chief of army staff - despite January 2004 deal with Islamist coalition (MMA) to retire by 31

December. Balochistan National Party continued call for protection of rights and withdrawal of army from province; blast in capital Quetta killed 1, 28 September. First meeting between Musharraf and Indian PM Manmohan Singh 24 September.

- ["Pakistan's two-pronged terror strategy"](#), BBC, 27 Sept. 2004.
- ["Loyalty in uniform"](#), *Khaleej Times*, 27 Sept. 2004.
- ["Pakistan army accused of abuses"](#), BBC, 24 Sept. 2004.
- ["BNP warns rulers, army against oppression"](#), Dawn, 23 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Asia Reports N°77, [Devolution in Pakistan: Reform or Regression?](#), 22 Mar. 2004; and N°73, [Unfulfilled Promises: Pakistan's Failure to Tackle Extremism](#), 16 Jan. 2004.

Sri Lanka Factional violence worsened as latest Norwegian attempts to rekindle peace process failed. Brother of breakaway rebel leader V. Muralitharan, a.k.a. Karuna, killed with 3 others 23 September; Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) denied responsibility. At least 12 LTTE rebels killed in 25, 28 September factional clashes. Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP) protestors left coffin containing remains of EPDP politician Thambithurai Sivakumar at Norwegian embassy gate 20 September, demanding action from Norwegian mediators.

- ["Bloody Tamil in-fighting escalates in Sri Lanka"](#), South Asia Monitor, 28 Sept. 2004.
- ["Sri Lanka says Tamil Tiger killings undermine peace bid"](#), South Asia Monitor (AFP), 24 Sept. 2004.
- ["Angry Sri Lankans leave body at Norway embassy"](#), Reuters AlertNet, 20 Sept. 2004.

NORTH EAST ASIA

China (internal) Despite winning 60% of vote, Hong Kong democrats won fewer seats than expected in 12 September legislative elections. Citing concern over global terrorism, China held anti-terror exercises in Tibet and Xinjiang province.

- ["Suffrage on sufferance"](#), *The Economist*, 16 Sept. 2004.
- ["China's drive to transform Tibet"](#), BBC, 6 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ["People's Republic of China Uighurs fleeing persecution as China wages its 'war on terror'"](#), Amnesty International, 7 July 2004.

North Korea Vice Foreign Minister Choe Su Hon announced to UN General Assembly 27 September North Korea has already reprocessed 8,000 fuel rods and "transformed them into arms". Six-party talks remain on hold. Revelations of South Korean nuclear experiments in 2000 complicated issue, led to Pyongyang's accusation of U.S. double standards. International concern following 9 September "mountain demolition" and military activity around Rodong missile launch sites 23 September. Bilateral talks with Japan over kidnap issue held 25-26 September; lack of progress led to postponement of aid shipment from Japan.

- ["N Korea says it 'weaponised' spent plutonium"](#), *Financial Times*, 29 Sept. 2004.
- ["Weapons deter U.S., North Korean says"](#), *International Herald Tribune*, 28 Sept. 2004.
- ["Moving mountains"](#), *The Economist*, 16 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Asia Report N°61, [North Korea: A Phased Negotiation Strategy](#), 1 Aug. 2003.

Taiwan Strait Communist Party leader Hu Jintao assumed leadership of China's military after Jiang Zemin stepped down 19 September, sparking some optimism for cross-Strait relations. Taiwanese President Chen Shui-bian warned against "unrealistic expectations" Hu would take more conciliatory line. Chen's plan to purchase \$18 billion worth of arms from U.S. led to protests in Taipei, rhetoric from Beijing.

- ["Arms plan sparks Taiwan protests"](#), BBC, 25 Sept. 2004.
- ["Chen cautious over China change"](#), BBC, 20 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Asia Reports N°s 53-55, [Taiwan Strait I: What's Left of 'One China'?](#), [Taiwan Strait II, The Risk of War](#), and [Taiwan Strait III, The Chance of Peace](#), 6 June 2003; and N°75, [Taiwan Strait IV: How an Ultimate Political Settlement Might Look](#), 26 Feb. 2004.

SOUTH EAST ASIA

Indonesia Former general Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) defeated incumbent Megawati Sukarnoputri in landslide election victory with 61% of votes. Optimism, but not yet clear SBY's acknowledgment of need for non-military solutions to Aceh and Papua will lead to new policies. On downside, major bombing outside Australian Embassy Jakarta 9 September highlighted continued terrorist threat. Bomb killed 9, injured over 180. Appears to be work of Malaysian JI bomb experts Azhari Husin and Noordin Mohamad Top in collaboration with non-JI group from West Java. Police arrested more than 12 suspects, but Azhari and Noordin, on run since Bali, continue to elude capture. Fighting continued in Aceh; Free Aceh Movement's (GAM) Eastern commander Ishak Daud killed Peureulak 8 September; first senior GAM commander killed since military operation began May 2003. Human Rights Watch report accused government of torture, ill-treatment and unfair trials. Five districts in southeast Aceh granted permission to create separate province, Aceh Leuser Antara, in repeat of ill-fated Papua process, but timetable remains unclear.

- ["Aceh at war: torture, ill-treatment, and unfair trials"](#), Human Rights Watch report, 27 Sept. 2004.
- Comment by Sidney Jones (ICG), ["Looking ahead in Indonesia"](#), *International Herald Tribune*, 24 Sept. 2004.
- ["In Indonesia, rays of better days ahead"](#), *International Herald Tribune*, 24 Sept. 2004.
- Comment by Sidney Jones (ICG), ["How much can we learn from past behavior?"](#), *The Tempo*, 21 Sept. 2004.

 ICG Asia Report N°83, [Indonesia Backgrounder: Why Salafism and Terrorism Mostly Don't Mix](#), 13 September 2004. The 9 September deadly bombing in Jakarta has once again focused attention on terrorist movements in Indonesia, but it is essential not to paint all puritanical forms of Islam in the region with the same brush. This report examines the rise of salafism in Indonesia. The form of Islam known as salafism is not the security threat that it is sometimes portrayed to be. Most Indonesian salafis find organisations like Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), the group responsible for the Bali bombings of October 2002 and almost certainly the 9 September 2004 Jakarta bombing, anathema. They view jihad only in defensive terms, and forbid rebellion against a Muslim government. Salafism is very inwardly focused on faith. Salafis eschew political and organisational allegiances that might divide the Muslim community and divert attention from study of religion, and JI appears to have had little success recruiting from salafi schools.

➤ Timor-Leste Maritime boundary talks with Australia continued. New framework whereby Timor-Leste foregoes boundary claims in return for oil/gas revenue may make December deadline achievable.

- ["East Timor struggles to find justice, rebuild"](#), VOA, 23 Sept. 2004.

➤ Myanmar/Burma Cabinet reshuffle strengthened General Than Shwe, chairman of military junta's State Peace and Development Council. Foreign Minister Win Aung replaced by inexperienced Major General Nyan Win. EU agreed to attend 8-9 October Asia-Europe meeting (ASEM) in Hanoi on condition Myanmar represented by low-level delegation. EU vowed sanctions if National League for Democracy (NLD) leader Aung San Suu Kyi not released and NLD given role in creating constitution. Suu Kyi and NLD deputy chairman Tin Oo remain under house arrest; constitutional assembly remains adjourned.

- ["Myanmar's hardline generals gain the upper hand"](#), Asia Times Online, 22 Sept. 2004.
- ["UN calls on Myanmar's government to do more to raise its people out of poverty"](#), UN News Centre, 14 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Asia Report N°78, [Myanmar: Sanctions, Engagement or Another Way Forward?](#), 26 Apr. 2004.



ICG Asia Report N°82, [Myanmar: Aid to the Border Areas](#), 9 September 2004. Despite continuing state repression and international unwillingness to support the military regime, targeted developmental and humanitarian aid should be given to a limited, unique part of Myanmar. International assistance to the Border Areas can be implemented without strengthening the central government and would help consolidate peace and lay foundations for a more open, democratic system. War and neglect have long undermined the remote, mountainous areas along the borders with Thailand, Laos, China, India and Bangladesh, largely populated by ethnic minorities. Extreme poverty is widespread, but the Border Areas also link to some of the world's fastest growing economies, so the prospects for Myanmar's peace, prosperity and democracy are closely tied to their future. Aid for them should be complementary to diplomatic efforts to restore democracy.

➤ Philippines Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and government to formally resume peace talks early October, including long-delayed discussion of political and economic issues; MILF to propose autonomous rule. Persistent reports linking MILF to Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) denied by MILF. Government to hold separate talks with MILF on how to remove JI and criminal gangs from Mindanao. Malaysian inspection monitors advance team arrived Mindanao 10 September; scheduled inspection of MILF base in Cararao mountains postponed until after Ramadan. Military attacked base of New People's Army, military wing of communist National Democratic Front (NDF), 23 September, killing 9. Attack came after August breakdown of talks between government and NDF.

- ["Muslim rebels to push for self-rule in talks with Philippine government"](#), AFP, 25 Sept. 2004.
- ["Team to visit 'JI training camps'"](#), AFP, 23 Sept. 2004.
- ["Moro rebels said to aid terrorists"](#), *International Herald Tribune*, 23 Sept. 2004.

- ["Region's terrorists in secret alliance"](#), *The Australian*, 21 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Asia Report N°80, [Southern Philippines Backgrounder: Terrorism and the Peace Process](#), 13 July 2004.

➤ Thailand Troop deployment in restive south to be increased as killings continued, despite disagreement within government over strategy. Raids on Muslim schools continued, exacerbating tensions. PM Thaksin Shinawatra ordered special security protection for judges after Pattani Province judge shot dead 17 September. Imam in Yaring district shot by sniper 18 September. Teachers, civil servants and police also attacked.

- ["More violence in south of Thailand"](#), *Straits Times*, 28 Sept. 2004.
- ["Thai teachers desperate to leave south"](#), *Straits Times*, 25 Sept. 2004.
- ["Thailand to double troops in the south"](#), *The Washington Times*, 20 Sept. 2004.

Europe



BALKANS

➤ Albania EU Presidency noted, 14 September, insufficient progress on organised crime and corruption, lack of electoral and general reform.

- ["Declaration by the Presidency on behalf of the European Union on Albania"](#), EU 2004, NL, 14 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Europe Report N°153, [Pan-Albanianism: How Big a Threat to Balkan Stability?](#), 25 Feb. 2004.

➤ Bosnia & Herzegovina Former Bosnian Serb Deputy PM Radoslav Brdjanin sentenced to 32 years by Hague war crimes tribunal 1 September. Forensic experts continue to unearth mass graves: 182 bodies found near Prijedor 24 September. More than 16,000 people remain unaccounted for. UNHCR announced 21 September 1 million refugees (45% of those that fled) returned to their homes. EU announced plans 17 September to replace NATO's peacekeeping troops mid-December with own "ALTHEA" mission. Religious leaders lobbying for nationalist parties, increased tensions ahead of 2 October local elections.

- ["Bosnia clerics 'stir up' tension"](#), BBC, 29 Sept. 2004.
- ["Bosnia mass grave yields 182 bodies, more expected"](#), Reuters AlertNet, 24 Sept. 2004.
- ["Bosnia After the OHR"](#), Transitions Online, 23 Sept. 2004 (Subscription).
- ["EU to head peacekeeping in Bosnia"](#), *Deutsche Welle*, 17 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Europe Briefing, [EUFORIA: Changing Bosnia's Security Arrangements](#), 29 June 2004.

➤ Kosovo Contact Group and UN Secretary General Kofi Annan agreed new position on Kosovo following meeting 22 September; appeared to rule out return to Belgrade rule, authorising further transfer of competencies to Kosovo government - but so far not endorsing UN envoy Kai Eide's recommendations to expedite preparations for final status

process. NATO sent 2,000 extra troops to boost security for 23 October parliamentary elections. French General Yves de Kermabon assumed command of KFOR 1 September. Belgrade and Pristina representatives met 27-28 September in Vienna, for consultations on decentralisation. Belgrade provocatively appointed hard-line Milosevic loyalists to key posts in Kosovo's illegal parallel structures; yet to approve Serbian participation in Kosovo's elections.

- "Annan: broad agreement reached on integrated strategy for Kosovo", *Southeast European Times*, 23 Sept. 2004.
- "Even in eager Kosovo, nation-building stalls", *Christian Science Monitor*, 22 Sept. 2004.
- "Kosovo peacekeepers try to rebuild reputation", IWPR, 10 Sept. 2004.
- For background to the March violence, see ICG Europe Report N°155, *Collapse in Kosovo*, 22 Apr. 2004.

➤ Macedonia Campaign for 7 November referendum to formally begin 7 October. Plebiscite aims to block government decentralisation plans that would result in ethnic Albanians gaining majority status in some areas. Over 50% of total 1.6 million electorate need to vote for referendum to succeed.

- "Referendum may threaten Macedonian stability", IWPR, 24 Sept. 2004.
- "Keep Macedonia on course", ICG statement, 7 Sept. 2004.
- Comment by Nicholas Whyte (ICG), "Prospective poll turns up Macedonia heat", *European Voice*, 1 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Europe Briefing, *Macedonia: Make or Break*, 3 Aug. 2004.

➤ Serbia & Montenegro Mistreatment of minorities in northern Vojvodina provoked EU, Council of Europe criticism. Montenegro's representatives in National Council for Cooperation with ICTY resigned 23 September citing Serbian obstruction. Milosevic trial adjourned until 12 October following controversial ruling to impose defence lawyers on defendant; decision led to approx. 300 defence witnesses refusing to testify. In response to dysfunctional state union, EU proposed "twin track" approach to Serbia and Montenegro. Serbian government provocatively appointed hard-line Milosevic loyalists to key posts in Kosovo's illegal parallel structures; yet to approve Serbian participation in Kosovo's elections. 19 September municipal elections resulted in no one-party local government in any municipality. Split-vote, mainly between Boris Tadic's Democratic Party (DS) and Serbian Radical Party (SRS), led to coalition agreement between DS and PM Vojislav Kostunica's Democratic Party of Serbia for 3 October second round elections. Serbian government reportedly conducted extensive search for war crimes indictees, seen by some observers as effort to deceive international community into thinking government cooperating with The Hague.

- "U.S. annoyed by Serbs' inaction", *International Herald Tribune*, 1 Oct. 2004.
- "Serbian police step up war crimes search", AP, 28 Sept. 2004.
- "Tadic offers lifeline to Serbia's tottering government", IWPR, 24 Sept. 2004.
- "Montenegro quits Hague panel in protest", *International Herald Tribune*, 24 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Europe Briefing, *Serbia's Changing Political Landscape*, 22 July 2004.

CAUCASUS

➤ Armenia Proposed amendments to Armenia's 1995 constitution dominated political debate; pro-government coalition suggested strengthening president's powers. Opposition repeated call for nation-wide vote of confidence in President Robert Kocharian.

- "Armenian constitutional battle", IWPR, 15 Sept. 2004.

➤ Azerbaijan NATO cancelled planned military exercises in Azerbaijan after latter refused to allow participation of Armenian officers. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) called for release of 7 opposition members on trial for role in protests that followed flawed October 2003 presidential election.

- "PACE calls for release of Azerbaijani opposition leaders", RFE/RL, 23 Sept. 2004.
- "Azerbaijan: NATO relations under strain", IWPR, 15 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Europe Report N°156, *Azerbaijan: Turning Over a New Leaf?*, 13 May 2004.

➤ Georgia Tensions remain high despite Georgian military's August withdrawal from South Ossetian conflict zone; South Ossetia accused Tbilisi 17 September of massing troops on internal border in preparation for new attack. Meanwhile, in wake of Beslan killings, Russia said Chechen terrorists remain in Georgia's Pankisi Gorge, raising fears of possible Russian military action. Presidential election in separatist Abkhazia region set for 3 October.

- "Georgia: Pankisi in firing line", IWPR, 23 Sept. 2004.
- "Abkhaz contender struck from ballot", IWPR, 8 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Europe Briefing, *Saakashvili's Ajara Success: Repeatable Elsewhere in Georgia?*, 18 Aug. 2004.

➤ Nagorno-Karabakh (Azerbaijan) Despite rising anti-Armenian sentiment in Azerbaijan, President Ilham Aliyev and Armenian counterpart Robert Kocharian met 15 September Astana to discuss Karabakh; both refused to comment on progress of talks.

- "Azerbaijan, Armenia hold talks on Nagorno-Karabakh", RFE, 15 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Europe Report N°156, *Azerbaijan: Turning Over a New Leaf?*, 13 May 2004.


EASTERN EUROPE

➤ Chechnya (Russia) Terrorist siege of school in Beslan, North Ossetia, ended catastrophically 3 September, with at least 339 children and adults killed. Chechen warlord Shamil Basayev claimed responsibility. Russian President Vladimir Putin responded by ordering massive recentralisation of power in Kremlin and increased security spending; appointed aide Dimitri Kozak to oversee North Caucasus. Russian colonel convicted 2003 of murdering young Chechen woman withdrew pardon request after outraged demonstrations in Grozny.

- "Killer colonel drops pardon bid", BBC, 21 Sept. 2004.
- "Russia's horror", *The Economist*, 9 Sept. 2004.
- Comment by Anatol Lieven, "A Western strategy for Chechnya", *International Herald Tribune*, 9 Sept. 2004.

- Moldova School scandal continued. Transnistrian authorities refused to recognise and reopen Moldovan schools teaching in Latin script, and harassed students' parents. Bender orphanage remains under siege by Transnistrian militia; water and electricity supplies restored but not municipal heating.
- ["Moldova school resists threats"](#), BBC, 7 Sept. 2004.

WESTERN EUROPE/MEDITERRANEAN

- Cyprus Turkish and Greek foreign ministers cancelled planned October military exercises on Cyprus. Greek Cyprus and EU continue to disagree over aid package for Turkish north; discussions in EU General Affairs Council postponed. UN recommended cutting peacekeeping force by 30%.
- ["Cut in UN Cyprus force urged"](#), *International Herald Tribune* (Reuters), 29 Sept. 2004.
 - ["New war games freeze"](#), Kathimerini, 22 Sept. 2004.
-  Northern Ireland (UK) Key negotiations to restore devolution – suspended since October 2002 – took place Leeds Castle, Kent, and Stormont. Significant progress made on shape of Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) - Sinn Fein power-sharing and IRA decommissioning. Talks stalled on issue of ministerial accountability, though British and Irish governments will present proposal to move talks forward. DUP leader Ian Paisley held first ever political meeting with Irish PM Bertie Ahern, Dublin 1 October. Housing executive said sectarian intimidation forced more than 1,240 people from homes 2003.
- ["Paisley in historic Dublin meeting"](#), *The Guardian*, 1 Oct. 2004.
 - ["Moves to end talks deadlock"](#), BBC, 23 Sept. 2004
 - ["Violence in Ulster drives 1,240 people from homes"](#), *The Guardian*, 24 Sept. 2004.
- Turkey European Commission likely to approve Turkish bid for EU membership October. Prospects improved after Turkey backed down on controversial adultery law. Troops killed 11 rebels southeastern Turkey end August in biggest offensive against Kongra-Gel separatists for 5 years. Further incidents killed approx. 5 security personnel, 4 rebels.
- ["Turkey ready to enact its penal code reforms"](#), *International Herald Tribune*, 24 Sept. 2004.
 - ["Turkish Kurd rebels call for unity after losing support"](#), AFP, 21 Sept. 2004

Latin America /Caribbean

- Bolivia Following success of August referendum, President Carlos Mesa sent congress 14-part hydrocarbon bill including proposals to force renegotiation of existing privately held oil leases, increase royalties, create new oil regulator; to be debated 5 October.
- ["Bolivian peasants turn to lynch law"](#), *The Observer*, 19 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Latin America Report N°7, ["Bolivia's Divisions: Too Deep to Heal?"](#), 6 July 2004.

- Colombia Demobilisation talks continued between right-wing AUC paramilitary and government despite killing of AUC negotiator Miguel Arroyave and 4 bodyguards, reportedly by fellow AUC members in southern Meta province. Paramilitary splinter group Peasant Self-Defense Forces of Casanare (ACC) announced intention to join talks with government day before 26 September military attack on ACC killed 13. Leftist FARC rebels blamed for 17 September border attack on Venezuelan soldiers and oil engineers; 6 killed. Government negotiations for hostage exchange with FARC faltered over FARC demand for demilitarised zone for negotiations. U.S. gave government \$33 million in military aid to fight outlawed armed groups after certifying Colombia's "progress" on human rights in civil war.
- ["Colombian army says it killed 13 paramilitaries"](#), Reuters AlertNet, 26 Sept. 2004.
 - ["Colombia paramilitaries to return to peace talks"](#), Reuters AlertNet, 21 Sept. 2004.
 - ["Colombia Indians rally for peace"](#), BBC, 14 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Latin America Report N°8, ["Demobilising the Paramilitaries in Colombia: An Achievable Goal?"](#), 5 Aug. 2004.



ICG Latin America Report N°9, ["Colombia's Borders: The Weak Link in Uribe's Security Policy"](#), 23 September 2004. As Colombia drives rebels towards its borders, President Uribe badly needs to

strengthen ties with Ecuador and Venezuela. The strategy to force the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) back into the most remote regions has had some success. Having evicted the FARC from near Bogotá with its aggressive campaign, however, the army is now operating with much less certain results in the outlying jungle strongholds of the insurgents as well as the paramilitaries. Illegal armed groups frequently cross into Ecuador and Venezuela, either to escape army sweeps, to rest and resupply, or to raise funds through extortion and kidnapping. Colombia cannot resolve its conflict without extensive support from these neighbours, and it will need to offer them genuine cooperation in both security operations and development projects aimed at the conflict's root causes.

- Haiti Security situation deteriorated after Tropical Storm Jeanne caused massive flooding, left up to 2,400 dead and 300,000 homeless. UN troops (MINUSTAH) deployed in Gonaives providing security as Haitian government unable to handle humanitarian crisis. Virtually no Haitian National Police presence; Gonaives residents looted aid trucks and gangs raided homes, shooting for food. 15 September disarmament deadline passed without progress; illegal armed groups – including supporters of former President Aristide – continued to threaten security.
- ["Haiti flood deaths may top 2,000"](#), BBC, 28 Sept. 2004.
 - ["Panic erupts in flood-ravaged Haitian city"](#), *International Herald Tribune* (AP), 24 Sept. 2004.
 - ["Disarmament deadline passes without progress in Haiti while rebels refuse to give up arms and key outposts"](#), AP, 15 Sept. 2004.
- Peru Continued political instability. President Alejandro Toledo's approval ratings fell due to crisis within "Peru Possible" party over corruption allegations. Violent Cajamarca protests throughout September over proposed mining activities. Protesting cocoa farmers briefly held 17 tourists Cuzco 28

September. Government renewed request to Japan for ex-president Alberto Fujimori's extradition.

- "Anti-corruption unit at risk in Peru", *International Herald Tribune*, 27 Sept. 2004.
- "Peru protests halt Yanacocha gold search at Quilish", Reuters, 8 Sept. 2004.

➤ Venezuela Colombian border clash killed 6, 17 September, blamed on Colombian leftist FARC group. Opposition alliance continued to disintegrate after failed August recall referendum. President Chavez vowed to push forward controversial agricultural reform. Regional and municipal elections to be held 31 October after technical difficulties caused month-long delay.

- "New split in anti-Chavez alliance", BBC, 24 Sept. 2004.
- "What really happened in Venezuela?", *The Economist*, 2 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Latin America Briefing, *Increasing Europe's Stake in the Andes*, 15 June 2004 and ICG Latin America Briefing, *Venezuela: Headed Toward Civil War?*, 10 May 2004.

Middle East /North Africa

EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

➤ Israel/Occupied Territories Israeli tanks entered Gaza 30 September in response to rocket fire; at least 31 killed in bloodiest day since 2000. Further violence continued in Occupied Territories: Israeli airstrike on alleged terrorist training camp Gaza 7 September killed 14, strike 19 September Gaza City killed senior Hamas member Khaled Abu Shamiyeh, IDF raids West Bank 15 September left 10 dead. Palestinian attacks killed 10 Israelis, including 2 in Jerusalem suicide bombing 22 September. Syria-based Hamas leader Izzideen Al-Sheikh Khalil killed in Damascus car bombing 26 September; Hamas and Syria blamed Mossad, no comment from Israeli government. Israeli PM Ariel Sharon faced increasing opposition to Gaza pullout plan from settler lobby: 40,000 protested Jerusalem 12 September. Finance Minister Binyamin Netanyahu called for national referendum on plan, to be voted on by cabinet 24 October, and parliament 3 November. Iran warned Israel against targeting its nuclear facilities after announcement latter to purchase 500 "bunker-busting" bombs from U.S.

- "Dozens of Israeli tanks into Gaza", BBC, 1 Oct. 2004.
- Comment by Rob Malley (ICG), "Palestinians are in a deadly vacuum", *Financial Times*, 27 Sept. 2004.
- "Hamas official killed in Damascus", *International Herald Tribune*, 27 Sept. 2004.
- "Stalled Palestinian talks", *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 23 Sept. 2004.
- "Iran warns Israel against strike", BBC, 23 Sept. 2004.
- "Sharon faces trickier foes", *The Economist*, 16 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Middle East Reports N°25, *Identity Crisis: Israel and Its Arab Citizens*, 4 Mar. 2004 and N°22 *Palestinian Refugees and the Politics of Peacemaking*, 5 Feb. 2004.



ICG Middle East Report N°32, *Who Governs the West Bank? Palestinian Administration under Israeli Occupation*, 28 September 2004. The Palestinian political system is in disarray and needs sustained action by Palestinians, international assistance and -- at a minimum -- no Israeli obstruction to prevent collapse. That system faces its worst crisis since the Oslo process began in 1993. Although Israel's occupation provides the context, the Palestinian Authority's predicament is decidedly domestic. There is growing Palestinian consensus that business as usual is no option if they are to achieve statehood, garner international support or, in Fatah's case, regain the initiative against Islamist rivals and survive inevitably approaching leadership change. Realisation is growing that salvation will not come from outside. Palestinians must seize the initiative, but their leaders require popular legitimacy and the capacity to make decisions. Early elections -- local, legislative, presidential and within Fatah -- are needed.

➤ Jordan Unusually outspoken report by Jordanian human rights organisation reported severe abuse in country's prisons.

- "Prison abuse rife in Jordan, rights official says", Reuters AlertNet, 24 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Middle East Briefing, *The Challenge of Political Reform: Jordanian Democratisation and Regional Instability*, 8 Oct. 2003.

➤ Lebanon Parliament voted 96-29 to pass Syria-inspired constitutional amendment extending term of President Emile Lahoud, sparking resignations of 4 Lebanese ministers. UN passed resolution urging Syria, with 17,000 troops stationed in Lebanon, not to interfere in Lebanon's domestic politics. Syria responded by announcing partial withdrawal of troops - move unlikely to diminish influence over Lebanese politics. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State William Burns visited Damascus mid-September, pushed for Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon.

- "Syria begins dismantling some outposts in Lebanon", *The Washington Post*, 22 September 2004.
- "4 Lebanon ministers quit over president's term", *International Herald Tribune*, 7 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Middle East Briefing, *Hizbollah: Rebel Without a Cause?*, 30 Jul. 2003.

➤ Syria UN resolution urged Syria not to interfere in Lebanon's domestic politics after Syrian pressure led to constitutional amendment extending Lebanese President Lahoud's term. Syria responded with partial withdrawal of its troops stationed in Lebanon, but observers sceptical move signals significant policy change. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State William Burns visited Damascus mid-September, brokered U.S./Syrian cooperation on Iraqi border, pushed for Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon. Syria-based Hamas leader Izzideen Al-Sheikh Khalil killed in Damascus car bombing 26 September; Hamas and Syria blamed Mossad, no comment from Israeli government.

- "Syria's Baathists under siege", *The Washington Post*, 25 Sept. 2004.
- "U.S.-Syria thaw?", *The Washington Times*, 24 Sept. 2004.
- "Press caution over Syria Lebanon move", BBC, 22 Sept. 2004.
- "Comment by Ammar Abdulhamid, "The Syrian opposition's woeful irrelevance", *The Daily Star*, 17 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Middle East Reports N°s 23 and 24, *Syria Under Bashar (I): Foreign Policy Challenges; Syria Under Bashar (II): Domestic Policy Challenges*, 11 Feb. 2004.

GULF

- Iran IAEA set 25 November deadline for Iran to give full account of nuclear program and end uranium enrichment. Iran rejected IAEA call for enrichment suspension, saying it had right to peaceful nuclear program and would consider withdrawing from Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty if issue referred to UN Security Council. Tehran's growing public defiance raised fears of showdown, as U.S., Israel – and increasingly, Britain, France, and Germany – called for hard line in negotiations. Iran warned Israel against targeting its nuclear facilities after announcement latter to purchase 500 “bunker-busting” bombs from U.S.
- “Iran, accused and defiant”, *The Economist*, 23 Sept. 2004.
 - “Push and pull”, *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 23 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Middle East Report N°18, *Dealing with Iran's Nuclear Program*, 27 Oct. 2003; and ICG Middle East Briefing, *Iran: Discontent and Disarray*, 15 Oct. 2003.

- Iraq Increasing concern that high level of violence – “getting worse” according to U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell – will make January elections impossible, particularly in so-called no-go areas controlled mainly by Sunni rebels. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan voiced doubts credible election could be held; U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld suggested partial vote may be necessary. Bush administration officials mooted possibility of autumn conference on elections. Insurgency spread to heart of Baghdad; 30 September blasts killed at least 41, mostly children. Daily kidnappings and killings continued, as did clashes in Baghdad suburb of Sadr City between U.S. forces and Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr's militia. U.S. raid on Samarra 30 September killed 94 insurgents; strikes on Fallujah 24-25 September killed 15 in reported attempt to target followers of Jordanian terrorist Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. NATO agreed to establish training facility in Iraq, but France, Germany, Spain and Belgium refused to contribute. 772 Coalition soldiers, including 693 Americans, and thousands of Iraqis killed by hostile fire since declared end of combat operations on 1 May 2003.
- “Children massacred in Iraq bombs”, BBC, 30 Sept. 2004.
 - “Bush wants parley on Iraq election”, *International Herald Tribune*, 25 Sept. 2004.
 - “The struggle for order”, *The Economist*, 23 Sept. 2004.
 - Comment by Fareed Zakaria, “A ‘Shiite strategy’ in Iraq?”, *The Washington Post*, 14 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Middle East Report N°27, *Iraq's Transition: On a Knife Edge*, 27 Apr. 2004; and N°26, *Iraq's Kurds: Toward an Historic Compromise?*, 8 Apr. 2004.



ICG Middle East Report N°30, *Reconstructing Iraq*, 2 September 2004. Iraq desperately needs an economic recovery strategy to escape its vicious circle of hardship, discontent and violence. The economy suffers not only from a crushing legacy of Baathist misrule, war, and sanctions, but also from the ill-prepared, misdirected performance of the Coalition Provisional Authority. The occupation forces came mostly unprepared. What strategy they did have involved little Iraqi input, was shaped by ideology, and was repeatedly subject to Washington's shifting deadlines, not local needs. The Interim Government, in partnership with the international community, must devise ways to produce immediate material improvement and set the stage for longer-term rebuilding. Until living conditions improve, nascent Iraqi institutions will continue to lose credibility and the insurgency to gain momentum.

- Saudi Arabia In unusual public rebuke, U.S. named Saudi Arabia country of particular concern in annual report on religious freedom. French national shot dead in Jeddah 26 September by suspected al Qaeda militants.
- “Frenchman murdered in Jidda; Qaeda is blamed”, *International Herald Tribune*, 27 Sept. 2004.
 - “Saudi trial could alter pace of reform”, *The Washington Post*, 19 Sept. 2004.
 - Editorial, “Honest on Saudi Arabia”, *The Washington Post*, 18 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Middle East Report N°28, *Can Saudi Arabia Reform Itself?*, 14 July 2004.



ICG Middle East Report N°31, *Saudi Arabia Backgrounder: Who are the Islamists?*, 21 September 2004. Violent attacks in Saudi Arabia have unintentionally promoted a sense of national unity that offers the regime a unique opportunity for reform. Islamism in contemporary Saudi Arabia has two faces: a militant one bent on destabilising the Kingdom, and a moderate one intent on promoting political, social and religious reform. While the former has grabbed most headlines, the latter holds the greater potential for reshaping the country. Through their tactics, the militants have largely marginalised themselves, but anti-regime feelings still run high. Given the closed, arbitrary political system, the privileged status of the royal family, widespread financial corruption and waste, violent militants undoubtedly retain the ability to attract new supporters. The regime must repair its legitimacy by driving a wedge between violent and non-violent Islamists, encouraging the latter as part of a broader coalition.

- Yemen After 3 months of fighting, government said its forces killed rebel Shiite cleric Hussein al-Houthi. Two men sentenced to death for orchestrating October 2000 bombing of U.S. destroyer Cole.
- “Yemen sentences 2 to death in bombing of U.S. destroyer”, *International Herald Tribune*, 29 Sept. 2004.
 - “Yemeni forces kill rebel cleric”, BBC, 10 Sept. 2004.

NORTH AFRICA

- Algeria Group for Salafist Preaching and Combat (GSPC) Islamic rebels announced 33 year-old bomb-maker Abou Mossaab Abdelouadoud new leader 6 September; Nabil Sahraoui, previous leader, killed by Algerian army June. Militants killed 4 civilians, including customs' officer, 18 September in Bouira, 90km southeast Algiers. Six killed in GSPC attack Ain Defla 180 km west of Algiers 28 September. Security sweep continued eastern Algeria leading to further deaths.
- “Suspected Algerian Islamic rebels kill 6 in ambush”, Reuters AlertNet, 28 Sept. 2004.
 - “Algeria's GSPC appoints new leader”, Middle East Online, 7 Sept. 2004.
 - For background, see ICG Middle East Report N°29, *Islamism, Violence and Reform in Algeria: Turning the Page*, 30 July 2004.
- Egypt Annual congress of ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) saw continued rise of President Mubarak's son, Gamal. Convention focused on economic reform, drawing opposition criticism for not prioritising constitutional reform and abrogation of “emergency laws” in place since 1981.

NDP prepared to nominate 76 year-old President Mubarak for further six-year term beginning 2005.

- "Egypt's opposition accuses ruling party of dodging reforms", *The Daily Star*, 24 Sept. 2004.
- "Change at hand", *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 23 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Middle East/North Africa Briefings, *Islamism in North Africa: Legacies of History and Egypt's Opportunity*, 20 Apr. 2004; and *The Challenge of Political Reform: Egypt after the Iraq War*, 30 Sept. 2003.

Libya U.S. lifted remaining trade sanctions 20 September and released \$1.3 billion frozen assets; EU agreed 22 September to end arms embargo. In first high-level meeting in 25 years U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell met Libyan foreign minister 23 September. Libya claimed deserved seat on UN Security Council.

- "Powell holds talks with Libya's Foreign Minister", *The Washington Post*, 24 Sept. 2004.

Mauritania Alleged plan to topple president thwarted; security forces seized arms, made several arrests including former military captain Abderahmane Ould Mini. Government stepped up diplomatic campaign against Libya and Burkina Faso, claiming latter sheltering 2 former officers involved in 2003 and 2004 coup attempts. Libya appealed to African Union for assistance; Arab Maghreb Union to investigate allegations.

- "Mauritania thwarts 'coup plot'", BBC, 29 Sept. 2004.
- "Mauritania escalates diplomatic campaign", UPI, 1 Sept. 2004.

Morocco French interior minister Dominique de Villepin visited Morocco 13-14 September; discussed greater security cooperation. Morocco recalled its ambassador to Pretoria after South Africa recognised Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara) 15 September.

- "SA recognises Saharawi republic", *Daily Mail & Guardian*, 17 Sept. 2004.
- "De Villepin in Morocco for talks on security issues", Middle East Online, 15 Sept. 2004.
- For background, see ICG Middle East/North Africa Briefing, *Islamism in North Africa I: The Legacies of History*, 20 Apr. 2004.

Western Sahara Major diplomatic boost to Polisario Front as South Africa recognised Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara) 15 September, prompting Morocco to withdraw ambassador from Pretoria. In UN General Assembly speech 21 September King Mohammed VI expressed desire to find negotiated solution providing for regional self-government while guaranteeing Moroccan sovereignty and territorial integrity.

- "Morocco recalls Ambassador from South Africa", Afrol, 15 Sept. 2004.

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