

STAND | digest

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DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH SUDAN ■ On August 15th, 2011, Sudan was officially admitted as the 54th member of the African Union, with South Sudan's Foreign Affairs Minister offering to commit troops to peacekeeping missions throughout the continent. Their membership was welcomed positively by the UN and multiple, influential African political officials.

NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACE PROCESS ■ As a new state, South Sudan is in the process of establishing the necessary framework for sustained statehood, including a diversification of the economic sector to include agriculture. This is intended to decrease economic dependence upon oil exports. On August 26th, South Sudan announced the formation of its first cabinet since it declared independence; however, this was met with mixed emotions. Despite the hope that an independent South Sudan would ease existing tensions, it proved to evoke further conflict, namely in the Blue Nile State, Darfur and South Kordofan. Such violence has led to the creation of an alliance between the SPLM, SLM and JEM rebel movements.

SUDAN AND CANADIAN POLITICS ■ As South Sudan begins to establish itself as an independent state, Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister, John Baird, is still concerned about consistent violence in South Kordofan and political tensions with Bashir's Sudan.

OPINION: SUDAN AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY POLITICS ■ The civil war that has plagued Sudan for decades up until this year's partition, as well as the genocide against the non-Arab populations of Darfur have inspired countless activists to advocate the protection of human rights globally, and justly so. The prevention of mass atrocities embodies Western values, and is one of the central principles of the United Nations as embodied in the Genocide Convention and the Responsibility to Protect doctrine.



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POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS //

1 In recent weeks, there has been a dramatic spike in violence in the South Sudan border regions of Abyei and South Kordofan. The UN estimates approximately 60,000 have fled Abyei and over 70,000 have left their homes in the Nuba mountains. Both the South and North have mobilized troops but the North has largely been responsible for most of the deaths, using aerial bombardments and ground forces to launch attacks and deny access to humanitarian organizations.

1. Canada should speak out at the UN against the escalating conflict and talk to its international partners to apply pressure on both parties to stop attacks and begin a troop withdrawal.
2. Canada's Foreign Minister should create a bilateral dialogue with his international counterparts to direct their attention to the grave nature of the situation.
3. Canadian personnel participating in the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), in Southern Sudan should influence UN mission commanders to take a more assertive role in protecting civilians.

2 The people of South Sudan have voted overwhelmingly for independence. With the Comprehensive Peace Agreement coming to an end and South Sudan getting ready to announce independence in July, there is still much work to be done. In order to avoid future conflicts, the Canadian government needs to focus on facilitating a dialogue between both parties in order to resolve the following outstanding issues (among others):

1. Border demarcation
2. Nationality and citizenship
3. Oil revenue sharing
4. The future of oil rich Abyei
5. Sudan's external debts

3 In December 2010, the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development (FAAE) issued a report on the referendum in Sudan, wherein one of the key recommendations reads:

Canada should send a high-level delegation that includes Ministers and parliamentarians to both North and South Sudan [...] in order to communicate its continuing interest in a peaceful future for the Sudanese people, including in Darfur. The delegation should assess, with civil society, needs on the ground and establish with governments the most effective types of assistance Canada can contribute toward optimal outcomes.

Because this recommendation was arrived through a bipartisan committee process and to signal Sudan Canada's continuing commitment in the region, STAND calls for the government to implement this recommendation as soon as the new session of parliament takes place.

4 In order to effectively prevent, monitor and address grave human rights abuses and mass atrocities, the Government of Canada should:

- Create a Sub-Committee for the Prevention of Genocide and Other Crimes Against Humanity which should be attached to the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development. This would allow parliament to conduct:
- **MONITORING:** keep MPs informed about the onset of genocide and crimes against humanity, including the identifiable stages of these crimes
- **PREVENTION:** become proactive in its response to such crises, allowing MPs to act early and utilize a wider set of policy mechanisms
- **COORDINATION:** centralize Canada's institutional approach to the issue of mass atrocities by giving one central committee the mandate to comprehensively monitor, study and recommend courses of actions.

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH SUDAN // JESSICA DUFFY

South Sudan was formally admitted as the 54th member of the African Union on 15 August. It is the first new member since Eritrea joined in 1993, following a split from Ethiopia.

AU Commission Chairperson, Dr Jean Ping, described the occasion as a historic day for both South Sudan and the African Continent, and “warmly welcomed South Sudan to the African Union family of nations.”

Referring to the violent conflict with Sudan that led to the creation of the new nation, Dr Ping expressed a desire for the two neighbouring nations to “resolutely work towards ensuring lasting peace and stability and friendly relations.”

In his speech, South Sudan’s President, Salva Kiir Mayardit, acknowledged the ongoing internal and external problems already burdening the new nation, but pledged a commitment to “pursue peace both internally and externally.”

Dr Ping also reminded South Sudan that their admission to the AU involved a commitment to “play its part as a member of the Union, to abide by the principles and objectives of the Union and to contribute to the political and socioeconomic integration of the continent.” He also encouraged South Sudan to bring “fresh ideas, new blood, experience and skills in diplomacy and peacemaking to help the Union in other regions of the Continent.”

On the day of its AU admission – perhaps eager to show their commitment to these ideals – South Sudan’s foreign affairs minister, Deng Alor Kuol, offered South Sudanese troops to bolster the AU peacekeeping force in Somalia.

“It is part of our responsibility to help our Somali brothers and sisters to achieve peace,” he told the BBC.

South Sudan army spokesman, Col. Philip Aguer, later reiterated this intention, also indicating a willingness

to contribute troops to United Nations peacekeeping missions. South Sudan was admitted as the 193rd member of the UN in July.

While deadly cattle raids are becoming commonplace in South Sudan, August saw one of the largest attacks in recent memory. A raid by ethnic Murle on three Nuer villages in the eastern state of Jonglei has resulted in more than 600 deaths, according to a statement by the UN. It also estimated that more than 800 people were injured, thousands of homes razed, and up to 30,000 cattle stolen. The UN is also investigating the possibility that as many as 200 people were abducted. The attack is believed to be retaliation for a raid on the Murle in June, where more than 400 people were killed and thousands of cattle were stolen.

The UN has expressed concern about a cycle of violence developing in the region, and has called for an immediate end to the attacks.

NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACE PROCESS // STEPHANIE BROWNSTEIN

As the 193rd and newest member of the United Nations, and the 54th member of the African Union, South Sudan became an independent nation on July 9th, 2011. As a new state, South Sudan is currently in the process of establishing the necessary framework for sustained statehood. This includes diversifying the economic sector of South Sudan by seeking to move away from the oil driven economy that has existed since 1999. In order to avoid an exclusive dependency on oil, South Sudan has expressed a desire to renew the agricultural sector, as in the past it has been neglected, and as a result has caused immense poverty and food insecurity throughout the region.

On August 26th, South Sudan announced the formation of its first cabinet since it declared independence. However, this body has received mixed reactions from South Sudanese citizens and members of the diaspora alike. It has been suggested that the new cabinet ignores previous public assurances by the President, Salva Kiir, that the cabinet would be formed on the

basis of qualifications and not on ethnic representation. Others have suggested that the minority groups of South Sudan are poorly represented within the cabinet.

Despite the hope that an independent South Sudan would ease existing tensions, it has mostly triggered further conflict. Inter-communal violence and rebel activities within South Sudan, mainly in the region of Jonglei, have been rampant since the months prior to South Sudan's independence on July 9th, 2011. In recent months, such violence has led to the deaths of more than 1,500 people and the displacement of over 73,000. The UNHCR received reports of some 16,000 people fleeing across the border into Ethiopia. On Saturday, August 27th, clashes between the Sudanese army and fighters of Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) erupted in the Blue Nile state. Such outbursts of violence mirror those witnessed in the neighbouring Southern Kordofan, an oil rich region which borders South Sudan. Here, the Sudan Army Forces (SAF- the army of the NCP) and the SPLM-N have been engaged in ongoing violence since it first began in June, after the SAF invaded the region.

An integrated team of military and civilians from the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) have been deployed to monitor the situations in both the Blue Nile state in the North, and the Jonglei region of the south. They intend to work with local authorities to avoid further uprisings.

In recent days, Darfur rebels have urged the international community, namely the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to impose a no-fly zone over the Blue Nile, Darfur and Southern Kordofan and thus establish safe corridors to provide civilians with humanitarian assistance. Ongoing since 2003, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), and the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) have fought against Al-Bashir's ruling party in the North, the National Congress Party (NCP). Despite their differences of opinion concerning the proper role of religion in government, the three rebel movements have

joined forces in an alliance to overcome the abusive NCP. Given the longevity of this battle, the rebels have once again urged democratic forces to join them in their efforts to overthrow Bashir's regime. The rebels insist that President Bashir and the SAF are intent on causing chaos, and is thus an obstacle to peace and security within Sudan and the neighbouring region. The NCP still refuses to allow for the distribution of international aid throughout Sudan.

The evolution of the ongoing clashes in the Blue Nile and South Kordofan can be traced back to warnings made by the SAF before independence. Such warnings were made explicit to the SPLM-N, stating that they must either disarm its forces or deploy its mission to the new country of South Sudan. While both Blue Nile and South Kordofan are part of north Sudan, their population sided largely with the South during the second Sudanese civil war 1983-2005, and are therefore ideologically Southern. Given that the final borders between Sudan and South Sudan have yet to be negotiated, the national identity of these regions has become all the more delicate.

Recently, other North Sudan groups, namely the democratic forces of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) of Mohamed Osman al-Mirghani and the Umma National Party (UNP) of Sadiq Al-Mahdi, were called to meet with President Bashir. Such parties have also been called to meet with the newly formed alliance of JEM, SPLM and SLM; however, the DUP and UNP have refused to choose a side. Currently, they reject rebel military action against the NCP regime, yet they refuse to support Bashir, intent upon demanding democratic reforms and a negotiated settlement for Darfur, Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan conflicts.

On Saturday, September 3rd, Sudanese authorities closed the offices of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) in Khartoum, banning its members from their offices. While the SPLM has been registered as a political party with Salva Kir as chairman and Pagan Amum as secretary general since the interim period of the 2005 Comprehen-

sive Peace Agreement (CPA), the secession of South Sudan now means that 95% of all SPLM membership is considered foreign in Khartoum. All SPLM activity in Khartoum is therefore banished until the party officially registers with the NCP and disbands its armed militia.

The banishment of the SPLM from Khartoum occurred just one day after clashes erupted in the Blue Nile state, after NCP officials accused the elected governor of the Blue Nile state of preparing to launch attacks on the position of the regular army. Clashes ensued between the SAF and the SPLM-N, who remain committed to leader Malik Agar. Following the closure of the SPLM-N offices, the SPLM declared resistance to the NCP aggression ongoing in the Blue Nile region. While the SPLM-N have claimed that the SAF started the attacks and targeted Agar's house, the SAF claimed it was the SPLM-N that launched the attacks; it is still unclear who instigated the violence. In the aftermath of this violent outbreak, Bashir declared a state of emergency in the Blue Nile state and later fired Agar from the position to which he was elected in April 2010, appointing in his place the commander-in-chief of the SAF base in the state capital, Al-Damazin, as a military ruler. Both the SLM and JEM rebels have denounced the events in Blue Nile as a continuation of the "never-ending crimes of genocide and crimes against humanity" by the NCP government.

SUDAN AND CANADIAN POLITICS // STEPHANIE BROWNSTEIN

Nearly two months have ensued since South Sudan has declared its independence, during which a national anthem has been written and finalized, a new currency introduced, passports ordered, and even football and basketball teams organized. The United Nations has recognized South Sudan as an independent nation; but to date, the majority of Internet cartography has not.

Shortly after independence, political economists began debating how the government should establish and strengthen itself. At present, almost the

entire government budget comes from oil revenues. Although these amount to billions of dollars, it is vital that South Sudan divorce itself from its exclusive reliance on this resource. In order to do so, the government has been pressured to create jobs in the vast areas of farmland and forestry.

Sadly, despite the peaceful referendum and the progress that has been made since July, there still remains tension with Northern Sudan. As history repeats itself, many of the contentious issues revolve around the ownership of the oil rich areas of the Northern state of Southern Kordofan and the Abyei region. The South has accused the North of supporting rebels in its territory with a mission of destabilizing important oil regions along the presently undefined border. In response, the North claims that it too suffers from fighters in its territory supported by the South. As both sides continuously denounce each other, the possibility of a solution in the near future seems unlikely.

In response to the escalating violence, particularly in Southern Kordofan, Canada's Foreign Affairs Minister, John Baird, has called on all parties involved to ensure that civilians are protected regardless of their ethnic, political, and religious affiliations. While maintaining that Canada will remain committed to the promotion and protection of human rights and stability, he has urged for a ceasefire and for all communication between both sides to be carried out peacefully.

OPINION: SUDAN AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY POLITICS // ZACH PAIKIN

In a column written earlier this year, I made the case that the prevention of mass atrocities does not only embody Western values but also allows Western states to pursue their global interests and ensure their security. The central thesis of my argument was that growing global poverty, demographic challenges and climate change all threaten to create more failed states. These failed states, in turn, are

susceptible to mass atrocities, which often lead to the spread of pandemics, violence spilling over borders, and the creation of safe havens for terrorists, all three of which threaten international peace and security and hence Western interests.

In the case of Sudan, the civil war that has plagued the country for decades up until this year's partition, as well as the genocide against the non-Arab populations of Darfur have inspired countless activists to advocate the protection of human rights globally, and justly so. Preventing mass atrocities (war crimes, ethnic cleansing, genocide and crimes against humanity) clearly embodies Western values and is -- in theory -- one of the central principles of the United Nations as embodied in the Genocide Convention and the Responsibility to Protect doctrine.

What deserves more attention, however, are the consequences of failing to prevent mass atrocities. Sudan provides us with a clear example of these consequences, notably on the terrorism front. In the early 1990s, Omar al-Bashir and Hassan al-Turabi took power in Sudan. The latter was known for his ties to Islamic fundamentalist groups, and the former did not hesitate to implement Islamic law throughout the country, even within the non-Muslim south.

Decades of civil war in Sudan led to the creation of swaths of lawless territory, where the Islamic Republic of Iran and Al-Qaeda took the opportunity to set up shop within Sudan's borders. Indeed, al-Turabi even personally invited Osama bin Laden to Sudan after he was banished from Saudi Arabia for speaking against Riyadh's decision to harbour American

troops on Saudi soil.

The Sudanese civil war led to Khartoum's neglect of Darfur, which resulted in genocide in Darfur when rebels chose to attack Sudanese military bases in 2003, rendering Sudanese internal strife more complex and even more difficult to stop. International intervention to prevent mass atrocities over the decades in Sudan may well have helped prevent the lawlessness that exists within Sudan's border today, which terrorist groups have exploited.

The consequences of the world's failure to prevent mass atrocities in Sudan are not limited to Sudan. Uprisings in Yemen threaten to topple the Saleh regime that has cooperated with the United States in fighting the pro-Iran Houthi rebellion and Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). Porous borders to Yemen's east combined with large areas of ungoverned territory in Africa to Yemen's west threaten now to provide Iran with a pathway to the Atlantic if turmoil and instability continue in Yemen. Iranian cells across Africa directly to Europe's south could threaten the security of liberal democratic states on the Old Continent.

The truth is clear: our values and our interests are aligned. In order to protect liberty at home, we must stand up for human rights whenever possible abroad. This means combating revolutionary utopian collectivist ideologies across the globe -- verbally, politically, diplomatically, economically, and even militarily if necessary -- in order to preserve the concept that has created greater equality, prosperity and happiness than ever before in the history of the human race: the sanctity of the individual.

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