



Annual Report 2010

2009 REVIEW • PLANS FOR 2010

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Former President of Finland; Nobel Peace Prize (2008)

George J. Mitchell

Former US Senate Majority Leader

Crisis Group would also like to pay our respects to Board member Yegor Gaidar, who sadly passed away in December 2009.

COVER PHOTO A Sri Lankan army soldier stands guard over displaced Tamil civilians at an internment camp in Vavuniya, Sri Lanka, November 2009. AP/ERANGA JAYAWARDENA – **THIS PAGE** Downtown Port-au-Prince, Haiti, following the devastating January 2010 earthquake. REUTERS/CARLOS GARCIA RAWLINS

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THE PAST YEAR has been one of great change for Crisis Group. After heading the organisation for a decade, Gareth Evans stepped down as President and CEO. With his hard work, dedication and commitment to the highest standards of reporting, Gareth helped establish Crisis Group as the world's leading source of analysis on conflict prevention and resolution for policymakers. We are very pleased that he is to continue his close association with us as President Emeritus and a member of our Board.

FORTUNATELY FOR US ALL, the Board found a brilliant new captain to take over the helm in Louise Arbour. She has had a long and impressive career in public service, most recently as United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, but also as Chief Prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and as a Canadian Supreme Court Justice.

Louise took up her post this past summer, and the fact that the transition has gone so smoothly is a testament to both presidents' drive and determination. We look forward to continuing to work with Louise as she leads the organisation's response to the most serious life-and-death issues facing the world today, and we are confident that her efforts will bring Crisis Group even greater prominence and influence in the years ahead.

AS CRISIS GROUP celebrates its 15th anniversary this year, we have much to be proud of. The organisation's commitment to preventing violent conflict has not ebbed and flowed with the winds of political fortune. We have provided sound, smart advice on solving the most intractable conflicts of our time, from the most well known to the too often forgotten.

But while the Board and staff's unwavering commitment has made Crisis Group a respected voice the world over, our supporters similarly deserve enormous credit for their steadfastness. We are grateful to the scores of governments, foundations, individuals and

companies that have given generously to Crisis Group over the years, especially during the recent financial crisis. But if we are to recruit and keep the best staff, have the broadest possible impact on policy debates, and lay a strong foundation for the next 15 years, we need your help. Please join us, and make Crisis Group's cause your own.

London, Washington DC
1 March 2010

Lord Patten of Barnes, CO-CHAIR

Christopher Patten, Chancellor of Oxford University, is a former European Commissioner for External Relations, Governor of Hong Kong and UK Cabinet Minister. He has been Co-Chair of Crisis Group since November 2004.

Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering, CO-CHAIR

Thomas Pickering is a former US Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and Ambassador to the UN, India, Russia, Israel, El Salvador, Nigeria and Jordan, and current Chairman of Hills & Company. He has been Co-Chair of Crisis Group since April 2006.

From the President

THE CHANGEOVER FROM Gareth Evans's long-standing and successful era of leadership to my arrival as President of Crisis Group last July went remarkably smoothly. The credit for this must largely go to the dedication, talent, professionalism and productivity of our staff worldwide. I want to take this opportunity to thank them for their extraordinary efforts in this last year and to assure them of my support as we move forward.

The year was marked by a series of crises that engaged us both in the field and in capitals. Crisis Group worked intensively on Sri Lanka throughout 2009 to sustain international attention on the severe humanitarian crisis both before and after the civil war ended in May. Our report on Afghanistan's flawed presidential poll stressed the need for tangible electoral reform in anticipation of the upcoming parliamentary vote. In Pakistan, Crisis Group's repeated calls for rapid humanitarian assistance to prevent radical groups from exploiting the country's ongoing instability were largely adopted by the international community, topping a gradual policy shift strongly reflecting the organisation's years of reporting and advocacy work.

Our work on Cyprus has been the point of reference both for the parties and the international actors working against the clock to transform the unsustainable status quo into the viable reunification of the island. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Crisis Group encouraged the UN to shift away from its one-dimensional military policies in the east of the country. In Sudan, the organisation took an early lead in warning that the failure to ensure free and fair elections in 2010 and to plan for the secession referendum in South Sudan in 2011 could result in the country's implosion.

Once again, in 2009 our impact has been felt on less visible but equally toxic situations. We have been intensely involved in the deteriorating crisis in Guinea. Crisis Group had been working on Guinea for years, and any reader of our March 2009 report on the country would have known that a violent showdown was looming between the military junta and the opposition. When a massacre of civilians took place on 28 September, we mobilised an all-out advocacy campaign to force the junta to move the country to democracy.



We produced a briefing just two weeks after the massacre, warning of further violence, noting the potential for regional destabilisation, and offering practical solutions to the crisis. We then delivered those messages in meetings with leading figures in West Africa, at the UN and in key capitals around the world, as well as in commentary articles published in major outlets, such as *Le Monde* and the *International Herald Tribune*. As I write this on 1 March 2010, Guinea appears headed for a peaceful transition to civilian rule, and I have no doubt at all that Crisis Group played an important part in bringing this about.

AS CRISIS GROUP enters its 15th year and looks forward to publishing its 1000th report, we remain at the cutting edge of timely policy debates and in the lead on workable solutions to conflicts and potential conflicts worldwide. As you read through this Annual Report you will no doubt appreciate the breadth and depth of our coverage of deadly conflicts and our impact on prevention, management and resolution of the most intractable of them. We look to the years ahead with equal determination and confidence in the importance of our mission.

Brussels
1 March 2010

Louise Arbour, PRESIDENT AND CEO

Louise Arbour served as UN High Commissioner for Human Rights from 2004 to 2008 and Chief Prosecutor for International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda from 1996 to 1999. She has been President and CEO of International Crisis Group since July 2009.

Crisis Group Mission and Method

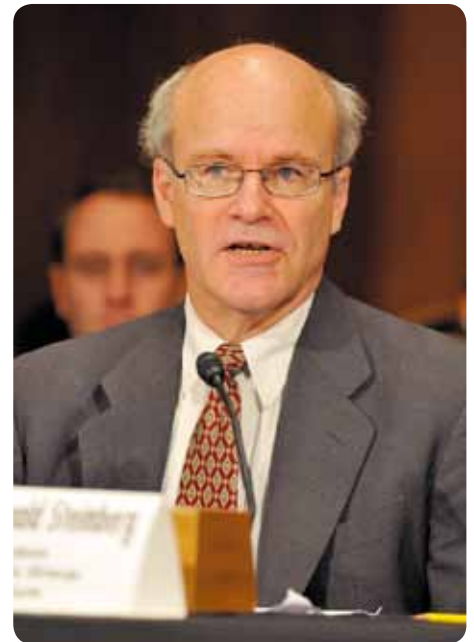
Crisis Group was established in 1995 by a group of prominent international citizens and foreign policy specialists who were appalled by the international community's failure to act effectively in response to the crises in Somalia, Bosnia and Rwanda. Their aim was to create a new organisation, wholly independent of any government, which would help governments, intergovernmental bodies and the world community at large to prevent or at least contain deadly conflict – and, if and when prevention failed, try to resolve it.

Policy and Operations

Crisis Group decides on what situations to cover based on a number of factors. These include: the seriousness of a situation, whether we can add value to international understanding and response, whether we have or can raise the necessary resources to ensure high-quality reporting and effective follow-through, and whether we can safely operate in the field.

Operating in the field Crisis Group's analysts are drawn mostly from experienced former diplomats, journalists, academics and NGO staff, often leading world experts in their areas. Of 126 positions on 1 March 2010, 79 were based in the field – in 9 regional offices and 17 other locations. Others worked from our Brussels head office and major city advocacy and liaison offices. Security for our field staff is often an issue, requiring, in some cases, operating on a non-disclosed basis.

Determining policy In the initial drafting of reports and briefing papers, field analysts work with our regional program directors. A research and advocacy team in Brussels also provides input, especially on EU and NATO developments, while our Washington and New York advocacy offices assist with US and UN perspectives. The policy prescriptions attached to Crisis Group reports are settled with input from field and senior staff, and Board members, as well as consultation with governments,



KAVEH SARDARI

Crisis Group Deputy President **DONALD STEINBERG** testifying at a US Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing on Zimbabwe, Washington DC, 30 September 2009. – From left: Afghanistan Senior Analyst **CANDACE RONDEAUX** and Crisis Group South Asia Project Director **SAMINA AHMED** observing elections in Kabul, Afghanistan, 20 August 2009.

“In praise of ... the International Crisis Group”, *The Guardian*, 23 March 2009

As the drones pounded Gaza this year, few foreign policy outfits would have bothered producing a report entitled “Guinea-Bissau: Building a Real Stability Pact”. Yet the Brussels-based International Crisis Group finds time to devote to each crisis, large or small – and readers tunnelling through its dense analysis always emerge better informed. The ICG grew out of the perception that the world could have done more to tackle Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia in the 1990s if it had only seen them coming.

It blew the whistle on Darfur, East Timor and northern Uganda before those conflicts erupted. It reliably provides cool analysis of major conflagrations within days of them breaking out – such as with the 22-day war in Gaza. Even more impressive, though, is its coverage of forgotten lands – including, in the few months since Gaza, Haiti, Nepal and Tajikistan. When the world's gaze moves on, the ICG stays, to monitor the unfinished business conflict leaves behind. There is nothing cut-and-paste about

the research, the core relying upon the expenditure of copious amounts of shoe leather. This month's announcement that the heavyweight Louise Arbour, a former UN high commissioner for human rights, will be the group's new president underlines its determination to influence as well as inform. The body has grown to a full-time staff of 130 covering 60 countries or conflicts. That exceeds the foreign staff of all but the largest news-gathering operations. Long may it continue to thrive.

intergovernmental organisations, academics and other think tanks and NGOs.

Getting the story out Strong advocacy means effective dissemination. By the end of 2009, Crisis Group reports and briefing papers were being sent by email notification to 26,000 specifically targeted recipients (including government ministers, heads of international agencies, diplomats and officials in key roles, and journalists) and a further 130,000 subscribers signed up through our website. We also maintained strong media

exposure, in terms both of mentions in significant print and electronic media worldwide and influential opinion and commentary pieces published.

High-level advocacy Much of Crisis Group's most successful advocacy is done behind closed doors. In 2009, our major advocacy offices, in Brussels, Washington and New York, continued to ensure Crisis Group has the access and influence at the highest levels of the US and European governments, the UN, EU and NATO. Meanwhile, our London office continued to maintain

Crisis Group's profile and influence in the UK, and our Moscow liaison office worked to improve our contacts in Russia. Our large team in Nairobi and Beijing liaison presence have increased access significantly in Africa and China.

CRISIS GROUP APPROACH – THREE BASIC ELEMENTS

1.

Expert field research and analysis

Crisis Group's credibility is founded on its field-based research. Our analysts are based in or near many of the world's trouble spots, where there is concern about the possible outbreak of conflict, its escalation or recurrence. Their main task is to find out what is happening and why. They identify the underlying political, social and economic factors creating the conditions for conflict, as well as the more immediate causes of tension. They find the people that matter and discover what or who influences them. And they consider the actual and potential role for other countries and intergovernmental bodies like the United Nations, European Union and African Union.

2.

Practical, imaginative policy prescriptions

Crisis Group's task is not merely to understand conflict but to prevent, contain and resolve it. That means identifying the levers that can be pulled and those who can pull them, whether political, legal, financial or ultimately, military. Some of these tools require action by the national government or local actors; others require the commitment of other governments or international organisations. Some will be within the current marketplace of received ideas; others will be over the horizon but nonetheless the right way forward. These policy prescriptions, along with our field-based research and analysis, are presented in succinct, timely and readable reports.

3.

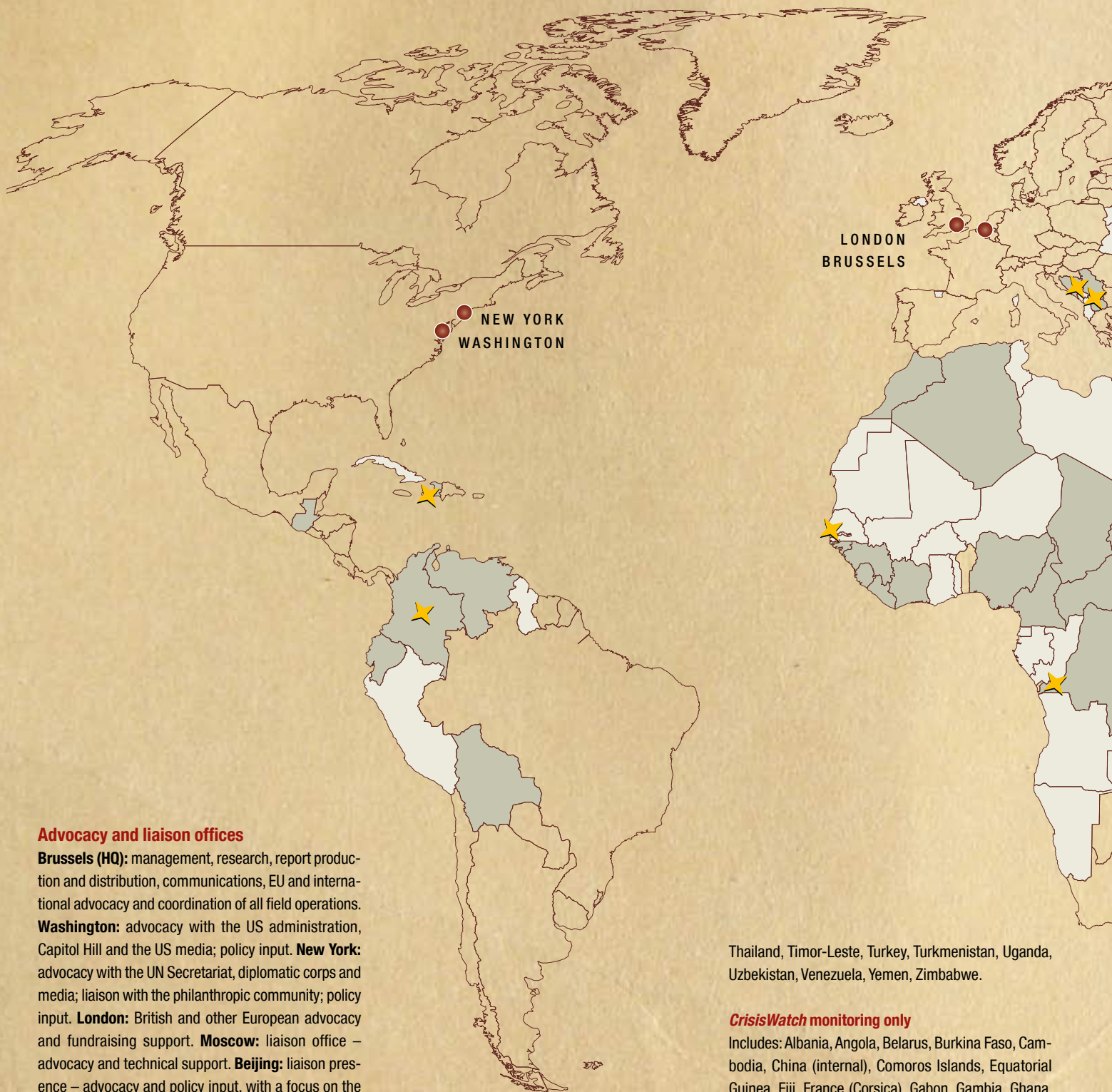
Effective, high-level advocacy

Identifying the problem and the appropriate response is still only part of the story. All too often the missing ingredient is the "political will" to take the necessary action. Crisis Group's task is not to lament its absence but to work out how to mobilise it. That means persuading policymakers directly or through others who influence them, not least the media. That in turn means having the right arguments: moral, political, legal and financial. And it means having the ability to effectively deploy those arguments, with people of the right credibility and capacity.



SAKHI GHULAM DARWISH

Crisis Group Operations around the World



Advocacy and liaison offices

Brussels (HQ): management, research, report production and distribution, communications, EU and international advocacy and coordination of all field operations. **Washington:** advocacy with the US administration, Capitol Hill and the US media; policy input. **New York:** advocacy with the UN Secretariat, diplomatic corps and media; liaison with the philanthropic community; policy input. **London:** British and other European advocacy and fundraising support. **Moscow:** liaison office – advocacy and technical support. **Beijing:** liaison presence – advocacy and policy input, with a focus on the role of China in conflict areas around the world.

Covered by field analysts*

Afghanistan, Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan (including Nagorno-Karabakh), Bangladesh, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, China (Taiwan Strait), Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Cyprus, DR Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia,

Georgia, Guatemala, Gulf states, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, India (Kashmir), Indonesia, Iraq, Israel/Palestine, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Liberia, Macedonia, Madagascar, Morocco, Burma/Myanmar, Nepal, Nigeria, North Korea, Pakistan, Philippines, Rwanda, Russia (North Caucasus), Saudi Arabia, Serbia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Tajikistan,

Thailand, Timor-Leste, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uganda, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, Yemen, Zimbabwe.

CrisisWatch monitoring only

Includes: Albania, Angola, Belarus, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, China (internal), Comoros Islands, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, France (Corsica), Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Honduras, India (non-Kashmir), Iran, Jordan, Lesotho, Libya, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Moldova, Mongolia, Montenegro, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Republic of Congo, Senegal, Solomon Islands, Spain (Basque Country), Swaziland, Togo, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom (Northern Ireland), Western Sahara, Zambia.

* Coverage planned for 2010



Crisis Group is a leader in promoting peaceful resolution to conflict by reframing policy debates through strong analysis and innovative recommendations. I fully support the work of Crisis Group and applaud its contributions to global peace and security.

Carl Bildt, Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, January 2010

In 2009, Africa saw scant progress in resolving its deadliest conflicts and had to face a few new ones. International mediation in Darfur achieved little, while the security and humanitarian situation dramatically deteriorated in South Sudan. Somalia appeared stuck in a military stalemate. Regional relations improved in the Great Lakes region, but renewed military operations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo's Kivu provinces had dire humanitarian consequences. Meanwhile, Guinea's new military rulers cracked down on opposition.

CRISIS GROUP IN AFRICA

PREVENTING IMPLOSION

■ CENTRAL AFRICA

Burundi finally began to make real progress toward stability in 2009. After much delay, the last rebel group, the Palipehutu-FNL, began to implement the 2006 ceasefire agreement and started the lengthy process of disarming thousands of former rebels. The **Central African Republic** (CAR) took some steps toward political reconciliation, but President François Bozizé's reluctance to implement agreed reforms further exacerbated an already tense situation ahead of elections due in April 2010.

In July, in the **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, the UN and the army launched a much-criticised joint military offensive against Rwandan Hutu rebels in the DR Congo's North and South Kivu provinces. The operation led to accusations of widespread human rights abuses carried out by some Congolese army units. The army and the UN Mission in the Congo (MONUC) also failed to prevent massive rebel reprisals against civilians that displaced hundreds of thousands of Congolese. Nationally, President Joseph Kabila's government cracked down on political

dissent ahead of elections in 2011, while local conflicts escalated following the government's failure to implement reforms.

Tensions between **Chad** and **Sudan** remained high in 2009, although under control. After repelling a cross-border attack by rebels in May, the Chadian army made a series of incursions into Sudanese territory in a bid to destroy rebel bases.

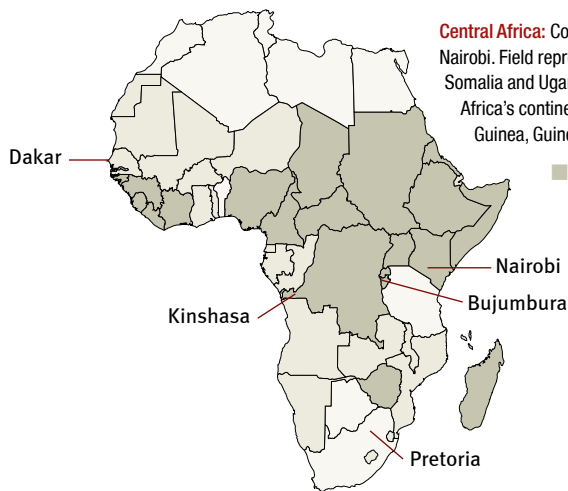
CRISIS GROUP IMPACT Crisis Group's policy briefing *Burundi: To Integrate the FNL Successfully* (August) ensured the spotlight remained on a potentially violent situation. Burundi's regional neighbours continue to hold the keys to the country's stability. Crisis Group staff raised the report's recommendations in a meeting with the Tanzanian Minister for Foreign Affairs and President Jakaya Kikwete during Crisis Group's first ever Board meeting in Africa in November. Our two publications on **Chad**, *Powderkeg in the East* (April) and *Escaping the Oil Trap* (August), generated considerable debate in N'djamena and were widely covered in the national press. Our

GUINEA A protester is arrested by security forces in Conakry, following a demonstration in which 160 people died after government troops opened fire, 28 September 2009.

AFP/SEYLOU

CENTRAL AFRICA HORN OF AFRICA SOUTHERN AFRICA WEST AFRICA





Central Africa: Covers Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, DR Congo, Rwanda. Regional office: Nairobi. Field representation: Bujumbura, Kinshasa. **Horn of Africa:** Covers Sudan, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia and Uganda. Regional office: Nairobi. **Southern Africa:** Covers Zimbabwe, Madagascar and South Africa's continental role. Field representation: Pretoria. **West Africa:** Covers Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Regional office: Dakar.

■ COVERED BY FIELD ANALYSTS ■ CRISISWATCH MONITORING

focus on the Chadian roots of the eastern conflict – independent from Darfur dynamics – shaped new UN thinking on the role of the UN mission in the country. Within weeks of the publication of our August briefing, which highlighted major problems with the ongoing mismanagement of oil resources, the Chadian political scene was convulsed by a series of scandals which echoed our warnings.

Our two reports on the **DR Congo**, *Five Priorities for a Peace-building Strategy* (May) and *A Comprehensive Strategy to Disarm the FDLR* (July), directly influenced UN thinking on peace-building in the Kivus. Crisis Group's advocacy on the DR Congo has been cited by key policymakers as encouraging a shift away from a purely military approach. Our five-pronged strategy for resolving violence in the east – shared with members of the International Contact Group for the Great Lakes – formed a large part of their discussion. Crisis Group staff briefed a UN Security Council mission to the region, as well as US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton prior to her

visit in August. A number of our recommendations, including a renewed emphasis on addressing widespread sexual violence, featured prominently in their visits. High-level advocacy ahead of the UN mission's December mandate renewal, including a letter by Crisis Group President Louise Arbour to the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, contributed to a new focus on attaching conditions to UN support for the Congolese army's operations against the Rwandan rebels.

■ HORN OF AFRICA

2009 started **Sudan's** countdown toward the critical 2010 general election and January 2011 referendum on independence for South Sudan. Relations continued to deteriorate between the long-ruling National Congress Party (NCP) and the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement (SPLM), the former rebel group turned uneasy national coalition partner, raising concerns about the risk of a return to all-out war and the country's implosion. The two sides traded accusations over the delay in the implementation of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) which ended decades of civil war. The Darfur peace process remained deadlocked, although the security situation was calmer than in 2008. Meanwhile, tribal clashes led to escalating violence in South Sudan.

Somalia started the year with a brief and fleeting moment of hope, as a revitalised Transitional Federal Government (TFG) under Sheikh



REUTERS/FEISAL OMAR

Opposite: **DR CONGO** Indian peacekeepers serving with MONUC on patrol in North Kivu province, eastern DR Congo. – A government soldier near Goma, North Kivu, December 2008. – Above: **SOMALIA** Members of the al Shabaab Islamist group parade in Somalia's capital Mogadishu, January 2010.

Sharif Sheikh Ahmed sought to form coalitions with other moderate Islamists and isolate the extremist al Shabaab elements. As the months went on, however, that window of opportunity seemed to close, with infighting wrecking prospects for such reconciliation and al Shabaab strengthening. As concern grew that the TFG might collapse, the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) began actively defending the government despite taking heavy losses itself. By the end of 2009, almost half of the population, 3.6 million people, were dependent on food aid and half a million refugees remained scattered across the Horn of Africa.

In **Ethiopia**, tension continued to build between Prime Minister Meles Zenawi and the opposition ahead of the 2010 elections. Although Addis Ababa said it was planning free and fair elections, it continued to repress political opponents. In **Kenya**, the coalition government showed signs of cracks over the slow progress of its reform agenda. President Mwai Kibaki faced parliamentary opposition and internal revolt over his re-appointment of the head of the Anti-Corruption Commission, who was finally forced to resign in September. November saw a new draft of the constitution and the International Criminal Court (ICC) opened an investigation into the 2007–2008 post-election violence after the government failed to set up a special tribunal. In March, the **Ugandan** government officially called a halt to its offensive, “Operation Lightning Thunder”, into north-eastern DR Congo against Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) rebels. However, some Ugandan troops remained in both the DR Congo and CAR, causing strained relations between Uganda and its neighbours. Lightning Thunder also exacerbated the already

The International Crisis Group reports are a must-read for every foreign affairs editor.

Steffen Richter, Comment Editor, *Die Zeit*, October 2009

dire humanitarian situation in LRA-affected areas of the DR Congo, South Sudan and CAR. Meanwhile, growing tension over land and governance issues in Uganda led to riots in September.

CRISIS GROUP IMPACT Both African and Western decision-makers hailed our report *Sudan: Peace, Justice and the ICC* (July) as one of the few balanced publications on how to fight impunity in Sudan. Crisis Group staff discussed the report extensively with the African Union Panel on Darfur, led by former South African President Thabo Mbeki. The two end-of-year publications, *Sudan: Preventing Implosion* and *Jonglei’s Tribal*



Conflicts: Countering Insecurity, highlighted what many international actors still hesitated to discuss: the potential consequences of a flawed election in 2010 and the need to prepare for secession as the most likely outcome of the Southern Sudan referendum. Our briefing *Somalia: The Trouble with Puntland* (August) was the first to highlight the shortcomings of international anti-piracy policy and contributed to it being partially refocused on security sector reform and improved governance in Puntland. The report *Ethiopia: Ethnic Federalism and Its Discontents* (September) warned of possible violence ahead of the 2010 elections if greater

democracy is not promoted. The report triggered angry reactions from the government, including public attacks on Crisis Group by Prime Minister Meles Zenawi. The report was referred to regularly by the international media to portray the current state of Ethiopia's deteriorating governance.

■ SOUTHERN AFRICA

Zimbabwe's hopes for change met with mixed results in 2009. With the former opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in governing coalition with President Robert

Mugabe's long-ruling ZANU-PF party, some improvement in state services were evident. But the country was plunged into political uncertainty in September, as Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai, leader of the larger faction of the split MDC, disengaged from the inclusive government. Though he rejoined the government a few weeks later, Zimbabwe remained at the mercy of an uncompromising military. The reform agenda largely stalled, threatening to reverse the modest improvements made in the economy and the health sector.

In Madagascar, the political situation remained tense at the end of 2009. President

There is no substitute for personal diplomacy which is a hallmark of Crisis Group. You offer vision, especially in places that need it most. You are unafraid to dream and unafraid of speaking hard truths while still taking a measured approach toward inclusive security.

George H.W. Bush, Former US President, October 2009

Marc Ravalomanana resigned in March following a fierce power struggle with opposition leader Andry Nirina Rajoelina. But the international community refused to recognise Rajoelina's military-backed government. A series of talks aimed at securing a transitional government stalled, and the country faces elections in 2010.

CRISIS GROUP IMPACT Crisis Group's advocacy on **Zimbabwe**, following our briefing *Engaging the Transitional Government* (April), was cited by the US and the UK as having helped move the international community away from a "wait-and-see" attitude toward cautious support for the unity government, while still maintaining targeted sanctions on President Robert Mugabe and others thwarting the country's full democratic transformation.

■ **WEST AFRICA**

In March, **Guinea's** ruling military junta, the country's political parties, and civil society reached a framework agreement for transition to democratic rule. However, the deal started to unravel almost immediately. Tensions reached a tragic climax on 28 September, when government forces opened fire on peaceful demonstrators, killing at least 160 and injuring over 1,000. The West African regional organisation, ECOWAS, appointed President Blaise Compaoré of Burkina Faso to mediate, but little progress was made. In November, the UN established a commission to investigate the massacre. On 3 December,

NIGERIA Rebels from the Niger Delta arrive in Port Harcourt to surrender arms under a government amnesty, October 2009. – **SUDAN** Peacekeeping troops from Zambia on patrol in the Abyei region on the disputed North-South border, July 2009.

REUTERS/HO NEW



ZIMBABWE President Mugabe and Prime Minister Tsvangirai make a rare show of unity at a press conference, Harare, 23 December 2009. REUTERS/PHILIMON BULAWAYO

junta leader Moussa Dadis Camara was shot by his aide de camp in an apparent assassination attempt. Camara was evacuated to Morocco for surgery, and defence minister Sekouba Konaté took over, promising in January 2010 to move the country back to its democratic transition.

In January, July and November, President Umaru Yar'Adua of **Nigeria** took several unscheduled breaks, including medical trips abroad, sparking concerns about his fitness to continue in office and disputes over his succession. Meanwhile, there was little progress toward reforming the electoral system, a minimum condition for improving elections in 2011 and avoiding violence. From May through June, the military Joint Task Force (JTF) launched major offensives against militants in the oil-rich Niger Delta region, killing many civilians and displacing thousands. The main militant group, the Movement for Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), replied by striking a major oil depot near Lagos in July, dramatically demonstrating its ability to hit targets beyond the Delta states. Violence ebbed in the second half of the year as

a peace process and disarmament program started to bear some fruit, but the situation remained fragile, particularly in the absence of the president.

After the assassination of President Joao Bernardo Vieira and army chief General Batista Tagme in **Guinea-Bissau** in early March, violence further escalated in the run-up to presidential elections. However, July's run-off election passed off successfully. New president Malam Bacai Sanha pledged to probe the March killings and to curb corruption in the administration and fight drug trafficking. In 2009, **Côte d'Ivoire** continued its preparations for the elections which should bring the post-war transition to an end. But with a number of problems unresolved, the independent electoral commission rescheduled polls once again to April 2010. In **Cameroon**, President Paul Biya continued his campaign to extend his 26-year rule. Tensions were further fuelled by the creation of a new electoral body, the members of which are overwhelmingly ruling party supporters. Meanwhile, the reconstruction of **Liberia** and **Sierra Leone**



SUDAN Government soldiers hold a picture of President Omar Hassan al-Bashir during protests against the ICC's arrest warrant, Khartoum, 16 March 2009. REUTERS/MOHAMED NURELDIN ABDALLAH

continued. Both countries remained relatively calm in 2009 but face ongoing problems, including stagnant economies and high ex-combatant youth unemployment.

CRISIS GROUP IMPACT Crisis Group's work in Guinea was highly visible and influential, as years of close analysis of the country has earned the organisation a wide readership among its political actors. Crisis Group's briefing *Guinea: The Transition Has Only Just Begun* (March) underscored the dangers of military entrenchment in state administration. The report figured prominently in local and international media, and Guinean civil society took on board Crisis Group's recommendations urging that they put their differences aside, distance themselves from

the military junta, and produce a clear transition timetable. Our second briefing *Guinea: Military Rule Must End* (October), published after the 28 September massacre, recommended an International Commission of Inquiry, subsequently created, and outlined recommendations that were later endorsed by the international community.

Nigeria: Seizing the Moment in the Niger Delta (April) was widely welcomed by stakeholders in the region and provided key elements for the negotiation process with the Delta militants. Our overall reporting on the Delta was used as background material by the government-constituted Technical Committee on the Niger Delta, which also invited Crisis Group's analyst to its sessions. Thanks to an extensive advocacy campaign, civil society spokespersons, espe-

cially in the Delta, frequently referred to our recommendations as the way forward.

The UN and **Guinea-Bissau's** key international partners (France, the UK, US and Senegal) welcomed Crisis Group's reporting on the country. With the publication of two briefings in 2009, *Building a Real Stability Pact* (January) and *Beyond the Rule of the Gun* (June), Crisis Group provided key policy proposals at a time of crisis and decisively contributed to the international press and decision-makers waking up to the growing threat of the West African drug trade. Our reporting also helped shape the role of the UN Peace-Building Commission and emphasised the investment in security sector reform as a strategic focus for Guinea-Bissau's international partners, which is now being led by the EU.



NEIL CAMPBELL

ARTHUR KEPEL IN MEMORIAM

It was with immense shock and sadness that International Crisis Group learned of the sudden death of our dear colleague Arthur Kepel, who succumbed to cardiac arrest on 24 January 2010. Arthur, an analyst with International Crisis Group for the last two and a half years, dedicated his life to peace in his country, the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Arthur was truly committed to changing the life of his people for the better, and since he succeeded in so many instances he will be remembered by many for his drive, bravery and incorruptible vision. Arthur's death is an enormous loss to Crisis Group and its Africa program.

AFRICA – KEY ISSUES IN 2010

■ CENTRAL AFRICA

Burundi Pre-election political and security environment: With elections due in July 2010, Crisis Group will examine political tensions and risks of destabilisation related to the electoral process and its aftermath.

Central African Republic Conflict in the Vakaga: We will analyse conflict dynamics in the country's north-eastern province and the requirements for stabilisation.

DR Congo Kabila's regime: Despite facing substantial pressure internally and externally, President Kabila's government has not fulfilled most of its promises. Crisis Group will evaluate governance and security ahead of the 2011 elections.

Conflict in the Kivus: Stabilisation will require sustained engagement by the international community and the Congolese government. Crisis Group will examine progress and challenges on the horizon.

Chad Situation in the east: We will evaluate the security situation in the east following the recent rapprochement between Sudan and Chad and the possible withdrawal of the UN mission.

■ HORN OF AFRICA

Sudan Elections: Crisis Group will analyse preparations related to the 2010 elections and their consequences for peace and stability in the country.

South Sudan's secession: The self-determination referendum is fast approaching, yet it is unclear what regional states think about possible secession or whether they are even planning for the outcome.

Somalia Islamists: The hard-line Islamist opposition is best described as a loose coalition of like-minded groups. In 2010, we will profile the different factions and analyse their unique dynamics.

The Transitional Federal Government: We will explain why the TFG has failed to live up to expectations, and what the international community can do to improve security and effective governance in central and south Somalia.

Eritrea Root causes of the conflict: President Issayas Afeworki has been using the external Ethiopian threat as a main justification for the survival of his dictatorship. We will assess the internal policy changes necessary to stabilise the country and the region.

Kenya Continuing violence: We will analyse the continued potential for political mobilisation of ethnic violence.

Uganda Lord's Resistance Army – next steps: Following the regional offensive launched in December 2008 against the LRA, Crisis Group will assess how to secure disarmament of the insurgents.

Land governance: We will review the federalism debate in Uganda, and its relation to both land ownership and President Yoweri Museveni's re-election campaign in 2011.

■ SOUTHERN AFRICA

Zimbabwe No end to Mugabe's rule: We will analyse the possible options for reform with Mugabe staying on, as well as the capacity of the opposition to change the country's political dynamics.

When and how should sanctions be eased?: Crisis Group will examine the crucial issue of managing international pressure on ZANU-PF without undermining the MDC's chances to make the most out of the inclusive government.

Madagascar In crisis: We will launch our reporting on the country by mapping out conflict dynamics and the reasons behind the current political stand-off. This will be followed by a report on the difficult implementation of the Maputo Accords.

■ WEST AFRICA

Côte d'Ivoire Peace process and elections: We will analyse the daunting challenges ahead for the 2010 election process, including disarming the Forces Nouvelles and training the security forces to enable free and fair elections.

Elections are not enough: Even if elections are successful and widely accepted, the country still faces significant challenges, including unfinished security system reform, unresolved identity and nationality issues, and a deep-rooted culture of corruption.

Guinea The military and politics: In 2010, we will focus specifically on the military, providing detailed insight into its nature and its mode of functioning.

Dictatorship and democratic transition: The mediation process and the sanctions regime were both designed to encourage the junta to give way to a transitional authority. We will analyse outcomes and report on these processes and their implications for regional stability.

Nigeria Conflict risks: We will publish a report on conflict dynamics in the north, including the risks radical groups pose to the already fragile relations between Nigeria's two main religious groups, and to the country's stability as a whole.

Succession and democracy: We will focus on the overall political situation, including the inertia of government resulting in part from President Yar'Adua's poor health and the risks attached to a transition in the event of his incapacity.



CRISIS GROUP IN ASIA

WARS AND WARNINGS

Violence in both Afghanistan and Pakistan continued to escalate, increasingly threatening regional security in Central Asia. Sri Lanka's government forces finally defeated the Tamil Tiger rebels, but the final chapter of the long-running civil war was particularly brutal. Elections in Indonesia passed off successfully, but southern Thailand saw a renewed campaign by Muslim insurgents.

■ SOUTH ASIA

Security in **Afghanistan** sharply declined in 2009 due to the strengthening Taliban insurgency and a weakening of government legitimacy. Endemic corruption and a failure to deliver good government or improve peoples' lives undermined popular support for the state-building effort. President Hamid Karzai's re-election in November 2009 followed allegations of widespread fraud in the August polls. In December, US President Barack Obama announced a plan to send 30,000 additional troops to Afghanistan.

Neighbouring **Pakistan** faced an intensified Taliban insurgency, political instability and a difficult transition away from military rule. Fighting in the North West Frontier Province and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) led to more than four million people being forced from their homes in one of the largest displacements in recent decades. A return to parliamentary democracy in Pakistan failed to improve relations with India, mostly due to ongoing tensions over the terrorist attack in

Mumbai in December 2008. Talks made little headway, and the conflict over **Kashmir** saw scarce improvement.

2009 was a momentous year for **Sri Lanka**, with the end of the three-decade civil war between the government and Tamil militants. The destruction of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) came at a huge humanitarian cost, however, with indiscriminate government shelling responsible for many of the thousands of civilian casualties in the final months of the conflict. The post-war internment of nearly 300,000 Tamils threatened to exacerbate ethnic tensions further and perpetuate the cycle of violence.

Nepal saw a loss of momentum in the peace process and a reversion to the polarisation that had characterised the ten-year conflict between the Maoists and the state. There was some progress on creating a constitution, but the promised politics of consensus gave way to confrontation. The Maoist-led government fell in May, and its successor struggled to make headway.

South Asia: Covers Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Kashmir, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Regional office: Islamabad. Field representation: Colombo, Kabul, Kathmandu. **South East Asia:** Covers Burma/Myanmar, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and Timor-Leste. Regional office: Jakarta. Field representation: Bangkok, Dili. **North East Asia:** Covers North Korea, Taiwan Strait tensions and regional security generally. Field representation: Seoul. **Central Asia:** Addresses governance issues, Islamism and political transition strategies in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Regional office: Bishkek.

■ COVERED BY FIELD ANALYSTS ■ CRISISWATCH MONITORING



CRISIS GROUP IMPACT Crisis Group's work on **Afghanistan** in 2009 shaped the debate as the international community became more engaged with the war. *Afghanistan: New us Administration, New Directions* (March) argued against a narrow focus on counter-terrorism and in favour of nation-building. EU election observers were briefed directly by Crisis Group staff before their deployment to Afghanistan. A senior Obama Administration official described the report *Afghanistan: What Now for Refugees?* (August) as essential reading on the subject, while the director of a major Washington-based NGO praised our policy briefing *Afghanistan: Elections and the Crisis of Governance* (November) as doing "an excellent job".

In a series of high-level meetings with us and EU officials, Crisis Group called on the us and European member states to support the new civilian government in **Pakistan** and the country's democratic transition. Crisis Group was an authoritative resource on Pakistan's crisis of displaced persons, in particular helping to focus thinking in the country and among international donors on the need for rapid humanitarian assistance to prevent radical groups from

exploiting instability. Our briefing *Pakistan's IDP Crisis: Challenges and Opportunities* (June), produced just weeks after the crisis took hold, was widely cited in the international media. Crisis Group staff also provided policy guidance at the most senior levels, including in testimony before the us Senate, meetings with us envoy Richard Holbrooke and in a private briefing with Pakistan's President Asif Ali Zardari. Key donors announced major new aid packages during this period with conditions that reflected central aspects of our recommendations. A serving us ambassador said our report *Pakistan: Countering Militancy in FATA* (October) was a "must-read for us policymakers".

Crisis Group worked to keep the ongoing humanitarian crisis in **Sri Lanka** in the spotlight through a stream of commentary articles and high-level meetings before and after the war's bloody close in May. A targeted advocacy drive



ERIC BOUVET/VII NETWORK

SOUTH ASIA SOUTH EAST ASIA NORTH EAST ASIA CENTRAL ASIA

AFGHANISTAN A French soldier trains Afghan National Army troops in Kapisa province, November 2009. — **NEPAL** Police battle with Maoist protestors after their leader, Prachanda, steps down as prime minister, Kathmandu, 7 May 2009.

in advance of the IMF's July vote on a major support loan to Colombo contributed to telling abstentions from the US, UK, France, Germany and Argentina. While the loan was approved, many governments subsequently articulated conditions for its disbursement that tracked Crisis Group's advice in *Development Assistance and Conflict in Sri Lanka: Lessons from the Eastern Province* (April). In addition, our reporting was taken into account in USAID policy formulation. European Council findings on Sri Lanka incorporated Crisis Group's advocacy points and recommendations almost verbatim.

In two wide-ranging reports, Crisis Group analysed the challenges facing Nepal's efforts to achieve stability. *Nepal's Faltering Peace Process* (February) warned of hardening political positions and the risk posed by the failure to reform the security sector. *Nepal's Future: In Whose Hands?* (August) generated much controversy for its frank assessment of the worsening political dynamics. It had a major impact on the domestic and international debates on the future role of the UN and donors in supporting the peace process.

■ SOUTH EAST ASIA

Indonesia in 2009 showed how far it has come in a decade of democratic reforms. Parliamentary elections passed off without incident, while incumbent President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono won a sweeping victory in presidential polls. Still, some violent jihadi activity continued to pose a threat. In July, nine people were killed in terror attacks at two luxury hotels in Jakarta. Police later killed or captured most of those responsible, including ringleader Noordin Top.

After a lull following a concerted military campaign in 2008, violence in the Muslim south of **Thailand** escalated throughout 2009. Ongoing political turmoil in Bangkok was exacerbated by the illness of the ageing king, which cast a cloud over Thai politics. In **Burma/Myanmar**, the latest show trial of opposition leader



REUTERS/GOPAL CHITRAKAR



Aung San Suu Kyi drew widespread condemnation, but there was also renewed hope following the US announcement of a policy of engagement with the country. **Timor-Leste** prospered in 2009, putting the crises of 2006 and 2008 firmly behind it. Ten years after the UN-sponsored referendum that created the state, formal control continued to be handed back to the Timorese. In the **Philippines**, after a peace deal was scuttled by a Supreme Court ruling, new talks resumed with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) separatist rebels.

CRISIS GROUP IMPACT In 2009, Crisis Group provided the most widely respected analysis of terrorism networks in **Indonesia**. Two reports, *Indonesia: The Hotel Bombings* (July) and *Indonesia: Noordin Top's Support Base* (August), were often cited as the most authoritative texts on the attacks and those who planned them. The international community increased its monitoring of the Aceh region on and around polling day as a direct result of our pre-poll report,

SRI LANKA Internally displaced Tamils wait behind barbed wire at Menik Farm camp, 23 May 2009. – **AFGHANISTAN** Police and provincial security forces destroy poppy fields in Nangarhar province.

Indonesia: Deep Distrust in Aceh as Elections Approach (March).

Crisis Group continued to shed light on the chronically neglected conflict in southern **Thailand** with two reports, *Recruiting Militants in Southern Thailand* (June) and *Southern Thailand: Moving Towards Political Solutions?* (December). *Myanmar: Towards the Elections* (August) provided invaluable background on the changes underway in **Burma/Myanmar** at a key time. *Timor-Leste: No Time for Complacency* (February) was cited in the UN Security Council debates on Timor-Leste, and our report, *Handing Back Responsibility to Timor-Leste's Police* (December), is regarded as the most definitive analysis to date of the problems facing policing in the country.

■ NORTH EAST ASIA

Throughout 2009, **North Korea** conducted a series of provocations including several ballistic missile launches and a nuclear test in May. UN sanctions targeting the military and ruling elite failed to bring Pyongyang back to the negotiating table. Meanwhile, **China** sought to balance its growing international role with its national interests.

[Crisis Group's] assessment of the current humanitarian crisis in Pakistan was both timely and informative.

John F. Tierney, Chairman, US National Security and Foreign Affairs Subcommittee, House of Representatives, 17 June 2009

CRISIS GROUP IMPACT Crisis Group's report *North Korea's Missile Launch: The Risks of Overreaction* (March) was widely read in the South Korean policy community. We released three reports in June: *North Korea: Getting Back to Talks*, *North Korea's Nuclear and Missile Programs*, and *North Korea's Chemical and Biological Weapons Programs*. The reports were highly regarded by top government officials: the South Korean Ministry of Unification and National Intelligence Service translated the reports for internal distribution. Crisis Group staff were interviewed regularly on numerous South Korean as well as international television and radio programs, and Crisis Group was frequently quoted in the local and international media.

In Beijing, Crisis Group published three major policy reports on **China's** perception and approach toward regional conflicts: *China's Growing Role in UN Peacekeeping* (April); *China's Myanmar Dilemma* (September) and *Shades of Red: China's Debate over North Korea* (November). These reports were quoted by top political news journals published by Xinhua News, the

official news agency of China, and were widely distributed and cited within Chinese academia and government agencies.

■ CENTRAL ASIA

Authoritarianism deepened its hold on the five Central Asian republics in 2009. **Kyrgyzstan** President Kurmanbek Bakiyev was re-elected following polls that were strongly criticised by international observers. Despite an increasingly harsh regime that threatens peace and security throughout the region, **Uzbekistan** enjoyed a warming of relations with both Europe and the US. **Turkmenistan** began to create a new personality cult around its leader, Gurbanguly Berdimukhamedov. As **Kazakhstan** took the reins at the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe on 1 January 2010, it was clear the country had failed to improve its poor record on democracy and human rights. While all the Central Asian republics faced an increased threat from Islamist groups revitalised by events in Afghanistan, **Tajikistan** proved to

be the most vulnerable, with authorities confronted by a number of problems, including poor border security and a lack of control over parts of the interior.

CRISIS GROUP IMPACT Crisis Group's report on **Tajikistan**, *On the Road to Failure* (February), triggered a lively debate among policymakers on the best way to deal with the region's weakest regime. The report highlighted the need for conditions on aid to the regime: by year-end, it appeared major donors were adopting such an approach. Our report *Women and Radicalisation in Kyrgyzstan* (September) shed light on the little-known subject of women in Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT), one of the most active Islamist groups in the region. Two reports towards the end of the year on Central Asia – *Central Asia: Islamists in Prison* and *Central Asia: Migrants and the Economic Crisis* – were widely praised by policymakers.

BENJAMIN LOWY/VII NETWORK



ASIA – KEY ISSUES IN 2010

■ SOUTH ASIA

Afghanistan The state of the Afghan army: In a new report, we will identify ways of reforming the military as a fundamental step toward improving the country's security.

Reforming Afghanistan's constitution: Drastic reforms are needed to restore state legitimacy following 2009's flawed elections. A report will outline constitutional mechanisms to enhance the separation of powers between executive, legislature and judiciary as well as electoral reform.

Reinvigorating disarmament: Efforts to disarm Afghan militias have so far failed in the face of rising insurgent violence. A new Crisis Group report will analyse the disarmament process.

Bangladesh Militant groups: This report will examine militants, assessing their role in politics, their prospects for expansion and the government's action to tackle violence.

Kashmir Confidence-building measures: A new report will assess the situation on the ground and examine ways of strengthening peacebuilding in Kashmir.

Nepal Public security: A new report based on research across different regions will examine the links between local conflicts and national politics.

Ethnic and regional activism: Crisis Group will cover emerging trends in identity politics and their potential impact on the political transition.

Peace process: We will assess Nepal's vulnerable peace process as deadlines loom.

Pakistan Prisons, prosecutors and the courts:

Following the restoration of parliamentary democracy, a fresh report will examine new opportunities for reform.

IDPs and the stability of Pakistan's borderlands:

We will continue coverage of internally displaced persons to ensure that domestic and international assistance for relief, reconstruction and rehabilitation is applied effectively.

Sri Lanka Moving from post-war to post-conflict:

This briefing will examine political developments since the military defeat of the LTTE in May 2009 and analyse the reforms needed for a lasting peace.

The Tamil diaspora: Crisis Group will look at current political dynamics within the diaspora, as Tamils and Tamil organisations struggle to reorient themselves in the wake of the military defeat of the LTTE.

A history of impunity: A new report will show how the long history of impunity in Sri Lanka has undermined faith in the government and heightened the risk of a return to deadly conflict.

■ SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Indonesia Tension in Aceh: Crisis Group will look at rifts in the Free Aceh Movement, unsolved crimes, efforts to carve Aceh into three provinces, and debates over application of Islamic law.

Radical networks: An update briefing will examine the current state of radical jihadist groups in Indonesia.

Burma/Myanmar Post-election analysis: With landmark elections due in 2010, the country will undergo the most sweeping political change in a generation. Crisis Group will produce a report assessing the likely impact of the upcoming polls.

Philippines Warlordism and elections: This background report, to be published prior to the May 2010 elections, will analyse structural connections between local political fiefdoms and election-related violence.

Thailand Malaysia's role in the insurgency:

A report will examine the role of Thailand's neighbour in the six-year-long Muslim insurgency in the South.

Timor Leste Land reform: This policy briefing will review the current state of the reform of land laws and the role that disputes over land play in conflict.

■ NORTH-EAST ASIA

North Korea The human security crisis: Poor economic policy, an impending food crisis and a possible public health emergency – all in the context of an international sanctions regime – are compounding a dire situation. A policy briefing will explore these overlapping pressures.

The political economy of cooperation: A report will look into the current patterns of economic cooperation between North and South Korea and how they are expected to develop.

China China, Afghanistan and Pakistan: Stability in Pakistan and Afghanistan, both of which border China, has become an essential issue for Beijing. A report will examine the impact of China's current policies and consider how it could support stability and the reduction of conflict in the region.

■ CENTRAL ASIA

Russia's role in Central Asia: Crisis Group will examine how Moscow has long asserted the right to impose its influence over the region but frequently fails to do so in practice.

Infrastructural collapse in Central Asia: The Soviet-created infrastructure is rapidly decaying. A report will identify the security implications and look for ways to address this issue before it is too late.

CRISIS GROUP IN EUROPE

TOWARD PEACE AND INTEGRATION

In 2009, newly independent Kosovo began running its own affairs while Bosnia took several steps toward state breakdown. Though Armenia failed to agree a settlement with Azerbaijan on their long-simmering conflict, it did begin to normalise relations with Turkey. In Cyprus, negotiations continued on a possible federation.

The Eiffel Tower lit in the colours of Turkey,
6 October 2009. REUTERS/GONZALO FUENTES



Balkans: Covers Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia. Regional office: Pristina. Field representation: Sarajevo. **Caucasus:** Covers Armenia, Azerbaijan (including Nagorno-Karabakh), Georgia and Russia's North Caucasus. Regional office: Tbilisi. Field representation: Baku. **Turkey/Cyprus:** Addresses primarily the Cyprus conflict and Turkey's geostrategic role. Regional office: Istanbul.

■ COVERED BY FIELD ANALYSTS ■ CRISISWATCH MONITORING

■ **BALKANS**

Following **Kosovo's** 2008 declaration of independence, 2009 was a year of consolidation for the new country's institutions. The government strengthened ministries, maintained public security and, notably, refrained from provoking ethnic Serbs in the north. By the end of the year, Kosovo had been recognised by 64 countries, though critically not Serbia, which still claims it as its territory. Local elections held on 15 November 2009, the first in independent Kosovo and without international supervision, were widely praised as a positive step. The EU's

rule-of-law mission, EULEX, was finally deployed countrywide after a year's delay, gradually taking over from the UN. However, relations between EULEX, Belgrade and Kosovo Serbs remained strained.

Bosnia, by contrast, took several steps backwards in 2009. The ongoing confrontation between Republika Srpska (RS), the Serb area that forms one of the country's two constituent entities, and the Office of the High Representative (OHR), the international overseer, escalated in September when the RS government publicly rejected nine laws imposed by the High Representative. In October, the US and the EU initiated talks to broker a grand Bosnian bargain on reforming the constitution, allowing the OHR to close and pushing Bosnia more quickly toward membership in the EU and NATO. All three Bosnian sides snubbed the package, and the talks all but collapsed. By the end of the year, nation-

REUTERS/DANILO KRSTANOVIC



BALKANS CAUCASUS TURKEY/CYPRUS



REUTERS/HAZIR REKA

KOSOVO Serbs protesting in the ethnically divided town of Mitrovica, May 2009. – **BOSNIA** Protesters wearing masks of top Bosnian political and religious leaders demonstrate outside the Butmir talks in Sarajevo, October 2009.

alist rhetoric was on the rise – a prelude to national elections in 2010 which promise increased tensions.

CRISIS GROUP IMPACT In **Kosovo**, Crisis Group’s report *Serb Integration in Kosovo: Taking the Plunge* (May) encouraged the government to prioritise decentralisation and emphasise its benefits to Kosovo Serbs, many of whom were – hesitantly – looking for ways to engage with Kosovo’s institutions. Crisis Group’s briefing *Kosovo: Štrpce, a Model Serb Enclave?* (October) highlighted the growing importance of this enclave, and how to establish effective, Serb-led, multi-ethnic municipal government there. One result of this increasing involvement was the successful local elections in November and December, in which Serb turnout exceeded that of the last polls, and Serb candidates won mayoral posts in both Štrpce and Gračanica.

Crisis Group produced three major reports on **Bosnia** that heavily influenced the international community’s actions in 2009. *Bosnia’s Incomplete Transition: Between Dayton and Europe* (March) had strong resonance with national and international decision-makers. Our

widely discussed briefing *Bosnia: A Test of Political Maturity in Mostar* (July) made recommendations that served as the basis for action taken by OHR in December, which ended the deadlock in that multi-ethnic city. Crisis Group’s warning of the dangers of international indecision in Bosnia, *Bosnia’s Dual Crisis* (November), was widely covered by the media and welcomed by policymakers.

■ CAUCASUS

In early 2009, opposition groups in **Georgia** repeatedly took to the streets to show their anger with the government of President Mikheil Saakashvili. The protests failed to force an early election due to insufficient popular support, bickering within the opposition ranks and poor organisation. The security situation in the break-away regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, which were both recognised as independent by **Russia** after its August 2008 war with Georgia, remained relatively calm even though there was no international peacekeeping force in either

for much of the year. Russia increased its military presence in both areas despite EU-mediated cease-fire agreements to return to its pre-war position.

Hopes that **Armenia** and **Azerbaijan** could sign a “Basic Principles” agreement to end the long-simmering conflict over the Nagorno-Karabakh region proved overly optimistic despite a flurry of diplomatic activity. Growing opposition amongst Armenians to full withdrawal, as well as a failure to agree on whether or not Nagorno-Karabakh could ever be granted independence, has kept the two sides far from agreement.

CRISIS GROUP IMPACT Both opposition and government officials in **Georgia** praised the *Risks of Winter* briefing (December 2008), which was hailed as a comprehensive account of the domestic political situation and need for reforms, some of which were implemented in 2009 despite the highly polarised political environment. In a series of high-level meetings with senior government officials, including the Georgian president, Crisis Group raised the issue of what appeared to be arrests of Georgian opposition supporters for economic motives or extortion. This advocacy resulted in the creation of a committee between the interior ministry and opposition groups and the rapid release of most of those improperly detained.

Crisis Group’s *Nagorno-Karabakh: Getting to a Breakthrough* (October) report urged the governments in **Armenia** and **Azerbaijan** to do

We live in a world now where Crisis Group is more important than ever.

Bill Clinton, Former US President, October 2009



REUTERS/MOHAMED AZAKIR



REUTERS/MURAD SEZER

LEBANON Armenians protesting Armenia's plans to establish democratic ties with Turkey, Beirut, October 2009. — **TURKEY** Presidents Serge Sarkissian of Armenia and Abdallah Gül of Turkey engage in football diplomacy at a World Cup qualifier, October 2009.

more to prepare their populations for a possible peace deal. Key government officials in both capitals welcomed the report, while the international community looked favourably on our recommendations to improve the monitoring mission of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

■ TURKEY/CYPRUS

Turkey's centre-right Islamist government revived its reform agenda after a four-year pause. An important breakthrough came in the second half of the year, when it promised a democratic initiative which would expand rights for the country's Kurdish community.

The government also advanced normalisation with **Armenia**. Neither of these policies were directly linked to Turkey's stalled EU convergence process, but they improved the country's image among other Europeans. Reconciliation with Armenia reached a high point in October, when the foreign ministers signed two bilateral protocols to normalise relations, including the opening of diplomatic relations and borders.

Cyprus saw the best chance for resolution of the conflict in decades. Negotiations begun in September 2008 continued in 2009. However, by the end of the year, it was still unclear whether a deal could be secured in 2010 to avoid what is becoming a slide to permanent partition.

CRISIS GROUP IMPACT Turkey's restarting of its EU convergence programme in 2009 closely followed the framework recommended in Crisis Group's December 2008 report, *Turkey and Europe: The Decisive Year Ahead*. Our new "EU-Turkey-Cyprus Triangle" blog, launched in Feb-

ruary 2009, also helped persuade the governments of both Germany and France to drop talk of offering "privileged partnership" to Turkey instead of the long-promised goal of full EU membership.

Crisis Group's report *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders* (April) predicted the Turkey-Armenia reconciliation process. Both governments welcomed the report, calling it fair and helpful. Pro-reconciliation Turkish officials said it even helped to move the process in April–August, when Turkish hesitations appeared to be the principal obstacle to progress.

We published *Cyprus: Reunification or Partition?* (September) which received considerable attention in regional media and was highly praised by UN mediators. As the leading international organisation working on the Cyprus issue, Crisis Group was asked by the Swedish Presidency of the EU to prepare a policy recommendation memo. Swedish Foreign Minister Carl Bildt and his team subsequently adopted many of its proposals. Crisis Group also provided input for The Elders, high-profile statesmen who were engaged in shuttle diplomacy between the parties in 2009.

■ THE BALKANS

Bosnia and Herzegovina State and federation reform: As the 2010 general election inevitably increases ethnic tensions, Crisis Group will analyse the evolving debate over how the country's three constituent people relate to each other in the interest of fairness, efficiency and suitability for EU integration.

The international community: We will continue to monitor the work and influence of the international community and advocate for a smooth transition from the OHR to a robust EU Special Representative.

Kosovo Fulfilment of the Ahtisaari Plan: Crisis Group will publish a major report assessing the new country's implementation of the supervised independence plan of former UN envoy Martti Ahtisaari (Crisis Group Chairman Emeritus and 2008 Nobel Peace Prize laureate) as Kosovo continues to consolidate its young state structures.

International presence: Timed to coincide with the first mandated review of the International Civilian Office in spring 2010, Crisis Group will publish a comprehensive appraisal of the international presence in Kosovo.

Macedonia International relations: We plan to monitor developments in Macedonia, including the country's relations with Greece and Kosovo, implementation of the 2001 Ohrid Agreement, and internal Macedonian-Albanian cooperation.

■ THE CAUCASUS

Georgia Elections: With local elections due in May 2010, Crisis Group will closely follow domestic political developments in Georgia, advocating for free and fair polls and an equal playing field for all political forces.

Abkhazia A new report from Crisis Group will analyse how Abkhazia has transformed since the August 2008 war. The report is expected to have a major impact since few western officials are able to visit the region at present.

Georgia–South Ossetia We will report on the current socio-political situation; provide details on the state of negotiations between Georgia and South Ossetia, especially with regards to detained persons; and try to identify possible forms of cooperation, with particular focus on common economic interests.

Azerbaijan Domestic developments: Crisis Group plans to explore the political system in view of the ongoing influence of powerful family networks and clans and make recommendations on how to improve the country's democratic institutions. Should developments warrant a follow-up report, Crisis Group will also publish a briefing on **Nagorno-Karabakh**.

■ TURKEY/CYPRUS

Cyprus update: If talks make progress, we will report on how to clinch a final deal. If talks stall and a new hardline leadership is elected in the north, Crisis Group will advise on next steps following such a death knell for any bi-communal, bi-zonal Cyprus settlement.

Turkey and Armenia: Crisis Group may publish a briefing either taking stock of improving Turkish-Armenian relations and/or proposing ways to overcome the remaining major obstacles to reconciliation.

Turkey's Ostpolitik and the Syria-Israel track: Ankara and Damascus are talking up the possibility of resuming in 2010 the Syria-Israel proximity talks that Turkey hosted until the Gaza conflict flared up in late December 2008. A report will explore the context of these discussions, as well as assessing what the parties want and expect from a resumption of talks.

Disarming the PKK: The Turkish government started a "democratic opening" in 2009 to give fuller cultural rights to Turkey's 15 per cent Kurdish community. Crisis Group is considering writing a report on this initiative if it continues in 2010, especially investigating peaceful ways Turkey can disarm the Kurdish militant group, the PKK.

Turkey's new Middle East activism: Turkish diplomats are active almost everywhere in the Middle East: mediating between Syria and Israel, helping end the December 2008–January 2009 Gaza war, speaking up for Sudan and Iran, and assisting efforts to stabilise Iraq and Afghanistan. A Crisis Group report will explore the context of this new Ostpolitik, assessing what Turkey expects to achieve and how this affects Turkey's traditional Western alliances.

2009 saw the deterioration of the domestic situation in Venezuela and increasing tensions across the Andes, especially between Colombia and its neighbours. Colombia's internal armed conflict continued while the presidential re-election debate drove the country's politics. Internal divisions in Bolivia persisted after President Evo Morales's landslide election victory. In Haiti, the devastating earthquake in January 2010 is certain to have serious impacts on its prospects for peace and stability.





CRISIS GROUP IN LATIN AMERICA

RISING REGIONAL TENSIONS

VENEZUELA President Hugo Chávez attends ceremony, February 2009. – Police break up an anti-government demonstration with tear gas in downtown Caracas, August 2009. – **ECUADOR** Ecuadoran soldiers on patrol on the Ecuador-Colombia border. – **VENEZUELA** Venezuelans protesting US-Colombian military agreement.

■ COLOMBIA/ANDES

Throughout 2009, the political scene in **Colombia** was dominated by the prospect of President Álvaro Uribe's bid for a second re-election in the May 2010 presidential polls, eclipsing attention paid to the country's long-running internal armed conflict. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) showed no signs of willingness to negotiate, instead announcing an alliance with the National Liberation Army (ELN), Colombia's second-largest insurgent group. New illegal armed groups (NIAGs) and paramilitary successor organisations continued to operate in many parts of the country. Following intense domestic and international criticism, Uribe's government took measures to investigate and reduce widespread human rights abuses by the Colombian armed forces and intelligence services, but the situation remained of deep concern.

In **Bolivia**, the new constitution was enacted and President Evo Morales and his party, the Movement toward Socialism (MAS), won a resounding victory in the December presidential and congressional elections. **Venezuela's** President Hugo Chávez succeeded in amending the

constitution to allow for his indefinite re-election, adding to an increasingly tense domestic situation. That country's relations with Colombia deteriorated dramatically following the signing of a new defence cooperation agreement between Bogotá and Washington. Meanwhile, President Rafael Correa of **Ecuador** was re-elected and relations with Colombia remained tense throughout most of the year.

CRISIS GROUP IMPACT Crisis Group's report *Ending Colombia's FARC Conflict: Dealing the Right Card* (March) provided in-depth analysis on the state-of-play of the armed conflict in Colombia. The policy briefing *The Twin Virtues: Protecting Human Rights and Improving Security in Colombia* (May) served as key input for UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Executions Philip Alston's visit to Colombia and was widely acknowledged to be instrumental in pushing the government to improve its human rights policy. Concerted high-level advocacy also contributed to the Colombian government making public its new defence agreement with the US, helping to reduce tensions with Venezuela. The



COLOMBIA FARC rebels posing with an unidentified girl holding a weapon in southern Colombia. — **HAITI** The national Justice Palace in ruins following the devastating earthquake which hit the country on 12 January 2010, Port-au-Prince.

background report *Uribe's Possible Third Term and Conflict Resolution in Colombia* (December) offered analysis of the possible knock-on effects of a third consecutive term for the incumbent that was covered widely in the international and local press.

Crisis Group's briefing, *Venezuela: Accelerating the Bolivarian Revolution* (November), provided regional and international decision-makers with key information on the difficult internal situation in Venezuela.

■ **HAITI**

In 2009, **Haiti** saw both a push to stabilise the country and renewed political problems. The security situation improved, police reform continued on track, and senate elections were held. Former US President Bill Clinton, the UN Secretary-General's special envoy for Haiti, led a high-profile campaign to boost international investment in the country. In October, the mandate of the UN mission (MINUSTAH) was renewed. But that same month the senate ousted Prime Minister Michèlle Pierre-Louis after just a year in the



REUTERS/HO NEW

job. In early 2010, a massive earthquake hit the country, killing some 200,000 people and crippling the country's already weak infrastructure and economy.

CRISIS GROUP IMPACT Crisis Group published two timely policy briefings: *Haiti 2009: Stability at Risk* (March) and *Haiti: Saving the Environment, Preventing Instability and Conflict* (April). The

first proved to be the most popular report on Haiti ever to be produced by Crisis Group. As well as extensive advocacy at the UN, the EU and at the high-level international donors' conference in Washington in mid-April, Crisis Group staff raised the report's main recommendations directly with President René Préval and then Prime Minister Pierre-Louis during a mission to Haiti in mid-June.



PIERRE HUGUE MICHEL



Colombia/Andes: Covers Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, as well as Guatemala. Regional office: Bogotá. **Haiti:** Covers peacebuilding and political transition in Haiti. Field representation: Port-au-Prince.

■ COVERED BY FIELD ANALYSTS ■ CRISISWATCH MONITORING

Colombia The FARC: Crisis Group will assess how to move toward resolution of the conflict in the election year of 2010. Special attention will be paid to the emerging alliances between the FARC and other illegal armed and criminal groups.

Colombia's new government: How can it bring peace: The next government will need to take decisive steps toward resolving the country's armed conflict and its associated problems, in particular drug-trafficking and state weakness. Crisis Group will analyse the challenges of the new administration as well as assess the conflict resolution policies of the past eight years in light of Colombia's evolving security challenges.

Bolivia Ending instability: Following his re-election, President Evo Morales moved rapidly to implement the new constitution. Crisis Group will continue to monitor the resulting tensions in the country, the threat posed by increasing drug-trafficking, and Bolivia's complex relations with Venezuela, Brazil and the US.

Venezuela The 2010 elections and conflict potential: The September legislative elections will be the next big political battle in Venezuela. In the face of mounting opposition, President Hugo Chávez and his party are preparing to maintain control of parliament and pave the way for re-election of the president in 2012. Crisis Group will closely follow this potentially explosive situation, focusing both on the internal situation in Venezuela as well as on tense relations with Colombia.

Guatemala Crisis Group will begin reporting on the country in 2010. A background paper will set the stage for future publications on more specific conflict prevention and containment matters.

Haiti Crisis Group will incorporate analysis of the impact of the 2010 earthquake in each of the following four priority areas.

The international community in Haiti: With particular reference to the UN mission, Crisis Group will assess the international community's contribution to stability, reconstruction and development in Haiti and how international support can be strengthened after the earthquake.

Security and poverty reduction: Crisis Group will identify the links between stabilisation and security, post-disaster reconstruction and tackling poverty in Haiti. It will offer concrete policy recommendations for a coherent strategy to link international stabilisation and reconstruction efforts with support for development and economic growth.

Security system reform: With security system reform still a major challenge for both the government and the international community, especially after the earthquake, Crisis Group will analyse progress so far, as well as the latest challenges. A new report will address reform of the police, the justice sector, and the prison system, as well as border management.

Elections and stabilisation: Due to the earthquake, Haiti's 2010 election calendar, including presidential polls, stands to be amended. Crisis Group will closely monitor the situation as polls are a potential catalyst for further violence. The inevitable postponement of the 28 February parliamentary elections raised legitimacy and constitutionality concerns about the current legislature whose term officially ended in January.

LATIN AMERICA & CARIBBEAN – KEY ISSUES IN 2010

GAZA Scenes of devastation during Israel's 22-day military offensive
Operation Cast Lead, 13 January 2009. GETTY IMAGES





In 2009, the dynamics of the Middle East changed as a result of both the 2008 US elections and renewed efforts to improve inter-Arab ties. But lasting solutions have yet to be found. In some instances – the situation in Gaza, Iran’s nuclear program, violence in Yemen, and Iraq’s continued civil strife – serious risks of heightened conflict remain.

CRISIS GROUP IN
THE MIDDLE EAST &
NORTH AFRICA

SIMMERING CONFLICTS DELAYED PEACE

■ ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Israeli-Palestinian peacemaking in 2009 never really got off the ground, as symbolised by the Obama Administration’s inability to bring the parties to the negotiating table. The US was unable to achieve either a comprehensive settlement or steps by Arab states to begin normalising relations with Israel. By the end of the year, the peace process was at an impasse, with both sides increasingly questioning the viability of an end-of-conflict two-state solution.

On the ground in the West Bank, there were some hopeful developments as Prime Minister Salam Fayyad continued to strengthen Palestinian institutions. But Palestinians remained divided between Fatah in the West Bank and Hamas in Gaza. Meanwhile, following the December 2008–January 2009 war, Gaza remained a tinderbox. By the end of 2009, the issues which had led to the outbreak of full-scale conflict between Israel and Gaza – arms smuggling, the siege and periodic military confrontations – were still unresolved.

CRISIS GROUP IMPACT Crisis Group has long been considered a leading authority on the **Arab-Israeli** conflict by senior policymakers. Our two reports on the Gaza war were widely covered by the international media. *Ending the War in Gaza* (January), published within days of the outbreak of hostilities, offered recommendations for bringing the fighting to a rapid conclusion. It quickly became one of Crisis Group’s most downloaded reports ever. *Gaza’s Unfinished Business* (April) provided an authoritative account of the war and outlined the outstanding issues that would have to be resolved in order to prevent a recurrence of violence.

In addition, Crisis Group examined the internal dynamics on both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The conclusions of *Salvaging Fatah* (November), which described the internal reform efforts of the Palestinian national movement, were discussed at a session of the Fatah Central Committee, the movement’s highest leadership body. Crisis Group also published *Israel’s Religious Right and the Question of Set-*

Egypt/North Africa: Covers Egypt, as well as Algeria and Morocco. **Arab-Israeli Conflict:** Covers the situations in Israel and Palestine. Field representation: Jerusalem. **Iraq/Lebanon/Syria:** Addresses governance and security in Iraq and covers Syria and Lebanon. Field representation: Beirut, Damascus. **Iran/Gulf:** Covers Iran, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states, and Yemen.

■ COVERED BY FIELD ANALYSTS ■ CRISISWATCH MONITORING



lements (July), which was widely circulated among policymakers.

Middle East & North Africa Program Director Robert Malley held a series of high-level discussions in Israel and the West Bank. Crisis Group advocacy in the us, Europe and the Middle East called for a different approach toward Gaza and Hamas, as well as toward the peace process. Program staff published a number of important commentary articles in leading international publications, while Malley's series of influential articles in *The New York Review of Books* were highlighted by senior policymakers as of great interest.

■ IRAQ/LEBANON/SYRIA

Iraq's security situation continued to improve in 2009, but relative stability was not matched by political progress. Iraqi leaders failed to forge key deals on power, oil and territory, and continuing stagnation raised fears of instability once us forces pull out. While provincial elections in January passed without major incident, a serious political crisis was only resolved in December, when an electoral law governing legislative elections due in early 2010 was finally passed after

weeks of political wrangling. The simmering conflict between the Kurdistan government and the federal government in Baghdad continued to cause concern.

Lebanon's political and security situation held steady in 2009. Parliamentary elections in June yielded victory for the western-backed March 14 alliance. After five months of intense negotiations, a new unity government was formed. Lebanon also started to normalise its relations with Syria.

After three years of confrontation, **Syria** succeeded in turning a page with Lebanon following a 2008 agreement to establish regular diplomatic relations. France took the lead in re-engaging with Syria, while, under President Barack Obama, the us followed suit, but with little to show for it. As relations with the us stagnated, Syria pushed ahead with deepening ties simultaneously – and to different degrees – with Turkey, Iran, France and Saudi Arabia. However, relations with neighbouring Iraq remained tense. Baghdad blamed a series of devastating bomb attacks in August and October on insurgents hiding in Syria.

CRISIS GROUP IMPACT Crisis Group's report *Iraq's Provincial Elections: The Stakes* (January) served as a guide for both journalists and diplomats ahead of the elections. Working closely with the UN Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI), Crisis Group focused on the escalating conflict between the Kurdistan regional government and the federal government over power, oil and the status of disputed territories. In *Iraq and the Kurds: Trouble Along the Trigger Line*

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REUTERS/ATEF HASSAN

GAZA Palestinians carry the wounded to safety in Gaza, following a gun battle over Egypt's new anti-smuggling wall, January 2010. – **IRAN** President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad inspects the Natanz nuclear plant in central Iran. – **IRAQ** Iraqi soldiers on patrol near Amara, southern Iraq, December 2009.

(July), Crisis Group shed light on the dangerous intersection of territory and oil that is at the heart of the Arab-Kurdish struggle in the north. The report became required reading for the US military and diplomats, and was widely quoted in the international media. A subsequent report, *Iraq's New Battleground: The Struggle over Ninewa* (September), examined the conflict in one particularly tense governorate.

Crisis Group provided key analysis on **Lebanon's** evolving situation to a number of foreign delegations. In particular, *Nurturing Instability: Lebanon's Palestinian Refugee Camps* (February) drew attention to the volatile problem of the Palestinian refugees. Our report, *The Lebanese Elections: Avoiding a New Cycle of Confrontation* (June), mapped the electoral stakes, actors and battlegrounds, and served as a basis, inter alia, for briefing former US President Jimmy Carter, who headed an international mission to monitor the 7 June elections.

Crisis Group worked closely with French and US officials involved in deepening dialogue with **Syria**. More broadly, we briefed numerous delegations of politicians and government officials following renewed interest in Syria within European capitals.

■ IRAN/GULF

In **Iran**, the controversial re-election of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in June provoked the most serious challenge to the Islamic Republic since its founding in 1979. Protestors took to the streets in a series of anti-government mass demonstrations which resulted in thousands of arrests. Events showed the depth of political, social and economic tensions in the country, and the situation remained volatile throughout the year. The internal situation has had unclear

implications for the nuclear stand-off, which persisted and could escalate in 2010.

In 2009, **Yemen** emerged as one of the more tense and dangerous regional focal points. The Saada conflict in the north, the secessionist conflict in the south, and the growing presence of Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula combined to threaten its stability.

CRISIS GROUP IMPACT After several years of limited access, Crisis Group returned to **Iran** in early 2009. The political crisis which followed the June elections hindered efforts to re-establish our permanent presence in the country with a senior analyst. In 2010, Crisis Group will seek to regain access to Iran, chiefly to cover the nuclear crisis.

We conducted research on the armed conflict in **Yemen** and are gearing up for a major focus on the country in 2010.

From Afghanistan to Iraq, from Chad to Indonesia and during European or NATO summits, Crisis Group reports and recommendations have always been in my bag as an essential piece of documentation.

Richard Werly, European Affairs Correspondent, *Le Temps*, January 2010

■ ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Peace process: The Obama Administration is pushing to renew peace talks despite intra-Palestinian divisions and a right-wing government in Israel. Crisis Group will analyse what steps can be taken to rethink the negotiations process and, in the absence of an agreement, how to address dangerous flashpoints.

Gaza: Crisis Group will continue to closely follow the situation there, focusing on the state of the economy, Hamas's hold on power, and security risks.

Islamist factions in Palestine: A Crisis Group report will identify the extent to which Islamist factions are liable to be spoilers in the pursuit of Palestinian-Israeli peace and what it might take to bring some of them on board.

■ IRAQ/LEBANON/SYRIA

Iraq A responsible exit strategy: We plan a series of reports that will assess Iraq's state institutions, including the army and police, as well as the posture of the country's neighbours. Crisis Group will make recommendations to the Obama Administration on how to exit Iraq and leave behind a stable country.

Arab-Kurdish tensions in Kirkuk: A follow-up report on Kirkuk will outline steps to address this most serious source of conflict.

The state of play ahead of legislative elections: We will analyse the upcoming polls, due in March 2010.

Lebanon Elections: The municipal elections scheduled for May 2010 will be a critical test for the fragile political order that emerged from the June 2009 parliamentary elections. A forthcoming Crisis Group report will examine the risks and challenges ahead.

Lebanese borders: Lebanon's borders with its two neighbours, Israel and Syria, are a contentious issue. An upcoming report will address the boundary conflicts and analyse how best to secure the borders without jeopardising the interests of the region's inhabitants.

Syria Relations with Lebanon: Since the crisis of 2004–2005, Damascus has withdrawn militarily, and the two countries have redefined their economic and diplomatic ties. Crisis Group will examine the dynamics of a complex and shifting relationship.

Change and continuity in Syria: Syrian society is changing fast, and the regime itself is constantly evolving. Crisis Group will examine the dynamics behind these transformations as well as obstacles to more far-reaching reform.

Iran After the June elections: Following 2009's contested election, Crisis Group will examine internal developments, including the growing role of the Revolutionary Guards and various leadership councils.

The nuclear question: Crisis Group will analyse the implications of the various scenarios being considered and examine the conditions under which a negotiated solution could still be reached.

Yemen Renewed conflict with the south: An old war may reignite owing to unresolved grievances between the government and parties based in southern Yemen. A Crisis Group report will investigate the origins of the conflict and recommend ways of managing the crisis peacefully.

An imploding state?: Yemen is increasingly taking on the appearance of a failed state. A Crisis Group report will examine the country's future.

■ EGYPT/NORTH AFRICA

For budgetary reasons, Crisis Group decided to discontinue the North Africa Project in 2009, but we will reappraise the situation in 2010, hopefully hiring a new Cairo-based analyst. Our focus would be on internal Egyptian developments, Egypt's role in Arab-Israeli relations and the Maghreb.

MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA – KEY ISSUES IN 2010



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Africa

Central Africa

Chad: Powder Keg in the East, Africa Report N°149, 15 April 2009 (also available in French). – **Congo: Five Priorities for a Peacebuilding Strategy**, Africa Report N°150, 11 May 2009 (also available in French). – **Congo: une stratégie globale pour désarmer les FDLR**, Africa Report N°151, 9 July 2009 (also available in English). – **Burundi: To Integrate the FNL Successfully**, Africa Briefing N°63, 30 July 2009. – **Tchad: sortir du piège pétrolier**, Africa Briefing N°65, 26 August 2009 (also available in English).

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North Korea's Missile Launch: The Risks of Overreaction, Asia Briefing N°91, 31 March 2009. – **China's Growing Role in UN Peacekeeping**, Asia Report N°166, 17 April 2009 (also available in Chinese). – **North Korea's Chemical and Biological Weapons Programs**, Asia Report N°167, 18 June 2009. – **North Korea's Nuclear and Missile Programs**, Asia Report N°168, 18 June 2009. – **North Korea: Getting Back to Talks**, Asia Report N°169, 18 June 2009. – **China's Myanmar Dilemma**, Asia Report N°177, 14 September 2009 (also available in Chinese). – **Shades of Red: China's Debate over North Korea**, Asia Report N°179, 2 November 2009 (also available in Chinese).

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DR CONGO Crisis Group analyst Guillaume Lacaille discusses developments in the North Kivu province with soldiers, February 2009. MICHAEL J. KAVANAGH



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Latin America

Ending Colombia's FARC Conflict: Dealing the Right Card, Latin America Report N°30, 26 March 2009 (also available in Spanish) – **The Virtuous Twins: Protecting Human Rights and Improving Security in Colombia**, Latin America Briefing N°21, 25 May 2009 (also available in Spanish) – **Venezuela: Accelerating the Bolivarian Revolution**, Latin America Briefing N°22, 5 November 2009 (also available in Spanish) – **Uribe's Possible Third Term and Conflict Resolution in Colombia**, Latin America Report N°31, 18 December 2009.

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Total published in 2009	84
Translations in 2009	46
Albanian	2
Arabic	13
Chinese	3
English	4
French	6
Greek	1
Hebrew	4
Indonesian	1
Kurdish	2
Nepali	2
Portuguese	1
Russian	1
Serbian	2
Spanish	3
Thai	1
Turkish	2

CrisisWatch in 2009

CrisisWatch is a monthly bulletin designed to provide busy readers in the policy community, media and business worlds, and the interested general public, with a regular update on the state of play in current and potential conflict situations around the world.

Many politicians, diplomats and their advisers regard *CrisisWatch* as an indispensable resource for its succinct and timely reporting. Published at the beginning of every month, it summarises developments during the previous month in some 70 situations of current or potential conflict, assessing for each whether the overall situation has significantly deteriorated, improved, or on balance remained more or less unchanged. For example, in February and March 2009 *CrisisWatch*, drew attention to the escalating humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka resulting from the government's intensified campaign against the Tamil Tiger rebels.

CrisisWatch also alerts readers to situations where, in the coming month, there is a particular risk of new or escalated conflict, or a conflict resolution opportunity. In 2009, this included noting the potential for disruption of Afghanistan's August presidential elections, and the deteriorating situation in September as the extent of electoral fraud was revealed.

CrisisWatch also highlighted positive developments and opportunities for conflict resolution, including breakthrough agreements aimed at normalising relations between Armenia and Turkey. Thanks to its comprehensive coverage, *CrisisWatch* also draws attention to developments that are "off the radar" of mainstream media and other sources, including underreported deteriorations in Guinea and Niger.

CrisisWatch is available as a twelve-page document and as a database on our website that allows readers



to track monthly developments by country or conflict situation since 2003. Over 100,000 people subscribe to *CrisisWatch* each month, and 85 per cent of respondents in Crisis Group's January 2009 survey said they used *CrisisWatch* on a regular basis. With the launch of Crisis Group's new website in 2010, *CrisisWatch* will be more visible and better integrated and even easier to use.

Crisis Group Advocacy in 2009

Crisis Group's approach to conflict prevention and resolution relies on targeted communication with senior policymakers to convey our field-based analysis and resulting policy recommendations.

Our advocacy engages the entire organisation, reflecting our cumulative understanding of how best to tailor and target our messages to the unique policy context of various local, regional and international actors. In short, Crisis Group's advocacy provides a complete picture of on-the-ground developments – and an explanation of why they are happening and what should be done to prevent or resolve conflict – to all the right people at the right time.

While Crisis Group's advocacy efforts are customised to address each particular conflict scenario, they consistently influence an array of actors: decision-makers in the country in question, those to whom they listen, and the spectrum of influential international players or stakeholders. In informed and compelling fashion, our offices in Brussels, New York and Washington DC and our liaison offices in Moscow, Beijing and London, as well as our field-based experts located in capitals and

regional offices, communicate the context of a crisis – the actors, forces and structural elements that can or have triggered violence – and the policy recommendations designed to prevent or resolve it. Advocacy targets a range from traditional security actors such as individual governments and the UN to emerging actors on the global stage, such as African regional institutions, to new world leaders Brazil, India and China. In most cases, we work within tight windows of opportunity to communicate time-sensitive analysis at the right moment to impact policy for conflict prevention and resolution.

At times, a recommendation focuses on a single action: such as the appointment of a high-level envoy, or the deployment of peacekeepers to a crisis. In these cases, Crisis Group ramps up a highly-focused effort to compel a decision. Yet policy recommendations designed to address longstanding, systemic dysfunctions often take

ADVOCACY CASE STUDY: A PEACE STRATEGY FOR SUDAN



a longer view. For instance, where we call for security sector or judicial reform, our advocacy involves sustained interaction with decision-makers on substantive suggestions on how to move those reforms forward along with the ways to generate the needed political will. Often that means offering ideas how to bring governments, civil society and the private sector together to achieve the needed national commitment, international co-ordination, and funding. At other times, advocacy does not involve specific recommendations. Instead, Crisis Group's body of work becomes an essential part of the public debate and wider understanding of a situation.

However, whether urgent conflict prevention, crisis response or longer-term game-changing reporting, the recommendations we provide are aimed at the states

directly involved, non-state actors who can be persuaded to embrace political, rather than military, options to advance their goals, and the neighbouring countries, major powers and international organisations who are already involved or have the potential to play positive roles. Long-term crisis prevention targets the structural factors which lead to conflict. Immediate conflict prevention focuses on the triggers that can bring volatile nations and regions to political boiling point. Through trusted relationships with decision-makers we are able to impact on both.

Having experienced staff in the key capitals means Crisis Group generally has access through individuals who have been in decision-making positions and understand the often contradictory pressures that affect the

process as well as the different branches of government that can influence an outcome. Working together globally but with each office conducting advocacy in a way that is appropriate to each particular arena, Crisis Group ensures that a set of conflict prevention, management and resolution processes stay on track.

SABINE FREIZER, Crisis Group's Europe Program Director, testifies at a hearing on the Southern Caucasus, at the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, 27 January 2010. – Crisis Group Analyst **MOHAMED JALLOH** in discussion with the head of the Guinean Inter-army Committee charged with elaborating a plan for restructuring the army, February 2010.



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



COMMISSION INTER-ARMEE

New York: Field Analyst briefs representatives of US, China, France, Russia and UK missions to UN on South Sudan

New York: Crisis Group President Louise Arbour holds meetings with Chinese mission to UN

The Hague: Briefing with Dutch Foreign Ministry officials

Brussels: Meetings with EU and member state officials; Arbour addresses EU's Political and Security Committee

Staff commentary articles published in European media, including *El Mundo* and *European Voice*

6 7 13 18 19 19-20 21-22 27

February

New York: Arbour meets with UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon

Washington DC: Arbour holds discussions with Scott Gration, US Special Envoy to Sudan

“Countering Insecurity in South Sudan” podcast goes online

London: Field Analyst meets with representatives from UK government

January–February, Addis Ababa: Arbour and Africa team meet with AU, EU and UN officials, including Haile Menkerios, the Special Representative for the Secretary-General for the Sudan

Crisis Group Communications in 2009

In addition to presenting our report findings and recommendations to policymakers in direct one-on-one meetings, Crisis Group works to keep our policy recommendations central to the international and national public debates surrounding the countries and conflicts we cover. Our Communications Unit ensures this both by making the most of our online capabilities and by working closely with outside media outlets that can help multiply our messages to policy makers.

Information networks have changed dramatically over the past few years, as major traditional news media outlets have been collapsing in many parts of the world. With the news-gathering capacity of newspapers and network TV giants shrinking, particularly in international reporting, NGOs like Crisis Group find themselves filling the gaps. We clearly do not aspire to become a news agency, but we are increasingly seen as a primary source of information, and we are evolving to meet the reality of the new information landscape.

Crisis Group's website (www.crisisgroup.org) is one of our most important advocacy tools, providing the organisation's broadest distribution channel for reports, briefings, commentary, analysis, speeches and other material. Web readership continued to grow in 2009 with more than 2.4 million visits to the site.

In 2009, Crisis Group launched several new key issue web pages, pooling resources, background information and the organisation's policy lines on a wide range of conflict situations. These pages continue to be the most visited on our site. New additions during the year included "End Military Rule in Guinea", "Sri Lanka: After the War" and "Iraq and the Kurds: The Struggle over Kirkuk".

In the past year, we also started our first blogs, which aim to supplement our reports with more frequent analysis. "Solving the EU-Turkey-Cyprus Triangle", launched in February, became the third most visited content page on our website in the first half of 2009. "On the African Peace-building Agenda" has also proven popular since its October launch. Other media venues are picking up what is said in the blogs, often republishing the blog entries as articles, and influential policymakers tell us they are following them closely. 2010 will see two new blogs launched on the Balkans and the Middle East.

The Communications Unit began producing podcasts in June 2009. These five-minute audio interviews with Crisis Group's in-house experts summarise recent reports and comment on current developments in select conflict situations. Recorded in English, French and Spanish, they provide website visitors, as well as media outlets, with an accessible product based on intelligent analysis. Every month, we also produce the *CrisisWatch* podcast, based on the latest *CrisisWatch* issue.

The Communications Unit has also continued its work with multimedia, producing three interactive presentations during the year: on Colombia's FARC guerrillas, on Afghanistan's presidential elections, and on the conflicts and challenges facing Sudan. The presentations provide multifaceted information on several key conflicts, and



Crisis Group fills a unique space in the world of diplomacy. In all my years of reporting, I've encountered so many times when the world has turned away. And Crisis Group never does. You have made it your mission to ensure that the world does not turn away, to ensure that nobody can say "we did not know" in the face of unspeakable atrocity and unspeakable crime.

Christiane Amanpour, Chief International Correspondent, CNN, November 2009

In the age of new media and the 24-hour news cycle, authors from International Crisis Group have proven to be some of our strongest contributors because they combine timely coverage with sharp analysis and on-the-ground knowledge.

Elizabeth Dickinson, Assistant Editor, *Foreign Policy*, October 2009

include interactive timelines and maps, video interviews with Crisis Group experts and extensive background information.

Social networking tools played an increasing role in circulating Crisis Group material. Both Facebook and Twitter were among the top-15 referring websites bringing readers to crisisgroup.org, while key media outlets such as Reuters, BBC and *The New York Times* also continued to be prominent in that list.

Of course, old-fashioned email still does a tremendous job in alerting the world to our new publications. Crisis Group's Weekly Update email, in particular, informs over 125,000 subscribers about our latest reports, comment articles and other material published by our staff during the week.

In 2010, Crisis Group will launch a redesigned website including many new features, easier access to information and a new graphic layout – all to better address the challenges and opportunities created by the changing information environment.

Crisis Group's media impact through outside news outlets continues to be strong, with more than 5,000 newspaper articles, TV/radio programs and online news pages in multiple languages citing Crisis Group publications or quoting our analysts. Adding reprints of that primary material, the figure rises to nearly 20,000 media mentions in 2009.

We have developed long-term relationships with the editorial boards and commentators at many influential news sources, and we have thus helped guide their own editorials to a significant number of occasions. Crisis Group continues to feature prominently in leading media outlets, including *The New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *Foreign Policy*, *The Guardian*, *Le Monde* and *Die Zeit*. Crisis Group analysts are regarded as an indispensable resource by the world's press, and our new reports are often covered as stories in themselves.

Crisis Group staff and Board members published a record 212 high-profile commentary articles (op-eds) in twelve languages in 2009, offering up-to-date analysis and policy recommendations to decisionmakers at critical moments. To take just one example, South Asia Project Director Samina Ahmed's article, "Looking Beyond the Afghan Vote", appeared in five different languages in the three days leading up to the Afghanistan presidential elections in August 2009, hitting major newspapers in the US and four key EU markets.



Crisis Group Progress in 2009

Measuring Crisis Group's progress as a conflict prevention and resolution organisation is inevitably an inexact science. Our success can be difficult to prove, particularly as the desired outcome is for something – that is, conflict – *not* to happen. Still, some important indicators are available to describe Crisis Group's progress in 2009.

Operations 2009 was a year of change at the top for Crisis Group, but our workload, coverage areas and personnel remained much the same, with over 60 situations monitored by our field-based staff. In Africa, the major crises – Congo, Guinea, Somalia, and Sudan – demanded a large part of our program resources, though we also developed our research capacity in Cameroon and Madagascar. In Asia, we directed much of our advocacy and field-research efforts to the final months of Sri Lanka's long civil war and its aftermath, and our Beijing staff produced critical analysis of China's foreign policy around the world. Europe saw greater emphasis placed on Turkey, particularly as the peace process with Armenia made headway, but also on the nexus of issues surrounding Turkey, the EU and Cyprus – the subject of Crisis Group's first-ever blog. In Latin America, meanwhile, we decided to start covering Guatemala. In the Middle East, we began 2009 addressing the crisis in Gaza, and over the course of the year expanded our coverage of Yemen. Crisis Group staff positions, as at 1 March 2010, total 126, 79 of whom are based in the field, with 49 nationalities and 49 different languages represented.

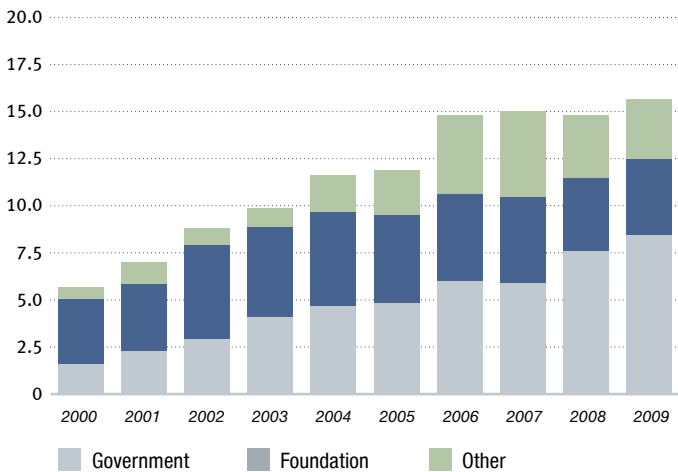
Output Crisis Group published 84 reports and briefing papers in 2009. We also published 46 translations of reports into relevant languages, including Albanian, Arabic, Chinese, French, Greek, Hebrew, Indonesian, Kurdish, Nepali, Portuguese, Russian, Serbian, Spanish, Thai and Turkish. By the end of 2009, we were sending our material to over 26,000 specifically targeted recipients and 130,000 subscribers who signed up directly through our website, bringing the total number of regular recipients to well over 150,000 (as compared to 140,000 in 2008). All Crisis Group publications and other materials such as comment articles and speeches are posted on our website, www.crisisgroup.org, which in 2009 received over 2.4 million visits.

Media exposure Crisis Group's reports and analysis are widely used as sources of information and comment by major national and international media outlets. Crisis Group recorded over 5,000 original media mentions of the organisation around the world in 2009, a level maintained for four years now. When reprints such as news wire articles are factored in, the number is nearly 20,000. Local press, radio and television are

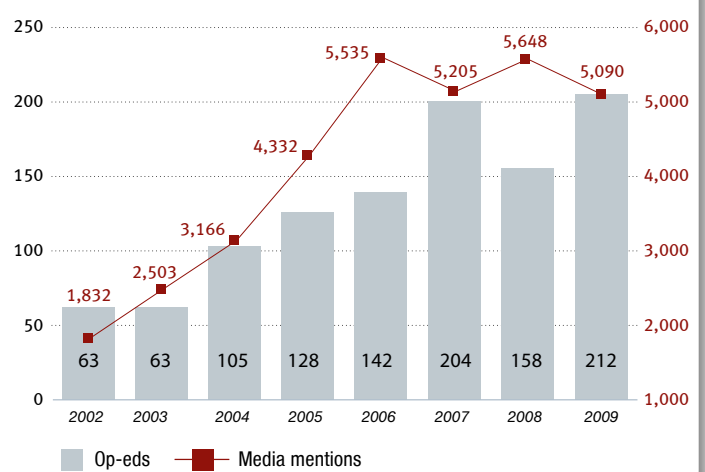
Crisis Group Research Manager **AMELIA BRANCIK** (left), with Governor of Bamyan Province in Afghanistan **HABIBA SARABI** (centre) and former peace negotiator in northern Uganda **BETTY OYELLA BIGOMBE** at an Inwent workshop for the World Bank's World Development Report 2011 on conflict, fragility and development, October 2009. INWENT



Available funds, 2000–2009 by source (US\$, millions)



Media mentions and opinion pieces, 2002–2009



The main value with Crisis Group is that they have rightly put the emphasis on prevention, put the emphasis on responsibility to protect and that is absolutely vital.

Mary Robinson, Former President of Ireland and UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, April 2008

also extremely important in advancing Crisis Group’s policy ideas, with a new Crisis Group report on a country usually treated there as a top news story, and our field analysts often asked for interviews. Crisis Group staff and Board members also regularly write commentary articles for major media outlets – 212 were published in 2009, topping the previous record of 204, set in 2007.

Support Crisis Group ended 2009 in good financial shape. This was a result of continued excellent relations with donors coupled with decisive savings measures implemented at the end of 2008.

Total income for the year passed the US\$15 million mark for the first time, up slightly from the prior year total of \$14.85 million. Consistent with recent years, the proportion of income given as unrestricted support remained strong at 73% of total income. Government funding, earlier expected to plateau, continued to increase both in absolute and relative terms. In total, 21 governments provided over \$8.1 million, or 54% of income in 2009, up from \$7.5 million or 50% of income in 2008. Institutional foundation funding remained close to the usual annual mark of \$4 million, representing 26% of total income from 12 foundation donors in 2009. In terms of the private sector, the fundraising environment remained challenging. But activities and relationships were broadened through sustained engagement from the President and Board members, with the private sector ultimately providing more than \$3 million toward 2009 operations.

Fundraising for the Securing the Future capital fund was effectively put on hold during 2009 due to the difficult economic environment, with all efforts instead being devoted to annual giving. Gifts to the fund do, however, remain an option for donors. The fund itself showed outstanding results as an investment, and this strong capital base will gradually help provide long-term stability, flexibility, and independence for the organisation.

Over the past year, fundraising efforts were boosted by the Award Dinner held in New York City, and by a successful \$500,000 Matching Challenge, generously put forward by Board member Frank Giustra.

Outcomes and judgements Crisis Group tracks as best it can the fate of its policy recommendations. Some examples are set out in the program sections of this report. But causality is obviously a matter of judgement in each case, and we of course acknowledge that Crisis Group’s voice is often only one among others.

To evaluate how well we do our job, Crisis Group also relies heavily on feedback from the policymakers at whom our publications are targeted. Anecdotal evidence abounds – some of it reflected in the quotations throughout this report – that our reporting is highly regarded by policymakers, the media and other analysts. Though we do not view ourselves as a think tank, we were pleased to retain our ranking of third in the “Top Ten Think Tanks in the World” survey, based on peer review, published in January 2010 by the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania.

Online survey In January 2009, Crisis Group conducted an online survey of our targeted contacts and website subscribers, providing us with hugely valuable feedback about how our output is judged by those who use it

most frequently. Over 11,000 people completed the survey, spending on average about fifteen minutes in doing so – a response that in itself shows how highly regarded Crisis Group is among our key advocacy targets in government, international organisations, NGOs and the military, who together made up over a third of respondents.

More than 20 per cent said our reports were “the best available in the public domain” and 67 per cent said they were “superior to most others”. The most commonly chosen words used to describe our policy recommendations were: “useful” (28 per cent), “pertinent” (21 per cent) and “worth implementing” (14 per cent). Most importantly, over 50 per cent said our reports had an effect on their opinions and policy decisions “very often”, “often” or “partially”.

Internal assessment Crisis Group recognises the importance of sound design, monitoring and evaluation (DME) systems. We continue to revise and strengthen our work in this area based on best practices in the field, organisational lessons learned, and ongoing collaboration across our regional programs. Our methodology is primarily intended to show how the organisation’s activities have impacted on the policymaking process and the relevance of this work to wider conflict prevention, management and resolution.

When we are considering whether to include a new country or conflict, we conduct a rigorous internal assessment and consultation process that focuses on a number of factors. We look at the rationale for adding a particular conflict situation; the financial and human resources available to support the work; the security issues; the main target audiences; and how impact will be measured, including specific benchmarks and timeframes.

Concerning our existing projects, Crisis Group’s monitoring practices are extensive and involve a range of staff members within the organisation, as well as the Board of Trustees. We aim to ensure continuous communication between program and project Directors, as well as field staff, about progress on report production, policy issues and advocacy efforts. Project Directors also send monthly situation reports to all staff and Board members. These include: political and security updates on each country covered by the particular Crisis Group project, a detailed list of advocacy and research meetings held, and a progress report on upcoming publications and travel. Crisis Group also holds an annual retreat of senior staff to discuss and debate achievements and challenges during the past year at the institutional, program, and project levels, as well as priorities for the coming year. In addition, once every six months, our staff present a detailed work plan which covers existing programs for the coming twelve months. The work plan is then reviewed and discussed at the management level before being adopted.

Meanwhile, our evaluation practices aim to capture indications of the overall impact being made by the organisation in relation to the specific conflict situations we cover, as well as broader trends in the field of conflict prevention and resolution. We collect feedback from targeted recipients and users of Crisis Group’s reports and briefing papers about how specific findings and recommendations influenced them or others with whom they engage. Such feedback is regularly received from senior political figures, international policymakers, journalists and others. We also conduct two annual impact reviews, at fixed six-month intervals, in which Crisis Group program and advocacy staff are required to present a written evaluation of the prior twelve-month period.



Crisis Group President **LOUISE ARBOUR**, Deputy President **DONALD STEINBERG** and Admiral **JAMES STAVRIDIS**, NATO’s Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), at a meeting at SHAPE/NATO, Belgium, 9 November 2009. – **MARK SCHNEIDER**, Crisis Group’s Senior Vice-President and Special Adviser on Latin America and Haiti, appears before the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 1 February 2010, Washington DC.



Crisis Group Funding in 2009

Like many, Crisis Group faced a challenging year in 2009. However, the organisation managed to remain financially stable and ended the year in a strong position.

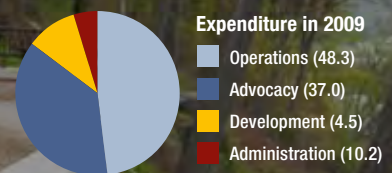
Crisis Group was able to rely on a wide range of long-standing public and private partners to sustain the organisation's internal capacity and external impact in 2009. We are deeply grateful to all of them, many of whom have been involved in our work for years. Thanks to their continued trust and support, we were able to pursue vital conflict prevention and resolution work in dozens of countries around the world.

Although many challenges remain, we are confident of maintaining and strengthening existing partnerships with our key donors in the coming years, while con-

tinuing to broaden and deepen our funding base. Among other things, financial security will continue to be crucial to our ability to improve organisational and emergency response capacity to meet ever-increasing requests from governments, international bodies, journalists, civil society and others for our analysis and advice.



Total income for annual operations in 2009 was US\$15.03 million, of which 73 per cent was in unrestricted core contributions. This does not include contributions to the endowment fund. Total expenditure in 2009 was \$14.78 million.



Clockwise from upper left, at the April 2009 Board meeting unless otherwise noted. Stuart Brooks of Chevron and International Advisory Council Co-Chair Elliott Kulick; Crisis Group honouree and former Deputy Prime Minister of Lebanon Issam Fares (Crisis Group Award Dinner 2009); CNN Chief International Correspondent Christiane Amanpour (Crisis Group Award Dinner 2009); US Deputy Secretary of State James B Steinberg, Crisis Group Co-Chair Chris Patten and Crisis Group Trustee Ricardo Lagos; International Advisory Council member Neil DeFeo; Margery Kraus, Founder and CEO of APCO Worldwide Inc.

GRACE GLADHILL/FRANCISCO ARAGON/GEORGE KORONEOS

GOVERNMENTS AND INSTITUTIONAL FOUNDATIONS

As in 2008, Crisis Group's main financial support toward annual expenditures in the past year came from its government partners, now 21 in all. Despite the global economic crisis, government support continued to hold steady both in absolute and relative terms, representing 54 per cent of total funding last year, the bulk of which came in the form of crucial core support. A majority of government donors have now provided grants for more than five consecutive years, thus demonstrating their commitment for the long haul. Governments are also set to remain our most important source of financial support in 2010, as we seek to expand cooperation with several of our key existing government donors and cultivate new relationships with others. We look forward to an exciting year ahead with these vital partners as

we pursue our common institutional goal of enhanced global peace and security.

In 2009, Crisis Group was also fortunate to count on the financial support of eleven institutional foundations, mostly in the form of core support. Foundation giving kept pace both in absolute and relative terms since last year, representing 26 per cent of total organisational support in 2009. Alongside government funding, institutional foundations continue to be a vital and reliable source of multi-year support, despite the challenges they too have faced as a result of the global economic crisis. We are confident of another excellent year of cooperation with our existing foundation partners, while also actively reaching out to others that share our aims and values.

Securing the Future In 2008, Crisis Group launched a capital fund to provide long-term financial stability to the organisation and complement regular income: the Securing the Future fund. The original target was to raise US\$50 million for the capital fund, and to date more than \$18 million has been raised and invested. Due to the unprecedented economic and financial climate of 2009 and the uncertain outlook for 2010, Crisis Group fundraising efforts have since focused on maintaining full operational capacity rather than building the Securing the Future fund. As the economic situation improves, Crisis Group will actively seek new investments in the capital fund.

Governments

Australia (Agency for International Development;
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade)

Austria (Austrian Development Agency)

Belgium (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Canada (Canadian International Development Agency;
Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada;
International Development Research Centre)

Czech Republic (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Denmark (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Finland (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

France (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Germany (Federal Foreign Office)

Ireland (Irish Aid)

Japan (International Cooperation Agency)

Liechtenstein

Luxembourg (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

The Netherlands (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

New Zealand (Agency for International Development)

Norway (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Sweden (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Switzerland (Federal Department of Foreign Affairs)

Turkey (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

United Kingdom (Department for International Development;
Economic and Social Research Council)

United States (US Agency for International Development)

Institutional Foundations

Carnegie Corporation of New York

Humanity United

Hunt Alternatives Fund

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Korea Foundation

Open Society Institute

Ploughshares Fund

Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Sigrid Rausing Trust

The Elders Foundation

William and Flora Hewlett Foundation

INDIVIDUAL AND CORPORATE BENEFACTORS

Individual and corporate donors play a key role in providing Crisis Group with much needed financial flexibility. Their support reached 20 per cent of Crisis Group's total income for 2009, and was almost entirely for core budgetary support. We are committed to not only maintaining but increasing our income from the private sector, as a diversified support base helps to ensure the organisation's independence. We are extremely fortunate

to enjoy longstanding relationships with many of these donors and their multi-annual commitments provide us with highly valued financial stability.

Crisis Group has built a fruitful working relationship with the private sector, discussing political and economic developments and exchanging analysis. Major individual and corporate donors are invited to join the Crisis

Group Council – jointly composed of the President's Council and the International Advisory Council. Council members regularly use our analysis and field-based research in their geopolitical risk assessments, attend the Board of Trustee meetings and meet Crisis Group senior staff and field analysts.

SUPPORT

Donations to Crisis Group can be made online through our website, www.crisisgroup.org/donate

For further information

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+1 212 813 0820

Outside the US please contact Romit Jain,
Director, Private Sector Initiatives in the London office
rjain@crisisgroup.org
+44 207 831 1436



President's Council in 2009

This exclusive Council welcomes private donors contributing **US\$100,000** or more annually:

BHP Billiton	Royal Bank of Scotland
Canaccord Adams Limited	Ian Telfer
Mala Gaonkar	Guy Ullens de Schooten
Alan Griffiths	Statoil
Frank Holmes	Neil Woodyer
Iara Lee & George Gund III Foundation	
Frederick Iseman	
George Landegger	
Ford Nicholson	

International Advisory Council in 2009

This Council welcomes private donors who contribute between **US\$25,000** and **US\$99,999** per annum:

Rita Hauser (Co-Chair)	John Ehara	Harriet Mouchly-Weiss
Elliott Kulick (Co-Chair)	Sean Fieler	Yves Oltremare
Anglo American PLC	Seth Ginns	Donald Pels & Wendy Keys
APCO Worldwide Inc.	Joseph Hotung	Anna Luisa Ponti & Geoffrey Hogue
Ed Bachrach	H.J. Keilman	Michael Riordan
Stanley Bergman & Edward Bergman	George Kellner	Tilleke & Gibbins
Harry Bookey & Pamela Bass-Bookey	Amed Khan	Vale
David Brown	Zelmira Koch	VIVA Trust
John Chapman Chester	Liquidnet	Yapi Merkezi Construction and Industry Inc.
Chevron	Jean Manas	
Neil & Sandy DeFeo	Marco Marazzi	
	McKinsey & Company	
	Najib Mikati	

Other Individual and Corporate Support in 2009*

US\$25,000 or more

American University of Beirut
Herman de Bode
Maria Livanos Cattai
Victor Dahdaleh
Mo Ibrahim Foundation
Mary & Michael Jaharis
Link Group LLC
The Playtex Cares Foundation
Radcliffe Foundation
Stanley & Tracy Shopkorn
Sun Products
Tufts University
Enzo Viscusi
WEDGE Alternatives
WEDGE Group

Güler Sabancı
Stephen & Nina Solarz
United Water
Vestar Capital Partners
Shinji Yazaki

US\$5,000 or more

Morton Abramowitz
Deutsche Bank Group
John & Jodie Eastman
EG Investment Advisors, LLC
George Fina
Gaye Hill & Jeffrey Urbina
James Kimsey
Robert Kissane
Willem Kok
Nii Owuraka Koney
George P. O'Sullivan
Pär Stenbäck

US\$1,000 or more

US\$10,000 or more

American Task Force for Lebanon
Trustees, Alumni & Friends of American University of Beirut
BMO Capital Markets
Patrick & Sophie Benzie
Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.
Catholic Agency for Overseas Development
Carla Hills
Swanee Hunt
Kimberly-Clark Corporation
Jeannette & H. Peter Kriendler Charitable Trust
Morgan Stanley
NPI Capital, LP

Ken Abramowitz
Kenneth Adelman
Ronnie Aked
Burnan Al-Chalabi
The Alan B. Slifka Foundation
Rani Aliahmad
Henry Arnhold
Debbie Baldwin
Bruce & Julie Blackwell
Susan Blaustein
John Brademas

Martha Brantley
Andrew Brimmer
Naresh Chandra
Ahmad & Michelle Chebbani
Pat Cox
William Draper
Gareth Evans
Mark Eyskens
Jess Fardella
Malcolm Fraser
Michael & Risa Freedman
Peter & Barrett Frelinghuysen
Yoichi Funabashi
Jan Garmulewicz
Jonathan Greenblatt
Jon Greenwald
Nancy Janin
Richard Hall
Peter Harling
Brad Haynes
Joost Hiltermann
Eleanor Holtzman
Anwar Ibrahim
ISI Group
Habib & Lara Kairouz
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Lost & Foundation, Inc.
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The Milner Family Foundation
Neal Nathani

The New Prospect Foundation
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Thomas Pickering
Helen Raffel
William Raveis
Peter Reinemann
Daniel Rose
Richard Ruble
Ghassan Salamé
Mark Schneider
Joachim Schmitz
Bren Simon
Nancy Soderberg
Don Steinberg & Raquel Willerman
Leila & Mickey Straus
John Taylor
Julie Taymor
Tom Vertin
David Walker
H. Lake Wise
The Whitehead Foundation
Richard Wolff
Minky Worden
Marc Zeevat
Greg Zinn

* Only donations of US\$1,000 or more are listed here. Crisis Group also receives donations from individuals who wish to remain anonymous.

AWARD DINNER

In October, Crisis Group held its 2009 Award Dinner at the Waldorf Astoria hotel in New York City. Five hundred guests joined Crisis Group in honouring former US Presidents George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton and former Deputy Prime Minister of Lebanon Issam Fares for their outstanding contributions to conflict prevention and resolution. The evening was hosted by CNN's Chief International Correspondent Christiane Amanpour and featured thought-provoking remarks by the award winners, followed by a musical performance by Grammy Award-winning artist James Taylor.



GEORGE KORONEOS



ALEX KAMWERU

COUNCIL FIELD TRIP TO KENYA

Crisis Group Council members participated in a field trip to Kenya in November 2009. It offered unparalleled insight into the tense political situation, the complexities of attempting to resolve and prevent violent conflict, and how Crisis Group operates in the field. Council members had the opportunity to meet extensively with community, activists, journalists and political leaders. They were also able to observe the realities of life in Kibera and an internally displaced persons camp in the Rift Valley, the region most affected by the post-election violence in 2008.



From upper left to right, at the April 2009 Board meeting: Crisis Group Trustee Stephen Solarz; Trustees Pär Stenbäck and Ayo Obe; Crisis Group President Emeritus Gareth Evans; Trustee Frank Giustra; Trustee Mo Ibrahim; Trustee Ghassan Salamé; Trustee Wesley Clark; Queen Noor of Jordan and Trustee George Soros; Trustees Maria Livanos Cattai and Swanee Hunt; Trustee Morton Abramowitz.

GRACE GLADHILL AND FRANCISCO ARAGON

Statement of Activities

For financial years ended 30 June 2009 and 2008 (in US dollars). Full audited financial statements are available on request, and accessible on Crisis Group's website www.crisisgroup.org.

<i>Revenues and other support</i>	<i>Year ended</i>	30 June 2009	30 June 2008
Contributions*		21,205,147	24,863,653
Investment income		254,821	486,731
Miscellaneous income		4,845	–
	Total	21,464,813	25,350,384
Expenses			
Africa Program			
Central Africa		741,000	701,129
Horn of Africa		527,914	1,029,119
Southern Africa		176,935	177,688
West Africa		618,942	619,960
	Total	2,064,791	2,527,896
Asia Program			
Pakistan/Afghanistan		829,084	752,044
South East Asia		657,605	646,992
Central Asia		488,639	458,141
North East Asia		541,170	297,935
Sri Lanka		280,955	278,206
Nepal		290,789	284,868
	Total	3,088,242	2,718,186
Europe Program			
Caucasus		336,468	398,334
Serbia		53,008	222,626
Kosovo		458,332	397,688
Turkey/Cyprus		229,687	243,441
	Total	1,077,495	1,262,089
Middle East/North Africa Program			
Iran/Gulf States		158,386	–
North Africa		140,192	105,549
Iraq/Syria/Lebanon		747,788	996,636
Arab-Israeli Conflict		723,120	988,934
	Total	1,769,486	2,091,119
Latin America Program			
Colombia		342,555	452,047
Haiti		213,098	279,716
	Total	555,653	731,763
Thematic Research			
		–	–
	Total Program Expenses	8,555,667	9,331,053
Advocacy			
		4,304,059	4,002,080
Administration			
Fundraising		768,374	1,083,374
Administration		2,083,681	2,501,411
	Total Administration Expenses	2,852,055	3,584,785
Total expenses		15,711,781	16,917,918
Change in net assets before other items		5,753,032	8,432,466
Other items			
Net unrealised/realised gains on investments		5,363,644	–
Net unrealised/realised (loss)/gain on exchange		(1,129,999)	516,693
Change in net assets		9,986,677	8,949,159
Net assets at beginning of the year		26,186,332	17,237,173
Net assets at end of the year		36,173,009	26,186,332

* Contributions and grants are recorded as revenue in the year that notification is received from the donor.

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The Fares family	for Africa	

Senior Advisers *Crisis Group gratefully thanks our Senior Advisers, former members of the Board of Trustees who maintain an association with Crisis Group and whose advice and support are called on from time to time (to the extent consistent with any other office they may be holding at the time):*

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	George Robertson	

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Pro Bono Legal Services

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Shearman & Sterling LLP White & Case LLP

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