

## 2. Socio-political crises

- During 2009, 76 socio-political crises scenarios in the world were reported with most of them taking place in Africa (26 cases) and Asia (22). The rest of the socio-political crises were located in Europe (13 cases), Middle East (nine) and America (six).
- On a global level most of the crises were medium or low intensity, but in 11 cases they were high intensity, including Ethiopia, the Ethiopian region of Oromia, Guinea, Sudan, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Iran, the Chinese province of Eastern Turkestan, Peru and Dagestan.
- Opposition to specific governmental policies by political and social sectors was the main cause for socio-political crises in 2009 and in some cases provoked a strong response by the authorities, such as in the case of Iran.
- In the south of the Caucasus the Russification of Abkhazia and South Ossetia continued a year after the Russian-Georgian war ended.
- Stability in the region of Western Africa was threatened by the crisis in Guinea due to an attempt by the Military Junta to remain in power.

This chapter identifies the context of socio-political crises that took place during 2009 (indicator 2) and is divided in two parts: in the first part the situations and characteristics of socio-political crises are defined; and in the second we analyze the evolution and trends of the crises. At the beginning of the chapter a map is provided with all of the territories currently immersed in a situation of socio-political crisis.

### 2.1. Socio-political crises: definition

A socio-political crisis defines a situation where the pursuit of specific objectives or a failure to satisfy certain demands by different parties leads to high levels of political, social or military mobilization and/or the use of violence that does not reach the level of armed conflict and may include fighting, repression, coups d'état, bombings or attacks. If escalated, these situations could degenerate into an armed conflict under certain circumstances. Tensions are normally linked to: a) demands for self-determination and self government, or identity issues; b) opposition to the political, economic, social or ideological system of a State, or the internal or international policies of a government, which in both cases produces a struggle to take or erode power; or c) control over the resources or the territory.

Table 2.1. Summary of socio-political crises in 2009

Socio-political crisis <sup>1</sup>	Type <sup>2</sup>	Main parties	Intensity <sup>3</sup>
			Annual trend <sup>4</sup>
Africa			
Angola (Cabinda)	Internal	Government, FLEC armed group, Cabinda Forum for Dialogue (political alliance of social movements and armed groups)	1
	Self-government, Resources		=
Burundi	Internal	Government, armed opposition (PALIPEHUTU-FNL, commonly known as FNL) and political opposition (Hussein Radjabu's CNDD-FDD faction, UPRONA, FRODEBU)	2
	Identity, Government		↑
Chad – Sudan	International	Chad, Sudan, Chadian and Sudanese armed opposition groups	2
	Government		↑
Congo	Internal	Government, CNR opposition party and pastor Ntoumi's Ninja militias	1
	Self-government, Government		=
Côte d'Ivoire	Internationalized Internal	Government, Forces Nouvelles armed alliance, pro-government militias, ONUCI, Force Licorne.	2
	Government, Resources		=

Socio-political crisis	Type	Main parties	Intensity
			Annual trend
Africa			
Djibouti – Eritrea	International	Djibouti, Eritrea	2
	Territory		=
Eritrea	Internationalized Internal	Government, political opposition and armed opposition (RSADO, ESF, DMLEK)	2
	Government		↑
Eritrea – Ethiopia	International	Eritrea, Ethiopia	2
	Territory		=
Ethiopia	Internal	Government (EPRDF coalition, led by the TPLF party), political and social opposition, FDD (Medrek) opposition coalition.	3
	Government		↑
Ethiopia (Oromia)	Internal	Government, OLF armed group	3
	Self-government, Identity		↑
Guinea	Internal	Military Junta, political opposition, State security forces, social movements	3
	Government		↑
Guinea-Bissau	Internal	Government, Armed Forces, opposition political parties, international drug trafficking networks	2
	Government		↑
Kenya	Internal	Government, ethnic-based militias, political and social opposition (political parties, civil society organizations), SLDF, Mungiki sect	2
	Identity, Government, Resources		↓
Madagascar	Internal	President Marc Ravalomanana, Mayor of Antananarivo Andry Rajoelina, State security forces	2
	Government		↑
Mali	Internal	Government, the Ibrahim Ag Bahanga faction of the ADC armed group	1
	Identity, Resources		↓
Morocco – Western Sahara	International <sup>5</sup>	Morocco, Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), Polisario Front armed group	1
	Self-government, Identity, Territory		↑
Mauritania	Internal	Government, political and social opposition	1
	Government		=
Niger	Internal	Government, Coordination of Democratic Forces for the Republic (political opposition)	2
	Government		↑
Nigeria	Internal	Christian and Muslim, cattle raising and farming communities, community militias	3
	Identity, Resources		↑
DR Congo	Internal	Government, political and social opposition and former armed opposition groups	2
	Government, Resources		=
DR Congo – Rwanda - Uganda	International	DR Congo, Rwanda and Uganda Governments, CNDP Congolese armed group, FDLR Rwandese armed group	1
	Identity, Government, Resources		↓
Rwanda	Internationalized Internal	Government, FDLR Rwandese armed group, political opposition, Rwandese diaspora in DR Congo and the West	1
	Government, Identity		↑
Senegal (Casamance)	Internal	Government, MFDC armed group and its different factions	1
	Self-government		↑
Somalia (Somaliland-Puntland)	Internal	Republic of Somaliland, Autonomous region of Puntland, SUDA armed group	2
	Territory		=
Sudan	Internal	NCP and SPLM political parties, SPLA armed group, pro-government militias, Dinka and Nuer ethnic groups and subclans in the south	3
	Self-government, Resources, Identity		↑

Socio-political crisis	Type	Main parties	Intensity
			Annual trend
Africa			
Zimbabwe	Internal	ZANU-PF and MDC political parties, war veterans and youth militias related to ZANU-PF	2
	Government		↓
America			
Bolivia	Internal	Government, political and social opposition (political parties, authorities and organizations of the civil society from the eastern departments)	1
	Government, Self-government		↓
Colombia - Venezuela	International	Governments of Colombia and Venezuela	2
	Government		↑
Haiti	Internationalized Internal	MINUSTAH, Government, political and social opposition	1
	Government		↓
Honduras	Internal	De facto Government led by Roberto Micheletti, deposed Government led by Manuel Zelaya	2
	Government		↑
Peru	Internal	Government, armed opposition (remaining factions of the Shining Path [Sendero Luminoso]), political and social (peasant and indigenous organizations)	3
	Government		↑
Venezuela	Internal	Government, political and social opposition	1
	Government		=
Asia			
China (Tibet)	Internationalized Internal	Chinese Government, Dalai Lama and Tibetan Government in exile, political and social opposition in Tibet and surrounding provinces	1
	Self-government, Identity, System		↓
China (East Turkestan)	Internal	Government, armed opposition (ETIM, ETLO), political and social opposition	3
	Self-government, Identity, System		↑
Korea, DPR –USA, Japan, Rep. of Korea <sup>6</sup>	International	DPR Korea, USA, Japan, Rep. of Korea, China, Russia	2
	Government		↑
Korea, DPR – Rep. of Korea	International	DPR Korea, Rep. of Korea	2
	System		↑
Philippines (Mindanao-MNLF)	Internal	Government, factions of the MNLF armed group	2
	Self-government, Identity		↑
India (Nagaland)	Internal	Government, NSCN-K, NSCN-IM, NNC armed groups	2
	Identity		↓
India – Pakistan	International	India, Pakistan	2
	Identity, Territory		↓
India (Tripura)	Internal	Government, armed opposition (NLFT, ATTF)	1
	Self-government		=
Indonesia (West Papua)	Internal	Government, OPM armed group, political and social opposition (secessionist, pro-autonomy, indigenous and human rights organizations), Papuan indigenous groups, Freeport mining company	2
	Self-government, Identity, Resources		↑
Indonesia (Aceh)	Internal	Indonesian Government, Regional Government of Aceh, political opposition	1
	Self-government, Identity, Resources		↑
Kyrgyzstan	Internal	Government, political and social opposition, regional Islamic insurgency	1
	Government		↑
Laos	Internationalized Internal	Government, political and armed organizations of Hmong origin	2
	System, Identity		=

Socio-political crisis	Type	Main parties	Intensity
			Annual trend
Asia			
Myanmar	Internal	Government, political and social opposition (NLD opposition party)	2
	System		=
Myanmar – Bangladesh	International	Myanmar, Bangladesh	2
	Resources		↑
Nepal	Internal	Government, Armed Forces, political and social opposition (UCPN(M) Maoist party)	2
	System		↑
Nepal (Terai)	Internal	Government, Madhesi political (MPRF) and armed (JTMM, MMT, ATLF, among others) organizations	2
	Self-government, Identity		↓
Pakistan	Internal	Government, political and social opposition (PPP opposition party, judiciary), armed opposition (Taliban militias)	3
	Government, System		↑
Sri Lanka (northeast)	Internal	Government, LTTE, Tamil political and social opposition	3
	Self-government, Identity		↓
Thailand	Internal	Government, political and social opposition	2
	Government		↓
Thailand – Cambodia	International	Thailand, Cambodia	2
	Territory		=
Tajikistan	Internal	Government, political (Islamic Renaissance Party) and social (regional groups: Gharmis and Pamiris) opposition, former warlords, illegal Islamist groups (Hizb-ut-Tahrir, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan [IMU])	2
	Government, System		↑
Uzbekistan	Internal	Government, political and social opposition, Islamist armed groups	1
	System, Government		=
Europe			
Armenia – Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh)	International	Azerbaijan Government, Government of the self-proclaimed Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, Armenia	2
	Self-government, Identity, Territory		=
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Internationalized Internal	Central Government, Government of the Republic of Srpska, Government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the High Representative of the international community	2
	Government, Identity, Self-government		↑
Cyprus	Internal	Government of Cyprus, Government of the self-proclaimed Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus	1
	Self-government, Identity, Territory		↓
Georgia	Internationalized Internal	Government, political opposition, Russia	1
	Government		=
Georgia (Abkhazia)	Internationalized Internal	Government of Georgia, Government of the self-proclaimed Republic of Abkhazia, Russia	2
	Self-government, Identity		↓
Georgia (South Ossetia)	Internationalized Internal	Government of Georgia, Government of the self-proclaimed Republic of South Ossetia, Russia	2
	Self-government, Identity		↓
Moldova	Internal	Government, political and social opposition	1
	Government		↑
Moldova, Rep. of (Transnistria)	Internationalized Internal	Government of Moldova, Government of the self-proclaimed Republic of Transnistria, Russia	1
	Self-government, Identity		=
Russia (Dagestan)	Internal	Russian Government, Government of the Republic of Dagestan, armed opposition groups, social and political opposition	3
	System, Government, Identity		↑

Socio-political crisis	Type	Main parties	Intensity
			Annual trend
Europe			
Russia (Kabardino-Balkaria)	Internal	Russian Government, Government of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, armed opposition groups	2
	System, Identity		=
Russia (Karachay-Cherkessia)	Internal	Russian Government, Government of the Karachay-Cherkess Republic, armed opposition groups	2
	System, Identity		=
Russia (North Ossetia)	Internal	Russian Government, Government of the Republic of North Ossetia, armed opposition groups	2
	System, Identity		=
Serbia – Kosovo	Internationalized Internal <sup>7</sup>	Government of Serbia, Government of Kosovo, political and social representatives of the Serbian community in Kosovo, UNMIK, KFOR, EULEX	1
	Self-government, Identity		↓
Middle East			
Saudi Arabia	Internationalized Internal	Government, al-Qaeda armed group	1
	System		=
Egypt	Internal	Government, political and social opposition (Muslim Brotherhood)	1
	Government		=
Iran	Internal	Government, political, religious and social opposition	3
	Government		↑
Iran (northwest)	Internationalized Internal	Government, PJAK armed group	2
	Self-government, Identity		=
Iran (Sistan Baluchistan)	Internal	Government, Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (Pasdaran), Jundallah (Soldiers of God /People's Resistance Movement)	2
	Identity, Government		↑
Iran – USA, Israel <sup>8</sup>	International	Iran, USA, Israel	2
	System		=
Israel – Lebanon – Syria	International	Israel, Syria, Hezbollah Lebanese group and its armed wing (Islamic Resistance)	2
	System, Resources, Territory		↑
Lebanon	Internationalized Internal	Government, political and social opposition, armed wing of Hezbollah (Islamic Resistance), militias	2
	Government		↓
Palestine	Internal	PNA, Fatah, Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade armed group, Hamas and its armed wing Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades	2
	Government		=

1: low intensity; 2: medium intensity; 3: high intensity.

↑: escalation of crisis; ↓: decrease of crisis; = : unchanged.

The socio-political crises in bold are those mentioned in the chapter.

1. In this column we include those States where socio-political crisis is taking place and indicates in parenthesis the region within the State where the crisis is confined or the name of the armed group responsible for the conflict. This last option is used in those cases where there is more than one situation of crisis in the same State or in the same territory within the State, with the purpose of differentiating them.
2. This report classifies and analyses socio-political crises using a dual typology which addresses, on the one hand, the causes or incompatibility of interests and, on the other hand, the convergence of the scenario of the conflict and the parties. With regard to the causes we distinguish between the following: demands for self-determination and self-government (Self-government) or identity issues (Identity); opposition to the political, economic, social or ideological system of a State (System) or the domestic or international policies of the government (Government), which in both cases produces a struggle to take or erode power; to control over the resources (Resources) or the territory (Territory). In connection with the second typology, socio-political crises can be internal, internationalized internal or international. Consequently, internal crisis is that involving armed actors from the same State that operate exclusively within its territory. Second, an internationalized internal crisis is when some of the main actors are foreign, and/or when the tension extends into a neighbouring country. Third, international socio-political crisis is taken to be those where state or non-state actors from two or more countries are in conflict.
3. The intensity of the socio-political crises (high, medium or low) and its trend (escalation, decrease, unchanged) are evaluated mostly based on the level of violence and the extent of the political and social mobilization.
4. In this column the evolution of events in the current year (2009) is compared to the previous year (2008). The symbol ↑ indicates that the general situation during 2009 is more serious than during the previous year, ↓ means the situation is better and = is used if no significant change has taken place.
5. Although Western Sahara is not internationally recognized as a state, the socio-political crisis between Morocco and Western Sahara is considered "international" and not "internal" since it is a territory which has yet to be decolonized and its alleged ownership by Morocco is not recognized under International Law or by any United Nations resolution.



## 2.2. Socio-political crises: global trends in 2009

At the end of 2009 it was possible to identify 76 socio-political crisis scenarios in the world. In terms of geography, and following the trends from other years, most of them were located in Africa and Asia (26 and 22 crises respectively). In Europe 13 cases were counted, in the Middle East nine, and in America six. The total number of socio-political crises was relatively stable compared to previous years. **Most of the socio-political crises reported in 2009 intensified (45%) or remained at similar levels (33%) of violence, and political and social mobilization compared to the previous year.** The escalation in socio-political crises was especially evident in Africa where over half of them got worse (54%). Around half of the cases also got more complicated in Asia and America (50% in each region). On the contrary, a quarter of the socio-political crises worldwide showed a decline in violence.

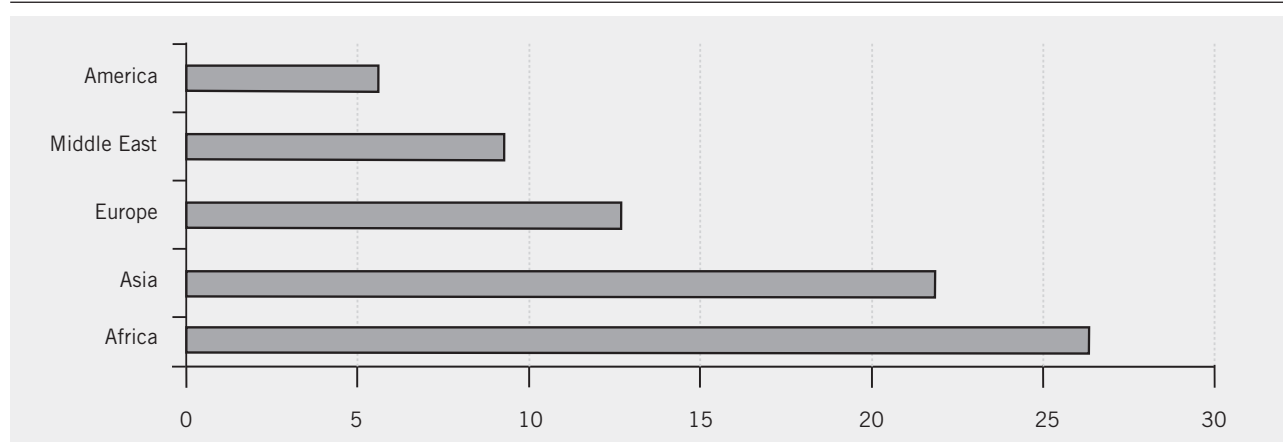
Globally, the great majority of socio-political crises were of medium (42 cases) or low (23) intensity. A total of 11 socio-political crises (14%) were high intensity. As was the case in 2008, most of the serious situations were in Africa or Asia: in Ethiopia –for the country in general and specifically in the Oromia region–, Guinea, Nigeria, Sudan, Pakistan, Iran, Sri Lanka and the Chinese region of East Turkestan. This last case received widespread international attention in 2009 since it was a challenge to the Chinese Government and because the clashes in Xinjiang caused the death of over 200 people in the most serious incident in the area in recent decades. Sri Lanka, meanwhile, stopped being considered a case of armed conflict after the military defeat of the LTTE, but the situation of the internally displaced Tamil population was the main centre of tension in the country. Two other high intensity socio-political crises were reported in America and Europe: in Peru due to the activity of Shining Path and clashes between the Police and indigenous organizations; and in the Russian republic of

Dagestan, because of a rise in selective murders by the Islamist insurgency in an environment of generalized abuses and impunity.

With regard to the relation between the scene of the conflict and the involved actors the data confirm the trend from previous years: **most of the socio-political crises were internal in nature.** This means that 62% of the cases (47 of 76) involved actors from the same State and they acted within its territorial limits. In the rest of the cases, the crises presented some elements of internationalization (20%) or were identified as international socio-political crises (18%). In previous years this last type of crisis, which involves fighting between state and non-state actors from two or more countries, had mainly been located in Africa. Nevertheless, in 2009 Asia matched the African continent's number of international socio-political crises with a total of five cases. To those already on the list in 2008 –the crisis involving DPR Korea, the Republic of Korea, Japan and the U.S. with regard to Pyongyang's nuclear program; the one between India and Pakistan; and between Thailand and Cambodia– this year it has been included the crisis that sets North and South Korea against each other and the one that exists between Myanmar and Bangladesh. Also of note was the appearance of an international socio-political crisis in Latin America between the governments of Colombia and Venezuela. Regarding internal socio-political crises with elements of internationalization, an important number (six of the 15 cases identified) can be found in Europe.

As far as the causes or clashes of interests at the heart of the crises, **the main element of instability was linked to opposition to internal or international policies of specific governments.** Despite the multi-causality of these cases, almost half of the crises (37 of 76, or 49%) were related to political and social opposition movements organized against the authorities to take or undermine power. This explanation was especially relevant in the crises in Africa, and also in Latin America where the six

Graph 2.1. Regional numerical distribution of socio-political crises



6. This international socio-political crisis affects other countries not cited here, which are involved to different degrees.

7. The socio-political crisis between Kosovo and Serbia is considered "Internationalized Internal" since, despite its recognition as a State by several dozen countries, its international legal status is not yet clear or defined. Thus, this year it has been decided to maintain it in the socio-political crisis category used in previous editions of this report.

8. This international socio-political crisis affects other countries not cited here, which are involved to different degrees.

socio-political crises listed were linked to rejection of government policies, including the political and social crisis in Honduras, one of the worst in its history. In this Central American country the crisis was triggered in June by a coup and the expulsion of President Manuel Zelaya. At the end of 2009 there were no signs of a long-term solution.

In other regions some cases were the focus of widespread international attention because of the harshness of the repression against opposition movements, such as the one that affected members of political parties and social movements in Guinea in September which caused 150 deaths, or the repression of those protesting against Mahmoud Ahmadinejad after his controversial re-election as the president of Iran.

**Two other important factors when identifying the causes of disagreements are related to identity issues, present in 42% of the crisis situations, and demands for self-government, in 30% of the socio-political crises.** These elements were especially important in those cases recorded in Asia, Africa and Europe. Other reasons for socio-political crises in 2009 included opposition to the established system in a State, regarding political, economic, social or ideological issues (21%); as well as struggles to control resources (16%) or territories (12%). Together with other factors, the struggle to control resources was especially important in Africa in cases such as Angola (Cabinda), Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, DR Congo and Sudan.

Along with these causal factors, in 20 of the 76 reported cases in 2009 –equivalent to 26%– **the celebration of elections was a relevant aspect which revealed the conflicting positions of the different actors and/or triggered a rise in episodes of violence.** In this sense, it is possible to identify three situations. First, an increase in political polarization or disturbances related to election campaigns during the year, such as the cases of Haiti, Bolivia, Lebanon, Indonesia (West Papua and Aceh), Moldova or Russia (Dagestan). Second, those cases where the worsening of the crisis was linked to doubts about the legitimacy of the election process or its results, such as the cases of Niger –where the opposition boycotted the October elections after a controversial referendum–, Guinea and Iran. Finally, for another group of countries the crisis was linked to the proximity of elections, planned for 2010, and in some cases was visible in the struggle for the political power itself, in disputes over the election process and organization, and in greater harassment of opposition groups. In this context, several analysts warned of possible instability or increased violence related to upcoming elections in Zimbabwe, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Sudan, Burundi, DR Congo, Myanmar, Sri Lanka or Palestine.

When considering the type of actors involved in each socio-political crisis, the governments of the affected countries and territories participated as one of the parties in all of the cases. Another group of relevant actors are the armed groups that, in the majority of the cases, are part of the opposition. Armed groups were present in almost half of the crises, although their role in each one should be assessed individually, due to their different degrees of organization and ability to mobilize. The anal-

ysis of socio-political crises in 2009 confirms that a direct relation between the presence of armed groups and the intensity level of the crisis cannot be established. Although armed groups participated in seven of the 11 socio-political crises that were classified as high intensity in 2009, almost a third of the crises with the presence of armed groups were low intensity. Other armed actors present in crisis situations were pro-government, community-based and ethnic-based militias, as well as warlords. In some cases, the presence of mafia organizations or drug trafficking networks was detected.

## 2.3. Socio-political crises: annual evolution by region

### Africa

#### a) Southern Africa

Madagascar	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	President Marc Ravalomanana, former Mayor of Antananarivo Andry Rajoelina, State security forces

#### Summary:

Since the end of the Communist regime in the 1990s the island has been going through processes of intermittent political instability. The unconstitutional seizure of power by the former Mayor of Antananarivo, Andry Rajoelina, with support from the Army, sparked a new political crisis in March 2009. Difficulty in reaching a power-sharing agreement among the main political leaders has resulted in institutional paralysis, causing sporadic outbreaks of violence.

Protests, which caused over 135 deaths in two months of constant demonstrations, began in February after a broadcasting station and television channel of opposition leader, Andry Rajoelina (the then Mayor of Antananarivo), were closed down. This led to the resignation of the president, Marc Ravalomanana, who was replaced by his rival. **The president resigned after the presidential palace was taken by members of the Army**, which ended the neutrality of the security forces who, until then, had remained on the sidelines of the political confrontation and respected constitutional law. The AU began mediation between the main political leaders (former presidents Didier Ratsiraka and Albert Zafy, besides Rajoelina and Ravalomanana) to bring to an end the crisis unleashed on the island, with a Government lacking legitimacy in the eyes of the international community. Joaquim Chissano, former president of Mozambique, achieved the first agreement for the creation of a transitional Government in August, known as the Maputo Agreement. Nevertheless, the inability of the four leaders to jointly decide who would fill the new positions, apart from Ravalomanana's reluctance regarding Rajoelina remaining in the presidency, continued to hold back the application of the Maputo Agreement and worsened the political and institutional crisis which caused serious repercussions on the population.



Zimbabwe	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	ZANU-PF and MDC political parties, war veterans and youth militias related to ZANU-PF

#### Summary:

Robert Mugabe's Government, in power since the country's independence in 1980 as leader of the ZANU-PF, continues its persecution of members of the opposition parties and members of the civil society. The Mugabe administration has been criticized for its high levels of corruption, wiping out the political opposition, mishandling of land reform and the economy, and for the systematic violation of human rights. The crisis sparked after the 2008 elections, with high levels of violence perpetrated by pro-government militias, and no progress in reaching an agreement to share power, increased the political and economic crisis of the country as well as its international isolation.

In February, **the ZANU-PF, President Robert Mugabe's party, and the main opposition group MDC, led by Morgan Tsvangirai, reached an agreement to share political power** after months of negotiation. Tsvangirai was named Prime Minister, while Mugabe maintained his position and controlled the ministries, as well as the State security forces. The one-sidedness of the agreement, which does not give the MDC much room to manoeuvre, was offset by pressure by the international community which conditioned the renewal of economic cooperation for the country to the implementation of true reforms by the new government of national unity. MDC members, a large number of civil society organizations and defenders of human rights continued to report the persecution of its followers by the security forces and the war veterans militias which are close to Mugabe. Many MDC members were arrested and the charges against them were not made public. This led Tsvangirai and his followers to boycott the government of unity sessions and demand advances in re-establishing the democratic system. Several human rights organizations and the Kimberley Process panel called for the Government to withdraw its troops from the area surrounding the diamond mines and accused the Armed Forces of systematically violating the rights of the population and the mine workers. Additionally, the IRIN news agency documented how the population of the central province of Mashonaland –former stronghold of the ZANU-PF and which had voted in favour of the MDC– was being intimidated by war veterans militias that are close to the president. Furthermore, one of the main agricultural unions in the country, the GAPWUZ, denounced that **over 60,000 agricultural workers had been displaced by the violence that broke out after illegal occupation of land** by Mugabe's followers. Several analysts warned that an increase in the levels of violence was probable with an eye to the elections planned for 2010.

## b) West Africa

Côte d'Ivoire	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	=
<b>Type:</b>	Government, Resources Internationalized Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, Forces Nouvelles, pro-government militias, ONUCI, Force Licorne.

#### Summary:

Since the outbreak of the armed conflict in 2002 the country has been split in two between the areas controlled by the armed opposition alliance Forces Nouvelles in the north and the south controlled by the Government. Despite the peace agreement in 2003, the *status quo* continued until the signing of the Ouagadougou political agreement in March 2007, which included the reactivation of the DDR program, identification of the population, celebration of elections and deployment of the administration in the entire country which would reopen the door to reunification. However, little progress in its implementation continued to seriously jeopardize peace.

The presidential elections planned for November 29 were again postponed due to the slowdown in the process to review the voting lists. Even so, the list of candidates was presented and for the first time it included the RDR opposition party leader, Alassane Dramane Ouattara, who had been excluded from previous elections due to doubts about his nationality. It is estimated that the right to vote was denied to 1.9 million people who were not able to prove that they were Ivorians to the mobile courts created to register the population.<sup>9</sup> This situation could again fuel instability during the coming year. There was no significant progress in the demobilization process of the armed groups and a decision regarding the demobilization of the pro-government militias in the west of the country was still pending. **A report by the UN Group of Experts** which tracks the arms embargo **warned that both the Forces Nouvelles and the Armed Forces continued to rearm and equip themselves.** It also stated that the north of the country is running under a warlord economy which ignores the agreements to return control of the borders and tax collecting to civilian authorities. The exploitation of the country's natural resources continued to fuel illegal arms purchases by both sides. Furthermore, violence against returnees continued, mainly in the west.

Guinea	
<b>Intensity:</b>	3
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Military Junta, political opposition, sectors of the State security forces (Presidential Guard), social movements

9. Ivorian law only recognizes the nationality of those people whose ancestors were born in the country, *jus sanguinis*. The right to recognition of nationality was one of the most important factors in the armed conflict that plagued the country in 2002.

**Summary:**

The Army took advantage of the death of Lansana Conté in December 2008, after over two decades in power, to stage a new coup d'état and set up a Military Junta. Although the coup's leader, captain Moussa Dadis Camara, promised initially to return power to the civilian organizations, the long transition period and constant rumours regarding the presentation of his candidacy for the upcoming presidential elections increased the discontent of the population and political groups. The violent military crackdown on the demonstrators that gathered in Conakry in September 2009 to demand the resignation of Camara and a return to constitutional order, with over 157 deaths, aggravated political instability even more and increased fears of a new armed uprising based on ethnic rivalry.

**Growing political instability reached a climax on September 28 with the violent military crackdown on a demonstration** which was organized by opposition parties and a social movement platform to demand that no member of the Military Junta who ruled the country should be able to become a candidate in the presidential elections to return Guinea to democratic normality. **Several sources reported that the number of deaths was 157**, although the military authorities insisted that only 54 people had died after the security forces had captured the demonstrators by closing the doors of the National Stadium where thousands of people had gathered. Additionally, dozens of women were raped and some subsequently murdered by members of the military.<sup>10</sup> Several investigations revealed that an ethnic component may exist in the Army's fight to stay in power which highlights the confrontation between the Peul ethnic group, with a demographic majority in the country, and the ethnic groups called *forestiers*, with a majority in the Armed Forces but in the minority in the State. Burkinabe president Blaise Compaoré, as the mediator appointed by ECOWAS, attempted to forge an agreement between the Military Junta and the opposition with no satisfactory results. During the year numerous internal purges

took place in the Army, including murders and jailings, as well as arrests of former Government officials and members of the opposition. In December, **the leader of the Junta, Captain Moussa Dadis Camara, was the victim of an assassination attempt by the head of the presidential guard**, Lieutenant Aboubacar *Toumba* Diakite, one of the commanders most responsible for the massacre last September in Conakry. Camara was evacuated to Morocco for surgery and the Junta Defence Minister, Sekouba Konaté, took charge.

Guinea-Bissau	
Intensity:	2
Trend:	↑
Type:	Government Internal
Main parties:	Government, opposition political parties, Armed Forces, international drug trafficking networks

**Summary:**

The history of Guinea-Bissau since its independence from Portugal in 1974 is made up of a series of civil wars and coups d'état that have prevented the country from achieving political stability as well as aborting all attempts of democratic governance. The strong influence of the Armed Forces on the political reality of the country and the confrontation between parties that represent different ethnic groups are a major hurdle to peace. The breakdown of the stability pact signed in 2007 between the main political parties was, once again, a lost opportunity to end the spiral of violence that dominates politics. The growing impact of international drug trafficking networks in West Africa is an additional element in the crisis. The assassination of the president, Joao Bernardo Vieira, in March 2009, could signal the beginning of a new period of even greater instability.

**The assassination in March of President Joao Bernardo Vieira** by soldiers that accused him of being behind the

**Box 2.1. Guinea: the instability that threatens the future of the West African region**

The massacre by security forces of the civilian population on September 28 in Conakry, with 157 persons dead, was simply a brutal representation of the critical situation in Guinea since the military took power in December 2008.

The demonstration, organized by a coalition of opposition parties and civil society movements that called themselves Forces Vives, took place after the dialogue with the Military Junta was broken off. The talks were being held to create a National Transition Council which would be in charge of leading the effort to return to democracy. The talks were broken off because of the announcement by the leader of the Junta, Moussa Dadis Camara, that he would be a candidate in the upcoming presidential elections, therefore violating the first agreement reached with the opposition in March. Harassment of opposition members and human rights organizations, as well as the prohibition of the right to assembly, have only made the situation worse.

Camera's reaction to the events of September 28, when he assured that he had no control over the military forces that attacked the population and accused his aide, the head of the Presidential Guard Abubakar "Toumba" Diakite, of being responsible for the repression, demonstrated the existing fissures in the Military Junta. The National Council for Democracy and Development (CNDD), as the Junta is called, is made up of 33 members. Each is key to controlling a military faction in the Army and, therefore, each has its own aspiration to power. Reports by local and international human rights organizations regarding the creation of pro-Junta support groups, with a clear ethnic component, should not only be a concern of the majority ethnic groups. It is likely that each one of the main CNDD leaders is putting together his own forces given the possible power struggle in the Junta. The assassination attempt on Camara by Diakite in December could be the beginning of a new war.

10. See Chapter 6 (Gender).

The creation of militias has been especially important in the south, in the region known as Guinée Forestière, since the leader of the Junta is a member of the Guerza ethnic group, which is common in the area. This area of Guinea, which shares borders with Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Côte d'Ivoire, was deeply involved in its neighbours' armed conflicts in the 1990s. There is a large number of arms and tension is constant between the different communities that live there and claim that they come from that territory as part of their constant confrontations. During the armed conflicts that took place in the 1990s in the Mano River region, Guinean military personnel received huge profits from arms trafficking and controlling the movement of goods and persons in the Forestière region. They forged military alliances that could prove to be extremely dangerous if they are reactivated. The creation of pro-Junta support groups has spread, however, to the national level after the CNDD designated military officers close to their cause as prefects in the 33 provinces that make up the country.

The designation of the vice president of the Junta and Defence Minister, Sekouba Konaté, as the replacement for Camara after the assassination attempt, could complicate the picture even more. According to information provided by the International Crisis Group, Konaté has strong ties with the former Liberian armed group LURD,<sup>11</sup> which could facilitate the participation of former Liberian militiamen in the conflict. In fact, the report issued by Human Rights Watch stated that numerous witnesses of the September 28 events affirmed that part of the militia that backed the repression were Liberian.<sup>12</sup> All of these data augur a bleak future for the region of West Africa since a potential armed conflict in Guinea could drag its fragile neighbours into a new scenario of violence.

death of the Chief of Staff, Tagmé Na Wai –who had died in an explosion a few hours earlier–, **threatened the precarious stability of the country**. ECOWAS, the AU and the United Nations redoubled their efforts to maintain constitutional order by backing new elections for June 28 to designate the new president, Malam Bacai Sanha, from the prime minister's party PAICG. Control by the Army of the country's political institutions and the fact that Guinea-Bissau is a narco-state, the link between the American cartels and Europe, were pointed to by the United Nations and different analysts as the key problems that must be resolved to stabilize the country. In June, the minister of Territorial Administration and candidate for the presidency, and a former Defence Minister were killed by the Army while resisting arrest for their alleged participation in a coup attempt. However, sources close to the victims refuted the official version and stated that they were political assassinations. Although a commission was created to investigate the March events, at the end of the year no light had been shed on the incident and no arrests had been made.

Niger	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, Coordination of Democratic Forces for the Republic (political opposition)

#### Summary:

President Mamadou Tandja's proposal to reform the constitution to extend the number of terms in office and perpetuate his own power sparked a mobilization by opposition groups against the plan. The Nigerien political opposition was the target of continuous harassment and arrests in an attempt to present them as corrupt traitors. The Parliament and the Constitutional Court were dissolved, and a referendum and legislative elections to designate a new Parliament were announced

which fuelled the country's political crisis and provoked condemnation by African and International organisms.

The president, Mamadou Tandja, was able to achieve 92% of the votes in favour of a controversial referendum to change the constitution. The reform would permit an extension of the number of presidential terms and allow Tandja to remain in power. The referendum was announced after the Constitutional Court and the Parliament voted against reforming the Constitution. The president dissolved both Chambers and called for legislative elections on October 20. The elections were boycotted by the opposition that joined together in the Coordination of Democratic Forces for the Republic. Numerous political public figures from the opposition, including 30 former members of parliament, were arrested repeatedly and accused of embezzlement and other crimes. The main opposition leader, Mahamadou Issoufou, was also arrested after calling for civil disobedience. **ECOWAS suspended the country from participating in its bodies and designated the former Nigerien president, Abdusalami Abubakar, as the mediator between the presidency and the opposition.** The EU suspended the development aid agreements it had with Niger, which deprived the country of 500 million euros of funds, after the celebration of the legislative elections and a new Parliament was designated. In addition, in October a new peace agreement was reached with the Tuareg armed groups with mediation by Libya.<sup>13</sup>

Nigeria	
<b>Intensity:</b>	3
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Identity, Resources Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Christian and Muslim, cattle raising and farming communities, community militias

11. International Crisis Group. *Guinea: Military Rule Must End*. Africa Briefing n° 66, Dakar / Bruselas: ICG, October 16, 2009 in <<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/getfile.cfm?id=4137&tid=6349&l=1>>.

12. Human Rights Watch. *Guinea: September 28 Massacre Was Premeditated*. HRW, October 27, 2009 in <<http://www.hrw.org/es/news/2009/10/27/guinea-september-28-massacre-was-premeditated>>.

13. See Chapter 3 (Peace processes).

### Summary:

Since 1999, when political power was returned to civilian hands after successive dictatorships and coups, the Government has been unable to establish a democratic system in the country. Huge economic and social differences continue to exist between the different states that make up Nigeria due to the lack of decentralization, and between the different social strata, which fosters instability and outbreaks of violence. In addition, strong inter-religious, inter-ethnic and political differences continue to fuel violence in the entire country. The lack of transparency and the corruption in politics are two additional burdens for the Nigerian democracy. Mafia practices and a resort to political assassination as an election strategy have prevented, at least in the last two presidential elections, the population's right to vote freely, which has increased discontent and fraudulent practices.

The most serious events in 2009 were the **simultaneous attacks by the Islamist sect Boko Haram** (with alleged links to al-Qaeda, according to statements by its leader) **against police posts and headquarters in the northern states of Bauchi, Kano, Borno and Yobe, in which over 700 people died during the month of August**, most of them members of the sect. The violence began in the city of Bauchi where members of the sect attacked a police station with explosives to protest the arrest of several of its leaders. In response to the attack, the police raided a settlement of the sect in the outskirts of the city. In this initial clash 39 people died. The group's leader, Mohamed Yusuf, died while under police custody and his successor threatened to launch a *Jihad* (holy war) with the goal of Islamizing the entire country. President Umaru Yar'Adua ordered an independent investigation to shed light on a possible extrajudicial execution by the Police. Over 3,500 people were displaced by the violence. After these events, the security forces performed several operations against different Muslim congregations, detained some of their members and dismantled their organization. Their members were forced to return to their places of origin and those that did not possess Nigerian nationality were deported. Moreover, fighting between seasonal migrating herdsman and local cattle rancher communities were on the rise during the year due to the drought which forced the Fulani (cattle raising tribe) to roam for a longer period and further south with their herds. This community denounced that it was being criminalized by the local institutions in numerous states which had prohibited their presence in the main cities to avoid situations of violence. Clashes between Christian and Muslim communities also increased. Of note were the confrontations that occurred in the state of Bauchi where 11 people died and over one hundred were wounded.

#### Senegal (Casamance)

<b>Intensity:</b>	1
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, MFDC armed group and its different factions

### Summary:

Casamance is a Senegalese region which is virtually separated from the rest of the country by Gambia where, since 1982, the Movement of Democratic Forces in the Casamance (MFDC) has

demanding independence. The fighting between the Armed Forces and the MFDC reached a peak during the 1990s and finalized in 2004 with the signing of a peace agreement by its maximum leader Diamacoune Senghor. Since then low level clashes have continued between the different factions that do not recognize the agreement reached with the Government and fight to increase their control over the territory.

Instability grew in Casamance during the second half of the year when **the Army bombed positions of the MFDC armed group in the outskirts of Ziguinchor** (the capital of the region) after the group attacked a military barracks and killed a soldier. The number of attacks and insecurity on the roads had increased since May, especially in the region of Bignona. This activity was attributed to an MFDC faction led by Bertrand Sambou, known as Essaoulé and who operates in the border region with Guinea-Bissau, where an MFDC attack caused the death of six soldiers in October. Academics, politicians and members of the civil society demanded that the Government and the rebels begin talks to negotiate a lasting peace, since the agreements signed in 2004 had not managed to end the armed conflict and had left the region in a situation that was neither war nor peace. Several analysts warned that the death in March of the Guinean president, Joao Bernardo "Nino" Vieira, could have an impact on the security situation in Casamance. Under his orders the Guinea-Bissau Army had fought against factions of the MFDC on the border and had been able to neutralize the group which led to greater stability. In 1998, when Vieira dismissed the head of the Armed Forces and accused him of arms trafficking with the MFDC, there was a mutiny in the Army and troops from Guinea and Senegal went to Vieira's aid to avoid his overthrow. This did not avoid his eventual expulsion from power in 1999 in a coup.

### c) Horn of Africa

#### Djibouti – Eritrea

<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	=
<b>Type:</b>	Territory International
<b>Main parties:</b>	Djibouti, Eritrea

### Summary:

The border between the two countries is a source of disagreement and tension. This border was poorly established in 1901 in a treaty between France (the colonial power in Djibouti) and Italy (the colonial power in Eritrea). This unresolved demarcation was the cause of clashes between the two countries in 1996 and 1999. This dispute became worse on a regional level due to tension between Eritrea and Ethiopia, since the U.S. is a firm Ethiopian ally; due to the war in Somalia, where Eritrea backs the opposition coalition while Ethiopia and the U.S. back the Federal Transitional Government; and due to the war in the Ethiopian region of Ogaden where Eritrea supports the insurgency. Djibouti, which has maintained a neutral position in the Somali conflict, has been the scene of the most recent peace talks between some of the actors in the Somali confrontation. Its location is strategic to control sea traffic in the Red Sea (France and the U.S. have military bases there), and after the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia, Djibouti has become the only access route to the sea for Ethiopia.



In April the Security Council made some timid advances in **the conflict between the two countries**. The organism accused Eritrea of ignoring the resolution passed in January in which it was required to withdraw its troops from the border territory under dispute with Djibouti, Ras Doumeira, in five weeks. The Council expressed its desire to meet with representatives from the Eritrean administration to express their concern regarding the failure to comply with the resolution. At the same time, members of the Council praised the mediation efforts undertaken to date by organizations such as the AU, the Arab League or the OIC. At the end of May the Council stepped up pressure and accused Eritrea of supplying arms to the Somali insurgency in an attempt to destabilize the country. This was denied by Eritrea while several countries and regional organizations demanded that sanctions be applied. The Council announced that it would conduct an investigation to shed light on the situation. At the end of September, Djibouti called again for the Council to take steps to resolve the dispute between both countries. They warned that if the problem was not adequately resolved, the situation could set a dangerous precedent for other crises currently underway. In its turn to respond, the Eritrean representative stated before the UN General Assembly that his country had no territorial ambitions and had not occupied any territory that was part of Djibouti and added that Djibouti had only presented a partial picture of the situation. Later, in October, **Djibouti launched a diplomatic campaign against Eritrea accusing it of interfering in the security of the country by providing arms and training to anti-government movements** with the goal of conducting acts of sabotage inside its territory, but provided no more details. In December the UN Security Council passed a resolution which condemned Eritrea and demanded it reopen the dialogue with Djibouti and imposed an arms embargo on Eritrea for its collaboration with Somali armed groups.

Eritrea – Ethiopia	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	=
<b>Type:</b>	Territory International
<b>Main parties:</b>	Eritrea, Ethiopia

#### Summary:

In 1993, Eritrea achieved independence from Ethiopia, although the border between the two countries was not clearly established, which confronted them between 1998 and 2000 and caused 100,000 deaths. In June 2000 they signed an agreement to end hostilities, the UN Security Council set up the UNMEE mission to supervise it, and in December they signed the Algiers Peace Agreement. It establishes that both will submit to the decision reached by the Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission (EEBC) which is charged with delimiting the border based on the relevant colonial treaties (1900, 1902 and 1908) and international law. In April 2002 the EEBC announced its decision and assigned the border town under dispute, Badme, (epicentre of the war and currently under Ethiopian administration) to Eritrea, which was rejected by Ethiopia.

During the year there were no variations in the relationship between the two countries that would indicate a

change regarding the border dispute that confronts them and no significant events in the border region since the UNMEE mission withdrew in July 2008. Ethiopia repeated in January its willingness to begin talks with Eritrea without pre-conditions, and in February the Libyan leader and rotating AU president, Muammar Gaddafi, offered to mediate in the dispute. This was rejected by Eritrea which considered the proposal arbitrary. Asmara, in addition, repeated that the main condition was Ethiopian withdrawal from the disputed territory. **In August the Permanent Court of Arbitration rendered the war compensations between Eritrea and Ethiopia and concluded that Eritrea must pay Ethiopia 11 million dollars.** At the same time, both countries accused each other of being involved in the conflict in Somalia, where Ethiopia backs the Transitional Federal Government and Eritrea the Islamist insurgency. Ethiopia also accused Eritrea of giving support to the insurgency of Ogaden, in Ethiopia. Ethiopia, together with others in the region such as Djibouti and Kenya, **accused Eritrea of supplying arms and training to the Somali insurgency in violation of the arms embargo imposed by the United Nations since 1992.** During the year international consensus grew regarding this issue and different countries and organizations seconded the position that the AU adopted in May –in June, the US, in September the IGAD and in October the United Kingdom– to demand that the UN Security Council impose sanctions against Eritrea after reports were published that they were supplying arms to the Somali insurgency. This growing demand culminated in December with the establishment of an arms embargo by the UN Security Council on Eritrea.

Ethiopia	
<b>Intensity:</b>	3
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Government, Identity, Self-government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government (EPRDF coalition, led by the TPLF party), political and social opposition, FDD (Medrek) opposition coalition.

#### Summary:

The Ethiopian administration that has governed since 1991 is facing a series of opposition movements that demand advances in the democracy and governability of the country, as well as a greater degree of self-government. The government coalition EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front) is controlled by the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF) party, of the Tigrayan minority, that rules the country with growing authoritarianism with the consent of the Amhara elite. There is discontent in the country with the ethnic federal regime implemented by the EPRDF which has not resolved the national issue and has led to the consolidation of a strong political and social opposition. Along with the demands for the democratization of the institutions, there are political-military sectors that believe that ethnic federalism does not meet their nationalist demands and other sectors, from the ruling classes and present throughout the country, that consider ethnic federalism to be a deterrent to the consolidation of the Nation-State. In the 2005 elections this diverse opposition proved to be a challenge for the EPRDF, who was reluctant to accept genuine multi-party competition, and post-election protests were violently repressed.

During the year there was **growing tension due to the future legislative and presidential elections to be held in May 2010. The Government increased its abuses, pressure and intimidation on the opposition by arresting hundreds of activists and candidates.** The situation became more intense during the local elections in April, which the EPRDF won with an overwhelming victory. The opposition even accused the Government of extrajudicial executions, for political reasons, and the utilization of food aid as a political weapon to win the elections. The political opposition denounced that its supporters were not receiving aid as a way of pressuring them to join the governing EPRDF. Some laws were also tightened up, such as the anti-terrorism law and the law regulating NGOs, in an attempt to restrict fundamental rights, repress the political opposition and independent criticism. The donating entities expressed concern regarding these restrictions.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the International Crisis Group warned that the elections could increase internal tensions and spark violence of regional dimensions.<sup>15</sup> In November, after two months of intense debate, in which 65 parties, EPRDF and the three main opposition parties AEUO, EDP and CUD –which are currently part of the opposition coalition FDD– reached an agreement regarding the electoral code of conduct and strategies for its implementation. Furthermore, at different times during the year outbreaks of inter-community violence took place over the ownership and use of land and sources of water in different parts of the country. The most important outbreak took place in February between the Borena and Gheri (south) communities and caused the death of 300 people and up to 100,000 displaced persons.

Ethiopia (Oromia)	
<b>Intensity:</b>	3
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, Identity Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Central Government, Regional Government, political (OFDM, OPC parties) and social opposition, armed opposition OLF, IFLO

#### Summary:

Ethiopia has experienced secessionist movements or rejection of central power since the 1970s. The Oromo OLF emerged between 1973 and 1974 and operates in the Ethiopian region of Oromia, in the centre and south of the country, against the Mengistu dictatorship and with the goal of establishing an independent State for the Oromo community. Despite differences, the political and armed nationalist movements of the Oromo participated together with other insurgent groups in the country to overthrow the Mengistu regime in 1991. However,

the OLF split away in 1992 from the transitional Government led by Meles Zenawi's TPLF party, that controls the coalition in power, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and has initiated an armed struggle against the central Government and against other Oromo pro-government political movements, and demands independence for the Oromo community. On several occasions it has collaborated with the ONLF from Ogaden in actions against the central Government.

**For years there have been sporadic clashes between the OLF and the Ethiopian Army in which dozens of combatants have died, as well as arrests of members from the Oromo community accused of being OLF members.** In

August, during one of those raids the security forces arrested dozens of prominent intellectuals from the Oromo ethnic group in the capital and in different towns in the state of Oromia, according to the Human Rights League of the Horn of Africa. At the same time, OFDM and OPC Oromo parties denounced that the Government had denied them the right to form a coalition, the Oromo Federalist Congress. OLF issued a communiqué in which it accused the Government of politicizing the serious drought that was affecting the region. **Oromo opposition organizations denounced the death of between**

**100 and 200 people and dozens of people with varying degrees of injury due to inter-community violence incited by the Government.** These organizations accused the Government of fuelling the conflicts between the Oromos and other communities in the country, of fostering division in the Oromo community by using religion and a sense of clan and community, and also of encouraging political repression. In June nearly 3,000 Oromo students conducted protests in the University of Awassa to denounce the growing repression that the Government exercises on its community.

Chad – Sudan	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Government International
<b>Main parties:</b>	Chad, Sudan, Chadian and Sudanese armed opposition groups

#### Summary:

The beginning of the war in Darfur in 2003 marked the gradual deterioration of relations between both Governments, whose presidents were former allies in the overthrow of Chadian president Hissène Habré by Idriss Déby in 1990. Although Chad acted as the mediator between the Sudanese Government and the Darfur insurgency in 2004, the rise in violence, the influx of Sudanese refugees to eastern Chad and incursions by the Sudanese Janjaweed pro-government militias in this area

14. The NGO legislation, which is in force since March, penalizes the human rights activities undertaken by those Ethiopian organizations that receive over 10% of their funding from abroad and limits the human rights activities of foreign NGOs, including campaigns for gender equality, children's rights, the rights of the disabled and conflict resolution. Amnesty International "Ethiopian parliament adopts repressive new NGO law". AI, January 8, 2009, in <<http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/news/ethiopian-parliament-adopts-repressive-new-ngo-law-20090108>>.

15. International Crisis Group. Ethiopia: Ethnic Federalism and Its Discontents. Crisis Group Africa Report n° 153, Bruselas: ICG, September 4, 2009, in <[http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/horn\\_of\\_africa/153\\_ethiopia\\_ethnic\\_federalism\\_and\\_its\\_discontents.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/horn_of_africa/153_ethiopia_ethnic_federalism_and_its_discontents.pdf)>.



caused numerous criticisms of the Chadian Administration for its policy of neutrality. It is worth recalling that some of the armed groups from Darfur are from the same community that governs Chad, the Zaghawa. In 2004 several insurgencies against the Idriss Déby Government were set up, and since then both Governments have backed the armed opposition of the other country.

The year was marked by the persistent climate of mistrust and confrontation between both countries and by the diplomatic initiatives to reduce the tension and in December several meetings were held and a decision was made to implement the previous agreements. Nonetheless, **during the year several incursions took place by the Armies of Chad and Sudan in the border region** in pursuit of armed groups. Despite a new agreement in Doha reached on May 3 by both countries, the fourth after those signed in Tripoli, Riyadh and Dakar, **the Chadian rebel offensive<sup>16</sup> and subsequent invasion by the Chadian Army in Sudanese territory deteriorated the situation once again.** In July, the Chadian Army launched an air offensive in West Darfur, after it was announced that Qatar had been planning a meeting between the Sudanese president, Omar al-Bashir, and his Chadian counterpart, Idriss Déby. In November, Sudan launched an air strike against a Chadian detachment that had previously crossed the Sudanese border. A Chadian soldier was killed and military escalation was feared. The governing party in Sudan, the NCP, criticized Chad for not taking seriously the normalization of mutual diplomatic relations seeing as N'Djamena had linked the improvement of bilateral relations to the expulsion of Chadian rebels from Sudan. At the same time the lack of advances by Khartoum fuelled the intransigence of Darfur armed groups in the Doha (Qatar) peace talks since they are backed by N'Djamena. Visits by delegations from both countries and regional and international good offices were able to achieve advances in the dispute, although implementation of the agreement is pending, as in previous occasions.

Sudan	
<b>Intensity:</b>	3
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, Identity, Resources Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	NCP and SPLM political parties, SPLA armed group, pro-government militias, Dinka and Nuer ethnic groups and subclans in the south

#### Summary:

In 2005 the armed group SPLA and the Sudan Government signed a final peace agreement (CPA) which ended 20 years of armed conflict that confronted the north and the south of the country. The lack of definition of several points in the agreement is making advances in the peace process difficult. On the other hand, the end to the conflict on the national level has led to a resurgence of mistrust and disagreement between the different ethnic groups and clans that live together and compete for the scarce resources in the south of the country.

The contrast between groups such as the Khartoum elite and the states of the Upper Nile that control Sudanese economic wealth on the one hand, and the other states that make up the rest of the country on the other, is at the centre of the conflict that threatens peace in Sudan.

A lack of understanding between the signatories of the 2005 Global Peace Agreement, the NCP and the SPLM, continues to hinder its implementation. The main disagreement occurred in the negotiations surrounding election legislation reform and validation of the results in the referendum for self-determination of the south that will be held, according to the peace agreement, in 2011. SPLM did not accept the validity of the national census realized in 2008 and opposed its use to determine the sharing of oil profits and for the voting census. Voter registration began on November 1. 28 Sudanese opposition parties, led by SPLM, signed the Juba Declaration on Dialogue and National Consensus, in which they were committed to boycotting the coming presidential elections if the Government was unable to pass the legal reforms essential for the implementation of the peace agreement. In a climate of growing tension, **the president of the semi-autonomous Government of the south, Salva Kiir, was in favour of southern secession since remaining in a united Sudan would convert all of the southerners into second class citizens.** In addition, the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague established the new border in the oil region of Abyei which left the main oil well in the north and the most fertile land and the Capital in the south. This decision was contested by the Misseriya Arab cattle-raising tribes that demanded compensation from the State since they believed the decision would seriously affect their grazing activities. Many analysts called attention to the growing tension and the large amount of arms, militias and armed groups in Southern Kordofan (north) which could become a new Darfur if measures were not taken to change the dynamics of the situation. During the year 244 people died in this province in a series of clashes which included the participation of Arab, Misseriya and Reizegat tribes.

#### d) Great Lakes and Central Africa

Burundi	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Identity, Government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, social and political opposition (Hussein Radjabu's CNDD-FDD faction, UPRONA, FRODEBU, FNL)

#### Summary:

The political and institutional transition process which began with the signing of the Arusha peace agreement in 2000 officially ended in 2005. The passing of a new Constitution which formalizes the sharing of political and military power between the two main communities, the Hutus and the Tutsis, and the

16. See Chapter 1 (Armed conflicts).

elections which have led to the formation of a new Government, are an attempt to set the future foundation to overcome the conflict which began in 1993. This is the main opportunity to end the ethno-political violence that has affected the country since its independence in 1962. However, mistrust persists between the political parties and power struggles continue within the governmental CNDD-FDD, and between the Government and the political opposition. In addition, the country's last armed group, the FNL, has joined the political fray with its renunciation of violence.

The elections will take place in July 2010. Despite several advances in the preparation process, such as the new Election law, agreed by consensus, or the participation of the opposition in the election commission, **the climate of tension was on the rise**. Several analysts warned that the elections could trigger an escalation of violence due to the combination of a significant presence of small arms and the well organized sections of youth activists from the political parties. Although 70,000 arms have been collected since August 2007, it is estimated that there are still 100,000 in the hands of civilians. In addition, the State security forces are made up of the armed groups that reached peace agreements with the Government and some analysts do not rule out the possibility that a process of regression may occur. In April the last guerrilla group, the FNL, became a political party and the DDR program was implemented for its combatants, although this caused tension and resentment due to the application of different compensations. Furthermore, former high level officials from the FNL, including the former Foreign Secretary Jacques Kenese and the former spokesperson Pasteur Habimana, criticized **the authoritarian drift of the FNL** and they were expelled in August accused of treason. Growing intimidation and threats against activists in the opposition became evident with the prohibition of the FORSC, an umbrella organization of 146 civil society associations. Human Rights Watch denounced that **both the FNL and the Government had used political violence and intimidation against the opposition and that arbitrary arrests and several politically motivated extrajudicial executions had taken place**.

Kenya	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Identity, Government, Resources Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, ethnic-based militias, political and social opposition (political parties, civil society organizations), SLDF, Mungiki sect
<b>Summary:</b> Kenyan politics and the economy have been dominated since its independence in 1963 by the KANU party, which is controlled by the most numerous community in the country, the Kikuyus, to the detriment of the remaining ethnic groups. In 2002 the successor to the kleptocrat and authoritarian Daniel	

Arap Moi (in power for the previous 24 years) was defeated by Mwai Kibaki who promised to end corruption and redistribute wealth in a poor, agricultural country that bases its growth on tourism. Nevertheless, Kibaki's unkept promises fostered a climate of frustration and Raila Odinga became a threat to his hold on power without needing to base his campaign on tribal affiliation, but on change and the building of a more just society. Election fraud in December 2007 triggered an outbreak of violence that caused the death of 1,300 people and 300,000 displaced. After this situation an agreement was reached by both sectors to create a fragile national unity Government. At the same time, several areas of the country were the scene of inter-community disputes for land ownership, also politically instigated at the time of elections, and illegal activities by the Mungiki sect were a challenge to the stability of the country.

The year was marked by **the political crisis that affected the governmental coalition**, the result of the agreement after the 2007 post-election violence, and the **severe drought that gripped the country which caused a serious humanitarian crisis**.<sup>17</sup> President Mwai Kibaki has rejected criticism for his inaction, the failure to curb corruption, the continuing disputes between government partners, the slow progress in the implementation of political reforms, and the inability to cope with economic decline. However, a government panel presented the draft constitution that reduces presidential powers, increases those of the prime minister, creates the Senate and the Supreme Court and increases decentralization. The Government began the first national census in the last decade. The process sparked a controversial debate on ethnicity, since it asks people to identify their ethnic group in the census and this information could be used politically. This same information contributed to the outbreak of post-election violence in 2008 and on other occasions. **The U.S. threatened to ban flights for 15 top country officials and personalities as a form of pressure to promote reforms that are at a standstill**. After failing in an attempt to create a special court before September 30 to judge post-election violence, the government announced its willingness to cooperate with the ICC. Furthermore, at different times of the year the drought led to outbreaks of inter-community violence related to land and water ownership that caused dozens of victims across the country. There were also outbreaks of violence involving members of the Mungiki sect. Its leader, Maina Njenga, was released for lack of evidence in a charge of murder that he had been accused of.

DR Congo	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	=
<b>Type:</b>	Government, Resources Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, political and social opposition and former armed opposition groups

17. See Chapter 4 (Humanitarian crises).

### Summary:

Between 1998 and 2003 the so called “first African world war” took place in the DR Congo.<sup>18</sup> The signing of several peace agreements between 2002 and 2003 had implied the withdrawal of foreign troops and the creation of the Transitional National Government (TNG) which was made up of the former government, the political opposition, the RCD-Goma, RCD-K-ML, RCD-N, and MLC armed groups, and Mai Mai militias. Since June 2003 the TNG was led by President Joseph Kabila and four vice presidents, two of which belonged to the former insurgency: Azarias Ruberwa from the RCD-Goma and Jean-Pierre Bemba from the MLC. The TNG drafted the constitution, which was endorsed in December 2005. Between July and October 2006 legislative and presidential elections were held, in which Kabila was elected president, and Jean-Pierre Bemba came in second, amid a climate of heightened tension and accusations of fraud. The formation of the new government in 2007 did not stop instability and strife in the political arena.

The climate of political instability persisted in parallel with an escalation of violence in the eastern part of the country.<sup>19</sup> **In March the president of the National Assembly, Vital Kamerhe, resigned following the institutional crisis caused by the presence of Rwandan troops in Congolese territory**, as part of the joint operation that both countries had conducted between January and February. **Several organizations reported the use of violence, impunity and intimidation by the government to silence the opposition and human rights activists. The electoral process continued to be stalled during the year, prompting fears that it was not technically or logistically possible to hold municipal elections in June 2010.** One of the main issues was the fact that the census would only be ready in the capital, as well as the lack of funds for the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). Moreover, despite the climate of insecurity, political parties proposed that people return to their places of origin to participate in the elections, which went against the position of the United Nations and the IEC. Given these delays there was concern that President Joseph Kabila’s government was interested in holding both the municipal and general elections, scheduled for 2011, on the same day to achieve election gains. Currently the political opposition does not have a strong leader able to capitalize on the climate of discontent, according to several analysts. In mid-October the 2010 budget was approved despite criticism from the opposition and even from some members of the PPRD government. A vote of confidence against Prime Minister Adolphe Muzito failed and the tension between him and Kabila increased. In early November inter-community clashes broke out in northeastern DR Congo between Munzala and Eryele communities over fishing rights and land ownership, which caused the death of over 100 people and displaced another 184,000 in mid-December. More than 84,000 took refuge in neighbouring Congo. The government counter-offensive aggravated the situation.

### DR Congo – Rwanda – Uganda

<b>Intensity:</b>	1
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Identity, Government, Resources International
<b>Main parties:</b>	DR Congo, Rwanda and Uganda Governments, CNDP Congolese armed group, FDLR Rwandese armed group

### Summary:

The “first African world war”, so called due to the participation of up to eight countries in the region, took place in DR Congo between 1998 and 2003.<sup>20</sup> The signing of several peace agreements between 2002 and 2003 implied the withdrawal of hostile foreign troops (mainly Rwanda and Uganda). They justified their presence because of the insurgent groups in Congolese territory which they were attempting to eliminate since the Congolese Armed Forces were unwilling to finish them off. Meanwhile they controlled the eastern region and plundered the natural resources. DR Congo has relied on these groups that are hostile to Rwanda and Uganda, mainly the FDLR which caused the 1994 Rwanda genocide, to favour their own interests. Relations between the three countries remain difficult due to the existence of these groups and the failed implementation of the agreements to demobilize or put an end to them.

**During the year significant changes took place in the relations between DR Congo, Rwanda and Uganda.** DR Congo and Rwanda had accused each other repeatedly of supporting each other’s respective insurgencies. However, in January **DR Congo agreed to the entry of the Rwandan Army in their territory to pursue the Rwandan Hutu armed group FDLR, some of whose members are responsible for the genocide of 1994.** In return, **Rwanda was forced to capture Laurent Nkunda**, leader of the CNDP armed group who had been ousted from the leadership of the group and fled to Rwanda. One of the disputes between the two countries, the extradition of Nkunda, was still on hold. In parallel, the presidents of Rwanda and DR Congo met in Goma in August to restore diplomatic ties. This was the first official meeting between its leaders in over a decade. The leaders agreed to joint planning of economic activities and the reactivation of the DR Congo-Rwanda Joint Permanent Commission, which had been non-operational for the past 21 years. At the same time, the resumption of diplomatic relations between DR Congo and Uganda through the appointment of new ambassadors reopened lines of communication that had been severed 12 years previously due to the war. The military operation against the Ugandan LRA facilitated the formalization of these links. As part of the Kimia II Operation, FDLR members entered Burundi from DR Congo, according to Rwandan and Burundian government sources. The same sources warned that ex-combatants of the Burundian FNL, now a political party, would be joining the FDLR.<sup>21</sup>

18. See the summary of DR Congo (east) in Chapter 1 (Armed conflicts) and the summary of DR Congo-Rwanda-Uganda in this Chapter.

19. See Chapter 1 (Armed conflicts).

20. See the summary of DR Congo (east) in Chapter 1 (Armed conflicts).

21. See Chapter 1 (Armed conflicts).

## e) Northern Africa and Maghreb

Morocco – Western Sahara	
<b>Intensity:</b>	1
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	International Self-government, Identity, Territory
<b>Main parties:</b>	Morocco, Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), Polisario Front armed group

### Summary:

The roots of conflict can be found in the end of Spanish colonial rule in Western Sahara in the mid-seventies. Splitting the territory between Morocco and Mauritania, without taking into account the right to self-determination of the Sahrawis or commitments made regarding a referendum on independence in the area, led to the annexation of much of the territory by Rabat and the displacement of thousands of Sahrawis, who took refuge in Algeria. In 1976, the Polisario Front nationalist movement declared a government in exile -the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR)- and launched an armed campaign against Morocco. Both parties accepted a peace plan in 1988 and since 1991 the UN mission in the Sahara, MINURSO, monitors the ceasefire and is responsible for organizing a self-determination referendum in the territory. In 2007, Morocco submitted a plan to the UN for greater Western Sahara autonomy, but the Polisario Front called for a referendum that includes the option of independence.

In late 2009 the conflict between Morocco and Western Sahara garnered unusual international attention following Rabat's decision to deport the Sahrawi activist Aminatou Haidar. The woman was sent against her will to Spain, where she began a hunger strike to pressure the Spanish and Moroccan governments. Her situation led to diplomatic tensions and high-level contacts by the governments in Europe and the U.S., who attempted to get a commitment from Morocco to allow the activist's return. **After 32 days, Haidar was allowed to return to Western Sahara. The measure was justified by Rabat as a humanitarian gesture, and celebrated by Haidar as a victory for the Sahrawi cause.** Before the flap over this case, news reports warned of tougher actions by Moroccan authorities against Sahrawi activists, especially after King Mohammed VI's speech on the anniversary of the Green March, in which he called on security forces to act decisively against those he described as enemies of Morocco's territorial integrity. Shortly before, reports had been issued that several people had been arrested and a Moroccan military court would try seven pro-independence Sahrawis. In this context, in late November, the UN secretary general, Ban Ki-moon expressed concern over the growing tension between the parties in the negotiations on the future of Western Sahara. During the rest of the year little progress was made and attention was focused on the possibility of Rabat and the Polisario Front resuming their talks following the appointment in January of Christopher Ross as Ban Ki-moon's envoy for Western Sahara. After a visit to the area, Ross got the parties to hold an informal meeting, held in August in

Austria, but no important commitments were made public.<sup>22</sup> Earlier, Mohammed VI announced a plan to begin a process of regionalization in the country beginning in the southern provinces (Western Sahara). Meanwhile, in September, UNHCR cut in half estimates of the number of refugees in camps in Tindouf (Algeria) compared to the figure of 165,000 provided by the Polisario Front.

## America

### a) North America, Central America and the Caribbean

Haiti	
<b>Intensity:</b>	1
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Government Internationalized Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	MINUSTAH, Government, political and social opposition

### Summary:

After former president Jean Bertrand Aristide left the country in February 2004, which avoided an armed confrontation with the rebel group that had taken control of most of the country, a Multinational Interim Force and a UN peacekeeping mission (MINUSTAH) were consecutively deployed to assist the interim government to restore order and security. Although René Préval's election as the new president in early 2006 brought with it greater political, social and economic stability, there are still several problems, including allegations of human rights violations against the MINUSTAH, high crime rates, the control armed gangs have in certain urban areas, difficulties in the process of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration, the high levels of corruption, poverty and social exclusion, or lack of trust and cooperation between the major political parties.

During the first part of the year there were several violent incidents linked to elections to the Senate, while in the second half of the year continuing protests by thousands of students took on greater significance. In February, to mark the fifth anniversary of the departure from the country of former President Jean Bertrand Aristide, thousands of people marched to demand his return. The mobilizations increased significantly after the Provisional Electoral Council ruled out the candidacies of those close to Aristide for elections to the Senate. **In the two rounds of the elections, in the months of April and June, there were irregularities and violent incidents, such as attacks on polling stations, clashes between supporters of various political parties and electoral intimidation.** The most serious incidents occurred in the Central Plateau region, where election results were annulled. Moreover, since August and over a period of several months, **thousands of students held frequent demonstrations in favour of increasing the minimum wage and the implementation of significant changes in the educational system.** The demonstrators also protested against the presence in the country of MINUSTAH, which at different times of the year was involved in clashes with groups of

22. See Chapter 3 (Peace processes).



demonstrators. In early November, the Senate dismissed the prime minister, Michèle Pierre-Louis, on the grounds that he was not stimulating the economy or reducing poverty rates. In response to the concerns in the international community that this political vacuum could destabilize the country again, the Parliament rather quickly elected Jean-Max Bellerive as Prime Minister, the sixth person to hold the position since 2004. In December, hundreds of supporters of Jean Bertrand Aristide demonstrated again to demand that Fanmi Lavalas, the party led by the former president, be allowed to participate in the legislative elections scheduled for February 2010.

Honduras	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	De facto Government led by Roberto Micheletti, deposed Government led by Manuel Zelaya

**Summary:**

In 2009 the political and social tension in Honduras rose markedly after president Manuel Zelaya announced his intention to hold a referendum to amend the Constitution and run for a new term. The proposal was rejected by several political parties and considered illegal by Congress, the Army and various judicial and electoral institutions. Furthermore, social polarization grew stronger between those who supported the agenda of social and political transformation of Zelaya, elected in 2005, and he was accused of having drifted away from the majority view in his own party and of getting too close to the Governments that make up the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA), particularly Venezuela. Tension in the country reached a high point in late June after Zelaya ordered the dismissal of the head of the Joint Chiefs for refusing to distribute the ballots for the referendum, and after the Army took to the streets of Tegucigalpa.

**Honduras experienced one of the most serious political and social crises in recent history when, at the end of June, the Armed Forces perpetrated a coup** against President Manuel Zelaya, and forcibly relocated him to Costa Rica. According to the de facto Government that took power after Zelaya, Congress had dismissed the president and the Supreme Court had ordered his detention to avoid the referendum on constitutional reform, which would have allowed Zelaya's re-election. In the following months, hundreds of people were injured and arrested during the demonstrations that Zelaya's supporters continuously organized. Supporters of the de facto Government, led by the former president of Congress Roberto Micheletti, also held regular demonstrations. Internationally, most governments and international bodies did not recognize the de facto Government and political and economic sanctions were imposed to force Zelaya's return to power. In parallel, the president of Costa Rica, Oscar Arias, tried to facilitate a rapprochement between the parties and develop a plan to resolve the political crisis. **Zelaya returned secretly and**

**by surprise to Honduras in late September** and took refuge in the Brazilian Embassy to avoid arrest. The de facto Government declared a state of siege, ordered the military to surround the Brazilian Embassy and increased the repression against Zelaya's supporters. After pressure and diplomatic efforts by the international community, in late October the two sides signed an agreement which, among other things, provided for the formation of a national unity Government, the possibility that Congress would decide if Zelaya returned or not to office, and recognition of the elections scheduled for November 29. However, a few days later the agreement broke down due to mutual accusations by both parties. After the victory of Porfirio Lobo in the November 29 elections, not recognized by Zelaya and without international observers, **Congress overwhelmingly rejected Zelaya's return to the presidency.** In the final weeks of the year, both the president-elect and several Latin American countries tried to finalize a plan to overcome the impasse and facilitate Zelaya's departure.

**b) South America**

Bolivia	
<b>Intensity:</b>	1
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, Government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, political and social opposition (political parties, authorities and organizations of the civil society from the eastern departments)

**Summary:**

In late 2003, the then President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada fled into exile to the U.S. after the crackdown on several anti-government protests provoked more than 100 deaths in the months of February and October. After a period of uncertainty during which the two presidents took power on an interim basis, Evo Morales won the elections in December 2005, becoming the country's first indigenous president. However, the actions of his Government, especially agrarian reform or the nationalization of hydrocarbons, was hampered by fierce opposition to his political plans by various political parties and the eastern regions of the country which, led by the Department of Santa Cruz, demanded greater autonomy. Political tension and polarization also increased with the adoption of the new Constitution, which was directly rejected by the opposition and the departments of the so-called "half moon", as well as referendums on autonomy held in the eastern departments, deemed illegal by the Central Government.

Although the socio-political violence and tension dropped substantially compared to last year, high levels of social polarization continued to be reported and the authorities of the country's eastern departments continued to lead the opposition to Evo Morales' Government policies. **In January, the new Constitution was approved in a referendum by 61% of the population, but was defeated in the eastern departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, Beni and Pando.** The international community certified the transparency of the referendum de-

***Honduras experienced one of its most serious political and social crisis in its history as a result of the coup perpetrated by the Armed Forces in June***

spite allegations of fraud by the opposition. In the following months the Government and opposition parties met on several occasions to discuss the autonomous framework of the country and the implementation of the Constitution, but several sources of conflict prevented a rapprochement between the parties and led to protests, at different times of the year, both in favour of and against the Government. First, the profound disagreement between the Government and opposition regarding the new election law (which according to the opposition benefits Evo Morales) and the law of indigenous autonomy (which according to the opposition divides the country along ethnic and cultural lines). Second, the allegations by various political groups and human rights organizations regarding continuous attacks on the opposition. For its part, the Government repeatedly accused the opposition of funding mercenary groups to destabilize the country, especially after mid-April when an operation was dismantled that, according to the Government, intended to make an attempt on the life of Evo Morales and others political leaders. **The third source of tension was linked to the intense election campaign in December, in which Evo Morales with 64% of the vote beat his rival, Manfred Reyes Villa, the former governor of Cochabamba.**

Colombia – Venezuela	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Government International
<b>Main parties:</b>	Governments of Colombia and Venezuela

#### Summary:

The move towards the Venezuelan border by the FARC Colombian armed group because of military pressure from the Colombian Army, and the possibility that it may have infiltrated in Venezuelan territory and maintain bases there, sparked a diplomatic crisis between both countries. Furthermore, the growing military cooperation between Colombia and the U.S., based on the Plan Colombia to eradicate crops and provide support for counterinsurgency operations, has increased discontent among neighbouring countries who view with mistrust the installation of U.S. military bases near their borders. Moreover, the strategic differences between the Colombian and Venezuelan Governments regarding the role the U.S. should play in South America have fuelled animosity and confrontation between the two countries. Venezuela aims to use the UNASUR integration process as a way of counteracting the U.S.'s historic influence in the region. Meanwhile, Colombia remains one of the main allies of American power in the area, whose cooperation is key for the Colombian Government's policy to eradicate coca production and fight against the insurgency.

**The military strategy pursued by the Colombian Army to push the armed groups toward the border areas heightened tensions between Colombia and neighbouring countries, mainly Venezuela and Ecuador to a lesser extent,** due to the presence of FARC members in their territory and the repeated incursions by Colombian military forces in both countries without the approval of the respective Governments. Much of this tense atmosphere was related to the military cooperation agreement signed in October

by the U.S. and Colombia to set up, on Colombian soil, seven U.S. military bases and allow the use of ports, telecommunications and national defence infrastructures. This military alliance was seen by the Venezuelan Government as a direct threat, while UNASUR demanded assurances that these bases would not be used to launch attacks against any country in the region. Similarly, the announcement in September by the Venezuelan Government that they had purchased Russian arms worth 2,200 million dollars was seen by the U.S. as a serious challenge to stability in the region. The precarious diplomatic relationship has been fuelled by the growing militarization of their common border and the continuous references to a possible armed confrontation by Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, as well as by repeated allegations by Álvaro Uribe's Colombian Government regarding the complicity of the Venezuelan president due to the presence of the FARC in its territory. The bombing of two border bridges by the Venezuelan Army on November 19 in Venezuela or the arrest of three Colombian intelligence agents accused of not having permission to cross the border and investigate the murder of 10 Colombians on Venezuelan soil, were two incidents that highlighted the growing level of hostility between the two countries. **Diplomatic relations between both countries have been suspended and attempts at mediation have been unsuccessful** as well as the good offices requested by Colombia to Brazil, Spain and the Dominican Republic. Both Colombia and Venezuela filed complaints with various multilateral bodies, such as UNASUR, the OAS and the UN Security Council.

Peru	
<b>Intensity:</b>	3
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, armed opposition (remaining factions of the Shining Path [Sendero Luminoso]), and political and social (peasant and indigenous organizations)

#### Summary:

In 1980, precisely the year that the country returned to democracy, an armed conflict between the Government and the armed Maoist Shining Path began, lasted for two decades and killed over 60,000 people. Under the counterinsurgency policy in the nineties the state became more authoritarian in the hands of Alberto Fujimori, who in 2000 went into exile in Japan after being deposed by Congress and charged with numerous cases of corruption and human rights violations. Since 2008 actions by the remaining Shining Path factions have increased significantly in the regions of Alto Huallaga and particularly in the valley between the Apurímac and Ene Rivers (VRAE). The Government, which links Shining Path to drug trafficking, has increased dramatically its military operations in both regions and has refused any dialogue. Moreover, several groups, especially indigenous peoples, have held regular demonstrations to protest the economic policies of the Governments of Alejandro Toledo and Alan García.

In addition to the protests that at different times of the year several groups carried out (such as steel, metallur-



gy, mining, teaching, transport), the two main areas of tension were armed actions by Shining Path and clashes between Police and indigenous organizations in the Amazon region of Bagua. After more than two months of protests against legislation on the use and exploitation of natural resources in the Amazon by indigenous organizations, **serious conflicts in early June between the Police and hundreds of indigenous protesters killed at least 34 people and 22 were police officers.** However, social organizations considered that the number of indigenous deaths was much higher. After several weeks of international diplomatic pressure and demonstrations in several Peruvian cities, Alan García's Government repealed the decrees that sparked the protests. Furthermore, these events forced the resignation of Prime Minister Yehude Simon, prompting the reorganization of the administration and the appointment of Javier Velasquez as prime minister. Moreover, **during 2009 clashes increased between the Armed Forces and Shining Path in the regions of Alto Hualaga and in the Apurimac and Ene River Valley (VRAE).** Since the military offensive began in October 2008 it is estimated that about fifty soldiers (and an undetermined number of members of Shining Path) have died. On several occasions during the year, Shining Path leaders called for a political negotiation with the state on issues such as an amnesty for Shining Path combatants or closure of the military base in Callao. In November the founder of Shining Path, Abimael Guzmán, announced Shining Path's intention to become a political party and go to the polls in 2011.

## Asia

### a) Central Asia

Tajikistan	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Government, System Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, political (Islamic Renaissance Party) and social (regional groups: Gharmis and Pamiris) opposition, former warlords, illegal Islamist groups (Hizb-ut-Tahrir, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan [IMU])

#### Summary:

The socio-political crises affecting Tajikistan is linked largely to the armed conflict of 1992-1997, which pitted against each other two blocks marked by strong regional divisions: the opposition alliance of Islamist forces and anti-Communist liberal sectors (centre and east of the country) against the Government forces, heirs of the Soviet regime (north and south). The peace agreement of 1997 resulted in a power-sharing commitment with the incorporation of the Government opposition. In its post-war rehabilitation phase, the problems facing the country include regional socio-political crises (with growing public discontent in the Leninabadi population in the north of the country towards its former allies in the South, the Kulyabis, the dominant population group in power after the end of the war), the presence of some non-demobilized warlords in parts of the country, the increasing authoritarian rule,

corruption, high levels of poverty and unemployment, tensions with neighbouring Uzbekistan, the instability associated with its border with Afghanistan and the potential threat of armed Islamist groups.

Tension increased with new security incidents linked to irregular groups. **Security forces said they killed at least a dozen suspected insurgents, including several from the IMU,** in various operations on the outskirts of the capital, Dushanbe, and near the border with Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. In addition, several dozen people were arrested or imprisoned during the year on charges of terrorism or membership in proscribed groups, including Hizb ut-Tahrir and Jamoai Tablighi. Two bombs exploded in July near the airport of Dushanbe, while in the capital another explosion was reported which coincided with a meeting of the presidents of Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Russia to address security issues. In this regard, there were increased warnings regarding a **rise in the incidents in areas near the Afghan border, as well as a greater threat from Islamist groups in the Ferghana Valley.** Moreover, since mid-year there was increased military presence in areas of Tavildara and the Rasht Valley which, according to the Government was part of the anti-narcotics operations Poppy 2009. Nevertheless, some experts indicated that the campaign was actually designed to combat the opposition, such as former war commanders, including Mullo Abdullo, one of the UTO armed opposition leaders that did not recognize the 1997 peace agreement. Various media agencies said in June that Abdullo might have returned from Afghanistan to Tajikistan to recapture the area he controlled during the war, claims which the Government denied. The Government also reported the death of former minister and former leader of the UTO forces, Mirzo Ziyoev, at the hands of an armed group, although opposition sectors attributed his death to the state. Moreover, judicial proceedings were initiated against 49 allies of Ziyoev, including eight suspected members of the IMU, for an alleged plan of an armed operation to release imprisoned followers. Moreover, tension continued between Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan over the supply of electric power and natural resources.

Uzbekistan	
<b>Intensity:</b>	1
<b>Trend:</b>	=
<b>Type:</b>	System, Government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, political and social opposition, Islamist armed groups

#### Summary:

The regime of Islam Karimov, in power since 1989 (first as leader of the Uzbek Communist Party and since 1991 as president of the independent country), has been characterized by its systematic repression of the political, social and religious opposition, using a personalistic political system, tight control of public spaces and the violation of rights and freedoms. Since the late nineties, the country has suffered violent attacks by underground Islamist groups, notably the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU). Tension escalated in the country beginning in May 2005 following the regime's violent repression of demonstrations in Andijan, which result-

ed in the death of several hundred civilians and more than a thousand refugees fleeing to neighbouring countries.

**Incidents continued to be reported regarding irregular Islamist groups.** Regional instability and the climate of human rights abuses persisted. Several persons died in different incidents during the year. Two attacks in Andijan and in Khanabad (Ferghana Valley), which authorities blamed on a group of insurgents who had crossed from Kyrgyzstan, led Uzbekistan to temporarily close its border with its neighbouring country and a greater deployment of forces and controls. Kyrgyzstan rejected the Uzbek accusations and both countries accused each other of provisionally detaining several border guards. In parallel, the Uzbek Government criticized Russia's plans to build a second military base in Kyrgyzstan near the Uzbek border. Moreover, at least three people died in the capital, Tashkent, in an attack which the Government attributed to the IMU, although some analysts questioned the authorship. In relation to regional instability, the Commonwealth of Independent States warned that further deterioration of the situation in Afghanistan could severely affect Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Meanwhile, Pakistan's military announced that it had killed the leader of the IMU, Tohir Yuldash, in August in South Waziristan (Pakistan). Moreover, the Police detained 30 Muslim women in mid-November on unknown charges, in addition to the thirty arrested in late 2008 for allegedly being regional leaders of Hizb ut-Tahrir and accused them of religious extremism. Meanwhile, the Russian NGO Memorial reported that over 1,450 people have been politically persecuted in Uzbekistan between 2004 and 2008, including some thirty human rights activists. Also, the NGO Human Rights Watch denounced the **deteriorating human rights situation** as well as an increase in intimidation in the run up to parliamentary elections in December.<sup>23</sup> Despite this, in October the EU lifted the arms embargo against the Government claiming that there had been progress in the area of human rights.

## b) Southern Asia

India (Nagaland)	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, Identity Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, NSCN-K, NSCN-IM, NNC

### Summary:

The conflict that affects the state of Nagaland began after the British decolonization process in India (1947) when a Naga movement emerged demanding recognition for the collective rights of the population, mostly Christian, as opposed to the majority which are Indian Hindu. The founding of the NCC Naga organization in 1946 marked the beginning of political demands for independence for the Naga people. These

demands evolved over the following decades both in content (Nagaland independence or the creation of the Great Nagaland including territories from neighbouring states inhabited by Nagas) and in the methods of opposition, with the beginning of the armed struggle in 1955. In 1980 the NSCN armed opposition group is created as a result of disagreements with more moderate political groups, and eight years later split into two factions, Isaac Muivah and Khaplang. Since 1997 the NSCN-IM has maintained a ceasefire agreement and talks with the Indian Government, and they reached a ceasefire agreement in 2000, but in recent years the number of clashes between the two groups has multiplied.

During the year **violence dropped significantly** in the state compared to previous years, reversing a trend that had begun in 2005. This led to a change in its status to socio-political crises and not an armed conflict, as was the case in 2008. **Clashes between different armed Naga factions ceased almost entirely**, although extortion, intimidation and kidnapping continued to be reported. During the second quarter, **the main Naga insurgent organizations signed an agreement known as the "Covenant of Reconciliation"**.<sup>24</sup> This agreement was extended in September with the signing of the "Declaration of Commitment" by three insurgent organizations, NSCN-IM, NSCN-K and NNC, whereby they agreed to work together. The reduction in violence has resulted in a considerable decrease in the number of deaths. If in 2008 nearly 150 people died due to armed insurgency related violence, in 2009 the figure did not exceed twenty.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the mechanism for monitoring the ceasefire agreements agreed to some requests by the armed opposition group NSCN-K, such as the creation of new cantonment sites. At various times of the year the Government highlighted the reduction in violence and the progress made towards peace and reconciliation in the state,<sup>26</sup> but also expressed concern about the support the Naga insurgency was providing to armed groups in other Indian states.

## India – Pakistan

<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Identity, Territory International
<b>Main parties:</b>	India, Pakistan

### Summary:

The tension between the States of India and Pakistan began with the independence and partition of both and the dispute over Kashmir. On three occasions (1947-1948; 1965; 1971) the two countries have clashed in armed conflict, both claiming sovereignty over the region, which is split between India, Pakistan and China. The armed conflict in 1947 led to the current division and de facto border between the two countries. Since 1989, the armed conflict moved to the interior of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. In 1999, a year after

23. See Chapter 5 (Human Rights and Transitional Justice).

24. See Escola de Cultura de Pau, Barómetro number 20, September 2009 in <<http://escolapau.uab.es/img/programas/alerta/barometro/barometro20.pdf>>.

25. Figure provided by the SATP think tank. The mortality data for the different socio-political crises in India and Pakistan are from the same source, in <<http://www.satp.org/default.asp>>.

26. See Chapter 3 (Peace processes).

both countries carried out nuclear tests, the tension almost resulted in a new armed conflict which was paralyzed by U.S. mediation. In 2004 a peace process began, but with no substantial progress in resolving the Kashmir dispute, although there was significant rapprochement especially in economic relations. However, Indian allegations that Pakistan was supporting the insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir have persisted, and sporadic episodes of violence on the de facto border that divides the two States.

The relationship between India and Pakistan was strained during the year, although there was **some rapprochement between the two Governments in the second half of 2009**. The **peace process was suspended for all of 2009**, and the Indian Government conditioned its return to the negotiating table to the investigation and action taken by the Pakistani Government against the perpetrators of the bombings in Mumbai in November 2008, while Pakistan reiterated that it had no responsibility in the matter. Despite the formal interruption of the peace process, representatives of both Governments met on several occasions during the year although no agreement was reached to restart formal negotiations.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, the Indian administration denied it was supporting the insurgency in the Pakistani province of Baluchistan and the tribal areas. Pakistan asked the U.S. to pressure India to restart dialogue and thus be able to concentrate its efforts in combating the Taliban insurgency. Moreover, there were some episodes of tension on the Line of Control, the de facto border between the two countries. One Indian soldier died from gunfire from Pakistani territory, and it was not possible to identify whether it was the responsibility of the security forces or the insurgency. In addition, India accused Pakistan's Armed Forces of firing two missiles that landed in its territory with the intention of intimidating a contingent of border security forces composed entirely of women.

Nepal	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	System Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, Armed Forces, political and social opposition

#### Summary:

In 1996, an armed conflict, that lasted a decade, began between the Nepalese Government and the armed wing of the Maoist CPN-M, the People's Liberation Army (PLA), which sought to overthrow the monarchy and establish a Maoist republic, in a country affected by poverty, feudalism, inequality and the absence of democracy. After ten years of armed conflict and a self-coup by which the king assumed all state powers in 2005, at the end of April 2006 King Gyanendra ordered the reopening of parliament after several weeks of intense social protests which claimed the lives of about twenty people. The protests that led to the overthrow of the king were organized by a coalition of seven main democratic opposition parties and the Maoists. After the fall of the monarchy they unilaterally declared a ceasefire backed by the Interim Gov-

ernment. In November 2006 a peace agreement was signed which ended the armed conflict and subsequently a republic was declared. In 2008 a constituent assembly was established that will draft the new constitution of Nepal.

Tension increased in the country following the **political crisis triggered by the resignation of Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal**, after **President Ram Baran Yadav refused to support his decision to dismiss the chief of the Armed Forces** and expel the CPN-UML party from the Government. Following the resignation of Dahal, a new Government led by CPN-UML party was formed, with Madhav Kumar Nepal as Prime Minister. The new multi-party Government did not include the Maoist party UCPN(M), but several Madhesi parties did participate. In response, **tens of thousands of supporters of the UCPN(M) demonstrated on numerous occasions in the streets against the president and the new Government and the party warned several times that violence could be renewed**. In addition, violent clashes took place on several occasions between members of youth organizations from both the CPN(UML) and the UCPN(M) parties. International diplomats repeatedly expressed concern about the lack of commitment by the parties in implementing the 2006 peace accords. Moreover, the suggestion by the UN Secretary General to form a national unity Government to end the crisis was interpreted by the Administration as an attempt to interfere in Nepal's internal affairs. Of note was the resumption of work by the committee responsible for overseeing the integration and rehabilitation of former Maoist combatants. In addition, it resumed the demobilization process for 4,000 combatants, including child soldiers. The year ended with a new upsurge in political tension after the unilateral proclamation of 12 autonomous states by the Maoists, without any federal model having been established by Parliament, and the death of several people during their eviction from land occupied in an action led by Maoist supporters.

Nepal (Terai)	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, Identity Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, Madhesi political (MPRF) and armed (JTMM-J, JTMM, MMT, ATLF, among others) organizations

#### Summary:

The socio-political crises in the Terai region (in the south of the country along the border with India) has its origin in the historically marginalized Madhesi population and the dissatisfaction caused by the peace process begun in 2006 which ending the armed conflict that ravaged the country since 1996. The population of the Terai -around half the population of the country- has been the victim of historical, political, social and economic exclusion. The signing of a peace agreement and the approval of an interim constitution that ignored the feelings of outrage and demands for greater recognition led the Madhesi organizations to initiate protests in the early

27. See Chapter 3 (Peace processes).

months of 2007, which led to violent clashes with the police and the Maoists.

During the year there was a **decrease in violence and tension**. While the year began with several bombings in the southern region of Nepal, acts of violence decreased in number and intensity in parallel with the **negotiation process that the Government carried out with various armed groups**.<sup>28</sup> During the last quarter no attacks by armed Madhesi organizations were reported. The total number of deaths due to violence in Terai, linked to Madhesi demands, may have been less than twenty, a figure considerably lower than previous years. According to official sources, of the 110 active military organizations, only 12 are of an exclusively political nature, compared to 70 which are completely criminal. The Government of Nepal announced that there would be changes in the security strategy for the area, leading to armed opposition groups -Madhesi Mukti Tigers, Madhesi Virus Killers, Janakranti Samyukta Party Nepal Terai and Rajan Mukti faction of Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha- to proclaim the formation of a coalition in response to the lack of governmental willingness to implement the peace agreements reached with the Madhesi insurgency. For its part, the Government also said that peace negotiations would be undertaken only with organizations with political objectives, ruling out any talks with criminals.

Pakistan	
<b>Intensity:</b>	3
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Government, System Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, political and social opposition (PPP opposition party, judiciary), armed opposition (Taliban militias)

#### Summary:

In 1999 a coup by General Pervez Musharraf brings to an end the Government of then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and he accuses the current and previous Governments of mismanagement and corruption. The coup warranted international isolation for the new military regime which ended with the 9-11 attacks in 2001 Musharraf became the main U.S. ally in the region in the persecution of al-Qaeda. The perpetuation of Musharraf in power, the fact that he simultaneously held the positions of Head of State and Head of the Armed Forces, attempts to end the independence of the judiciary or the growing strength of Taliban militants in tribal areas bordering Afghanistan are some of the elements which explain the fragile political situation. In 2008, Musharraf resigned as president after his defeat in the legislative elections and was replaced in office by Asif Ali Zardari.

**The intensity of the internal political crisis declined**, especially after the Chief Justice, Iftikhar Mohammad Chaudhry, and the chief minister of Punjab province,

Shahbaz Sharif, brother of political leader Nawaz Sharif who was dismissed from his office by the Supreme Court, were reinstated in their positions. The year ended with the Supreme Court decision outlawing a decree passed by the previous president, Pervez Musharraf, which granted amnesty to 8,000 civil servants and senior officials accused of corruption. Following this decision the Defence and Interior ministers, along with 250 others, were summoned by the courts. The current president, also with various cases of corruption pending, enjoys presidential immunity. On the other hand, **there was a surge in violence across the country**. **The main cities**, particularly Islamabad, Lahore (capital of Punjab province) and Rawalpindi (location of the headquarters of the Armed Forces), **were the scene of multiple attacks that caused over 300 deaths across the country**.<sup>29</sup> This violence was blamed on the Taliban insurgency, which security forces are fighting in the northwest of the country.<sup>30</sup> Of note was the attack that took place against the Sri Lankan national cricket team and several more large-scale attacks in Lahore. The taking of several hostages inside the Rawalpindi headquarters by the Taliban insurgency for several days revealed the precarious security measures of the Armed Forces and the insurgency's ability to put the Government and the security forces against the wall. Moreover, President Asif Ali Zardari gave the prime minister, Yousuf Raza Gilani, control over the nuclear arsenal to defuse criticism for the accumulation of power that had resulted from the reforms of his predecessor, general Pervez Musharraf.

Sri Lanka (northeast)	
<b>Intensity:</b>	3
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, Identity Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, LTTE, Tamil political and social opposition

#### Summary:

In 1983, the Tamil pro-independence armed opposition group, the LTTE, began the armed conflict that has ravaged Sri Lanka for the past three decades. After the decolonisation of the island in 1948, the growing marginalisation of the Tamil population by the Government, which is mostly made up of the Sinhalese elite, led the group to fight for the establishment of an independent Tamil State. Since 1983, each of the three phases of the conflict has ended with a failed peace process. In 2002, peace negotiations began once again with Norwegian mediation, following the signing of a ceasefire agreement. The failure of the talks sparked a violent renewal of the armed conflict in 2006. In May 2009, the Armed Forces inflicted a military defeat on the LTTE and regained control over the entire country after killing the armed group's leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran.

**The situation of the internally displaced Tamil population**, detained in camps set up by the Government, was the main source of tension in the country after the end

28. See Chapter 3 (Peace processes).

29. This does not include those killed in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and North-West Frontier Province. The events in these areas are discussed in the section Pakistan (northwest) in Chapter 1 (Armed Conflicts).

30. See Chapter 1 (Armed conflicts).



of armed conflict in May.<sup>31</sup> Between 250,000 and 300,000 people were forced to remain in Government facilities in poor conditions, while the Government conducted a screening process in search of members of the armed opposition group that officials said were camouflaged among the civilian population. Many governments, the United Nations and organizations that defend human rights expressed concern for the situation of this population and pointed out that the existence of these camps hindered any possible reconciliation process in the country. Finally, international pressure in the month of November led the Government to allow just over half of the displaced persons to leave these facilities.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the **head of the Armed Forces and architect of the military defeat of the LTTE**, General Sarth Fonseka, announced his resignation amid numerous rumours of his **possible candidacy for the presidential elections** to be held in January 2010, two years before the end of President Mahinda Rajapakse's current term in office. As for the LTTE armed opposition group, after the death of its leader Velupillai Prabhakaran, Selvarasa Pathmanathan was proclaimed his successor. He was in turn succeeded by Visvanathan Rudrakumaran after his arrest in Thailand. The Tamil diaspora in exile announced the formation of a Provisional Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam and will hold referendums in different countries which propose the creation of an independent Tamil state. The year ended with the appearance of a Tamil Marxist armed opposition group, the People's Liberation Army (PLA), which announced it would carry out attacks against the Government and the Armed Forces to ensure the establishment of an independent Tamil state.

### c) Eastern Asia

China (Tibet)	
<b>Intensity:</b>	1
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, System, Identity Internationalized Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Chinese Government, Dalai Lama and Tibetan Government in exile, political and social opposition in Tibet and surrounding provinces

#### Summary:

In 1950, a year after it won the Chinese civil war, the Communist Government of Mao Tse-tung invaded Tibet and during the decade that followed increased its military, cultural and demographic pressure on the region and quelled several attempts at rebellion which killed thousands of people. Given the brutality of the occupation, in 1959 the Dalai Lama and tens of thousands of people fled Tibet and went into exile in several countries, especially in Nepal and northern India where the Government has its headquarters in exile. In recent decades, both the Dalai Lama as well as numerous human rights organizations have denounced the repression, demographic colonization and attempts at acculturation undergone

by the Tibetan people, part of whose territory has the status of autonomous region. The dialogue between the Dalai Lama and Beijing has been interrupted several times by the Chinese Government's accusations regarding alleged secessionist goals by the Dalai Lama. The outbreak of violence that took place in 2008, the fiercest in recent decades, interrupted the dialogue again and significantly undermined the parties' mutual trust.

Rates of violence declined substantially compared to 2008, though human rights organizations and **groups of Tibetans in exile denounced on several occasions that the Government continues its repressive and discriminatory policies towards the Tibetan community**. In the first quarter, hundreds of people were arrested in connection with the Tibetan New Year celebration and the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the failed uprising against Chinese occupation. In late March, a hundred people were arrested for an alleged attack on a police checkpoint in the province of Qinghai. However, the biggest protests in the Tibetan community took place in Nepal where much of the Tibetan diaspora lives. In mid-July, fifteen people were arrested in Kathmandu during a demonstration outside the United Nations headquarters to demand a more active role of the organization in the Tibetan conflict.

The protest organizers announced their intention to demonstrate on the 14th of each month to commemorate the most virulent outbreak of violence in recent decades in Tibet, which began on March 14, 2008. Also in Nepal (and China) dozens of people were arrested after a court convicted and sentenced to death four persons for the aforementioned outbreak of violence. **In October, the tension in Tibet and Nepal rose again in relation to the 60th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China** and the Nepalese police detained about 80 people. In December, between 60 and 150 people were arrested in Sichuan province when they were demonstrating to demand the release of a prominent Tibetan activist. In the political sphere, the Chinese Government repeatedly reaffirmed its refusal to grant greater autonomy to Tibet and continued to accuse the Dalai Lama of encouraging the secessionist movement. In addition, Beijing criticized the Governments and agencies that received the Dalai Lama, and accused of interference those who denounced the human rights situation in Tibet or those who urged a renewal of dialogue to resolve the conflict.

China (East Turkestan)	
<b>Intensity:</b>	3
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, System, Identity Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Chinese Government, armed opposition (ETIM, ETLO), political and social opposition

#### Summary:

Xinjiang, also known as East Turkestan or Uyghuristan, is the westernmost region of China. It holds significant hydrocarbon

31. See Chapter 1 (Armed conflicts).

32. See Chapter 4 (Humanitarian Crises).

deposits and has historically been inhabited by the Uyghur population which is mainly Muslim and has major cultural ties with Central Asian countries. After decades of acculturation policies, exploitation of natural resources and strong demographic colonization, which has substantially altered the structure of the population and caused community tensions since the fifties, several secessionist groups began armed action against the Chinese Government, especially in the nineties. Beijing considers groups such as ETIM or ETLO to be terrorist organizations, and has sought to link its counterinsurgency strategy to the so-called global war on terrorism. In 2008, during the celebration of the Olympic Games in Beijing, there was an increase in armed attacks by insurgent groups, while 2009 was witness to the most intense community clashes of recent decades.

Although the activity of armed opposition groups was much lower than last year, in 2009 Xinjiang was the scene of the most serious episode of violence in recent decades. In early July, **about 200 people were killed and more than 1,700 wounded in the city of Urumqi in clashes between Han and Uyghur communities and through the actions of state security forces** to contain the spiralling violence. The incidents, which led to the arrest of some 1,600 people, the deployment of thousands of additional police officers and the imposition of a curfew, began following protests by the Uyghur community for the death of two workers at a factory in the Chinese province of Guandong. Beijing accused the organization in exile, the World Uyghur Congress, and its leader, Rebiya Kadeer, of instigating the violence in Xinjiang. At the international level, several governments, international agencies and human rights organizations criticized the disproportionate use of force by state security forces and the treatment public authorities accord to the Uyghur community. In addition, Human Rights Watch reported in October that 50 Uyghur people had disappeared after being arrested during the clashes in July. In the last quarter of the year up to 22 people were sentenced to death for their involvement in the confrontations. Although tension decreased substantially during the months of July and August, **in mid-September another outbreak of violence was reported in the city of Urumqi in which five people were killed and 14 wounded**. This time, violence broke out after thousands of people, mostly ethnic Han, protested in the streets of Urumqi against a series of attacks with syringes. According to Beijing, the people who carried out those attacks were part of organized groups. The protests led to the ouster of the Communist Party leader in Urumqi and the chief of police in Xinjiang province.

Korea, DPR – Rep. of Korea	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	System Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	DPR Korea, Rep. of Korea
<b>Summary:</b>	
After the end of World War II and the occupation of the Korean peninsula by Soviet (north) and U.S. (South) troops, it was divided into two countries. The Korean War (1950-53) ended with an armistice -technically the two countries remain at war- and the establishment of a de facto border at the 38th parallel.	

Although in the seventies a dialogue on reunification began, both countries have threatened on several occasions to take military action. Thus, in recent decades there have been numerous armed incidents, both on the common border between the two countries (one of the most militarized areas in the world) and the sea border in the Yellow Sea and the West Sea. Although in 2000 the leaders of both countries held a historic meeting where they agreed to the establishment of confidence-building measures, tension again rose significantly when South Korean President Lee Myung-bak took office in 2007.

In 2009 the relationship between the two countries experienced some of the moments of greatest political and military tension in recent years. On the occasion of the joint exercises conducted each year by troops from South Korea and the U.S., and that involve the deployment of some 28,000 U.S. troops on the Korean peninsula, during the early months of the year the North Korean Government greatly increased its war rhetoric, closed the border, cut military communication with its neighbour and stated that it was breaking off all previous agreements with the South Korean Government. Political tension continued throughout most of the year, as evidenced by the detention of a South Korean fishing boat in July or the retention of a South Korean worker for more than four months (his release came after a visit by the president of Hyundai to Pyongyang). However, on the occasion of the funeral of former South Korean President Kim Dae-jung, a North Korean delegation visited Seoul and reached an agreement with the South Korean Government on some confidence-building measures, such as the reunion of families separated by war. **Military tension between the two countries rose again significantly late in the year after a naval clash in the Yellow Sea (or West Sea) in which a North Korean crew member was killed and three were wounded**. Seoul said that the incident, the first of its kind in seven years, had occurred because the North Korean ship that had ventured into South Korean waters illegally failed to respond to warning signals. However, Pyongyang demanded an apology from the South Korea administration for the incident, stated it would take all necessary actions to defend its sea border and activated its missile radar system, prompting some South Korean vessels to change their usual routes. In the month of December, South Korean President Lee Myung-bak expressed his willingness to meet with North Korean leader Kim Jong-Il to address the issue of dismantling North Korea's nuclear program and the liberation of war prisoners and other persons arrested by Pyongyang in recent decades. However, North Korea denies that it has prisoners of war and claims that those arrested had left their country voluntarily.

Korea, DPR – USA, Japan, Rep. of Korea	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Government International
<b>Main parties:</b>	DPR Korea, USA, Japan, Rep. of Korea, China, Russia
<b>Summary:</b>	
International concern over the North Korean nuclear program goes back to the early nineties, when the North Korean Government restricted the presence of observers from the International Atomic Energy Agency and carried out several missile	



tests. However, international tension increased significantly after 2002 when the U.S. administration of George W. Bush included the North Korean regime in the “axis of evil”. A few months after Pyongyang restarted a major nuclear reactor and also withdrew from the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, in 2003 multilateral talks began on the nuclear issue in the Korean peninsula with the participation of the Governments of North Korea, South Korea, U.S., Japan, China and Russia. In April 2009, North Korea announced its withdrawal from the talks after the United Nations imposed new sanctions on the country for the launch of a long-range missile.

The tension between North Korea and several countries (notably USA, Japan and South Korea and to a lesser extent, China and Russia) over the nuclear program that Pyongyang is developing experienced a significant escalation over previous years. **In April, Pyongyang launched a long-range missile (a communications satellite according to the North Korean Government) and, a few weeks later several short-range missiles and conducted an underground nuclear test.** These actions led to angry protests by many countries and the imposition of new sanctions by the UN Security Council, such as the prohibition of exporting and importing arms. The North Korean regime declared that it would continue with its nuclear program and would consider the interception of any of its ships a declaration of war. Moreover, Pyongyang expelled several international observers and interrupted its relations with the International Atomic Energy Agency, which had certified that North Korea had achieved considerable nuclear capability. **In July, the international community condemned both the launch of new short-range missiles from its east coast** as well as the use of a growing war rhetoric in the face of the possible imposition of new sanctions. Similarly, in October it was announced that North Korea had launched another five short-range missiles from its east coast. Moreover, the international community was concerned by Pyongyang's announcement that it continued to process fuel rods to extract plutonium, an essential process for the manufacture of atomic bombs. Several analysts considered these actions by the North Korean Government as a way of exerting pressure before the forthcoming bilateral talks announced by U.S. President Barack Obama. In December, the U.S. special envoy met in Pyongyang with North Korean authorities. Both sides agreed to continue the dialogue to restart the six-party talks and to implement a 2005 joint statement urging North Korea to dismantle its nuclear program in exchange for political and economic incentives.

#### d) Southeast Asia and Oceania

Philippines (Mindanao-MNLF)	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, Identity Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, factions of the MNLF armed group

#### Summary:

Although active throughout the twentieth century, the independence movement in Mindanao became politically organized during the sixties and began the armed struggle in the early seventies, at the hands of the MNLF. Many of the 120,000 people estimated to have died in Mindanao in the conflict were killed in the seventies during the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos. A faction of the MNLF, the MILF split away from the group soon after it signed a peace agreement in 1976 with the Government which provided for Mindanao's autonomy (not independence). Despite the agreement, the armed conflict continued until 1996 when another peace agreement, similar to the one from 1976, was signed. In recent years, some MNLF factions that have not disarmed have staged some episodes of violence to demand the full implementation of the peace agreement and the release of the founder of the MNLF, Nur Misuari, who was arrested in 2001 after being accused of rebellion. Although tension has decreased since 2007 because of the agreement between the parties to review and implement the 1996 peace agreement and the authorization for Misuari to participate in political activities, sporadic clashes still occur in parts of Mindanao.

While active negotiations continued between the MNLF and the Government to fully implement the 1996 peace agreement,<sup>33</sup> **at various times during the year there were clashes between the MNLF and the Armed Forces.** In August, ten members of the MNLF were killed and several were caught in Balabac Island in Palawan province. According to authorities, the MNLF, led by Abdullah Abdujarak, was extorting the local population, which had caused some 800 families to flee. However, the group's founder, Nur Misuari accused the Army of having committed a massacre against their group. Later in the month of October, four people were killed and nine wounded during an attack on a military post by a faction of the MNLF led by Habier Malik. At the same time, a group calling itself the Bangsamoro National Liberation Army claimed responsibility, together with the MNLF, for a bombing that killed two U.S. Marines near Indanan town. The group charged that the Philippine and U.S. troops were conducting a military offensive against the MNLF and threatened further attacks if they continued the actions. In addition, the Government continued to accuse some of the MNLF factions of cooperating with the armed opposition group Abu Sayyaf, particularly in Sulu. Moreover, **the Police stated that the year was also witness to several clashes between members of the MNLF and MILF, although other sources claim it was fighting among clans, families or communities known as “rido”.** In one of the most significant episodes of this kind of violence which took place in the month of May, more than 20 people were killed and 10,000 others were forced to flee in the provinces of Maguindanao and Sultan Kudarat. In December, the MNLF leader and mayor of Cotobato, Muslimin Sema, denied having a private army of about 1,000 troops, as military intelligence sources had revealed.

33. See Chapter 3 (Peace processes).

## Box 2.2. The Maguindanao massacre

On 23 November 2009, 57 people were killed near the town of Ampatuan (Maguindanao Province, Philippines) on their way to the presentation of the candidacy of Esmael Mangudadatu. Of those killed 34 were journalists, and some media sources pointed out that this is the worst slaughter of journalists registered to date. Several of the women who were in the convoy (among them the wife and two sisters of Esmael Mangudadatu) were raped before being killed, and most of them were beheaded. According to several sources, the slaughter had been perpetrated by a hundred armed men in the service of Andal Ampatuan (leader of one of the most powerful clans in Mindanao) and commanded by his son whose name is also Andal Ampatuan.

The Government declared a state of emergency in the city of Cotobato and the provinces of Sultan Kudarat and Maguindanao (where martial law was also subsequently declared), in addition to deploying hundreds of troops to restore security in the area. About 60 people, including Andal Ampatuan (Jr.), were arrested, while several hundred militiamen in the service of Ampatuan were disarmed. However, the Government believes that thousands of people are currently fleeing the Armed Forces in various parts of Mindanao. On the other hand, the party of President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo (Lakas Kampi CMD) expelled Andal Ampatuan (Maguindanao governor until then) from the party and his sons Zaldy (governor of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao) and Andal (Mayor of Ampatuan). Andal Ampatuan (Jr.) pled not guilty to all charges (claiming to be somewhere else at the time of the events) and in turn blamed commander Umbra Kato, one of the most wanted MILF commanders. The MILF vehemently denied any involvement in the events and ordered its members to remain stationed at their camps to avoid interfering in the search and seizure work of the Armed Forces.

Despite belonging to the same party, previous episodes of violence had been reported related to the rivalry between the Ampatuan and Mangudadatu clans. Tension had increased in 2009 because of Esmael Mangudadatu's intention to run for the post of governor of Maguindanao in the 2010 elections. After having served on two consecutive occasions as governor of the province, and given the impossibility of running for a third term, Andal Ampatuan wanted his son to hold the office. According to some sources, the president herself and several senior Government officials have mediated between the two clans (who hold more than twenty public offices in the province, especially the Ampatuans) to avoid an escalation of violence. According to these sources, after several meetings, Esmael Mangudadatu had committed not to run for governor. In addition to the rivalry between Mangudadatu and Ampatuan, several analysts have pointed to some issues that help understand the nature of violent acts such as this massacre, including the notable increase of violence in pre-electoral periods throughout the country, especially in Mindanao; the widespread availability of weapons in the region; the long duration of the armed conflict between the Government and various Moro armed groups; the existence of militias and private armies in the service of local politicians; and the absent or dysfunctional justice system in various parts the territory, which encourages impunity, or recurrence of the "rido" phenomenon (family and clan clashes linked to power struggles and acts of honour and revenge).

### Indonesia (West Papua)

<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, Identity, Resources Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, OPM armed group, political and social opposition (secessionist, pro-autonomy, indigenous and human rights organizations), Papuan indigenous groups, Freeport mining

#### Summary:

Although Indonesia achieved independence from Holland in 1949, West Papua (formerly Irian Jaya) was administered for several years by the United Nations and was not formally part of Indonesia until 1969, after a referendum that many considered fraudulent. Since then, a deeply rooted secessionist movement exists in the region and an armed opposition group (OPM) that carries out a low-intensity armed struggle. In addition to the constant demands of self-determination there are other trouble spots in the region, such as conflicts between various indigenous communities, tension between the local population (Papuan and mostly animist or Christian) and so-called transmigrants (mostly Muslim Javanese), protests against the transnational extractive corporation Freeport, the largest in the world, or allegations against the Armed Forces for human rights violations and unjust enrichment.

The first months of the year saw a notable increase in violence, socio-political tension and demonstrations for independence, which the Government attributed to the proximity of elections in April. Earlier this year the Government stepped up security measures in the Puncak Jaya region after detecting an increase in OPM activity. Months later, the organization West Papua National Coalition for Liberation reported that more than 30 people, mostly soldiers, could have been killed in the fighting in that region. **Some of the most serious violence occurred in early April, when fighting between the Armed Forces and the OPM killed 11 people and displaced several thousand people near the border with Papua New Guinea.** In addition, several houses and the University of Cendrawasih were burned. In the previous weeks, four civilians were killed in various acts of violence. During the elections there were no significant incidents, although there were several initiatives to boycott the elections in regions such as Nubile, Wamena or Nubira. At mid-year there was a significant **increase in violence in the region where the U.S. multinational mining company Freeport operates.** In July, three people died and ten others were wounded near the headquarters of the company, the world's largest in its field. Although initially blamed on the OPM armed group, some sources said that such actions may be linked to organized crime or even rivalry between the Police and the Armed Forces to secure Freeport's protection services contract. At the end of the year, several people were arrested during the

commemoration of West Papua's independence. Moreover, in early December, 250 people attacked the office of the governor of West Papua in Manokwari to demand the appointment of an indigenous leader as president of the West Papuan Parliament.

Indonesia (Aceh)	
<b>Intensity:</b>	1
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, Identity, Resources Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Indonesian Government, Regional Government of Aceh, political opposition

#### Summary:

After nearly 30 years of armed conflict between the Armed Forces and the GAM armed separatist group, both sides signed a peace agreement in August 2005, just months after the tsunami had completely devastated the province and brought about the arrival of hundreds of NGOs. The peace agreement which provided for broad autonomy for Aceh, the demilitarization of the region, the disarmament of the GAM and the deployment of an international mission to oversee its implementation, led to a significant reduction in the levels of violence and made regional elections possible for the first time in the history of the region, a former GAM leader being the winner. Despite the progress made in the peace process and reconstruction, in the years following the signing of the peace agreement there have been several conflicts related to the reintegration of combatants, to demands for the creations of new provinces or to allegations of corruption and incompetence against public authorities.

**In the first months of the year Aceh experienced the most important spiral of violence since the signing of peace the agreement in August 2005.** From December 2008 to February 2009, 16 people were killed, 50 injured and many buildings and vehicles were set afire. Several research centres attributed these acts of violence to the proximity of the Indonesian parliamentary elections on April 9 -local political parties were able to participate for the first time in the history of Aceh- and to fears of a landslide victory by former GAM combatants which could again open the door to independence for Aceh. Partai Aceh, the political party founded from the GAM, was the one most affected by pre-election violence (four of its members were killed), although during the first quarter up to 13 attacks against the headquarters of various political groups were reported. Finally, **the elections took place without major incidents and under the watchful eye of numerous local and international organizations.** Partai Aceh received 48.9% of the vote, and far behind was the Democratic Party of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (10.9% of the vote) and the Golkar Party, led by Vice President Jusuf Kalla (5.3%). During the second half of the year the levels of political and social tension declined significantly. However, during the month of November a series of consecutive attacks against foreign workers took place, although no group claimed responsibility.

Laos	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	=
<b>Type:</b>	System, Identity Internationalized Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, political and armed organizations of Hmong origin

#### Summary:

Several Hmong organizations in exile and human rights groups reported that, since it took power in 1975, the Government has systematically repressed the Hmong community for its support of U.S. troops during the War in Indochina in the sixties and seventies. Although currently some 275,000 Hmong people are living in the U.S. and several thousands have lived in recent years in a refugee camp in Thailand, it is estimated that there are still thousands of people living in jungle areas in the north of the country. The harsh humanitarian conditions and the military repression of the Laos and, to a lesser extent, Vietnam Governments cause the death of dozens of people each year. Moreover, several human rights organizations and the thousands of Hmong refugees in northeastern Thailand are opposed to their repatriation to Laos on the grounds that their safety is not guaranteed there.

**Allegations by human rights organizations continued regarding the Thai Government's intention to repatriate to Laos some 5,000 Hmong people who have lived for years in refugee camps in the Thai provinces of Petchabun and Nongkhaito.** Although these organizations believe that Laos does not currently meet the conditions for a safe return, Bangkok has already repatriated more than 2,000 Hmong people in recent years and has reiterated to Laos its commitment to continue with the repatriations. Organizations such as MSF reported that Bangkok is coercing the refugees and is blocking the arrival of food to the camps to force their repatriation. The second source of tension was the repression by the Laotian authorities against ethnic Hmong living in Laos which has been denounced by the Hmong organizations in exile. **According to the Center for Public Policy Analysis, dozens of Hmong people were killed at different times of the year by the Laotian Army with occasional help from the Vietnamese Armed Forces.** This organization reported that the Laotian Army could be committing acts of ethnic cleansing in certain regions of the country (such as Phou Da Phao, Phou Bia, Sannoi, Luang Prabang or Borikhamshai) and warned in early April that the lives of about 6,700 people were in danger. Similarly, other organizations such as the Congress of World Hmong People or Hmong ChaoFa Federation State denounced the continued violation of the rights of the Hmong people and warned that the Laotian state could be committing war crimes. Moreover, these organizations reported that on the occasion of the celebration of the Southeast Asian Games in Laos and the visit to the region by U.S. President Barack Obama, more than 1,170 political and religious dissidents had been arrested.

Myanmar	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	=
<b>Type:</b>	System Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, political and social opposition (NLD opposition party)

#### Summary:

A coup in 1962 was the beginning of the Government of the Military Junta that has since remained in power. The military Government abolished the federal system and imposed a harsh dictatorship, known as the “Burmese Way to Socialism.” In 1988, the economic crisis led thousands of people to express their dissatisfaction in the street. These demonstrations were harshly repressed by the military regime killing 3,000 people. Nevertheless, the Government called an election whose outcome was never recognized after the democratic opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi won the election, was subsequently arrested and has been under arrest intermittently since then. In 2004, the Government begins a process of reforming the Constitution in an attempt to provide an image of openness for the regime which was discredited by the political opposition to the dictatorship.

The situation in the country was marked by several major events that occurred throughout the year. First, the **opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi**, charged with violating the conditions of her house arrest after a U.S. citizen barged into her home, **was tried and sentenced to 18 months of house arrest despite protests by the international community**.<sup>34</sup> Second, the **U.S. Government announced a change in its policy towards Myanmar** and appointed Kurt Campbell as Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs to act as interlocutor with Myanmar. Campbell met with Prime Minister General Thein Sein, and other government representatives and opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi and other members of the political and ethnic opposition during a visit to the country. While the U.S. Administration said its intention was not to immediately end the sanctions on the country, it said it would be willing to improve relations if there were steps towards democracy. The U.S. announced that its aims were to support human rights, achieve the release of Aung San Suu Kyi and all other political prisoners and the promotion of democratic reforms. Moreover, **the opposition leader initiated a dialogue with foreign diplomats to address the issue of economic sanctions on Myanmar**. She also met with several leaders of her party after being authorized to do so and called for the reorganization of the party. Finally, in regard to the 2010 elections, the Government continued to pressure several armed groups to become border security forces and several political parties close to the military regime were formed. In addition, harassment and persecution of political opposition activists and defenders of human rights continued.

Thailand	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, political and social opposition

#### Summary:

Although since coming to power in 2001, many sectors denounced Thaksin Shinawatra's authoritarian style, his campaign against drug trafficking (which killed over 2,000 people) or his militaristic approach to the conflict in the south, the socio-political crisis that Thailand has suffered in recent years escalated in 2006. That year, after a case of corruption was made public, there were massive demonstrations demanding the resignation of Thaksin Shinawatra until, in the month of September, a military Junta staged a coup that forced him into exile. While in August 2007 a new constitution was approved by referendum, the new Government failed to reduce social and political polarization in the country. Thus, a party loyal to Thaksin Shinawatra won the elections in December 2007. However, during 2008 there were numerous acts of violence and mass demonstrations against the Government, prompting the resignation of two prime ministers and the coming to power in December 2008 of Abhisit Vejjajiva, member of the opposition to Thaksin Shinawatra.

**On several occasions the Government imposed a state of emergency and invoked the Internal Security Act to address the massive mobilizations that continued throughout the year, especially by followers of former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra.** The United Front of Democracy and Against Dictatorship (FUDD), a supporter of Thaksin Shinawatra, demanded the dissolution of parliament and early elections, considering that the current Government of Abhisit Vejjajiva lacked legitimacy. The protests led by the FUDD prevented the holding of an ASEAN summit in Bangkok in February, and in April caused the emergency evacuation of participants in other ASEAN summit in the city of Pattaya after the protesters invaded the compound where the meeting was being held. Also in April, two people died and 120 were injured in the course of anti-government protests. Amid growing tension, heightened by statements by Thaksin Shinawatra from abroad which questioned the legitimacy of Government, the Administration was willing to address some of the demands of the FUDD. However, the **People's Alliance for Democracy, an opposition movement to Thaksin Shinawatra and his related parties, threatened to resume protests if parliament amended the constitution or gave amnesty to politicians close to Thaksin**, which had been barred from politics after being found guilty of electoral fraud. Tension in the country increased substantially after the Cambodian Government appointed Thaksin Shinawatra as economic adviser and allowed him to reside in Cambodia and move freely throughout the territory. This decision by the Cambodian Government raised diplomatic tension between the two countries and led to protests by thousands of people in Thailand. In December, several thou-

34. See Chapter 5 (Human Rights and Transitional Justice)



sand people protested once more against the Government in a demonstration in which Thaksin Shinawatra, from abroad, criticized the country's instability.

Thailand – Cambodia	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	=
<b>Type:</b>	Territory International
<b>Main parties:</b>	Thailand, Cambodia

#### Summary:

The origin of the dispute between the two countries is the sovereignty over a piece of land of approximately 4.6 km<sup>2</sup> which surrounds the Buddhist temple of Preah Vihear, built in the eleventh century, which is situated on the border between Thailand and Cambodia. After centuries of dispute, in 1962 the International Court of Justice ruled that the temple belonged to Cambodia, but did not rule over the territory around the temple. However, the fact that the best access to the temple is from the Thai side, as well as Thailand's disagreement about the historical maps used for the decision by the International Court of Justice, have fuelled the claims by Thailand in recent decades. The disputed border region has a large number of troops and landmines.

Military tension between the two countries reached its peak in early April, when **three soldiers were killed and 10 wounded after an exchange of fire between the armies at the border**. The clashes also caused the displacement of hundreds of people. The Cambodian Government accused the Thai Army of having crossed the border and demanded compensation for the damage caused. Although after the fighting was over both Governments appealed for calm and said they were working to resolve the conflict, the Cambodian Armed Forces repeatedly warned that it would repel any aggression from Thailand. The second greatest moment of tension during the year occurred in September when the People's Alliance for Democracy –the movement that had led protests against the former Thai Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra- mobilized thousands of people on the border between both countries to demand a firmer stance by Bangkok in the territorial dispute that pits the two states against each other. Dozens of people were injured in clashes between protesters and Thai security forces. For its part, the Cambodian Administration increased the deployment of troops at the border, gave orders to shoot anyone trying to cross and announced its intention to raise the issue before international forums such as ASEAN or the UN Security Council. **Bilateral relations deteriorated again later in the year after Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen decided to appoint Thaksin Shinawatra**, who visited Cambodia a few days later, **as economic adviser to his Government**. Immediately, Bangkok recalled its ambassador (in response Phnom Penh did the same), cancelled development aid, threatened to review the agreements reached by both Governments in recent years and to close several border crossings.

## Europe

### a) Western, Central and Eastern Europe

Moldova	
<b>Intensity:</b>	1
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, political opposition

#### Summary:

Moldova, one of Europe's poorest countries, emerged as an independent state in 1991, as part of the decomposition of the USSR. Most of its territory between the rivers Dniester and Prut, historically known as Bessarabia, was annexed by the USSR in the forties, with Romania controlling the western half of the historical Moldova. In turn, the Soviet regime joined the Transnistria region, with a Slavic majority and until then an autonomous region within Ukraine, to Besarabia. Since independence, Moldova has gone through periods of instability, partly linked to its historical development. Thus, the nineties were marked by tension between the sectors in favour of re-establishing ties with Romania and those that advocated Moldovan independence, as well as by the armed conflict (1992) between the Moldovan State and the forces from Transnistria, which declared itself independent. Gradually, the pro-Romanian opinion in Moldova gave way to the consolidation of a mostly sovereigntist position. The Communist Party won the presidency in 2001. Its initial reconciliation with Russia led to numerous protests which later gave way to a more distant relationship. The communist Government and the liberal leaning opposition have maintained political struggles in recent years.

**The controversial parliamentary elections in April led to serious unrest, with some fatalities**, and in July the repetition of the elections led to the communist defeat. Following the announcement of the ruling Communist Party victory in April, at least 15,000 people marched in the capital claiming there had been election fraud. These protests resulted in violent riots, with the **occupation of Parliament and the headquarters of the Presidency**. Three protesters were killed, including two in police custody, several hundred police officers and members of the opposition were wounded and many other activists were arrested. The next day the Police regained control of both buildings. Subsequently, a European Parliament delegation stated that during the riots serious acts of violence were committed by the Police. The president, Vladimir Voronin, who described the events as an attempted coup, said that Romania was involved in the start of the protests and expelled its ambassador. However, he announced an amnesty for those arrested in the protests and committed to starting a dialogue with the opposition. The United Nations urged all sectors to avoid further violence. The Central Election Commission initially endorsed the Communist victory, with 60 of the 101 seats, while the OSCE, after a positive initial report, denounced the falsification of election lists. The opposition boycotted the Parliament during the appointment of new officials until **Voronin finally dissolved Parliament and called new elections for July**. After this election, that received a positive mark from the OSCE and local political forces, four liberal leaning

opposition parties, which all together held a majority of seats, agreed to form a coalition Government, and the Communist Party was ousted for the first time. The new Government was approved by Parliament in September. However, tension continued with the resignation of Voronin and a delay in the election of his replacement due to legal issues, and obstruction by the communist opposition of the incumbent party's candidate.

## b) Southeast Europe

Bosnia and Herzegovina	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, Identity, Government Internationalized Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Central Government, Government of the Republic of Srpska, Government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the High Representative of the international community

### Summary:

During the decomposition of the Federation of Yugoslavia, the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, inhabited by Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats, was affected by a war between 1992 and 1995. The Serbian political elite in the country, with support from Serbia, as well as Bosniak and Croat politicians mobilized their populations and forces around the issue of ethnicity and plans for self determination which were mutually incompatible. The Dayton peace accords ushered in a fragile State, divided into two ethnopolitical entities: Republika Srpska (Serb majority and with 49% of the territory) and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (with Bosnian and Croatian population and 51% of the territory), both with broad powers, including military power. Political tensions among the nationalist elites from the three communities, and between them and the international presence that oversees implementation of the agreements, plus the legacy of the conflict's impact on the population and the country, are still active areas of tension.

**International warnings increased regarding the climate of political crisis in the country and the deterioration of the situation.** In January a possible local agreement became public as part of the Prud negotiating process for a new administrative and territorial organization. This process would involve three levels of government, with the second level being divided into four territorial units. This was interpreted as a possible step from the current two entities to three (Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian). However, in the following months divisions between the representatives of the three communities increased, impeding progress. The high representative, Valetin Inzko, overturned a decision by the Bosnian Serb, Republika Srpska Parliament urging it to reclaim powers transferred to the central administration, a decision strongly criticized by the Serb entity. This threatened to boycott all central institutions if the High Representative continued using its executive powers, after a new showdown

over the state electricity company. To find a solution to the crisis, **the EU and U.S. in October promoted several high-level meetings with local leaders, which ended without local support for the international proposals for constitutional reform.** In late November, the international team of experts submitted a new proposal for reform. In turn, the Peace Implementation Council expressed great concern at the lack of progress in the country and they therefore agreed to extend the mandate of the High Representative (OHR), while the UN Security Council renewed the EUFOR mandate. At year end, the confrontation worsened between the Bosnian Serb authorities and the OHR after the organism again used its special powers to extend the mandate of judges and prosecutors on war crimes, which gave rise to the threat of a referendum by the Republika Srpska. During the year the political and social crisis in the city of Mostar continued. It began after the October 2008 elections, with the Croat and Muslim parties unable to reach an agreement to elect a new mayor or approve the budgets, which led to strikes and protests during 2009. In December, the OHR approved measures against the crisis.

Serbia – Kosovo	
<b>Intensity:</b>	1
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, Identity Internationalized Internal <sup>35</sup>
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government of Serbia, Government of Kosovo, political and social representatives of the Serbian community in Kosovo, UNMIK, KFOR, EULEX

### Summary:

The tension between Serbia and Kosovo is associated with the process of determining the political status of the region after the armed conflict of 1998-1999, which confronted the Albanian armed group KLA on the one hand and NATO on the other with the Serbian Government, after years of repression by Milosevic's regime against the Albanian population in the former province of Serbia within the Yugoslav federation. The NATO offensive, unauthorized by the UN, gave way to an international protectorate. In practice, Kosovo was divided along ethnic lines, with an increase in hostilities against the Serb community, whose isolation was in turn reinforced from Serbia. The final status of the territory and the rights of minorities have been a constant area of tension, in addition to Kosovo's internal problems (for example, unemployment, corruption, criminality). The process of determining the final status, started in 2006, failed to reach an agreement between the parties or support from the UN Security Council for the proposal by the UN special envoy. In 2008, Kosovo's parliament proclaimed independence for the territory.

**The situation in Kosovo was relatively calm, albeit with limited incidents throughout the year in the areas with a Serb-majority.** The first anniversary of the declaration of independence of Kosovo was uneventful and by year end 63 States had recognized its sovereignty, including

35. The socio-political crisis between Kosovo and Serbia is considered "Internationalized Internal" since, despite its recognition as a State by several dozen countries, its international legal status is not yet clear or defined. Thus, in 2009 it was decided to maintain it in the socio-political crisis category used in previous editions of this report.



22 from the EU. The EU mission, EULEX, completed its deployment, while the UNMIK maintained a small presence, and NATO announced a reduction in its troops from 13,800 to 10,000 for early 2010, subject to the requirements of security, a decision which Serbia criticized. However, tension between Kosovo and Serbia remained high, with no advances in the process driven by the UN to address technical issues that affect both of them. In turn, **Serbia considered a threat to its security the creation of the Kosovo Security Force (KSF)**, which became operational in January as a lightly armed force with initial functions of crisis response, civil protection and demining. The local elections in Kosovo in November passed quietly, although the Serbian Government had warned that it would only recognize the local governing bodies that emerged from the Serbian elections of 2008. However, the EULEX mission and the Serbian police signed a police cooperation protocol in September. Despite the initial rejection, the Kosovo Government finally supported it, while Albanians groups protested in Pristina against the pact, with some thirty EULEX vehicles damaged and twenty arrests. Similarly, **limited protests by part of the Serbian population took place in northern Kosovo against electricity cuts** that the Kosovar state company was applying because of unpaid bills, with dozens injured, as well as protests in Mitrovica against the reconstruction of Albanian homes, with several people injured and some property damage. Meanwhile, mid-year 325 Kosovo Serb police officers returned to their posts which they had left in 2008 in protest for the declaration of independence.

### c) Caucasus

Armenia – Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh)	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	=
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, Identity, Territory International
<b>Main parties:</b>	Azerbaijan Government, Government of Armenia, Government of the self-proclaimed Nagorno-Karabakh Republic

#### Summary:

The tension between both countries in relation to the Nagorno-Karabakh region is linked to the lack of solutions to issues from the past armed conflict between December 1991 and 1994. Nagorno-Karabakh is an Armenian-majority enclave in an Azeri environment. It is formally part of Azerbaijan but has de facto independence. This began as an internal conflict between self-defence militias in the region and the Azerbaijan security forces over the sovereignty and control of Nagorno-Karabagh and progressively degenerated into an interstate war between Azerbaijan and neighbouring Armenia. The armed conflict, which left 20,000 dead and 200,000 displaced and forced ethnic homogenization of the population on both sides of the ceasefire line, led to a situation of unresolved conflict. The issue of Nagorno-Karabakh's status, the return of the population and recurrent violations of the ceasefire were the main areas of tension.

Tension continued along the Line of Separation, with further violations of the ceasefire, in parallel to intensified diplomatic contacts and certain optimism about the prospects of rapprochement. During the year **several Armenian soldiers were killed and as many Azeris in several shootings near the ceasefire line** and due to the explosion of mines. The death toll because of violations of the self-regulated ceasefire amounts to 3,000 since the signing of the agreement in 1994, according to the International Crisis Group. Moreover, the outgoing president of Nagorno-Karabakh, Bako Sahakyan, said earlier this year that its forces had increased their effectiveness and had reinforced the borders, arguing that the Azeri increase in military spending forced the region to strengthen its offensive capability. Azerbaijan expressed concern about an alleged Russian arms delivery to Armenia that had occurred in 2008, but Russia and Armenia have denied the allegations. Moreover, the Collective Security Treaty Organization, led by Russia, spoke in support of Armenia in the event of a future Azeri attack on Nagorno-Karabakh. At the diplomatic level, talks were intensified with six meetings between the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan. According to the co-chairs of the Minsk Group of OSCE, the parties were closer to an agreement on basic principles.<sup>36</sup> However, at the end of the year an exchange of accusations between senior officials again held up negotiations, with **Azerbaijan threatening to opt for a military solution if talks failed and the Armenian response which threatened to recognize the independence of Nagorno-Karabakh**. In parallel, the process to normalize relations between Armenia and Turkey raised questions about its impact on the dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh.<sup>37</sup>

Georgia	
<b>Intensity:</b>	1
<b>Trend:</b>	=
<b>Type:</b>	Government Internationalized Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government of Georgia, political opposition, Russia

#### Summary:

Since its independence from the USSR in 1991, Georgia has gone through various stages of violence and instability: internal civil war (1991-1992); wars for control of the regions of Abkhazia (1992-1994) and South Ossetia (1991 – 1992); peaceful overthrow of President Shevardnadze in the so-called Rose Revolution (2003), which led Mikhail Saakashvili to the presidency (2004) in response to accusations against Shevardnadze for political corruption and electoral fraud; and the brief Russian-Georgian war in 2008 over Abkhazia and South Ossetia. In a context of fragile institutions and a historical legacy of chronic instability, from the end of the first term to the beginning of the second (2007-2008) the Georgian Government has been witness to increasing domestic protests by the opposition (allegations of authoritarianism, corruption, lack of response to socio-economic problems, etc.), as well as disputes with Russia. The antagonism with Russia is marked by factors such as the rapprochement of Georgia to the U.S. and NATO, Russia's resurgence as a global power and the struggle for power in the Eurasian energy sector.

36. See Chapter 3 (Peace processes).

37. See Chapter 3 (Peace processes).

The conflict between the political opposition and the Government, and the Russian role in Georgia's instability, contributed to political tensions remaining high in Georgia beginning in the second quarter. Since early April, **13 opposition parties demanded the resignation of President Mikhail Saakashvili, and organized demonstrations and protests** that raged for months in the capital, Tbilisi, and other cities, with a peak participation of 60,000 people in early April and late May. The NGO Human Rights Watch warned of growing intimidation suffered by opposition supporters, while clashes between police and protesters in May resulted in several dozen injured and as many arrested. The atmosphere of confrontation in the streets declined in successive months with a decrease in the number of protests and lower participation. The political opposition -which alleged fraud in past elections, deficiencies in the electoral law and a disproportionate use of force against opponents- agreed to begin talks with the Government, but rejected the president's proposals and tensions remained high during the rest of the year. Moreover, in May **the Georgian Army ended a military mutiny which had lasted for several hours at a military base near the capital**. 500 soldiers participated and one was killed and several were wounded. **Georgia accused Russia of supporting the rebellion in order to overthrow Saakashvili**, while Russia denied any involvement. In turn, the Kremlin dismissed the current Georgian regime as a "red line" which prevents the normalization of Georgian-Russian relations. Relations again deteriorated in the context of the first anniversary of the Russian-Georgian war of August 2008. The Kremlin accused Georgia of rearming with U.S. support, while Georgia criticized the Russian military exercises in the Caucasus, the largest since the war of 2008. However, later in the year both countries agreed to reopen in 2010 the Kazbegi-Zemo border crossing point, closed by Russia since 2006.

Georgia (Abkhazia)	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, Identity Internationalized Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government of Georgia, Government of the self-proclaimed Republic of Abkhazia, Russia

#### Summary:

The precarious security situation in the region is due to the lack of solutions to the fundamental issues that caused the armed conflict (1992-1994). Abkhaz local leaders, backed by Russia, upheld the independence of the region whereas the Georgian Government defended the country's territorial integrity in the midst of the decomposition of the USSR. After the end of this war, which displaced some 200,000 Georgians, Abkhazia has functioned as a *de facto* state. Despite the existence of a ceasefire agreement, a negotiating process and international presence (UN observers and Russian peacekeeping forces), hostility remained high, fuelled by geo-strategic and balance of powers tensions in the Caucasus between Georgia and Russia. These rose until they became an international war in August 2008, launched in South Ossetia, after which the Abkhaz forces con-

solidated their control over Abkhazia and Russia formally recognized its independence. Frequent security incidents, the uncertain status of the territory, the role of Russia and the cumulative impact of both wars are ongoing sources of tension.

One year after the Russo-Georgian war, tensions around Abkhazia remained high, marked by the **dismantling of the former security regime, a process of Russification and an unstable situation of calm in the area of security**, with minor incidents throughout the year. One of the most significant events was the **Russian veto in June to the renewal of the UN mission in Georgia, the UNOMIG, which was dismantled. Furthermore, Abkhazia continued to deny access to the EU mission, the EUMM**. This all occurred while Abkhazia and Russia were reaching a military agreement, which includes the creation of a military base in Gudauta and ratifies the continued presence of 17,000 Russian soldiers in Abkhazia, and another agreement for the protection of borders that allows Russian troops to patrol the boundary line. Furthermore, Abkhazia announced the future creation of its own army with between 10,000 and 15,000 troops. In its report at the beginning of the year, the UN secretary-general had warned that Abkhaz heavy weapons and military personnel were being moved to the perimeter of the conflict zone. Meanwhile, Georgia and EUMM signed a memorandum which restricted the movement of Georgian troops that was generally upheld during the year. In humanitarian terms, the Abkhaz authorities have stated that the displaced Georgian population can return only if they renounce their Georgian citizenship. The civilian population on both sides of the border, especially in Gali and Zugdidi, were affected by restrictions placed on crossing the ceasefire line. The UNOMIG reported earlier this year an increase in cases of alleged harassment and intimidation against the Georgian population in Gali (Abkhazia) since October 2008 and an increase in ceasefire violations and crime. **The incidents continued during the year, with several dead and wounded**, and the detention of several ships en route to Abkhazia by Georgia, despite the use of the joint mechanism of prevention and incident response.<sup>38</sup> At the end of the year, the Government announced the preparation of a new strategy with the aim of promoting relations with Abkhazia and South Ossetia through a "status-neutral" mechanism.

Georgia (South Ossetia)	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Self-government, Identity Internationalized Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government of Georgia, Government of the self-proclaimed Republic of South Ossetia, Russia

#### Summary:

The tension in the region is due to the fact that fundamental issues, over which the Ossetian and Georgian forces fought a war from 1991 to 1992, have not been resolved. Since then, the parties have maintained their respective positions in defence of their independence from or unification with Russia and the territorial integrity of Georgia, without being able to

38. See Chapter 3 (Peace processes).

resolve through negotiation the impasse in the region which is *de facto* independent. In turn, the internal conflict has been fuelled by tensions between Georgia and Russia -linked to geostrategic and balance of power issues in the South Caucasus region- which in 2008 escalated into a brief war launched in South Ossetia and extended later to Abkhazia Georgian-controlled areas. After the last war and forced displacement of the majority of the Georgian population that lived in South Ossetia, the Ossetian position was reinforced. Russia recognized its independence and continued its military presence in the region. The matter of displaced persons from both, the nineties and the second war, besides the status of the territory and occasional violations of the ceasefire continue to be sources of tension.

The situation was relatively calm, with some security incidents, while the region continued its political, military and socio-economic rapprochement to Russia. **The Kremlin reiterated that the recognition of the independence of South Ossetia was not negotiable** and signed military agreements that ratify their presence there, with 17,000 troops and plans to build a military base in the capital, Tskhinvali, and a military airport in an area

which until the 2008 war was controlled by Georgia. Moreover, given the lack of agreement within the OSCE, **in early 2009 the mission of this organization in Georgia was pulled out. In June, 20 additional observers** deployed by the OSCE after the war of 2008 in areas adjacent to South Ossetia also withdrew. Access to the interior of Ossetia continued to be denied to the UEMM mission. The report on the war of 2008 by an independent mission commissioned by the EU concluded that all sides violated international law during the war and noted that there were strong indications that ethnic cleansing was practiced against the Georgian population in South Ossetia. The region held parliamentary elections in May, not internationally recognized, which led to strong criticism from Georgia. In addition, throughout the year there were **some security incidents which caused** at least one fatality and several injuries, and **frequent arrests of civilians for crossing the border**. The conflicting parties stayed in touch through the joint mechanism to prevent and respond to incidents, although several meetings were cancelled because of disagreements and preconditions.<sup>39</sup>

### Box 2.3. A year after the war: trends in the conflict in the South Caucasus

A year after the Russo-Georgian war which once again put the Southern Caucasus on the map of international conflict, the situation in the region is cause for concern and includes two trends. First, the marked decline in peacebuilding in regard to the conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, where the impact of the war and subsequent events have permanently eliminated the possibility of short and medium term peace, and perhaps even in the long term. Second, the growing ambivalence over the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which swings between a worrying fragility on the ceasefire line and some significant progress in the peace process. Each of these trends requires different approaches, with greater emphasis on confidence-building measures in the first case and a boost to formal peace negotiations in the second.

The policy of *fait accompli* (international war, population displacement and impediments to return, formal recognition by Russia of the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, militarization of both regions, etc.) has returned the conflicts affecting Georgia to a new "point zero". Currently it is in the initial phases of a new, more complicated cycle. Several reasons for this deterioration can be mentioned, including: a) the cumulative impact of two wars on human security, b) the dismantling of the negotiation platform built in the first half of the nineties, c) the collapse of the previous security systems and a decline in international presence, d) the ambiguity of the ceasefire agreement of 2008; e) the greater importance of the multilevel nature of the conflicts (intrastate, international, regional dimension), with the difficulties that this entails in negotiating terms; f) the distancing of the conflicting parties and the strengthening the military and political positions of the pro-independence regimes, g) the persistence of security incidents and violence in a fragile and militarized context.<sup>40</sup>

During 2009, and especially after the publication of the report on the war of 2008 commissioned by the EU to the International Independent Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia, the gap that separates the two sides has become clear. Without some self-criticism after the war and considering the elements described above, the horizon ahead is a limbo of legal (undefined status), humanitarian (prolonged displacement and blockage of humanitarian access) and security (volatile situation regarding the administrative borders) issues. Generationally, the former co-existence of the diverse communities is beginning to seem far removed in the past, which adds additional risks in terms of flexibility and willingness to rethink their positions.

Moreover, compared to the deterioration on the issue Abkhazia and South Ossetia, the trend regarding Nagorno-Karabakh is ambivalent. The 2008 war in neighbouring Georgia raised the alarm about other unresolved conflicts in the former Soviet sphere. In the context where there is no peace and no war in Nagorno-Karabakh, violations of the self-regulated ceasefire have taken over 3,000 lives since 1994, and increase warning calls in this regard. Armenia's internal instability and the Azerbaijan economic boom have not helped the rapprochement in a conflict marked by strong horizontal divisions (between Armenia and Azerbaijan) and vertical divisions (between the negotiating elites of each country and their constituencies). However, optimism has increased in mediation circles due to the progress made in the formal negotiations. In this sense, there seems to be a sufficient degree of rapprochement between the parties to soon achieve a preliminary agreement on basic principles that should guide the process to a peace accord at a later date.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, the number of high-level meetings has been stepped up, and in speeches by the elites to the public the aggressive rhetoric has been toned down.

39. See Chapter 3 (Peace processes).

40. Vilellas, Ana. "Peace processes in the Southern Caucasus: hurdles and challenges to peace". Presented at the roundtable South Caucasus Conflicts, History and Future, organized by the Institut de Drets Humans de Catalunya. Barcelona, 21 October 2009.

41. International Crisis Group. *Nagorno-Karabakh: Getting to a Breakthrough*, Europe Briefing n.º 55, Baku/Yerevan/Tbilisi/Bruselas: ICG, 7 October 2009, in <<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=6338&l=1>>

Russia (Dagestan)	
<b>Intensity:</b>	3
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	System, Government, Identity Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Russian Government, Government of the Republic of Dagestan, armed opposition groups, political and social opposition

#### Summary:

Dagestan, the most extensive, populous and most ethnically diverse republic in the North Caucasus, has had to face a situation of increased conflict since the late nineties. Among the sources of tension is the violence between the Islamist-based armed insurgency, which advocates the creation of an Islamic state, and the local and federal authorities, and that has resulted in periodic attacks and counterinsurgency operations. The armed opposition is led by a network of armed Islamist units known as Sharia Jamaat. Human rights violations and abuses of power have increased, often as part of the “fight against terrorism” which increases social unrest in a republic with high unemployment and poverty, despite the wealth of its natural resources. Moreover, ethnic tensions, political power rivalries and criminal violence are other areas of conflict.

Violence rose in the republic, with an **increase in the number of assassinations targeted against senior officials, as well as the climate of widespread abuses and impunity**, in a context marked by crime and political corruption. In December, the acting Interior Minister, Aleksandr Trofimov, estimated that the insurgents had suffered 135 casualties in 2009 (compared to 77 of 2008) and 76 deaths in the police force, in addition to the deaths of 15 civilians, and noted that 193 attacks on police had been reported, double the previous year. The leader of the Sharia Jamaat insurgency, Emir Musa, died in February during a counterinsurgency operation in Leninkent and was replaced by Al-Bara. Also in June the **Interior Minister Adilgeri Magomedtagirov was assassinated**, which was the first death to occur at the ministerial level allegedly carried out by insurgents. Other targeted attacks included the killing of several pro-government Muslim clerics, a prosecutor in the capital, two senior military officers and two other district leaders, among others. Moreover, **during the year there were several suicide bombings and a bomb exploded on a train but caused no casualties**. The chief prosecutor of the republic said that there is an undeclared war against the security personnel of Dagestan. In turn there was a prevailing climate of human rights violations.<sup>42</sup> In an open letter, the Russian NGO Memorial reported that in the republic torture was being used, abductions and extrajudicial killings were being carried out and illegal prisons existed. According to Memorial, civilians are caught between the insurgency and power structures. The complaint was dismissed by the president of Dagestan. In August, a hundred people demonstrated against the abductions and demanded investigations. Moreover, tension also rose in relation to

***In Dagestan targeted attacks by the insurgency increased, including the assassination of the Interior Minister and human rights violations***

the local elections in Russia, with allegations by the opposition of malpractice and the closure of at least one third of the polling stations in the third largest Dagestani city, Derbent, for security reasons. Nevertheless, the elections were declared valid.

## Middle East

### a) Persian Gulf

Iran	
<b>Intensity:</b>	3
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, political, religious and social opposition

#### Summary:

Since coming to power in 2005, the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has been the object of internal protest by many sectors. Both the way foreign policy is being handled (with a defiant defence of the right to have nuclear capability) as well as the results of its internal policies (failure to improve the country's economic situation, amidst accusations of political favouritism) have created a growing opposition within the country. Decades of confrontation between conservatives and reformists has set Ahmadinejad in recent years against various political figures that left power in 2005. Also, religious authorities and the Armed Forces, mainly the Revolutionary Guard, have played an important role in the evolution of Iran, a country with vast energy resources and a key geostrategic position.

The conflict escalated in Iran during 2009. After a campaign marked by bitter political clashes between President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and his opponents, the president was declared the winner of the June 12 elections. The results were denounced as fraudulent by the **opposition, which staged the largest protests in Iran since the Islamic revolution of 1979**. The post-election period was marked by intensifying social and political confrontation and by the repression of the opposition by the security forces, which resulted in the deaths of at least 30 people, although the opposition said the figure was over 60. In this context and after a partial recount of the votes, Ahmadinejad was confirmed in office and was sworn in for a new term in August with the backing of Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, supreme leader of the Islamic Republic. In parallel, prominent reformist leaders, including former presidents Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani and Mohammad Khatami, supported the demands of the opposition. **More than a thousand people were arrested in the protests, and in the second half of the year the opposition continued to denounce the torture, abuse and sexual assault of those arrested**. In this context, the Government launched an ideological campaign to promote the ideals of the Islamic revolution, in addition to its strat-

42. See Chapter 5 (Human rights and transitional justice).



egy of controlling the media and Internet. Also in August a macro-trial was launched against more than one hundred alleged instigators of the protests and at the end of the year five members of the opposition had been sentenced to death and 80 had received sentences of between six months and 15 years in prison, in a context where the opposition appeared to be weakening. However, in late December, the death of Ayatollah Hossein Ali Montazeri, renowned for his criticism of the regime, sparked new and massive demonstrations against the Ahmadinejad Government and ushered in a new wave of violence that culminated in the death of another eight people and dozens of wounded.

***After the re-election of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the opposition staged the biggest protests in Iran since the Islamic revolution of 1979***

sidered a qualitative leap in actions by Jundallah due to the number of victims and the importance of the target. Tehran announced a tough response and accused the United States, Britain and Pakistan of backing the Baluchi insurgency. Throughout the year the authorities in Tehran sentenced to death more than a dozen people accused of belonging to the group and for their involvement in attacks in Sistan Baluchistan, 13 of whom were executed in July.

Iran (Sistan Baluchistan)	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	Identity, Government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, Revolutionary Guards (Pasdaran), Jundallah (Soldiers of God / People's Resistance Movement)

**Summary:**

Since 2005 the group Jundallah (Soldiers of God) has carried out an insurgent campaign in the southeastern province of Sistan Baluchistan, a region with a Sunni majority in contrast to the rest of the country, which is predominantly from the Shiite branch of Islam. The organization, which also calls itself the People's Resistance Movement, was founded in 2002 and claims they are the victims of sectarian persecution by Tehran. They claim that their goal is to protect the rights, culture and religion of the Baluchis, but deny having a separatist agenda and links abroad. The Iranian Government, meanwhile, accuses Jundallah of connections to the U.S., UK, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the al-Qaeda network. Sistan Baluchistan is a province bordering Afghanistan and Pakistan –the Baluchi population lives on both sides of the border– and is an area with high rates of poverty, marked by smuggling and drug trafficking routes. Faced with the possibility of this region becoming unstable, Tehran has strengthened its control mechanisms and condemned Jundallah militants to death. The insurgent group's actions include kidnappings, attacks and suicide bombings and several have targeted officers of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard (Pasdaran).

Actions by the Jundallah insurgency group in Iran's southeastern province of Sistan and Baluchistan stepped up during the year, with operations that received widespread media coverage. Attacks by the Sunni group increased in the period before the national elections in June, the most notable being the offensive against a Shiite mosque in May that killed 25 people. Given the increased activity of the Soldiers of God, the Iranian Government decided to entrust the task of strengthening security in the province to the Revolutionary Guard. **The action with the greatest international impact took place in October, when the Sunni group staged an attack on the Revolutionary Guards that killed 42 people, including six senior officers.** The incident, classified as the deadliest that had take place in the region, was con-

Iran – USA, Israel	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	=
<b>Type:</b>	System International
<b>Main parties:</b>	Iran, USA, Israel

**Summary:**

International pressure on the Iranian regime is part of the policy launched after 11 September 2001 by the U.S. Administration of George W. Bush, who in January 2002 declared Iran as an enemy state for its alleged links to terrorism. Since the 1979 Islamic revolution that toppled the regime of U.S. ally Shah Reza Pahlavi and proclaimed the Ayatollah Khomeini the country's supreme leader, the U.S. had accused Iran of supporting armed groups such as Hezbollah. In the midst of this opposition, the victory of ultra-conservative Ahmadinejad in the presidential elections of August 2005 reinforces a nationalist rhetoric that affirms the right to develop a nuclear program for peaceful purposes, while the international community stirs fears of an imminent capacity to build a nuclear bomb by a regime considered hostile to Western interests in the region.

The Iranian nuclear program continued to cause tension at the international level. **The year began with expectations of a possible change in the relationship between the U.S. and Iran** after Washington expressed their willingness to begin direct talks on the Islamic Republic's nuclear plan and because the new president, Barack Obama, addressed a televised address to the Iranian people and authorities. Tehran said it hoped for a positive change in the form of actions and not just words by the U.S., who renewed sanctions against Iran in March. The five members of the UN Security Council and Germany (G5 +1) proposed new talks in April, although the first formal meeting was not held until October, after the U.S. warned Iran that the offer of dialogue was not indefinite. Days before the meeting, **Tehran revealed the construction of a second nuclear plant to enrich uranium in the city of Qom**, which it had not reported to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and tested missiles capable of reaching Israel and parts of Europe. Despite the tense atmosphere, the G5 +1 and Iranian negotiators reached an initial agreement in Vienna in late October for Iran to send its low-enriched uranium to France and Russia, where it would be converted into fuel for civilian research. However, senior Iranian leaders said they would not accept sending uranium abroad. In late December the powers that negotiated with Iran were still waiting for a formal response to the proposal and considered the possibility of applying pressure with

new sanctions, while the IAEA decided to condemn the Islamic Republic for the first time since 2006 for its lack of cooperation in the investigation of its nuclear activities. Moreover, throughout the year reports in the media pointed to possible Israeli covert actions to halt Iran's nuclear program, which it considers a threat. However, Israel denied any unilateral plans for action.

***In November, five months after the elections, a new Lebanese Government was finally established under Prime Minister Saad Hariri***

flict and which have killed or wounded some 300 civilians since the end of the war. **In the second half of the year there was a verbal escalation:** Israel said it would consider Beirut responsible for the attacks launched from its territory and warned Lebanon of including Hezbollah in the Government, while the Islamist group said it would strike Tel Aviv if Israel attacked. In November, a new UN report on the implementation of resolution 1701, which establishes a cease-fire between the parties, warned that since June hostile incidents and violations of the resolution had been recorded, reflecting the fragility of the truce and the risk of worsening tension.<sup>44</sup> In the case of Syria and Lebanon, the continuing good relations were confirmed by the official naming of ambassadors, the meeting in November between the presidents of both countries and the visit to Damascus by Lebanese prime minister, Saad Hariri, in December.

## b) Mashriq

Israel – Lebanon – Syria	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↑
<b>Type:</b>	System, Resources, Territory International
<b>Main parties:</b>	Israel, Syria, Hezbollah Lebanese group and its armed branch (Islamic Resistance)

### Summary:

The backdrop of the tension is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its consequences in the region. On the one hand, the presence of thousands of Palestinian refugees who settled in Lebanon since 1948, with the leadership of the PLO in 1979, led to continual attacks by Israel in southern Lebanon until they occupied it in 1982. The founding of the armed Shiite group Hezbollah in the early eighties in Lebanon, with an agenda of resistance against Israel and the liberation of Palestine, led to periodic clashes which culminated in the massive Israeli offensive in July 2006. Moreover, the 1967 war meant the Israeli occupation of the Syrian Golan Heights, which together with Syrian support for Hezbollah explains the tension between Israel and Syria.

The downward trend in the tension between Syria, Israel and Lebanon in 2008 suffered a setback in 2009. A decisive factor in this shift was the Israeli offensive in the Gaza Strip between December 2008 and January 2009, which resulted in the **suspension of peace talks between Syria and Israel** which had begun months earlier and also distanced the Israeli Government from Turkey, who had acted as mediator.<sup>43</sup> The new Israeli administration, in power since April, was willing to resume negotiations, but refused to withdraw from the Golan Heights, a condition that was not negotiable for Damascus. With respect to the relationship between Israel and Lebanon, rockets launch from southern Lebanon into northern Israel during the Israeli offensive in Gaza raised fears of renewed hostilities. The tense atmosphere was maintained by repeated Israeli accusations that Hezbollah had increased its firepower in southern Lebanon, especially after the explosion of an arms depot in July. During the year, several rocket and artillery strikes on both sides of the border caused injuries but no fatalities. In May, Israel provided a report to the UN with the location of cluster bombs dropped on Lebanon in 2006, one quarter of which failed to explode during the con-

Lebanon	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	↓
<b>Type:</b>	Government Internationalized Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	Government, political and social opposition, armed branch of Hezbollah (Islamic Resistance), militias

### Summary:

The assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri in February 2005 sparked the so-called "Cedar Revolution" that, with mass demonstrations, forced the withdrawal of Syrian Armed Forces –present in the country for three decades– required by Security Council Resolution 1559, promoted by the U.S. and France in September 2004. The immediate polarization between, on one hand, opponents of Syrian influence (led by Hariri's son, who blamed the Syrian regime for the assassination) and, on the other hand, sectors closer to Syria such as Hezbollah, caused a political, social and institutional crisis marked by confessional divisions.

**The political crisis in Lebanon declined compared to the high levels of violence recorded in 2008 due to fighting between Government forces and the opposition led by Hezbollah.** However, political polarization increased as the June election drew near. The election was won by the coalition led by Saad Hariri (March 14 Alliance). Hezbollah and its allies (March 8 Alliance) accepted the results and a long process of negotiation began to form the new national unity Government. After three months of deadlock due to disagreements about who would head the ministries, Hariri gave up trying to form a Government, but the Lebanese president, Michel Suleiman, entrusted him with the task a second time. **Amid repeated international calls for an end to the uncertain political situation, in November the new Government was finally formed, with 15 representatives from Hariri's**

43. See Chapter 3 (Peace processes).

44. See the 11th report of the secretary-general on the application of Security Council resolution 1701 (2006), S/2009/566, 2 November 2009, in <[http://www.un.org/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/2009/566&referer=http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unifil/reports.shtml&Lang=>](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2009/566&referer=http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unifil/reports.shtml&Lang=>)>.

coalition, 10 from the opposition -including two members from Hezbollah- and five nominated by the President. One of the first statements of the unity Government recognized Hezbollah's right to maintain their arsenals, despite the reluctance of some members of the March 14 Alliance. In 2009, four years after the death of former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri, the Special Tribunal for Lebanon at The Hague was launched to investigate his murder.<sup>45</sup> Due to lack of evidence, the court ordered the release of four generals who had been under arrest since 2005 for this case. At the same time, a report by the International Crisis Group warned of the potential for violence in the situation of Palestine refugees in Lebanon, pointing out that they are well armed, socially marginalized and economically deprived, facts which could have unfavourable repercussions both within Lebanon and in the framework of Arab-Israeli peace negotiations.<sup>46</sup> In March, Kamal Medhat, the number two of the PLO in Lebanon, was killed in an explosion.

Palestine	
<b>Intensity:</b>	2
<b>Trend:</b>	=
<b>Type:</b>	Government Internal
<b>Main parties:</b>	PNA, Fatah, Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade armed group, Hamas and its armed wing Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades

#### Summary:

The opposition between the various Palestinian sectors in recent decades has been led mainly by secular nationalist groups on the one hand (Fatah and its armed wing al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, PFLP, DFLP) and religious groups on the other hand (Hamas and its armed wing Ezzedine al-Qassam Brigades, Islamic Jihad). The confrontation is part of a power struggle to control the Palestinian territories and has led, in turn, to different approaches toward relations with Israel. After years of Fatah domination in Palestinian politics (movement led by Yasser Arafat and later by Mahmoud Abbas), accusations of corruption and not defending Palestinian interests in the peace process sparked the victory of Hamas in the January 2006 elections. This event triggered a dialectical and armed struggle between both groups for control of the political institutions and, above all, the security forces.

The year began with hope due to the renewal of talks in February between Hamas and Fatah. **Under Egyptian mediation several rounds of negotiations were held** that focused on the release of prisoners from both sides and in forming a unity Government, which did not materialize. After resigning in March the Palestinian West Bank Prime Minister, Salam Fayyad, once again put together a Government in May that was not recognized by Hamas. Although it was later revoked, the initial decision by the Government of Mahmoud Abbas to support the postponement of the UN debate on the Goldstone report (regarding crimes committed during the Israeli offensive in Gaza) provoked sharp internal criticism of the Palestinian president in October. That same month Fatah signed a deal brokered by Cairo which included holding elections in June 2010, the release of detainees and a reform of the security forces. Given Hamas's reluctance to sign the text, Abbas called for elections on 24 January, but the Islamist group announced it would not allow elections in Gaza before reaching a reconciliation agreement.<sup>47</sup> **Abbas, confirmed as Fatah leader in August during the first congress the group had held in 20 years, announced he would not run for re-election as president of the Palestinian Authority**, in an attempt to pressure Israel to renew the stalled peace process. In late December, and given the impossibility of reaching an agreement, the Palestinian leadership in the West Bank extended the mandate of Abbas and the Parliament. In parallel some episodes of tension and violence were reported. According to a report by Human Rights Watch, the Hamas security forces killed 32 Palestinians from rival sectors and suspected collaborators with Israel, and mutilated about 50 during the Israeli offensive in Gaza that ended in January. In June three policemen, two Hamas members and a civilian, were killed in an incident in Qalqilya (West Bank). In addition, 24 people were killed in August in an incident in Gaza between Hamas forces and the Jund Ansar Allah militant group, allegedly linked to al-Qaeda. Hamas launched an offensive against this movement after Jund Ansar Allah declared Gaza an Islamic emirate and criticized Hamas for not imposing a strict form of *sharia* in the territory. The incident draws attention to the presence of Salafist groups linked to al-Qaeda in Gaza which Hamas wants to neutralize.

45. See Chapter 5 (Human Rights and Transitional Justice).

46. International Crisis Group. Nurturing Instability: Lebanon's Palestinian Refugee Camps, Middle East Report n° 84, Beirut/Brussels: ICG, 19 February 2009, in < <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=6123&l=1>>.

47. See Chapter 3 (Peace processes).