



The World At War – January 1, 2003

As the world entered a new year, here is a January 1 snapshot of the violent conflicts around the globe.

Iraq: The War-in-Waiting

At the start of 2003, the United States remains focused, as it was a year ago, on fighting global terrorism. But unlike a year ago, with the United States zeroed in on Iraq as the nexus of evil, international support is less effusive. A number of factors seem to be in play today that were not present in 1990-91, when the last anti-Saddam “coalition of the willing” was formed. Many economies, including those of three of the four big financial supporters of the 1990-91 war — Japan, Germany, and Saudi Arabia — are weaker today. Any war would be relatively more expensive. Suspicions about U.S. motives, fueled by the Bush Administration’s initial unilateralism, remain alive despite Washington’s patient work to obtain a UN Security Council resolution on new inspections. Germany has declared it will provide no forces; use of Saudi Arabian airbases to launch combat missions against Iraq remains unclear; and troop contributions, as well as moral support, from other Arab states such as Egypt and Syria may not materialize.

Iraq has so far skirted disaster. It accepted, two days before the November 15 deadline, UN Resolution 1441 (2002) passed on November 8. On December 7, one day before another UN deadline, Baghdad submitted the required “currently accurate, full, and complete” disclosure of all chemical, biological, and nuclear (weapons of mass destruction or WMD) research and weapons programs and all delivery system developments, both manned and unmanned.

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Iraq so far has also managed to avoid any significant interference or omissions in its dealings with the UNMOVIC (United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission) and IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) inspectors. Both UNMOVIC and IAEA experts are still comparing their lists of known and suspected WMD and related sites to those provided by Iraq.

Even before Iraq’s declaration was sent from Baghdad, Washington was denouncing it as insufficient and incomplete and putting pressure on UNMOVIC and IAEA chiefs to bring Iraqi scientists out of Iraq — even against their will — for interviews. But Washington refused to reveal its own evidence to support its charges that Saddam failed to comply with the UN demands. Pentagon and State Department envoys fanned out to NATO allies — notably Turkey and Germany — and to Muslim countries in the Middle East and Asia to try to line up support for a possible war.

Selected Acronyms

CAR	Central African Republic
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
EU	European Union
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
KFOR	Kosovo Force
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
UNMOVIC	UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission



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Significantly, at the end of December 2002, four U.S. aircraft carrier battle groups were in position to launch attacks against Iraq, and the U.S. Central Command had a large headquarters element in its "alternate" command and control center in Qatar. On the north, however, Turkey still expressed reservations about its support for any action not endorsed by a second UN resolution and reportedly turned down a U.S. bid to send U.S. ground troops through Turkey to establish a "northern front" against Iraq. Moreover, the existence of an enclave of the al Qaeda-affiliated Ansar al-Islam group in Kurdish northern Iraq could complicate U.S. plans to use bases in this area as forward staging posts for aircraft and special forces units should war with Iraq begin.

The "War on Terror"

Unlike the Iraq situation, this "war" exists and is programmed to go on into the indeterminate future. Its largest manifestation in terms of U.S. personnel is Afghanistan, where more than a year after the Taliban were routed from their political (Kabul) and spiritual (Kandahar) capitals, much of the country remains under the control of regional warlords rather than under the sway of the UN-backed central government of Hamid Karzai. Elsewhere, in as many as 60 countries (the number the Bush Administration contends harbor or support "terrorists with a global reach"), smaller groups of CIA and FBI agents and U.S. military personnel are involved in anti-terrorist operations or training and supplying indigenous forces. Indeed, it seems that most countries confronted with armed opposition groups have conveniently assumed that such organizations have substantive links to international terrorism. And, where Washington finds it convenient for other reasons such as muting UN Security Council opposition to U.S. proposals, such groups (for example, China's Uighur rebels) now find themselves on the State Department's list of terrorist organizations.

But the Bush Administration faces international complications in waging this war. The White House is under increasing pressure from key members of Congress to reassess Pakistan-U.S., Yemen-U.S. and Saudi-U.S. relations. As recently as August 2002, Pakistan is believed to have transferred nuclear plans and materials to North Korea, one of the "axis of evil," in exchange for ballistic missile parts. After pledging not to buy missiles or missile parts from North Korea, Yemen was caught trying to take delivery of 15 Scud missiles in mid-December. A number of financial transactions between prominent Saudi individuals, including some with connections to the royal family, and known or suspected terrorists, have introduced new strains in diplomatic relations with Riyadh. One report says that the problem is so serious that a National Security Council task force recommended that the White House give the Saudis 90 days to close down these conduits to terrorist organizations or the United States will unilaterally act to do so. Given Saudi Arabia's key military facilities and U.S. dependence on Saudi oil (currently about 17% of U.S. oil imports), this approach may be rejected.

Meanwhile, in the United States, Pres. Bush finally secured passage of legislation establishing a Department of Homeland Defense. The Pentagon created a new four-star "Northern Command" (by combining Space and Strategic Commands) to coordinate military support for the new Department and to integrate surveillance of external air, sea, and land approaches to the U.S. mainland with surveillance of interior U.S. airspace. And running as a steady undercurrent to all the organizational changes in government involving over 170,000 individuals are terrorist alert warnings from intelligence or law enforcement agencies or, in some cases, very senior administration officials.

This "war on terror" confronts the Administration with a fundamental dilemma. On one hand, the Administration believes it is necessary to keep the U.S. public engaged and alert to help preclude new attacks. On the other, the constant warnings have a tendency to induce complacency when nothing happens, especially when a warning about possible "significant events" is not accompanied by a change in the color-coded alert level. The natural reversion to business as usual as September 11 recedes into history has been reinforced by Administration calls for people in the U.S. to indulge themselves rather than make sacrifices, as in previous wars "for the duration." Put another way, instead of flashing ration cards, the White House wants people in the U.S. to flash their credit cards.

Moreover, the "war on terror" is being waged on incomplete terms. Because governments are composed of and operate through an array of formalized organizational structures, there is an unconscious predisposition to concentrate on the need to disrupt or destroy an opponent's organization. This works when the enemy is another government; it misses the mark when the enemy is a transnational, loosely organized, decentralized collection of individuals and small groups motivated by an intangible fervor, such as the many so-called affiliates of al Qaeda. With no nation-state to defend, these groups are highly independent and can function with the bare minimum of hierarchy. If traditional financial channels are closed to them (and as of Dec. 1, 2002, only \$113 million in alleged terrorist financial assets worldwide had been identified and frozen), they employ the informal hawala system (money

exchange, somewhat analogous to letters of credit) or couriers to move funds. Instead of traceable cell phones, they use Internet cafes or single use, disposable cells.

Winning the "war on terror" fundamentally requires addressing the conditions that give rise to the extreme fervor that impels suicide bombings and other killing of innocent civilians. A good starting point would be to lower the profile of policies and programs that are perceived by others as oppressive and serving only U.S. interests. If the history of the U.S. is any guide, most people want the opportunity to control their own lives, to be free from threats of physical harm and from unwarranted interference by outside authority. When these are missing for significant periods, extremists are better able to imbue a sense of justice denied and to identify a "responsible" entity against which hatred can be directed.

Hatred, and the terrorism it impels, will never be completely eradicated. Thus, the end of the "war on terror" may come only when the United States decides to declare victory and return the residual battle to law enforcement. An opportunity to make this adjustment without seeming to be arbitrary will be when the number of annual terrorist actions, as compiled by the Department of State, returns to its pre-September 11, 2001 levels.

Existing Wars

There are still 30 major significant conflicts (those with over 1,000 casualties, both military and civilian) in the world. This is a decrease of eight at the start of 2003 from the number at the start of 2002.

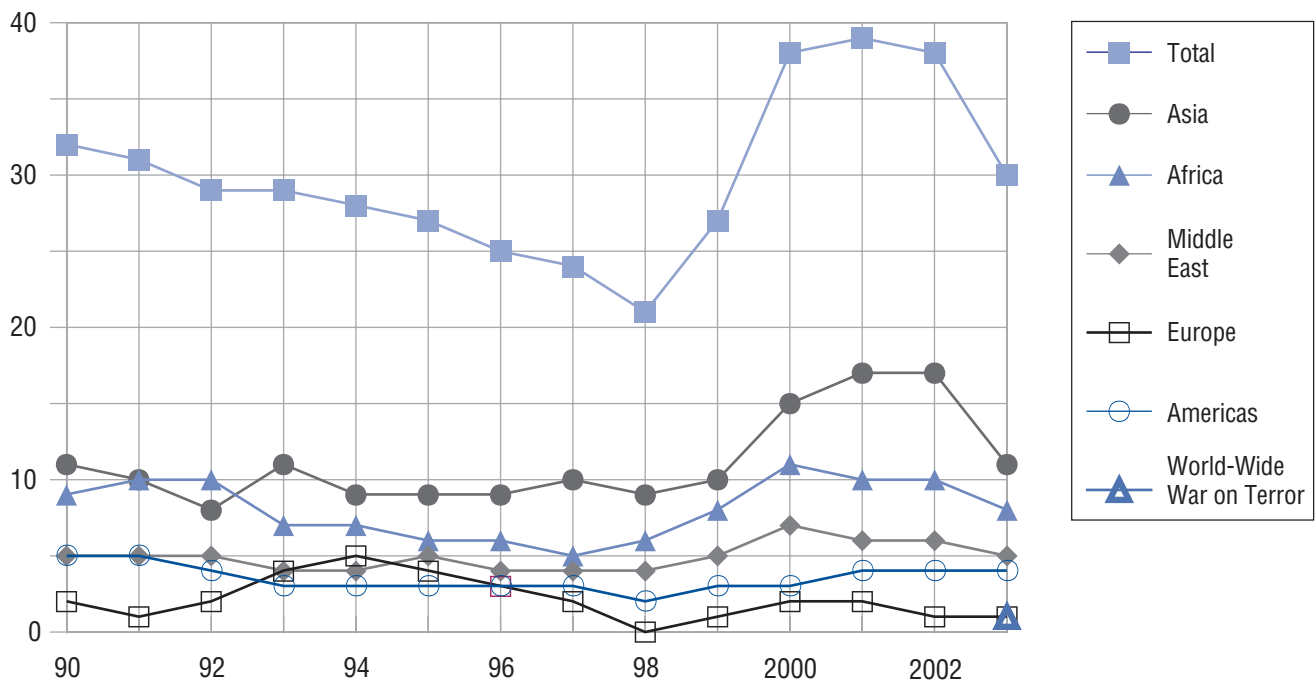
The figure on page 4 shows the ebb and flow of conflicts by region at the start of each year since 1990. Most of these, as has been the case for years, are intrastate.

Interstate conflict: Kashmir

The clearest and perhaps the most significant (because both opponents have nuclear weapons) interstate conflict going into 2003 is the continuing 45 year struggle between Pakistan and India over



Global Conflicts: 1990 - 2003*



*The number of conflicts is as of January 1 for the year indicated

Sipri Yearbook 2002; Upsala University Conflict Project; BBC; Friends Committee on National Legislation

the status of Kashmir. In 2002 tensions reached a breaking point as both sides built up forces along the Line of Control that divides Kashmir. The buildup followed an attack on India's parliament by Kashmiri separatists, during which seven Indians died. In May, 2002, 30 Indians, including women and children, were killed in an assault near an Indian army camp. The United States, eager to keep Pakistan engaged on its northern border against remnants of the Taliban and al Qaeda, pressed Pakistan's president, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, to take sterner measures to prevent infiltration of extremists from his country into Kashmir. This pressure, plus visits by U.S. officials to New Delhi, calmed relations between the two nuclear-armed countries, although both persisted in test-firing missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads. Infiltrations did not stop completely, however. (Witness the late November attack on a Hindu temple in the Indian-controlled part of Kashmir in which 13 died. India's security forces claim they killed almost 1,600 "terrorists" in the first 11 months of 2002.) More trouble may lie ahead for

Pakistan and the United States. In October, an Islamic religious coalition, the United Action Forum, came in third in elections for the national parliament. It also took control of the Northwest Province and made a strong showing in Baluchistan, both of which border Afghanistan.

Israeli-Palestinian conflict

Cleanly falling into neither inter- nor intrastate conflict is the continuing brutal struggle for control over the Occupied Territories. Since the current *intifada* began, some 2,500 people, mostly civilians and mostly Palestinians, have died in firefights, suicide bombings, and Israeli army operations. During 2002, the Israeli military occupied Palestinian West Bank towns, villages, and refugee camps — in some instances for weeks — and conducted military incursions into the Gaza Strip on numerous occasions in retaliation for suicide bombings or other attacks on Israelis.



The Sharon government — and the White House — refused to deal with Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestinian Authority, accusing him of not doing enough to halt attacks against Israelis by Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, and others. At the same time, Israel continued to expand existing and to stake out new settlements in Palestinian areas in violation of the Oslo Accords, which the Sharon government does not recognize.

Israel seems intent on maintaining its policy of sharp reprisals. To this end, in late November it asked Washington for an additional \$4 billion in military aid over the planned \$2.16 billion in military assistance the Administration plans to request in its Fiscal Year 2004 budget. (Israel also asked for \$10 billion in economic loan guarantees should the United States go to war with Iraq.) Yet throughout 2002, Pres. Bush has remained firm in his commitment to seeing the creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel — with someone other than Arafat at the helm. In January 2003, both Israelis and Palestinians were to hold elections, but the Palestinian elections were canceled because of the continuing Israeli occupation. This dashed hopes for a change in the tone of relations between the two peoples and between the United States, Israel's main backer, and the Islamic world.

Europe's intrastate conflicts

Russia-Chechnya. Of all the intrastate struggles, the quest for an independent Republic of Chechnya has received the most attention in the U.S. media. Russian Pres. Vladimir Putin has labeled the Chechens as Islamic terrorists, a position supported by Pres. Bush. While most of the killing occurs in Chechnya, in late October between 700-800 people were taken hostage in a Moscow theater by 50 Chechens. When the crisis ended, all the Chechens and 129 hostages were dead, with virtually all the latter succumbing to a gas pumped into the theater by Russian military forces. Then, in late December, two truck bombs destroyed the main government building in the Chechen capital of Grozny, killing more than 80 people.

As in the past, the Russian-Chechen conflict threatens to enmesh the Republic of Georgia. Moscow claims that Chechens are using Georgia's Pankisi Gorge, an area not under Tbilisi's sway, as a staging area for raids against Russian troops and Moscow-

appointed officials in Chechnya. On a number of occasions, Russian aircraft violated Georgia's airspace pursuing Chechen rebels on the ground. In September, Pres. Putin asked the UN to support Russia if Moscow decided on military strikes into Georgia on the grounds that, by its failure to act, the government of Georgia was harboring international terrorists in contravention of UN resolutions against terror. For its part, the White House rejected Moscow's bid.

Other conflicts. Both the Basque separatists (ETA) in Spain and the splinter "Real IRA" in Northern Ireland continued low-level violence and bombings in 2002. The Irish Republican Army itself, in October, ceased cooperation with disarmament overseers although it said it would continue to observe the Good Friday Accord. At year's end, however, Northern Ireland's political institutions were still suspended, the result of October 2002 revelations of an IRA spy ring inside the Northern Ireland Office.

Asia's intrastate conflicts

Nepal. In November 2001, responding to an upsurge in violence by Maoist rebels, Nepal's king declared a state of emergency and directed the Nepalese army to enter the battle. Some 25,000 troops are estimated to be directly contesting with 2,000-4,000 hard core and as many as 12,000 militia that make up the anti-monarchist rebel ranks. In late August, the state of emergency was lifted in anticipation of rolling elections scheduled to begin in November. In early September, in two back-to-back attacks in widely separated parts of the country, the rebels killed over 120, mostly security personnel. In October, the elected government was replaced by one appointed by the king (despite objections from Nepal's major legal political parties) and the emergency reimposed. Perhaps sensing an opening, the rebels offered peace talks, an offer renewed in November and December. But the government remains wary — and with good reason. Of the estimated 7,000 killed on both sides in the seven years of fighting, over 5,000 have died in the last 14 months.

Afghanistan. A year ago, Afghanistan was the hottest war zone as remnants of the Taliban and al Qaeda were being hunted in the rugged terrain bor-



dering Pakistan. As 2003 began, military and emergency assistance operations were giving way to security and reconstruction projects in 10 provinces. In November 2002, the Bush Administration announced that civil affairs teams would be augmented to help pinpoint and jump-start critical infrastructure projects such as roads that, when completed, could have disproportionate economic benefits. Combat sweeps will continue in some parts of the country, notably in the southeast along the Pakistan border where U.S. officials believe many former Taliban and al Qaeda fighters are still hiding. While U.S. fatalities have remained remarkably low, those among Afghans fighting with U.S. forces and among Afghan civilians remain uncounted. Meanwhile, outside Kabul, the government of Hamid Karzai continues to struggle to gain control of a country where loyalty to clan and local warlords is stronger than allegiance to central government. The inability of Kabul to enforce a general round-up of weapons bodes ill for Afghanistan's future.

Philippines. In January 2002, the "war against terrorists with global reach" came to the Philippines when 150 U.S. Special Forces started training the Filipino army on Mindanao Island in counter-terror tactics. Another 500 support troops and \$92 million in equipment were part of the new U.S. presence. The main target was Abu Sayyaf ("Bearer of the Sword"), a group of between 500-800 who claim to be fighting to establish an Islamic state free of the predominately Christian majority. But Abu Sayyaf has become little more than a group engaged in kidnapping for ransom. There is evidence of past financial and training links between Abu Sayyaf and al Qaeda, although these ties seem to have ended. In late July, the original U.S. contingent withdrew, but others have gone back since. The U.S. effort seems to have helped as Filipino forces enjoyed some success in attacking Abu Sayyaf forces on Basilan and Jolo Islands, although in October the rebels were blamed for two bombings that killed or injured over 150 people.

Elsewhere in the archipelago, Manila resumed peace talks with the Moro National Liberation Front, which so far has escaped the international terrorist label. But in October, both the Communist New People's Army and the splinter Moro Islamic Libera-

tion Front came under suspicion of planting a bomb that killed 6 and wounded 25.

Sri Lanka. After 19 years and some 65,000 dead, it appears that this country's civil war may soon end for good. In late November, Tamil Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran again indicated that he would accept autonomy in place of secession. On December 5, an unexpected breakthrough in peace talks in Oslo occurred when the Sri Lankan government agreed to a federal system in which the minority ethnic Tamils would have significant autonomy in their strongholds in the north and east. Even the main opposition party, headed by Sri Lanka President Chandrika Kumaratunga, welcomed the breakthrough, which augers well for the agreement when it comes before the parliament for ratification. Before this happens, however, the rights of the Muslim minority must also be guaranteed. Moreover, after nearly two decades of brutal conflict, both the government and the rebels face the twin challenges of reconciliation and rebuilding destroyed areas. There may be some international help; Japan will host a donors' conference in mid-2003 in an effort to secure external funding for reconstruction.

Indonesia. In October, Indonesia was in the headlines because of the nearly 200 people, mostly tourists, killed in the Bali bombing attributed to the radical Islamic group, Jemaah Islamiah. But Indonesia faces other challenges and active insurgencies. The challenges include preventing new outbreaks of communal violence in Kalimantan, maintaining the 2001 accord with rebels in West Papua (formerly Irian Jaya), and beginning implementation of the Dec. 9, 2002 agreement with the Free Aceh movement designed to end that 26-year old rebellion. The latter pact calls for a cease-fire, rebel disarmament over seven months, elections in 2004, and up to 70 percent of revenues from petroleum sales going to the province. What it does not do is resolve the rebel demand for independence, which could eventually scuttle the accord.

The other two current major trouble spots are Sulawesi and the Moluccas. Muslim-Christian violence continued in both of these areas in 2002. In Sulawesi, the killing has been greatly reduced since a December 2001 truce was signed. However, the



Moluccas remain quite tense as the central government tries to quell both Christian separatists and militant Islamic groups such as the paramilitary Laskar Jihad. More than 5,000 have died in the Moluccas since January 1999.

India. In addition to its stand-off with Pakistan over Kashmir, India continues to suffer internal ethnic and religious unrest. In the northeast, there is armed pressure to redraw state boundaries to create a Naga tribal state. This pressure has, in turn, led to the rise of armed groups opposed to new borders, especially in Assam and Manipur states. The Maoist Peoples War Group, which ostensibly seeks an independent enclave, operates largely in Andhra Pradesh. But like Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines, it has turned to criminal activity. Surprisingly, the 10th anniversary of the destruction of the Ayodhya mosque by a Hindu mob passed without serious incidents. But earlier in the year, in Gujarat state, Hindu-Muslim rioting caused between 1,000-2,000 deaths.

Central Africa's wars: Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda

Just as there seems to be a perpetual arc of crisis stretching from the Persian Gulf through the Levant to the newly independent Central Asian republics, central Africa seems to be in continuous turmoil. The center of the conflict area is where the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda meet, with fighting extending into the Central African Republic and Sudan. The only improvements are the uneasy peace that exists between Eritrea and Ethiopia and the end of the decades-long civil war in Angola, where the former UNITA rebels and the government are hammering out a new constitution.

In 2002, troops from the seven countries that had been pulled into the DRC's multi-faceted civil war officially withdrew from that country under terms of one of the many agreements brokered by the UN. But the peace talks in South Africa, which in December achieved an accord between the two main rebel groups and the government, still failed to include all of the rebel factions. Some of these, such as the loosely aligned Mai Mai, are still fighting in many places in eastern DRC not under Kinshasa's control. Rwandan- and Ugandan-supported rebels retain

their forces at the ready in case further talks with the government break down. Some 1,000 Ugandan troops remain in the eastern DRC at the request of the UN to provide some security until the newly expanded UN peacekeeping force of 8,500 can get to the area (assuming that countries will contribute enough troops to meet the new authorization). In all, approximately 2.5 million are estimated to have perished in this conflict since 1998.

Next door in Burundi, the death toll continues to mount — now over 300,000 since 1993. Two small factions of the main rebel groups signed a cease-fire with the transitional government in September. The mainstream National Liberation Forces (NFL) continues to hold out, but the larger Forces for the Defense of Democracy (FDD) agreed to a cease-fire that went into effect Dec. 30, 2002. Under the agreement, the FDD will join in a "unity" government and the army, now dominated by the minority Tutsis, will be redrawn to give equal Tutsi and Hutu representation.

Western Africa: Ivory Coast, Nigeria, and Liberia

Renewed violence has thrown both Ivory Coast and Nigeria into major turmoil in a region that has been beset by chronic instability. In Ivory Coast, the latest in three years of coups, counter-coups, and election fighting started in September. A shaky October 17 cease-fire between the southern (Christian) dominated government and the main northern (Muslim) rebel group that controls nearly half the country, the Patriotic Movement of Ivory Coast (MPCI), held until December, when a mass grave was discovered by French troops monitoring the truce. Moreover, in late November, two new rebel groups — the Movement for Justice and Peace and the Ivorian Popular Movement for the Greater West — emerged in western Ivory Coast, threatening to divide the country into three zones. Ivorian President Laurent Gbagbo accused Burkina Faso and Mali of supporting the rebels, a charge denied by the latter countries. The presidents of Mali and Togo have proposed deploying a regional peacekeeping force from countries belonging to the Economic Community of West African States to replace the approximately 2,500 soldiers France has in-country, but so far no troops have been offered. Since September, at least 400



have died in the fighting.

Nigeria, meanwhile, made world headlines in November 2002 when the Miss World pageant sparked violence leading to the death of over 200 people in the conservative northern (Muslim) part of the country. That was but the latest outbreak in a three-year struggle, which began with elections in 1999, that ended fifteen years of direct military rule. Since that time, more than 10,000 have been killed in ethnic or religious violence. More deaths can be expected when a series of local and national elections are held in Spring 2003. On a rare positive note, Nigeria and Cameroon agreed to the formation of a UN-sponsored commission to implement details of an International Court of Justice ruling that awarded the oil-rich Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon. One key aspect of the commission's work will be demilitarization.

Just as peace was coming to Sierra Leone at the start of 2002, the three-year running war in next-door Liberia flared. Liberian president Charles Taylor, who had supported the Sierra Leone rebels, accused another neighbor, Guinea, of supporting the main rebel faction in his country, Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD). By August, the rebels were on the outskirts of Monrovia, but within a month they had been thrown back. In November, the UN Security Council extended its moratorium on all weapon exports to Liberia, whether for the government or any rebel force.

Other African conflicts

The latest round of negotiations to bring some semblance of political unity to Somali began in October in Kenya. The transitional government (which controls little more than Mogadishu) and twenty-one opposition groups agreed to a cease-fire that would last as long as peace talks continued. Unfortunately, the faction controlling the independent region in the north known as Somaliland was not a signatory to the deal and likely will reject whatever the peace conference yields. The situation is further complicated by the growing U.S. presence in the small country of Djibouti which, sitting on the Gulf of Aden across

from Yemen, borders Somaliland as well as Ethiopia and Eritrea, between whom tensions remain over their common border despite a judgment by an international court and the virtual completion of a prisoner-of-war exchange in December.

Also in October, supporters of former Central African Republic (CAR) military chief of staff Francois Bozize crossed into CAR from Chad and seized part of the capital. Libyan troops, who have been in CAR since May 2001 to protect the president, responded along with loyal CAR military units. The Libyan force of 200 is scheduled to leave upon the arrival of a regionally based peacekeeping force assembled by the Central African Economic and Monetary Community — assuming this force is ever deployed. In an ironic twist, the CAR government reportedly is being supported by force of 1,000 men from the rebel Congolese Liberation Movement (the DRC lies just south of CAR).

Just to the east, in Sudan, the October nation-wide cease-fire between the Islamic government in Khartoum and the mostly Christian/animist southern-based rebels of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) has been extended even though negotiations in Kenya failed to resolve outstanding differences. Still at issue are power sharing, distribution of oil wealth between the north and south, and the application of Islamic law (Sharia) to non-Muslims in Khartoum. This 19-year struggle has cost an estimated two million lives. In a related conflict, Khartoum has extended permission for Ugandan military forces to remain in southern Sudan to apprehend members of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). Ironically, the LRA, which until recently received support from the Islamic government of Sudan, claims its goal is to make the Ten Commandments the basis for the Ugandan government. The LRA has largely abandoned Sudan as its base and returned to northern Uganda, from which it continues to attack civilians and kidnap children.

Perhaps the brightest spot in sub-Saharan Africa occurred in April when Angola's devastating civil war ended. The signing of the peace accord was made possible by the death of Joseph Savimbi in



February. Discussions on reintegrating the UNITA rebels and on a new constitution were ongoing as the year ended.

Meanwhile, in Northern Africa, the bloody ten-year old war between the Algerian government and the Armed Islamic Group continued right through Ramadan, during which at least 40 people were killed. Reports speak of "thousands" killed in 2002 in a war that has claimed as many as 160,000 lives. And 2003 will be no different, for Washington has decided to sell U.S. military equipment, possibly including weapons, to Algiers. The Algerian army reportedly is seeking attack helicopters.

The Americas' intrastate conflict: Colombia

While violent groups like Peru's Shining Path still exist, by far the most significant armed struggle in the Americas is being waged in Colombia. In part

this is the result of the election of Alvaro Uribe Velez as Colombia's president. Uribe's approach to dealing with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the National Liberation Army (ELF), and the right-wing Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC) paramilitaries differs markedly from his predecessor's. The government, with new help from Washington (\$537 million in 2003), is intent on regaining control over vast areas that had been ceded to rebel and paramilitary control. Large-scale spraying of coca fields has also restarted under Uribe, who became president in August. Washington has agreed to provide advice and training for newly-formed army brigades, including one whose primary mission will be to protect an oil pipeline owned by Los Angeles-based Occidental Petroleum. But as Colombia cracks down, there is fear that turmoil will intensify in neighboring states. A FARC presence has been found or alleged in Brazil, Peru, and Venezuela, while both the AUC and the FARC have entered Panama.

The first of the following two tables lists the ongoing 30 significant conflicts in the world at the start of 2003 (down by eight from 2002). The second table lists 29 potential hot spots where conflagrations could re-ignite or grow. The large decrease from 2002 is due to a number of long-running conflicts finally achieving cease-fire, truce, or peace negotiation status, and the quelling of militant Islamic movements in Central Asia.



Table I: Ongoing Significant Conflicts on January 1, 2003

Main Warring Parties	Year Began	Cause(s)	Other Foreign Involvement/Conditions
World-Wide War on Terror: U.S. vs. "terrorists with global reach"	2001	September 11 attacks	UN, multiple countries
Middle East			
Iraq vs. Desert Storm Coalition (U.S. & UK)	1991	Stopping WMD development	UN economic sanctions
Iraq govt. (Sunni) vs. Shi'a (Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq)	1991	Religious strife	Iran; U.S. & UK (no-fly zone); Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain (bases)
Iraq vs. Kurds	1961	Independence	U.S. (no-fly zone); Turkey (bases)
Israel vs. Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad and others	1975	Religious strife; territory	UN, U.S., Syria, Lebanon, Iran
Israel vs. Palestinian Authority; Al-Aqsa Intifada	1948-94 2000	Independence	U.S., UN, European Union, Jordan, Egypt
Asia			
Afghanistan: Kabul govt. vs. Taliban and regional warlords	1978	Ethnic & religious strife; territory	U.S., UN, NATO allies, Iran, Russia, Tajikistan, Pakistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan
India vs. Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front*	1989	Ethnic & religious strife	UN
India vs. Assam and Manipur insurgents (ULFA & NDFB)	1982 1986	Independence	UN
India: Hindu vs. Muslim communal violence	1948	Religious strife	None
India vs. Pakistan	1948	Ethnic & religious strife	UN, U.S.
Indonesia vs. Christians & Muslims in Maluccan Islands	1977	Religious strife; territory	None
Indonesia vs. Christians & Muslims on Sulawesi Island	1977	Religious strife; territory	None
People's Republic of China vs. Uighur East Turkestan Independence Movement	1982	Independence	None
Philippines vs. Moro Islamic Liberation Front	1984	Religious strife	None
Philippines vs. New People's Army	1969	Ideology	None
Philippines vs. Abu Sayyaf	1999	Criminal & terrorist acts	U.S., Libya, Malaysia

*Principal groups are Hizbul Mujaheddin, al-Badr, Lashkar-i-Taiba, and Hargat ul-Ansar, backed by the Jamiat-e-Islami movement.



Table I: Ongoing Significant Conflicts on January 1, 2003 *(continued)*

Main Warring Parties	Year Began	Cause(s)	Other Foreign Involvement/Conditions
Africa			
Algeria vs. Armed Islamic Group (GIA)	1991	Religious vs. secular rule	UN, France, U.S.
Burundi: Tutsi vs. Hutu	1988	Ethnic strife	UN, South Africa
Democratic Republic of Congo vs. indigenous rebels	1997	Ethnic strife	UN, France, Angola, Chad, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, African Union, South Africa
Liberia vs. Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD)	2001	Power	UN, Economic Community of West and African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG)
Nigeria communal violence	1970	Religious, ethnic & economic strife	None
Somalia: factions	1978	Ethnic strife	UN (humanitarian aid), U.S., Ethiopia, Kenya
Sudan vs. Sudanese People's Liberation Army	1983	Ethnic & religious strife	U.S., Iran, Uganda
Uganda vs. Lord's Army	1986	Power	Sudan
Europe			
Russia vs. Chechnya	1994; 1996	Independence	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Georgia
Latin America			
Colombia vs. National Liberation Army (ELN)	1978	Drug trade; ideology	U.S.
Colombia vs. Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)	1978	Drug trade; ideology	U.S.
Colombia vs. Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC)	1990	Drug trade; ideology	Right wing militia
Peru vs. Sendero Luminoso	1981	Ideology; drug trade	None



**Table II: Ongoing Low-Level Political Violence or Conflicts
in Suspension on January 1, 2003 that May Restart**

Parties to Conflict	Year Began or Duration	Cause(s)	Foreign Mediation/ Involvement
Middle East			
Iran vs. Kurds	1961-	Independence	None
Turkey vs. Kurds (PKK)	1961-2000	Independence	None
Israel vs. Lebanon	2001-	Water	UN, U.S., Syria
Asia			
Indonesia vs. Aceh separatists	1969-2002	Autonomy; economic & religious strife	None
Indonesia vs. West Papua separatists	1963-2001	Economic & ethnic strife	None
Myanmar (Burma) vs. minorities;	1942-	Ethnic strife; drug trade	U.S., UN, Association of South East Asian Nations
Myanmar (Burma) vs. National League for Democracy	1988-	Ethnic strife; drug trade	U.S., UN, Association of South East Asian Nations
People's Republic of China vs. Tibet	1949-	Autonomy; religious strife	None
Philippines vs. Moro National Liberation Front	1984-2001	religious strife	None
Sri Lanka vs. Tamil Eelam	1978-2002	Ethnic & religious strife	India
Solomon Islands: Malaita Eagle Force and Isatabu Freedom Movement	1998-2000	Ethnic & economic strife	Australia and New Zealand-led International Peace Monitoring Team
Africa			
Angola vs. UNITA	1975-2002	Economic & ethnic strife	U.S., UN, South Africa
Central African Republic	1997-	Power; economic strife	UN, France, Libya, Chad
Chad vs. Movement for Democracy and Justice	1998-	religious strife; power	Libya
Ethiopia vs. Eritrea	1998-2000	Territory	African Union, UN, U.S.
Guinea Bissau vs. "army rebels"	1998-	Power	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), UN



**Table II: Ongoing Low-Level Political Violence or Conflicts
in Suspension on January 1, 2003 that May Restart** *(continued)*

Parties to Conflict	Duration	Cause(s)	Foreign Mediation/ Involvement
Republic of Congo vs. "Ninja" rebels	1997-	Power	Angola
Rwanda: Tutsi vs. Hutu	1990-2001	Ethnic strife	U.S., UN
Sierra Leone vs. Revolutionary United Front	1989-01	Ethnic strife	UN, Nigeria/ECOMOG, Guinea, Liberia, Burkina Faso, Gambia, Britain
Zimbabwe	2000-	Racial & economic strife	None
Europe			
Armenia vs. Azerbaijan	1990-94	Control over Nagorno-Karabakh	OSCE
Kosovo: Albanians vs. Serbs & other minorities	1998	Autonomy; ethnic strife	KFOR (NATO & others), OSCE, UN
Macedonia vs. National Liberation Army	2001	Ethnic & cultural strife	NATO & others, EU, OSCE, UN
Moldova vs. Transdniester Region	1991-	Ethnic strife; autonomy	U.S., OSCE, Russia, Ukraine
Republic of Georgia vs. Abkhazia	1992-93	Independence	UN, Russia, OSCE
Serbs, Croats & Bosnian Muslims	1990-96	Final status of Bosnia-Herzegovina	NATO Stabilization Force under UN mandate, Russia & others
United Kingdom vs. IRA splinter groups	1969-97	Ethnic & religious strife	U.S.
Americas			
Haitian government vs. opposition factions	1991-94; 2000-	Economic strife; power	UN, U.S.
Mexican government vs. Zapatista (EZLN)	1983-	Ethnic & religious strife	None
Venezuelan government vs. legal opposition	2002	Economic strife; power	OAS, U.S.



Notes

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We seek a community where every person's potential may be fulfilled
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