

STAND | digest

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SUMMARY // CONTENTS //


HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS AND SECURITY ■ In late July, violence in Kalma Camp resulted in several killed, many wounded and thousands displaced. International aid organizations have been denied access to the camp, though Sudan denies such claims. The United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) refuses to hand over to the Government six refugees. In response to the surge of violence, the United Nations Security Council extended the UNAMID mission until July 2011. A World Vision car was ambushed wounding 2 staff members and two peacekeepers were kidnapped.

NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACE PROCESS ■ The chairman of the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission (SSRC) has made it clear that the referendum cannot be delayed, and there are many issues regarding the timing process. The Southern Sudan's ruling party, SPLM, remains committed to the full implementation of the CPA. Both domestic and international groups have begun to promote education regarding the referendum. Former South African president and current head of the African Union Panel for Sudan, Theo Mbeki, has requested that all members of the 2005 CPA respect the outcome of the upcoming referendum in South Sudan.

DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN SUDAN ■ Disputes regarding the Abyei referendum have resulted in political deadlock between North and South parties. Southerners accuse the NCP of encouraging pro-unity members of the Missiriya tribe to settle in the region, thus changing voter composition. Regarding the Southern independence plebiscite, the referendum commission which was appointed this past June (2 years late) has declared meeting the conditions set in the 2005 peace agreement an impossibility unless the referendum is delayed. Finally, PetroChina is outsourcing its oil production from Sudan, looking for suppliers in the Asia Pacific Region and West Africa, thus having profound implications on Sudanese, and consequently South Sudanese economic activity.

DARFUR AND CANADIAN POLITICS ■ Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon applauded the August decision of the UN Security Council to extend UNAMID's mission until July 31st, 2011. In August, a Sudanese delegation visited Canada to gain guidance and technical support for the upcoming January 2011 referenda in South Sudan and Abyei. Unfortunately, the debate over the future use of the Canadian Forces has reduced foreign policy discussion to a military level, pushing diplomacy and the contributions of non-governmental organizations to the margins of debate.

DRC: TROUBLE IN THE WEST ■ The Central African Republic's opposition parties and former rebel groups, after two postponements, have agreed on a January 2011 date for presidential and parliamentary elections to be held. The fact that there is an ongoing peace and disarmament process in the country gives hope that the elections will take place smoothly and without violence. Yet even if political progress takes place in the form of a successful election, the economic centre of power is likely to remain untouched.



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POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS //

1 Sudanese Elections: Stand's Reaction

On April 11, 2010 the people of Sudan went to the polls to vote in their first multi-party election in 24 years. Despite this landmark event, it must be recognized that the elections were neither free nor fair, and fell significantly short of international standards. Serious irregularities undermined the process and it is clear that the government could have done more to ensure a more free and fair election process.

That said, the elections were a necessary step stipulated in the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), which ended decades of war and called for a referendum by 2011. Before the referendum on independence for South Sudan can take place, it is essential that progress be made to correct the shortcomings experienced and to expand the democratic space in Sudan.

Shortcomings:

- Most of the major opposition candidates boycotted the election (Sudan's People Liberation Movement (SPLA), Umma Party).
- Voter registration was unequal across the country.
- Insecurity in Darfur prevented a great number of people from voting.
- Census data did not accurately reflect large segments of the population in some regions of Sudan (e.g. Darfur).
- Too few voter education programs set up across the country.
- High incidence of intimidation and threats to voters coming from the South
- Lack of sufficient safeguards and transparency in the electoral process.
- Significant technical and logistical problems (inaccurate polling station lists, not enough ballots printed, late delivery) – result of weak preparation.

Steps Forward:

- Prohibitions on freedoms of speech and assembly under the 1997 emergency laws in Darfur need to be lifted to ensure fair campaigning and outreach
- The National Security Law which gives government authorities the "power of detention without cause," must be revised or suspended before any future elections take place.
- To improve the democratic deficit, increase voter education programs across the country through organizations like the Carter Centre and the National Democratic Institute (NRI).
- Support efforts to train domestic observers (it takes only 1 week to train a local observer).
- All parties must be encouraged to run in future elections and this encouragement will only materialize if the above stated shortcomings become addressed and the aforementioned steps are taken.

2 Civil society participation in the Darfur peace process is essential if a sustainable peace is to occur. The recent inclusion of Darfuri civil society in the Doha peace consultations in Nov 2009 was a positive step in the right direction but mired with impediments. As this process continues, the government of Canada should:

- 1) Ensure that Darfuri society is widely and fairly represented.
 - The first meeting was overrepresented with government National Congress Party (NCP) members as well as other war crimes perpetrators and underrepresented with Darfur diaspora, refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), and northern Darfur leaders.
- 2) Make sure that the government of Sudan is not imposing restrictions of any kind or hampering civil society members in any way from participation in the consultations.
 - The first meeting was hampered by bureaucratic delays, airport and airline restrictions as well as threats from the government of Sudan against some program participants (the underrepresented).

The best way to avoid these problems is if the Doha organizers define what is meant by civil society and impose specific criteria for member participation. Canada has the capacity to share its expertise about including civil society in public consultations.

3 In order to effectively prevent, monitor and address grave human rights abuses and mass atrocities, the Government of Canada should create an institutional apparatus that is capable of carrying out this mission on a permanent basis. Stand calls on the government to:

- 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.

NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACE PROCESS //

BY CHELSEA SAUVÉ

Despite rumours that the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission (SSRC) intended to ask the Sudanese presidency to postpone the referendum scheduled for January 2011, the chairman of the body, Mohamed Ibrahim Khalil has denied such allegations. In light of such rumours, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) have re-iterated that any attempt to delay the referendum process would be considered a direct violation of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).

Although it has been made clear that the referendum cannot be delayed, there are many issues regarding the timing of the process. It is evident that the commission will not be able to abide by Sudanese law, which states that voter registration must be complete within three months of the vote. Therefore, should the referendum take place on the scheduled date, necessary and lawful procedures will be disregarded. Meanwhile, the Commission is currently establishing a budget for the referendum process and has signed a number of agreements with the United Nations and USAID to provide technical and logistical support for the referendum.

In addition to concerns regarding violations of lawful obligations, groups have expressed concern with regards to the timing of the demarcations between Northern and Southern Sudan prior to the occurrence of the referendum. At the moment, Sudan's long-awaited referendum on self-determination will go ahead as planned regardless of whether the North-South border is properly demarcated according to a statement made by the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly in Khartoum. The North-South Border Demarcation Commission has however expressed that they have encountered several technical difficulties.

Despite the potential confusion, which may occur should the referendum proceed in the absence of completed demarcation, the Southern Sudan's ruling party, SPLM, remains committed to the full implementation of the CPA.

The chairman of the committee (who represents the North) and his deputy (who represents the South), have stated that there has been controversy over the use of foreign companies in the demarcation process as well as borderlines documents. Meanwhile, the Chairman of the CPA Assessment and Evaluation Commission, Derek Blamably, has reportedly ruled out any legal or constitutional conditions, which would delay the referendum. The African Union, United Nations and other international organizations such as the Carter Center are to observe the process.

Both domestic and international groups have begun to promote education regarding the referendum and the consequences of either result in the hopes of persuading rural populations within Sudan to register for the upcoming referendum. Through such referendum awareness campaigns, activities have launched several referendum awareness campaigns in urban areas. Such groups have also expressed plans to launch a massive campaign in rural areas so as to provide these people with proper education on the matter, so that they can make an educated vote in the referendum. This mobilization of educational support for Southern Sudanese communities includes regional youth groups as well as community based groups such as churches, traditional leaders, teachers, business people, women's groups and local authorities. Groups have also reached out to Sudanese communities living in North America with the hopes of mobilizing their vote in the coming referendum on the self determination of South Sudan.

Former South African president and current head of the African Union Panel for Sudan, Theo Mbeki, has requested that all members of the 2005 CPA respect the outcome of the upcoming referendum in South Sudan. Such comments were directed specifically towards the northern ruling National Congress Party (NCP) and the southern ruling SPLM. Mbeki has expressed his support for the upcoming free and fair referendum process as well as for the demarcation of the North-South border in accordance with the borders of January 1956. The African Union has also requested that the Government of Southern Sudan also ensure the possibility of movement

of nomadic tribes along the borders and their security. Mbeki also expressed concern at the delay in the establishment of these structures as well as potential for a lack of transparency and inclusiveness given the limited involvement of international communities, civil society organizations and other actors.

Disagreements regarding the appointment of commissions Secretary General have been rampant between Sudan's ruling partners, the Southern SPLM and the Northern NCP. It has been rumoured that the US special envoy to Sudan, Scott Gration sought to solve the dispute by promising the SPLM that the referendum would be held as scheduled and that it would get the position of the commission's deputy secretary-general which will be based in the South. Additionally, the NCP has cast doubts on the neutrality of the Juba based referendum commission branch stating its suspicion that the body is under the control of Southern Sudan ruling party which the NCP suspects of promoting the separation of North and South. The NCP media secretary has accused the SPLM of controlling more than 90% of the membership of Southern Sudan Referendum Commission (SSRC) in Juba.

HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS AND SECURITY //

BY SABRINA IRIARTE

In late July, violence erupted in Kalma Camp between the internally displaced persons supporting and those opposing the Doha initiative. At least seven people were killed, many others were wounded, and thousands other fled. On August 14th, Governor Abdel Hamid Moussa Kasha said that this camp has become a den of criminals and outlaws. Seven days later, South Darfur announced a plan to relocate residents of the Kalma camp in Bileel near Nyala when the construction of the new camps is finished.

Humanitarian officials said the government of Sudan has denied international aid organizations access to the Kalma camp and Alain Le Roy, UN peacekeeping chief, said that local Sudanese aid

groups have been allowed into Kalma, but not international agencies. Sudan's top aid official in South Darfur, Jamal Youssef, denied preventing agencies from accessing Kalma. Days after the breakout of violence in Kalma, UN spokesman Martin Nesirky, said the situation "remains tense and insecure" and that the UN is concerned about sanitation, food, water and fuel shortages.

The United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) has been in a stand-off since then, when six people sought refuge in its police station. Sudan argues that these refugees instigated the violence in the Camp and demands UNAMID to hand them over. Alain Le Roy said UNAMID has demanded Sudan to drop its request to hand them over as UNAMID attempts to guarantee their fair trial. Sudanese president, Omar Al-Bashir threatened UNAMID and all other international aid groups with expulsion if they do not respect government authorities. On July 30th, given the surge of violence in Darfur, the United Nations Security Council extended the UNAMID mission until July 31st, 2011. The Security Council prioritized the protection of civilians and the "safe, timely and unhindered humanitarian access" to an estimated 2 million refugees.

Tribal clashes between Gimr tribesmen in South Darfur resulted in 19 people being killed, 26 being wounded, and the displacement of many others. UNAMID peacekeepers confirmed the clashes in a statement, specifying that the clashes in Um Tikina areas began as a tribal leadership struggle. Local authorities intervened as mediators in the struggle. By mid-August, tribal clashes between Messeria and Rezaigat tribes in Kass area resulted in 37 people killed and 19 wounded. The government sent in military reinforcements.

World Vision informed the humanitarian aid commission in South Darfur about the attack. After three days of captivity, three Jordanian peacekeepers were released on August 17th, raising the number of foreign aid workers and UNAMID members kidnapped to 19 since March 2009. Two days after the kidnappings, UNAMID announced it had agreed with the local government to dig a trench around Nyala to reduce the

number of kidnappings and carjackings. In addition, a World Vision car was ambushed in early August. The driver and one of the staff members received serious injuries while the other three were unharmed.

DARFUR AND CANADIAN POLITICS //

BY JOHN MATCHIM

In August the United Nations Security Council voted to extend its mission in Darfur (UNAMID) to July 31st, 2011, a decision applauded by Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs Lawrence Cannon, who added that Canada "commends" the work of UNAMID and would continue to support the mandate of the operation.

Sudan has turned to Canada to provide guidance during its upcoming referendum on southern independence. In less than six months Sudan will hold an election to determine the future of South Sudan, currently governed by the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). Eight members of Sudan's governing National Congress Party, led by President Omar al Bashir, as well as three members of the SPLM, visited Ottawa in early August. The delegation also visited Quebec City and Montreal, and met with officials from Elections Canada for "technical support."

The situation in southern Sudan remains tense while the central government reportedly remains entirely unprepared to conduct a referendum on southern independence. Should a conflict erupt following the January 9, 2011 referenda then the violence in Darfur will likely intensify.

Unfortunately, the debate over the future use of the Canadian Forces has reduced foreign policy discussion to a military level, pushing diplomacy and the contributions of non-governmental organizations to the margins of debate. Framing military policy around 'sovereignty' has also narrowed Canada's security concerns to issues that directly challenge Canadian military or economic interests while ignoring humanitarian concerns and other challenges that, while important, do not necessarily clash with the national agenda.

Meanwhile, the debate over Canada's post-Afghanistan military responsibilities remains prominent in the Canadian media. Recently, military historian Jack Granastein argued that the government is right to stick to its "Canada First Defence Strategy," a doctrine that places the sovereign defence of Canada ahead of everything else. However, just what constitutes a threat to Canadian sovereignty remains vague. Granastein believes that Taliban-ruled Afghanistan posed a clear threat to Canadian interests while the struggle in Darfur remains on the margins of foreign policy, and his opinion echoes that of a Canadian government that appears hesitant to engage in another major commitment abroad as combat operations in Afghanistan begin to wind down.

DRC: TROUBLE IN THE WEST //

BY SARAH KATZ-LAVIGNE

The month of August in the Central African Republic brought the announcement that after two postponements, the country's political parties have agreed to a firm date of January 23rd, 2011, for the holding of both presidential and parliamentary elections. The elections had initially been scheduled for April 25th, 2010, but they were postponed until May and then indefinitely. It was the country's opposition parties who called for the elections being put off, citing concerns about the guarantees for security surrounding these elections, in a country where armed conflict continues to be waged in some regions. Initially, in June, the country's Independent Electoral Commission (CEI) had proposed a postponement to October 24th, 2010, on the grounds that the "organisational, security and budget" obstacles still standing in the way of the organisation of the elections would no longer hold true at that date. However, the government decided to reject the CEI's suggestion. A government spokesman argued that the final date set for the elections had to be chosen by taking into consideration the security situation in the country, as well as the level of progress in the ongoing disarmament, demobilisation, and reinsertion of the members of former armed groups. The sponsors of the upcoming elections – the United

Nations, the European Union, France, and the United States – also recommended that the vote be postponed.

The context for the upcoming elections – and the reason for the postponements – is that since 2008, politicians and armed movements in the Central African Republic have been engaged in a process of peace-making and reconciliation, after years of instability and insecurity. The principal former rebel groups in the country's regions are taking part in the disarmament, demobilisation, and reinsertion process, but instability still reigns in the northern region. Moreover, it has been reported that the parties to this day have not truly abandoned the possibility of using force in case the peace process fails. One hopeful development is the Code of Conduct to which the parties to the election – opposition groups and former non-state armed groups – have signed.

In a capital where there are a number of large posters featuring the current president, François Bozize, and advertising his contribution to progress and stability, the upcoming elections are likely to be highly one-sided in favour of the current president and his allies. If the elections take place without accompanying political violence they will be hailed by the current leaders and the international community as a success in the onward march towards stability and progress – and rightfully so. Yet, it should be noted, they will have been a proof of progress in the political sphere. The sources and centres of economic power, and therefore wealth (the diamonds, the uranium, and so on) will have been, and will remain, largely untouched.

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN SUDAN //

BY STEVEN CHUA

Deadlock has settled over the negotiation process in the oil-rich Abyei region, which will be also be holding a referendum at the same time that the South will be holding their independence referendum next year. Next January the Abyei populace will decide whether they want to be considered a part of the North or South, thus implying as to whether they will take part

in the South's likely secession. Key issues such as the composition of the Abyei referendum commission, the voting population and the length and time of the referendum remain unresolved between the negotiating parties. Deng Arop, head of Abyei administration and an SPLM member claims that the nomadic Missiriya tribe has begun to settle 75,000 people in the region in order to change the voter demographic. It has been noted that some Missiriya were actively involved in the North-South war as militiamen serving the Northern NCP. Naturally, the ruling NCP party is calling for the Abyei administration to grant this pro-unity tribe voting rights during the referendum.

The referendum commission has also announced that the Southern independence referendum would have to be delayed lest arrangements part of the 2005 peace deal be skipped. Voter registration, a key component of the agreement was intended to be completed and published 3 months before referendum; an impossibility at this point, according to commission member Tarig Osman, who claims that a limited delay (no longer than six months) would be required to fulfill operating procedures. Post referendum arrangements are still in a state of flux, as demarcation of borders, definitions of citizenship and the sharing of oil wealth are still unresolved issues; the North insists making the execution of the referendum conditional upon the resolution of these issues, while the South accuses the North of using this argument to delay, and consequently derail it. Experts fear the delay of the referendum will spark armed conflict, especially upon the SPLA's (South Sudanese Army) seizure of over 30,000 illegal weapons, many of which were from the North-South war. It is estimated that this is but a limited portion of the weaponry still in circulation in the South.

PetroChina, a major consumer of Sudanese oil has announced that it will accelerate an upgrade to one of its refineries in the Guangxi region in order to avoid dependence on Sudanese oil. Sudan exports 269,000 barrels per day, and is the sixth largest supplier to China. However, in light of a combination of economic and political reasons, PetroChina has opted to outsource Su-

danese oil in its new 200,000 barrel-a-day refinery in favour of Asia Pacific and West African oil. PetroChina representatives claim that this shift is due to both the US restrictions and the pragmatic fact that Sudanese oil requires extensive, expensive refinement to be usable. Such a decision would have a huge impact on the economic activity of oil-rich South Sudan.

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