



Florida High Schools Model United Nations

FHSMUN 33 Security Council

The Situation in the Sudans

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Introduction:

The birth of the new country of South Sudan in July 2011 was greeted with applause and acclaim by millions of people in South Sudan as well as by African and other world leaders.¹ Even amidst the jubilation, however, there were troubling signs that the violence and armed conflict that had ravaged Sudan for decades were not fully resolved; disputes over land, cattle, oil revenues, and ethnic strife continue to threaten the dearly bought independence of South Sudan as well as the peace and livelihoods that tens of millions have desired for decades.² The international community must be especially concerned about a renewal and/or escalation of violence in the Sudans because the fighting would likely increase refugee flows and likely spark intensified violence and instability in surrounding countries like Chad, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Libya, and Uganda, all of which are already subject to considerable unrest. Delegates to the Security Council must act quickly and comprehensively to prevent a return to the horrific and widespread violence that has ravaged the Sudans and the entire region for decades.

The move toward independence and national rule in Sudan

Following the start of British occupation of the Sudanese region, the situation in the Sudan became murkier as Egypt also vied for control of the Sudan lands then currently under British colonial rule. Specifically, Egypt sought to gain control of Sudan and the recognition of such control as one unified country from the United Kingdom. As Egyptian nationalist leaders continued this push to force UK officials to recognize a single independent union of Egypt and Sudan, the formal end of Ottoman rule in 1914 resulted in Hussein Kamel rising to Sultan of Egypt and Sudan. Together, Kamel and Fuad I, Kamel's brother and successor, continued their dogged determination to have a single Egyptian-Sudanese state even in the face of a renaming of Sultanate to the Kingdom of Egypt and Sudan – a renaming that some consider the beginning of Sudanese nationalism despite continued British resistance to such grasps for independence.³

¹ *BBC News*, "South Sudan: World leaders welcome new nation" July 9, 2011.

² *BBC News*, "South Sudan attacks 'leave 600 dead'" August 22, 2011.

³ Brief history of the Sudan. (20 November 2008). Retrieved from <http://web.archive.org/web/20081120035130/http://sudan-embassy.co.uk/en/content/blogcategory/28/37>

As with most things with the state of Sudan, however, the exact date of this start of a nationalist identity is in question, with some historians placing this moment in the country's (countries') history in the early 1920s following the conclusion of WWI. These historians argue that the beginning of Sudanese nationalism dates back to 1920s immediately after World War I when the Sudanese Unity Society, a political forum that called for independence of Sudan and unity with Egypt, was formed. The society disbanded quickly after it was formed, but eventually reformed in 1923 when Ali Abd al Latif, a former army officer, reconstituted the Unity Society into a political movement called "the White Flag League." This White Flag league advocated the total independence of Sudan and organized demonstrations in Khartoum to take advantage of the civil unrest that followed the assassination of one of the country's prominent figures.⁴

By 1924, Ali Abd al Latif was arrested and exiled to Egypt, sparking a mutiny by a Sudanese army battalion led by the Lieutenant Abdelfadeel Elmaz - a rebellion commonly known as the 1924 Revolution. The rebellion was quickly quelled, and forces working against the rebellion succeeded in not only destroying the rebellion but also in temporarily crippling the nationalist movement within Sudan.

Thus remained the state of affairs in the region until the Egyptian Revolution of 1952 which finally heralded the beginning of a drive toward Sudanese independence. Having abolished the monarchy in 1953, Egypt's new leaders, Muhammad Naguib, son of a Sudanese woman, and Gamal Abdel-Nasser took hold of the idea that the only way to end British domination in Sudan was for Egypt to officially abandon its claims of sovereignty over the region/territory.⁵

The British were not immediately convinced to give up their claim over the Sudanese land, however, and sought to continue their political and financial support for rising leader Sayyid Abdel Rahman who could resist the Egyptian pressures for Sudanese independence – as believed by the British. While Rahman was able to resist the pressures from Egypt for a while, his regime was ultimately plagued with political incompetence. This ultimately caused a significant diaspora of supporters in northern and central Sudan – something that can be targeted as the trigger point for the factional differences which have devastated Sudan (and the Sudans) for the entire history of the country (countries).

Recognizing the growing political instability forming in the region, Egypt and Britain opted to allow the Sudanese in the north and south to have a free vote on independence to see whether the regions' populations wished for a British withdrawal. In 1954, the Egypt and Britain ratified a treaty guaranteeing Sudanese independence should the vote reveal a clear direction for the region.⁶ Following a vote by its people, Sudan officially gained its independence from British, resulting in convening of a democratic parliament and the subsequent election of Isma'il Alazhari as the first Prime Minister of the newly-formed country.⁷ On 1 January 1956, in a special ceremony held at the People's Palace, the Egyptian and British flags were lowered and

⁴ Brief history of the Sudan.

⁵ Brief history of the Sudan.

⁶ Brief history of the Sudan.

⁷ Brief history of the Sudan.

the new Sudanese flag was raised in their place by the prime minister Isma'il Alazhari – signifying the ceremonial transfer of power.

Military coup d'état

The intervening 30 years of Sudanese history witnessed numerous struggles and continued political unrest as the factions initially formed prior to the withdrawal of British forces in 1956 grew and solidified throughout the country – beginning with a civil war (discussed in the following section) and eventually leading to the start of a military coup in 1989.

Following the cessation of north-south violence (the civil war) in 1972, the country proceeded on shaky ground, and mounting political corruption on the part of Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi threatened the security of country. On 30 June 1989, opposition colonel Omar al-Bashir commanded a group of army officers in an effort to remove al-Mahdi from power. The coup proved successful and even bloodless in ousting the unstable coalition government of Prime Minister al-Mahdi.⁸ Transitioning to rule under al-Bashir's leadership, a new military government was formed and quickly suspended political parties in favor of introducing an Islamic legal code on the national level.⁹ Quickly rising to become Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation (a newly established body with legislative and executive powers for what was described as a transitional period), al-Bashir assumed the posts of chief of state, prime minister, chief of the armed forces, and minister of defense.¹⁰ Subsequent to al-Bashir's promotion to the Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation, he allied himself with Hassan al-Turabi, the leader of the National Islamic Front (NIF), who along with al-Bashir began institutionalizing Sharia law in the northern part of Sudan. Purges and executions were also issued by al-Bashir for the upper ranks of the army, the banning of associations, political parties independent newspapers and the imprisonment of leading political figures and journalists shortly after his rise to power.¹¹

On 16 October 1993, over four years after ascending to power, al-Bashir's further increased his own powers when he appointed himself President of the country. Immediately following, he disbanded the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation and all other rival political parties. All executive and legislative powers of the council were subsequently given to al-Bashir completely,¹² and in the 1996 national elections, he was the only candidate allowed by law to run for election. Al-Bashir was instrumental in transforming Sudan into a single-party state and creating the National Congress Party (NCP) with a new parliament and government directed solely by members of the NCP.¹³

⁸ FACTBOX – Sudan's President Omar Hassan al-Bashir. (14 July 2008). Reuters. Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2008/07/14/uk-warcrimes-sudan-bashir-profile-idUKL1435274220080714>

⁹ Bekele, Y. (12 July 2008). "Chickens Are Coming Home To Roost!". *Ethiopian Review*. Retrieved from <http://www.ethiopianreview.com/content/2929>

¹⁰ Cowell, A. (30 June 1989). "Military Coup in Sudan Ousts Civilian Regime". *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/07/01/world/military-coup-in-sudan-ousts-civilian-regime.html>

¹¹ Kepel, G. (2002). *Jihad: The trail of political Islam*. I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd. p. 181.

¹² Walker, P. (14 July 2008). "Profile: Omar al-Bashir". *The Guardian* (London). Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/jul/14/sudan.warcrimes3>

¹³ History of Sudan. (n.d.) History World. Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/jul/14/sudan.warcrimes3>

Contemporaneously to the rise of al-Bashir, Speaker of the National Assembly Hassan al-Turabi reached out to Islamic fundamentalist groups, allowing them to operate in and out of Sudan.¹⁴ Following the admittance of Osama bin Laden in to the country, the United States of America listed Sudan as a state sponsor of terrorism¹⁵ and began bombings of Sudan in 1998, even though bin Laden left Sudan by early 1996. Several U.S. firms were barred from doing business in Sudan as a result. Further on, al-Turabi's influence and that of his party's "'internationalist' and ideological wing" waned "in favor of the 'nationalist' or more pragmatic leaders who focus on trying to recover from Sudan's disastrous international isolation and economic damage that resulted from ideological adventurism."¹⁶ At the same time Sudan worked to appease the United States and other international critics by expelling members of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and encouraging bin Laden to leave.¹⁷

Prior to the 2000 presidential election, al-Turabi introduced a bill to reduce the President's powers, prompting al-Bashir to dissolve parliament and declare a state of emergency. After al-Turabi urged a boycott of the President's re-election campaign and signed an agreement with Sudan People's Liberation Army, Omar al-Bashir suspected they were plotting to overthrow him and the government, thus jailing Hassan al-Turabi that same year.^{18 19}

Because of significant cultural, social, political, ethnic and economic changes in short amounts of time, conflicts were evolved in western and eastern provinces of Sudan in addition to an escalating conflict in Southern Sudan. Since the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), several violent struggles between the Janjaweed militia and rebel groups such as the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) in the form of guerilla warfare in the Darfur, Red Sea and Equatoria regions have occurred. These conflicts have resulted in death tolls between 200,000 and 400,000.^{20 21 22} Over 2.5 million people being displaced and diplomatic relations between Sudan and Chad being put under very great strain.^{23 24}

¹⁴ Shahzad, S. S. (23 February 2002). "Bin Laden Uses Iraq To Plot New Attacks". Asia Times Online. Retrieved from <http://www.atimes.com/c-asia/DB23Ag02.html>

¹⁵ Families of USS Cole victims sue Sudan for \$105 million. (13 March 2007). Associated Press. Retrieved from <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,258413,00.html>

¹⁶ Fuller, F. E. (2004). *The Future of Political Islam*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 111.

¹⁷ Wright, L. (2006). *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the road to 9/11*. Vintage Books, p. 221-3

¹⁸ Profile: Sudan's President Bashir. (2003). BBC News. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3273569.stm>

¹⁹ Ali, W. (13 May 2008). Sudanese Islamist opposition leader denies link with Darfur rebels. Sudan Tribune. Retrieved from <http://www.sudantribune.com/Sudanese-Islamist-opposition,27123>

²⁰ Q&A: Sudan's Darfur Conflict. (23 February 2010). BBC News. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3496731.stm>

²¹ U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. "The World Factbook: Sudan". Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/su.html>

²² Hundreds Killed in Attacks in Eastern Chad — U.N. Agency Says Sudanese Militia Destroyed Villages. (11 April 2007). Associated Press. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/04/10/AR2007041001775.html>

²³ de Montesquiou, A. (16 October 2006). AUF Ineffective, Complain Refugees in Darfur. The Washington Post. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/10/15/AR2006101500655.html>

²⁴ Sudan Cuts Chad Ties over Attack. (11 May 2008). BBC News. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7394422.stm>

The Sudanese government has supported the use of recruited Arab militias in guerrilla warfare, such as in the ongoing conflict in Darfur.²⁵ Since then thousands of people have been displaced and killed, and the need for humanitarian care in Darfur has attracted worldwide attention. The conflict has since been described as a genocide,²⁶ and the International Criminal Court (ICC) has issued two arrest warrants for al-Bashir, the current President of Sudan.²⁷

Sudan has also been the subject of severe sanctions due to alleged ties with Egyptian Islamic Jihad and al-Qaeda.²⁸ Sudan's overall Human Development Index (HDI) places it in the bottom twenty countries of the world, ranking number 169 in 2011, between Gambia and Cote d'Ivoire.²⁹ Statistics indicate that about seventeen percent of the population lives on less than US \$1.25 per day. Among Sudan's population of 36 million people, Sunni Islam is the largest religion, while Arabic and English are the official languages.^{30,31}

Sudan has achieved great economic growth by implementing macroeconomic reforms. Rich in natural resources such as petroleum, Sudan's economy is amongst the fastest growing in the world.³² The People's Republic of China and Japan are the main export partners of Sudan.

Civil War and Secession of South Sudan

In 1955, the year before independence, a civil war began between Northern and Southern Sudan. The southerners, anticipating independence, feared the new nation would be dominated by the north. Historically, the north of Sudan had closer ties with Egypt and was predominantly Arab or Arabized and Muslim while the south was predominantly non-Arabized and animist or Christian. These divisions had been further emphasized by the British policy of ruling the north and south under separate administrations. From 1924, it was illegal for people living north of the 10th parallel to go further south and for people south of the 8th parallel to go further north. The law was ostensibly enacted to prevent the spread of malaria and other tropical diseases that had ravaged British troops, as well as to facilitate spreading Christianity among the predominantly animist population while stopping the Arabic and Islamic influence from advancing south. The result was increased isolation between the already distinct north and south and arguably laid the seeds of conflict in the years to come.

²⁵ The Genocide in Darfur — Briefing Paper. (June 2008). Save Darfur Coalition. Retrieved from <http://www.savedarfur.org/pages/background>

²⁶ ICC Prosecutor Presents Case Against Sudanese President, Hassan Ahmad al Bashir, for Genocide, Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes in Darfur. (14 July 2008). Office of the Prosecutor, International Criminal Court. Retrieved from [http://www.icc-cpi.int/menus/icc/press%20and%20media/press%20releases/press%20releases%20\(2008\)/a](http://www.icc-cpi.int/menus/icc/press%20and%20media/press%20releases/press%20releases%20(2008)/a)

²⁷ Lynch, C. and Hamilton, R. (13 July 2010). International Criminal Court Charges Sudan's Omar Hassan al-Bashir with Genocide. Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting. Retrieved from <http://pulitzercenter.org/articles/international-criminal-court-charges-sudans-omar-hassan-al-bashir-genocide>

²⁸ Shahzad, S. S. (2002)

²⁹ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Human Development Report 2011: Sustainability and Equity — a Better Future for All 2011 Retrieved from <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/>.

³⁰ CIA World Fact Book.

³¹ Arabic, Sudanese Spoken — A Language of Sudan. (n.d.). Ethnologue. Retrieved from http://www.ethnologue.org/show_language.asp?code=apd

³² Gettleman, J. (24 October 2006). War in Sudan? Not where the oil wealth flows. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/24/world/africa/24sudan.html?_r=1

The resulting conflict lasted from 1955 to 1972. The 1955 war began when Southern army officers mutinied and then formed the Anya-Nya guerilla movement. A few years later the first Sudanese military regime took power under Major-General Abboud. Military regimes continued into 1969 when General Gaafar Nimeiry led a successful coup.³³

In 1972, a cessation of the north-south conflict was agreed upon under the terms of the Addis Ababa Agreement, following talks which were sponsored by the World Council of Churches. This led to a ten-year hiatus in the national conflict with the south enjoying self-government through the formation of the Southern Sudan Autonomous Region.

In 1983, the civil war was reignited following President Gaafar Nimeiry's decision to circumvent the Addis Ababa Agreement. Nimeiry attempted to create a federated Sudan including states in southern Sudan, which violated the Addis Ababa Agreement that had granted the south considerable autonomy. He appointed a committee to undertake "a substantial review of the Addis Ababa Agreement, especially in the areas of security arrangements, border trade, language, culture and religion."³⁴ Mansour Khalid, a former foreign minister, wrote: "Nimeiri had never been genuinely committed to the principles of the Addis Ababa Agreement."³⁵ When asked about revisions he stated "The Addis Ababa agreement is myself and Joseph Lagu and we want it that way... I am 300 percent the constitution. I do not know of any plebiscite because I am mandated by the people as the President."³⁶ Southern troops rebelled against the northern political offensive, and launched attacks in June 1983. In September 1983, the situation was exacerbated when Nimeiry's decrees culminated the 1977 revisions by imposing new Islamic laws on all of Sudan, including the non-Muslim south.

In 1995, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter negotiated the longest ceasefire in the history of the war to allow humanitarian aid to enter Southern Sudan, which had been inaccessible owing to violence. This ceasefire, which lasted almost six months, has since been called the "Guinea Worm Ceasefire."³⁷ Since 1983, a combination of civil war and famine has taken the lives of nearly 2 million people in Sudan.³⁸ The war continued even after Nimeiry was ousted and a democratic government was elected with Al Sadiq Al Mahdi's Umma Party having the majority in the parliament. The leader of the SPLA John Garang refused to recognize the government and to negotiate with it as representative of Sudan but agreed to negotiate with government officials as representative of their political parties. The Sudanese Army successfully advanced in the south, reaching the southern borders with neighbouring Kenya and Uganda. The campaign started in 1989 and ended in 1994. During the fight the situation worsened in the tribal

³³ Mitchell, C. R. (August 1989). Conflict Resolution and Civil War: Reflections on the Sudanese Settlement of 1972. (PDF). Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University. Retrieved from http://icar.gmu.edu/wp_3_mitchell.pdf

³⁴ Alier, A. (1990). Southern Sudan: Too Many Agreements Dishonored. Ithaca Press. p. 213.

³⁵ Khalid, Mansour (1985). Nimeiri and the Revolution of Dis-May. Routledge and Paul Regan (London). pp. 234, 239.

³⁶ Ali, T., Matthews, R. O. and Spears, I. S. (2004). Durable Peace: Challenges for Peacebuilding in Africa. University of Toronto Press (Toronto). pg. 293.

³⁷ Sudan. (n.d.). The Carter Center. Retrieved from <http://www.cartercenter.org/countries/sudan.html>

³⁸ Sudan: Nearly 2 Million Dead as a Result of the World's Longest Running Civil War. (April 2001). U.S. Committee for Refugees. Retrieved from <http://web.archive.org/web/20041210024759/http://www.refugees.org/news/crisis/sudan.htm>

south causing casualties among the Christian and animist minority.³⁹ Rebel leader Riek Machar subsequently signed a peace agreement with the Sudanese government and became Vice President of Sudan. His troops took part in the fight against the SPLA during the government offensive in the 1990s. After the Sudanese army took control of the entire south with the help of Machar, the situation improved. In time, however, the SPLA sought support in the West by using the northern Sudanese government's religious propaganda to portray the war as a campaign by the Arab Islamic government to impose Islam and the Arabic language on the animist and Christian south.

The war went on for more than twenty years, including the use of Russian-made combat helicopters and military cargo planes that were used as bombers to devastating effect on villages and tribal rebels alike. "Sudan's independent history has been dominated by chronic, exceptionally cruel warfare that has starkly divided the country on ethnic, religious, and regional grounds; displaced an estimated four million people (of a total estimated population of thirty-two million); and killed an estimated two million people."⁴⁰ It damaged Sudan's economy and led to food shortages, resulting in starvation and malnutrition. The lack of investment during this time, particularly in the south, meant a generation lost access to basic health services, education and jobs.

Peace talks between the southern rebels and the government made substantial progress in 2003 and early 2004. The peace was consolidated with the official signing by both sides of the Nairobi Comprehensive Peace Agreement on 9 January 2005, granting Southern Sudan autonomy for six years, to be followed by a referendum about independence. It created a co-vice president position and allowed the north and south to split oil deposits equally, but also left both the north's and south's armies in place. John Garang, the south's peace agreement appointed co-vice president, died in a helicopter crash on 1 August 2005, three weeks after being sworn in. This resulted in riots, but peace was eventually restored. The United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) was established under the UN Security Council Resolution 1590 of 24 March 2005. Its mandate is to support implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, and to perform functions relating to humanitarian assistance, and protection and promotion of human rights. In October 2007 the former southern rebel Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) withdrew from government in protest over slow implementation of a landmark 2005 peace deal which ended the civil war.

The referendum was negotiated under the auspices of Intergovernmental Organization Authority for Development (IGAD), the regional organization of which Sudan is a member. Despite its role in finalizing the peace process, the debate around it increasingly became argumentative. According to a Wikileaks cable, the Khartoum Government along with the Egyptian government had been trying to delay or indefinitely adjourn the referendum. However, the southern leadership, the United Nations, and the whole region remained determined to hold vote as scheduled. As such, the vote continued. On January 9, 2011, the referendum was held

³⁹ Dange, T. (August 2002). Sudan: Humanitarian Crisis, Peace Talks, Terrorism, and U.S. Policy. Issue Brief for the U.S. Congress. Defense Technical Information Center (Fort Belvoir).

⁴⁰ Morrison, J. S. and Waal, A. (2005). Can Sudan Escape Its Intractability? Grasping the Nettle: Analyzing Cases of Intractable Conflict. United States Institute of Peace (Washington, D.C.). p. 162.

worldwide; the South Sudanese diaspora who voted included those from the U.S., the U.K., Australia, Europe and East Africa. The result showed 98.9% in favour of secession.

The southern region became independent on July 9, 2011, with the name of South Sudan. Despite this result, many crucial issues are yet to be resolved, some of which requiring international intervention. The threats to people of South Sudan after referendum are numerous, with security topping the list. Other threats include disputes over the region of Abyei, control over oil fields, the borders, and the issue of citizenship.

Humanitarian Issues in the Sudans

Despite the progress of recovery efforts to overcome years of war, the Sudan(s) face an enormous array of humanitarian issues and continues to cope with the countrywide effects of conflict, displacement, and insecurity. During more than 20 years of conflict between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), violence, famine, and disease killed more than 2 million people, forced an estimated 600,000 people to seek refuge in neighboring countries, and displaced approximately 4 million others within Sudan, creating the world's largest population of internally displaced people. The 20-year civil war, drought, and raids by government-backed militias and rebel groups have disrupted the distribution of food aid and obstructed assessments of need in severely affected areas. The scorched earth techniques used by pro-government militias decimated fields and homes and forced tens of thousands of people to flee the war-torn areas. These problems were just exacerbated by extensive droughts and subsequent famine.⁴¹

Many relief centers and hunger-stricken areas are inaccessible by ground transportation because roads were destroyed, did not exist or are impassible due to rain and mud. The severe lack of infrastructure has heightened the need for humanitarian aid. In 2009, the Government of Sudan expelled 13 international humanitarian aid organizations from Sudan and shut down a variety of organizations that were aiding rival political groups. Areas under the control of armed opposition have remained largely inaccessible for humanitarian actors. In the absence of expelled non-governmental organizations, UN agencies and remaining NGOs stepped in to fill some of the critical gaps and address immediate humanitarian needs. The UN and members of the international community have since urged the Government of Sudan to reverse its decision on the expulsions, to identify and respond to gaps in life-saving operations, and to facilitate an orderly transition to working through the remaining NGOs.

According to United Nations and other international officials, the situation in Darfur was and arguably could still be considered the worst current humanitarian and human rights crisis in the world. In 2004, out of a population of 7 million people, 1.2 million were internally displaced, an estimated 200,000 were forced into exile, and an estimated 30,000-50,000 civilians had been killed.⁴² As the conflict in the western region of Darfur entered its eighth year in 2011, despite a 2006 peace agreement--the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA)--between the Government of National Unity and one faction of the Sudan Liberation Army, and the more recent signing of the

⁴¹ Middleton, Neil and Phil O'Keefe, "Politics, History, & Problems of Humanitarian Assistance in Sudan," *Review of African Political Economy* 33 no. 108 (2006): 548.

⁴² Dagne, Ted, Sudan: Humanitarian Crisis, Peace Talks, Terrorism, and U.S. Policy, CRS Issue Brief for Congress.

Doha Document for Peace in Darfur in 2011, between the Government of Sudan and the Liberation and Justice Movement. While in previous years the UN estimated that there were approximately 2.7 million IDPs in Darfur, more recent data indicated the number of IDPs in Darfur to be 1.9 million.⁴³ Since the 2005 signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), which officially ended the North-South conflict, the UN estimates that nearly 2 million displaced people have returned to Southern Sudan, Southern Kordofan, Blue Nile, and Abyei.

While much has been achieved, key provisions of the Agreement relating to peace and security along the common border — the settlement of the Abyei question, popular consultations on the future status of Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States, and addressing the issue of former Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) troops from and in those two States — have yet to be resolved. The outcome of the ongoing negotiations on these issues and post-secession bilateral arrangements will to a large extent determine the nature of the relation between the two States and the political and security conditions within the two States and along the border, with implications for security and stability in the subregion.⁴⁴

In mid-2011, conflict broke out in South Kordofan and Blue Nile between the Sudanese Armed Forces and forces loyal to the SPLM. In Abyei and South Kordofan, violence displaced nearly 200,000 people. Initially, no movements of humanitarian supplies were permitted from Government controlled areas to SPLM areas. However, local authorities later authorized the transport of limited quantities of UNICEF emergency health supplies, vaccines, and nutrition assistance. The WFP reported that with its partners it assisted roughly 135,000 individuals affected by the conflict with 1,400 MT of emergency food rations.⁴⁵ Approximately 80% of the initially 130,000 displaced people in Blue Nile have returned home. Still others have fled to South Sudan or Ethiopia. The outbreaks of violence have blocked access to Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile for international aid organizations.

Unfortunately, there are still reported pockets of fighting between the SAF and armed movements in North Darfur and South Darfur. This has led to a new displacement of approximately 11,000 people in North Darfur and 2,500 in South Darfur.⁴⁶ Additionally, dry spells in North Darfur delayed planting season and reduced amount of grazing land threaten a poor winter harvest and livestock disease outbreaks. Flooding in South Darfur displaced 3,475 people.

With the secession of Southern Sudan in 2011, the southern Sudanese were able to return to the region. Approximately 343,000 people moved to South Sudan with the help of IOM and UNHCR between October 2010 and September 2011. Still there are reports of large crowds still trying to travel to South Sudan in Khartoum, Kosti, and throughout South Kordofan. Although rail travel was delayed by damaged railway lines and attacks on southbound trains, both the Government of Sudan and South Sudan have committed to support the returns.

⁴³ “Internally Displaced People in Sudan,” IDMC, last modified November 11, 2011, <http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/sudan>.

⁴⁴ “Special Report of Secretary-General on the Sudan S/2011/314,” May 17 2011.

⁴⁵ Sudan Humanitarian Update – 3rd Quarter 2011, OCHA.

⁴⁶ Sudan Humanitarian Update – 3rd Quarter 2011, OCHA.

When South Sudan became Africa's youngest country on July 9, 2011, it inherited some formidable health and humanitarian challenges. Emerging from several decades of civil war, South Sudan has a severe shortage of health workers and facilities, with only 16% of people in the region accessing health care. With a population of a little under 9 million people, South Sudan has a little more than 120 medical doctors and boasts just over 100 registered nurses. The Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) has made a target of one primary health care worker per 25,000 people and a hospital for every 50,000 people.⁴⁷

To aid the new government, the Security Council created the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) for a year that would consolidate peace and security, to help establish the conditions for development in the Republic of South Sudan, with a view to strengthening the capacity of the Government of the Republic of South Sudan to govern effectively and democratically and establish good relations with its neighbors. UNMISS will be able to support for peace consolidation and thereby fostering longer-term state building and economic development, promote the establishment of an independent media, and ensuring the participation of women in decision-making forums. It will also support the Government of the Republic of South Sudan in exercising its responsibilities for conflict prevention, mitigation, and resolution and protect civilians.⁴⁸

As a fledgling country, South Sudan's continued development will be essential for preventing renewed conflict. Under the transitional constitution for South Sudan, each oil-producing state within South Sudan is entitled to two percent of the oil revenues derived from that state. Unfortunately, "the most frequently asked question among [Unity] state constituents is: 'where is the 2 per cent?' ... Most surmise the money has instead made its way into the pockets of a band of corrupt elite, in both Bentiu and Juba."⁴⁹ Combating corruption and the diversion of oil revenues to other states or political and economic elites must be an essential component of the development and sustainability of South Sudan.

Unfortunately, the continued lack of progress on outstanding Comprehensive Peace Agreement and post-independence negotiations, in particular on financial arrangements, Abyei and border demarcation, has contributed to a lack of progress in North-South relations. North-South tensions have been particularly high in the light of the intensified conflicts in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States, with allegations by the Government of the Sudan that SPLM-North has received support from South Sudan. The Government of South Sudan has denied those allegations. Delays in the implementation of the June 20th agreement on Abyei have also contributed to tensions between the two countries. While the meeting between Presidents Al-Bashir and Kiir in Khartoum on 8 October resulted in positive public statements by both Presidents and a recommitment to working together to resolve these issues⁵⁰, it is clear that periodic positive rhetoric cannot mask the realities on the ground. As of February 10, 2012,

⁴⁷ Wakabi, Wairagala, "South Sudan faces grim health and humanitarian situation," *The Lancet* 337, no. 9784 (2011).

⁴⁸ Security Council Resolution Resolution 1996 (2011).

⁴⁹ International Crisis Group (ICG), "South Sudan: Compounding Instability in Unity State" Africa Report No. 179 October 17, 2011 pp. 4-5.

⁵⁰ Report of the Secretary-General on South Sudan S/2011/678.

observers were noting that “not for years have north-south relations been so poisonous” and that armed conflict and proxy wars are undermining any possibilities of sustained peace.⁵¹

Current Peacekeeping Operations

There are 3 current peacekeeping operations in the Sudans: the African Union/United Nations Hybrid operation in Darfur (UNAMID); the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA); and the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS). UNAMID, the hybrid peacekeeping mission of the African Union and the UN was established on July 31, 2007 through the adoption of Security Council resolution 1769 (S/RES/1769) and was designed initially to address the problems of the humanitarian and refugee crisis of Darfur in western Sudan. UNAMID is one of the largest current peacekeeping operations, with nearly 18,000 troops and over 5,000 police personnel as well as hundreds of UN civilian personnel; unfortunately, UNAMID has also faced considerable security problems over the past 4 years, with at least 110 fatalities.⁵² Even when the peacekeepers are not physically harmed or killed, they are often subject to harassment, humiliation, and capture by the various armed groups operating in Darfur; on February 20, 2012, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) seized 49 UNAMID peacekeepers for allegedly crossing into JEM-held territory in Darfur.⁵³ Protecting the peacekeeping personnel, military and civilian, will be absolutely essential to the long-term success of UNAMID as well as to resolving the violence and longer-term conflicts that have plagued Darfur for decades.

The UN Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNIFSA) and the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) were established in June and July 2011, through respective Security Council resolutions 1990 (S/RES/1990) and 1996 (S/RES/1996). UNIFSA’s total current size is approximately 3,800 people, with 3,715 being troops⁵⁴ and UNMISS’s current size is just over 7,300 personnel, with 4,700+ soldiers, 450 police officers and a little over 2,000 civilian personnel and local volunteers.⁵⁵ Both peacekeeping missions will need sustained support from the Security Council as well as local actors, including the respective governments of Sudan and South Sudan, to successfully achieve their respective mandates.

Conclusion

Armed conflict throughout the Sudans threatens the populations of many countries of North Africa, the Sahara Desert region, and even sub-Saharan Africa. The international community has struggled for years to achieve lasting peace in the Sudans but the security situation as of the middle of February 2012 remains precarious and volatile. Delegates to the Security Council must act with both considered deliberation and all deliberate haste to prevent further violence.

⁵¹ Jeffrey Gettleman, “Sudans’ Oil Feud Risks Shattering a Fragile Peace” *New York Times* February 10, 2012.

⁵² UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN/DPKO), “UNAMID Facts and Figures” 2012. Found at: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unamid/facts.shtml>

⁵³ *BBC News*, “Sudan’s JEM rebels ‘seize UNAMID peacekeepers’” February 20, 2012.

⁵⁴ UN/DPKO, “UNIFSA Facts and Figures” 2012. Found at: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unisfa/facts.shtml>

⁵⁵ UN/DPKO, “UNMISS Facts and Figures” 2012. Found at: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmiss/facts.shtml>

Guiding Questions:

What are the most pressing humanitarian and security concerns throughout the Sudans? Does your country currently contribute in any way, financially, militarily, civilian and/or police personnel, to the peacekeeping missions or other relief operations in the Sudans?

How effective have the various peacekeeping missions in the Sudans been to date? How can the Security Council improve both their current and future effectiveness? What steps does the Security Council need to implement to protect civilian, military, and police personnel involved in the 3 current peacekeeping missions operating in the Sudans?

What steps can the international community take to improve the sustainability of South Sudan?

What are the responsibilities of the neighboring countries in regards to not only preventing renewed conflict but also improving the sustainability of the Sudans?

Given recent political changes in Egypt and Libya, how should regional organizations, including the African Union (AU) and the Arab League, approach the potential for further divisions and/or fragmentation of the Sudans?

How should the Security Council and the international community approach President Omar al-Bashir's seeming disregard for the International Criminal Court's (ICC) indictment?

Resolutions:

Security Council resolution 1999 (S/RES1999) "Admission of South Sudan as United Nations Member"

Reports of the Secretary-General:

Report of the Secretary-General on Sudan (S/2024/2011) December 14, 2011.

Report of the Secretary-General on Sudan (S/2003/2011) July 29, 2011.

Reports of the Secretary-General on Sudan (S/1997 & 1997/2011) July 11, 2011.

Report of the Secretary-General on Sudan (S/1945/2010) October 14, 2010.

Report of the Secretary-General on Sudan (S/1891/2009) October 13, 2009.

Report of the Secretary-General on Sudan (S/1841/2008) October 15, 2008.

Report of the Secretary-General on Sudan (S/1784/2007) October 31, 2007.

Reports of the Secretary-General on Sudan (S/1713 & 1714/2006) October 6, 2006.

Report of the Secretary-General on Sudan (S/1651/2005) December 21, 2005.